LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 64

In Defense of Sestius

Cicero

Pro Murena
Pro Sulla
Pro Sestio
Pro Marcello
Pro Ligario
Pro Rege Deiotaro

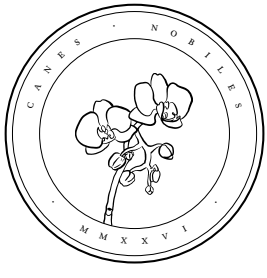
In Defense of Sestius

With Five More Speeches

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order

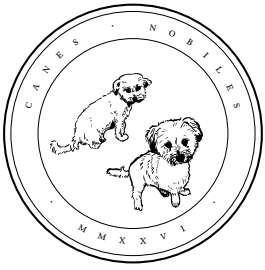


CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

Copyright © 2026 Christopher Hench
All rights reserved

Published by Canes Nobiles
canesnobiles.com

The source text is used under a Creative Commons
Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License
creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0



Volume 64 of the Canes Nobiles Latin interlinear texts

The Latin text follows Clark's Oxford texts of the speeches,
of 1908, 1911, and 1918, and Peterson's of the Pro Sestio, of 1911

Set from the Perseus Digital Library's canonical Latin corpus, with corrections

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

CONTENTS

PRO MURENA

I · The Consul Defends the Consul-Elect 11
II · Sulpicius and the Charge on Murena's Life 17
III · Asia and the Charge of Dancing 22
IV · Birth, Quaestorship, and Service 26
V · The Lawyer's Little Science 32
VI · Generals, Orators, and Jurists 37
VII · The Mithridatic War and the Fickle Vote 42
VIII · The Uncertainty of Elections 47
IX · Two Praetorships and a Canvass 52
X · The Harsh Law and Catiline's Threats 57
XI · The Charges of Bribery 63
XII · Cato's Stoicism 68
XIII · Scipio, Panaetius, and the Escorts 75
XIV · Escorts, Banquets, and Seats 79
XV · Tubero's Goatskins 84
XVI · The Danger Within 89
XVII · The Plea for Murena 94

PRO SULLA

I · Why Cicero Defends Sulla 103
II · Two Conspiracies 109
III · Autronius and Sulla 113
IV · The Charge of Tyranny 119
V · Enemies of the Consul 125
VI · The Consul's Glory 129
VII · The Allobroges and the Records 134
VIII · A Warning to Torquatus 140
IX · Cornelius, the Gladiators, and Sittius 145
X · Sittius and the Pompeians 150
XI · Caecilius' Bill and Cicero's Letter 155
XII · Character as Witness 160
XIII · The Life, Not the Torture 166
XIV · Cicero's Word 171
XV · The Plea for Sulla 175

PRO SESTIO

I · The Good Citizen on Trial 183
II · Sestius as Quaestor 189
III · The Shipwreck of the Year 195
IV · Two Consuls 200
V · The Senate in Mourning 206
VI · Consuls Who Forbade Mourning 212
VII · Why Cicero Yielded 218
VIII · To Fight or to Go 222
IX · The Example Preserved 228
X · The Bargain Paid 234
XI · Kings Sold and Cato Removed 239
XII · The Consuls' Silence 244
XIII · Toward Cicero's Return 249
XIV · Violence in the Forum 255
XV · Accused for Surviving 260
XVI · Milo and Sestius 266
XVII · What Breed the Optimates Are 272
XVIII · The Optimates Defined 277
XIX · The People and Its Assemblies 284
XX · Gellius and the Elections 289
XXI · The Games and the Theater 294
XXII · Aesopus and Accius 300
XXIII · The Senate's Decrees for Cicero 307
XXIV · Vatinius 313
XXV · The Constitution of the Ancestors 318
XXVI · The Appeal 323

PRO MARCELLO

I · Thanks for Marcellus 331
II · Victory over Victory 337
III · Caesar's Safety, the State's Safety 343
IV · The Work Still Undone 349

PRO LIGARIO

I · A New Charge 357
II · Tubero in Arms 363
III · Error, Not Crime 368
IV · A Plea for Pardon 373
V · The Brothers Ligarii 379

PRO REGE DEIOTARO

I · Defending a King in Caesar's House 387
II · Deiotarus and Pompey 393
III · The Plot at Blucium 398
IV · Castor's Other Charges 403
V · The Slave Turned Accuser 409
VI · The Appeal for the Kings 415

CICERO

Pro Murena

In Defense of Murena

PRO MURENA

I · THE CONSUL DEFENDS THE CONSUL-ELECT

Cicero prays that the consulship he announced for Murena may bring peace and safety, and commends to the judges the man he commended to the gods. Cato says that the consul who carried the law on bribery should not defend a man charged under it; Cicero replies that no one is fitter to defend a consul-elect than a consul, and that his law does not stop him defending a man who did nothing against it. To Cato's charge that the consul who drove out Catiline should not now plead for Murena, he answers that severity was forced on him and mercy is his nature.

Quae precatus a dis immortalibus sum, iudices, 1
what-things prayed from the-gods immortal I-have judges
more institutoque maiorum illo die quo auspicato
by-the-custom and-institution of-the-ancestors on-that day on-which with-auspices-taken
comitiis centuriatis L. Murenam consulem renuntiavi, ut
at-the-assembly centuriate Lucius Murena consul I-declared that
ea res mihi fidei magistratuique meo, populo plebique
that thing for-me for-good-faith and-magistracy my for-the-people and-plebs
Romanae bene atque feliciter eveniret, eadem precor ab
Roman well and fortunately might-turn-out the-same-things I-pray from
isdem dis immortalibus ob eiusdem hominis consulatum
the-same gods immortal on-account-of of-the-same man the-consulship
una cum salute obtinendum, et ut vestrae mentes atque
together with safety to-be-held and that your minds and
sententiae cum populi Romani voluntatibus suffragiisque
votes with of-the-people Roman the-wishes and-ballots
consentiant, eaque res vobis populoque Romano pacem,
may-agree and-that thing for-you and-the-people Roman peace
tranquillitatem, otium concordiamque adferat. Quod si illa
tranquility leisure and-concord may-bring but if that

sollemnis comitiorum precatio consularibus auspiciis consecrata
solemn of-the-assembly prayer by-consular auspices consecrated
tantam habet in se vim et religionem quantam rei
so-great has in itself force and sanctity as-great-as of-the-thing
publicae dignitas postulat, idem ego sum precatus ut eis
public the-dignity demands the-same I have prayed that for-those
quoque hominibus quibus hic consulatus me rogante datus
also men to-whom this consulship with-me asking given
esset ea res fauste feliciter prospereque eveniret.
had-been that thing auspiciously fortunately and-prosperously might-turn-out

2 Quae cum ita sint, iudices, et cum omnis deorum
which-things since so they-are judges and since all of-the-gods
immortalium potestas aut translata sit ad vos aut certe
immortal the-power either transferred has-been to you or certainly
communicata vobiscum, idem consulem vestrae fidei
shared with-you the-same-man the-consul to-your good-faith
commendat qui antea dis immortalibus commendavit,
commends who before to-the-gods immortal commended
ut eiusdem hominis voce et declaratus consul et defensus
that by-the-same man's voice both declared consul and defended
beneficium populi Romani cum vestra atque omnium
the-favor of-the-people Roman with your and of-all
civium salute tueatur. Et quoniam in hoc officio studium
citizens safety he-may-protect and since in this duty the-zeal
meae defensionis ab accusatoribus atque etiam ipsa susceptio
of-my defense by the-accusers and even the-very undertaking
causae reprensa est, ante quam pro L. Murena dicere
of-the-case criticized has-been before that for Lucius Murena to-speak
instituo, pro me ipso pauca dicam, non quo mihi
I-begin for me myself a-few-things I-shall-say not because to-me
potior hoc quidem tempore sit offici mei quam huiusce
preferable at-this indeed time be of-duty my than of-this-man's

salutis defensio, sed ut meo facto vobis probato maiore
safety the-defense but that with-my deed to-you approved with-greater
auctoritate ab huius honore fama fortunisque omnibus
authority from this-man's office reputation and-fortunes all
inimicorum impetus propulsare possim.
of-his-enemies the-attacks to-ward-off I-may-be-able
Et primum M. Catoni vitam ad certam rationis normam 3
and first to-Marcus Cato life to a-fixed of-reason rule
derigenti et diligentissime perpendenti momenta officiorum
directing and most-diligently weighing the-moments of-duties
omnium de officio meo respondebo. Negat fuisse rectum
all about duty my I-shall-answer denies to-have-been right
Cato me et consulem et legis ambitus latorem et tam
Cato that-I both consul and of-the-law of-bribery proposer and with-so
severe gesto consulatu causam L. Murenae attingere.
severely conducted consulship the-case of-Lucius Murena to-touch
Cuius reprehensio me vehementer movet, non solum ut vobis,
whose criticism me vehemently moves not only that to-you
iudices, quibus maxime debeo, verum etiam ut ipsi Catoni,
judges to-whom most I-owe but also that himself to-Cato
gravissimo atque integerrimo viro, rationem facti mei
a-most-weighty and most-upright man the-account of-the-deed my
probem. A quo tandem, M. Cato, est aequius consulem
I-may-prove by whom pray Marcus Cato is-it more-fairly a-consul
defendi quam a consule? Quis mihi in re publica
to-be-defended than by a-consul who to-me in the-thing public
potest aut debet esse coniunctior quam is cui res
can or ought to-be more-closely-joined than he to-whom the-thing
publica a me iam traditur sustinenda magnis meis laboribus
public by me now is-handed-over to-be-sustained by-great my labors
et periculis sustentata? Quod si in eis rebus repetendis quae
and dangers sustained but if in those things being-reclaimed which

mancipi sunt is periculum iudici praestare debet qui
by-formal-purchase are he the-risk of-the-suit to-guarantee ought who
se nexu obligavit, profecto etiam rectius in iudicio consulis
himself by-bond has-bound surely even more-rightly in the-trial of-a-consul
designati is potissimum consul qui consulem declaravit auctor
elect he above-all the-consul who the-consul declared the-author
benefici populi Romani defensorque periculi esse debebit.
of-the-favor of-the-people Roman and-defender of-the-danger to-be will-be-obliged

4 Ac si, ut non nullis in civitatibus fieri solet, patronus huic
and if as not none in states to-be-done is-wont an-advocate for-this
causae publice constitueretur, is potissimum summo honore
case publicly were-appointed he above-all with-the-highest office
adfecto defensor daretur qui eodem honore praeditus
graced as-defender would-be-given who with-the-same office endowed
non minus adferret ad dicendum auctoritatis quam facultatis.
not less would-bring to speaking of-authority than of-ability
Quod si e portu solventibus ei qui iam in portum
but if from port to-those-setting-sail they who now into port
ex alto invehuntur praecipere summo studio solent
from the-deep are-sailing to-teach with-the-highest zeal are-wont
et tempestatum rationem et praedonum et locorum, quod
both of-storms the-reckoning and of-pirates and of-places because
natura adfert ut eis faveamus qui eadem pericula quibus nos
nature brings that them we-favor who the-same dangers which we
perfuncti sumus ingrediantur, quo tandem me esse animo
gone-through have are-entering with-what pray me to-be mind
oportet prope iam ex magna iactatione terram videntem in
is-it-proper almost now from great tossing land seeing toward
hunc cui video maximas rei publicae tempestates
this-man by-whom I-see the-greatest of-the-thing public storms
esse subeundas? Qua re si est boni consulis non solum
to-be to-be-undergone by-which thing if it-is of-a-good consul not only

videre quid agatur verum etiam providere quid futurum sit,
to-see what is-being-done but also to-foresee what going-to-be is
ostendam alio loco quantum salutis communis intersit
I-shall-show in-another place how-much to-the-safety common it-matters
duos consules in re publica Kalendis Ianuariis esse.
two consuls in the-thing public on-the-Kalends of-January to-be
Quod si ita est, non tam me officium debuit ad hominis 5
but if so it-is not so-much me duty ought to of-a-man
amici fortunas quam res publica consulem ad communem
friend the-fortunes as the-thing public a-consul to the-common
salutem defendendam vocare. Nam quod legem de ambitu
safety to-be-defended to-call for as-to-that the-law about bribery
tuli, certe ita tuli ut eam quam mihimet ipsi iam
I-proposed certainly so I-proposed-it that that which for-me myself now
pridem tulerim de civium periculis defendendis non
long-ago I-have-laid-down about of-citizens dangers to-be-warded-off not
abrogarem. Etenim si largitionem factam esse confiterer
I-should-repeal for-indeed if bribery done to-have-been I-confessed
idque recte factum esse defenderem, facerem improbe,
and-that rightly done to-have-been I-defended I-would-act wickedly
etiam si alius legem tulisset; cum vero nihil commissum
even if another the-law had-proposed when indeed nothing committed
contra legem esse defendam, quid est quod meam
against the-law to-have-been I-defend what is-there that my
defensionem latio legis impediat?
defense the-proposing of-the-law should-hinder
Negat esse eiusdem severitatis Catilinam exitium rei 6
he-denies to-be of-the-same severity Catiline the-ruin of-the-thing
publicae intra moenia molientem verbis et paene imperio
public within the-walls contriving by-words and almost by-command
ex urbe expulisse et nunc pro L. Murena dicere.
from the-city to-have-driven-out and now for Lucius Murena to-speak

Ego autem has partis lenitatis et misericordiae quas me
I however these parts of-mildness and of-mercy which me
natura ipsa docuit semper egi libenter, illam vero
nature itself has-taught always have-played gladly that indeed
gravitatis severitatisque personam non appetivi, sed ab re
of-gravity and-of-severity role not I-sought but by the-thing
publica mihi impositam sustinui, sicut huius imperi dignitas
public on-me imposed I-sustained as of-this command the-dignity
in summo periculo civium postulabat. Quod si tum,
in the-utmost danger of-the-citizens demanded but if then
cum res publica vim et severitatem desiderabat, vici
when the-thing public force and severity required I-overcame
naturam et tam vehemens fui quam cogebar, non quam
nature and so vehement I-was as I-was-compelled not as
volebam, nunc cum omnes me causae ad misericordiam
I-wished now when all me causes to mercy
atque ad humanitatem vocent, quanto tandem studio
and to humanity call with-how-much pray zeal
debeo naturae meae consuetudinique servire? Ac de officio
I-ought nature my and-custom to-serve and about the-duty
defensionis meae ac de ratione accusationis tuae fortasse
of-defense my and about the-method of-accusation your perhaps
etiam alia in parte orationis dicendum nobis erit.
also another in part of-the-speech to-be-spoken by-us will-be

Sulpicius complains that Cicero has forgotten their friendship. Cicero owed him every service in his canvass, but owes him nothing against Murena's safety, and his friendship with Murena is old. The accusation falls into three parts: Murena's life, the contest of dignity, and bribery. The charge on his life is weak: the accusers cast up Asia, but Murena traveled it as a soldier, under his father, and shared his father's triumph.

Sed me, iudices, non minus hominis sapientissimi atque 7
but me judges not less of-a-man most-wise and
ornatissimi, Ser. Sulpici, conquestio quam Catonis accusatio
most-distinguished of-Servius Sulpicius the-complaint than of-Cato the-accusation
commovebat qui gravissime et acerbissime se ferre
moved who most-gravely and most-bitterly that-he to-take-it
dixit me familiaritatis necessitudinisque oblitum causam
said that-I of-intimacy and-of-connection forgetful the-case
L. Murenae contra se defendere. Huic ego, iudices, satis
of-Lucius Murena against him to-defend to-him I judges satisfaction
facere cupio vosque adhibere arbitros. Nam cum grave est vere
to-give desire and-you to-call-in as-arbiters for both serious it-is truly
accusari in amicitia, tum, etiam si falso accuseris, non est
to-be-accused in friendship and even if falsely you-are-accused not it-is
neglegendum. Ego, Ser. Sulpici, me in petitione tua tibi
to-be-neglected I Servius Sulpicius that-I in the-candidacy your to-you
omnia studia atque officia pro nostra necessitudine et debuisse
all zeal and services for our connection both to-have-owed
confiteor et praestitisse arbitror. Nihil tibi consulatum
I-confess and to-have-given I-think nothing to-you the-consulship
petenti a me defuit quod esset aut ab amico aut a
seeking from me was-lacking which was either from a-friend or from
gratioso aut a consule postulandum. Abiit illud tempus;
an-influential-man or from a-consul to-be-asked has-gone that time

mutata ratio est. Sic existimo, sic mihi persuadeo, me
changed the-situation is so I-think so myself I-persuade that-I
tibi contra honorem Murenae quantum tu a me postulare
to-you against the-office of-Murena as-much-as you from me to-ask
ausus sis, tantum debuisse, contra salutem nihil debere.
dared have so-much to-have-owed against his-safety nothing to-owe
8 Neque enim, si tibi tum cum peteres consulatum studui,
nor for if you then when you-were-seeking the-consulship I-supported
nunc cum Murenam ipsum petas, adiutor eodem pacto
now when Murena himself you-attack a-helper in-the-same way
esse debeo. Atque hoc non modo non laudari sed ne
to-be I-ought and this not only not to-be-praised but not
concedi quidem potest ut amicis nostris accusantibus non
to-be-granted even can that with-friends our accusing not
etiam alienissimos defendamus. Mihi autem cum Murena,
even total-strangers we-should-defend to-me however with Murena
iudices, et magna et vetus amicitia est, quae in capitis
judges both a-great and old friendship is which in for-his-life
dimicatione a Ser. Sulpicio non idcirco obruetur
the-struggle by Servius Sulpicius not for-this-reason will-be-overwhelmed
quod ab eodem in honoris contentione superata est. Quae
because by the-same in the-office's contest surpassed it-was which
si causa non esset, tamen vel dignitas hominis vel
if a-reason not there-were still either the-dignity of-the-man or
honoris eius quem adeptus est amplitudo summam mihi
of-the-office his which attained he-has the-eminence the-utmost on-me
superbiae crudelitatisque infamiam inussisset, si hominis
of-arrogance and-cruelty infamy would-have-branded if of-a-man
et suis et populi Romani ornamentis amplissimi
both with-his-own and of-the-people Roman distinctions most-distinguished
causam tanti periculi repudiassem. Neque enim iam mihi
the-case of-so-great danger I-had-rejected nor for now to-me

licet neque est integrum ut meum laborem hominum
is-it-allowed nor is-it open that my labor for-men's
periculis sublevandis non impertiam. Nam cum praemia mihi
dangers being-relieved not I-should-impart for since rewards to-me
tanta pro hac industria sint data quanta antea nemini, sic
so-great for this industry have-been given as-great-as before to-no-one so
existimo, labores quos in petitione exceperis, eos, cum
I-think the-labors which in the-candidacy you-have-undertaken those when
adeptus sis, deponere, esse hominis et astuti et ingrati.
attained you-have to-lay-down to-be of-a-man both crafty and ungrateful
Quod si licet desinere, si te auctore possum, si nulla 9
but if it-is-allowed to-stop if with-you as-author I-can if no
inertiae infamia, nulla superbiae turpitudo, nulla inhumanitatis
of-sloth infamy no of-arrogance disgrace no of-inhumanity
culpa suscipitur, ego vero libenter desino. Sin autem fuga
fault is-incurred I indeed gladly stop but-if however the-flight
laboris desidiam, repudiatio supplicum superbiam, amicorum
of-labor sloth the-rejection of-suppliants arrogance of-friends
neglectio improbitatem coarguit, nimirum haec causa est
the-neglect wickedness proves no-doubt this case is
eius modi quam nec industrius quisquam nec misericors
of-that kind which neither industrious anyone nor merciful
nec officiosus deserere possit. Atque huiusce rei coniecturam
nor dutiful to-desert could and of-this thing a-conjecture
de tuo ipsius studio, Servi, facillime ceperis. Nam si
from your own zeal Servius most-easily you-will-take for if
tibi necesse putas etiam adversariis amicorum tuorum de
for-you necessary you-think even to-the-opponents of-friends your about
iure consulentibus respondere, et si turpe existimas te
law consulting to-answer and if shameful you-think with-you
advocato illum ipsum quem contra veneris causa cadere,
as-advocate him very-one whom against you-have-come in-his-case to-fall

noli tam esse iniustus ut, cum tui fontes vel inimicis tuis
do-not-wish so be unjust that when your springs even to-enemies your
pateant, nostros etiam amicis putes clausos esse oportere.
lie-open ours even to-friends you-should-think closed to-be ought
Etenim si me tua familiaritas ab hac causa removisset, et
for-indeed if me your intimacy from this case had-removed and
si hoc idem Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso, clarissimis
if this same to-Quintus Hortensius to-Marcus Crassus most-illustrious
viris, si item ceteris a quibus intellego tuam gratiam
men if likewise to-the-others by whom I-understand your favor
magni aestimari accidisset, in ea civitate consul designatus
highly to-be-valued had-happened in that state a-consul elect
defensorem non haberet in qua nemini umquam infimo
a-defender not would-have in which to-no-one ever the-lowest
maiores nostri patronum deesse voluerunt. Ego vero,
ancestors our an-advocate to-be-lacking wished I indeed
iudices, ipse me existimarem nefarium si amico, crudelem
judges myself me would-think wicked if to-a-friend cruel
si misero, superbum si consuli defuissem. Qua re quod
if to-a-wretch arrogant if to-a-consul I-had-failed by-which thing what
dandum est amicitiae, large dabitur a me, ut tecum
to-be-given is to-friendship generously will-be-given by me so-that with-you
agam, Servi, non secus ac si meus esset frater, qui mihi
I-may-deal Servius not otherwise than if my were brother who to-me
est carissimus, isto in loco; quod tribuendum est officio,
is most-dear that in position what to-be-paid is to-duty
fidei, religioni, id ita moderabor ut meminerim me
to-good-faith to-scruple that so I-shall-moderate that I-may-remember that-I
contra amici studium pro amici periculo dicere.
against a-friend's zeal for a-friend's danger to-speak

Intellego, iudices, tris totius accusationis partis fuisse, et 11
I-understand judges three of-the-whole accusation parts to-have-been and
earum unam in reprehensione vitae, alteram in contentione
of-them one in the-criticism of-his-life another in the-contest
dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus ambitus esse versatam. Atque
of-dignity a-third in the-charges of-bribery to-be engaged and
harum trium partium prima illa quae gravissima debebat
of-these three parts the-first that which most-weighty ought
esse ita fuit infirma et levis ut illos lex magis quaedam
to-be so was weak and light that them the-law more a-certain
accusatoria quam vera male dicendi facultas de vita
accusatory than true ill of-speaking power about the-life
L. Murenae dicere aliquid coegerit. Obiecta est enim
of-Lucius Murena to-say something compelled cast-up has-been for
Asia; quae ab hoc non ad voluptatem et luxuriam expetita
Asia which by this-man not for pleasure and luxury sought
est sed in militari labore peragrata. Qui si adulescens
was but in military labor traversed who if as-a-young-man
patre suo imperatore non meruisset, aut hostem
with-his-father his-own as-commander not he-had-served either the-enemy
aut patris imperium timuisse aut a parente repudiatus
or his-father's command to-have-feared or by his-parent rejected
videretur. An cum sedere in equis triumphantium praetextati
he-would-seem or when to-sit on the-horses of-those-triumphing in-boys'-togas
potissimum filii soleant, huic donis militaribus
above-all sons are-wont for-this-man with-the-gifts military
patris triumphum decorare fugiendum fuit, ut rebus
of-his-father the-triumph to-adorn to-be-shunned was-it that for-things
communiter gestis paene simul cum patre triumpharet?
in-common done almost together with his-father he-should-triumph

Murena served in Asia under his father, a help in danger and a sharer in his triumph. Cato calls him a dancer; but no one dances sober unless he is mad, and dancing is the last of the vices that come with late banquets and luxury, of which no trace is found in Murena. Sulpicius scorned Murena's birth and praised his own; Cicero answers that Murena's grandfather and great-grandfather were praetors, while Sulpicius' nobility is known to scholars but obscure to the voters.

12 Hic vero, iudices, et fuit in Asia et viro fortissimo, parenti
this-man indeed judges both was in Asia and to-a-man most-brave his-father
suo, magno adiumento in periculis, solacio in laboribus,
his-own for-a-great help in dangers for-a-solace in labors
gratulationi in victoria fuit. Et si habet Asia suspicionem
for-a-congratulation in victory was and if has Asia suspicion
luxuriae quandam, non Asiam numquam vidisse sed in Asia
of-luxury a-certain not Asia never to-have-seen but in Asia
continenter vixisse laudandum est. Quam ob rem non
continently to-have-lived to-be-praised is which on-account-of thing not
Asiae nomen obiciendum Murenae fuit ex qua laus familiae,
Asia's name to-be-cast-up at-Murena was from which praise for-the-family
memoria generi, honos et gloria nomini constituta est,
memory for-the-race honor and glory for-the-name established has-been
sed aliquod aut in Asia susceptum aut ex Asia deportatum
but some either in Asia incurred or from Asia brought-home
flagitium ac dedecus. Meruisse vero stipendia in eo bello quod
outrage and disgrace to-have-served indeed campaigns in that war which
tum populus Romanus non modo maximum sed etiam solum
then the-people Roman not only the-greatest but also the-only
gerebat virtutis, patre imperatore libentissime meruisse
was-waging of-virtue with-his-father as-commander most-gladly to-have-served
pietatis, finem stipendiorum patris victoriam ac triumphum
of-filial-piety the-end of-campaigns his-father's victory and triumph

fuisse felicitatis fuit. Maledicto quidem idcirco nihil
to-have-been of-good-fortune was for-abuse indeed for-this-reason nothing
in hisce rebus loci est quod omnia laus occupavit.
in these things of-place is because all-things praise has-taken
Saltatorem appellat L. Murenam Cato. Maledictum est, 13
a-dancer calls Lucius Murena Cato an-abuse it-is
si vere obicitur, vehementis accusatoris, sin falso, maledici
if truly it-is-cast-up of-a-vehement accuser but-if falsely of-an-abusive
conviciatoris. Qua re cum ista sis auctoritate, non
railer by-which thing since with-that you-are authority not
debes, M. Cato, adripere maledictum ex trivio aut ex
you-ought Marcus Cato to-snatch abuse from the-crossroads or from
scurrarum aliquo convicio neque temere consulem populi
of-buffoons some railing nor rashly a-consul of-the-people
Romani saltatorem vocare, sed circumspicere quibus praeterea
Roman a-dancer to-call but to-look-round with-what besides
vitiis adfectum esse necesse sit eum cui vere istud
vices affected to-be necessary it-be him to-whom truly that
obici possit. Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte
to-be-cast-up can no-one for almost dances sober unless perhaps
insanit, neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque
he-is-mad neither in solitude nor at a-banquet moderate and
honesto. Tempestivi convivi, amoeni loci, multarum deliciarum
honorable of-an-early banquet of-a-pleasant place of-many delights
comes est extrema saltatio. Tu mihi adripis hoc quod necesse
the-companion is the-last dancing you to-me snatch this which necessary
est omnium vitiorum esse postremum, relinquis illa quibus
it-is of-all vices to-be the-last you-leave those which
remotis hoc vitium omnino esse non potest? Nullum turpe
removed this vice at-all to-be not can no shameful
convivium, non amor, non comissatio, non libido, non sumptus
banquet not love not revel not lust not expense

ostenditur, et, cum ea non reperiantur quae voluptatis nomen
is-shown and since those not are-found which of-pleasure the-name
habent quamquam vitiosa sunt, in quo ipsam luxuriam reperire
have although vicious they-are in whom itself luxury to-find
non potes, in eo te umbram luxuriae reperturum putas?
not you-can in him you the-shadow of-luxury going-to-find do-you-think
14 Nihil igitur in vitam L. Murenae dici potest,
nothing therefore against the-life of-Lucius Murena to-be-said can
nihil, inquam, omnino, iudices. Sic a me consul designatus
nothing I-say at-all judges so by me the-consul elect
defenditur ut eius nulla fraus, nulla avaritia, nulla perfidia,
is-defended that his no fraud no avarice no treachery
nulla crudelitas, nullum petulans dictum in vita proferatur.
no cruelty no insolent saying in his-life is-brought-forward
Bene habet; iacta sunt fundamenta defensionis. Nondum
well it-holds thrown are the-foundations of-the-defense not-yet
enim nostris laudibus, quibus utar postea, sed prope
for with-our praises which I-shall-use later but almost
inimicorum confessione virum bonum atque integrum hominem
by-the-enemies' confession a-man good and upright person
defendimus. Quo constituto facilior est mihi aditus ad
we-defend which established easier is for-me the-approach to
contentionem dignitatis, quae pars altera fuit accusationis.
the-contest of-dignity which the-part second was of-the-accusation
15 Summam video esse in te, Ser. Sulpici, dignitatem generis,
the-highest I-see to-be in you Servius Sulpicius dignity of-family
integritatis, industriae ceterorumque ornamentorum omnium
of-integrity of-industry and-of-the-other distinctions all
quibus fretum ad consulatus petitionem adgredi par est. Paria
on-which relying to the-consulship's candidacy to-proceed right it-is equal
cognosco esse ista in L. Murena, atque ita paria ut
I-recognize to-be those-things in Lucius Murena and so equal that

neque ipse dignitate vinci a te potuerit neque te dignitate
neither he in-dignity to-be-surpassed by you could nor you in-dignity
superarit. Contempsisti L. Murenae genus, extulisti
he-surpassed you-have-despised Lucius Murena's family you-have-exalted
tuum. Quo loco si tibi hoc sumis, nisi qui patricius
yours in-which place if for-yourself this you-take unless one-who patrician
sit, neminem bono esse genere natum, facis ut rursus
is no-one of-good to-be family born you-bring-it-about that again
plebes in Aventinum sevocanda esse videatur. Sin autem
the-plebs to the-Aventine to-be-called-out to-be may-seem but-if however
sunt amplae et honestae familiae plebeiae, et proavus
there-are distinguished and honorable families plebeian and the-great-grandfather
L. Murenae et avus praetor fuit, et pater, cum
of-Lucius Murena and the-grandfather praetor was and his-father when
amplissime atque honestissime ex praetura triumphasset,
most-amply and most-honorably from the-praetorship he-had-triumphed
hoc faciliorem huic gradum consulatus adipiscendi
by-this easier for-this-man the-step of-the-consulship to-be-attained
reliquit quod is iam patri debitus a filio petebatur.
he-left because it already to-the-father owed by the-son was-being-sought
Tua vero nobilitas, Ser. Sulpici, tametsi summa est, tamen 16
your indeed nobility Servius Sulpicius although the-highest it-is still
hominibus litteratis et historicis est notior, populo vero
to-men lettered and historians it-is better-known to-the-people indeed
et suffragatoribus obscurior. Pater enim fuit equestri loco,
and to-the-voters more-obscure your-father for was of-equestrian rank
avus nulla inlustri laude celebratus. Itaque non ex
your-grandfather by-no illustrious praise celebrated and-so not from
sermone hominum recenti sed ex annalium vetustate eruenda
the-talk of-men recent but from the-antiquity of-the-annals to-be-dug-out
memoria est nobilitatis tuae. Qua re ego te semper in
the-memory is of-nobility your by-which thing I you always into

nostrum numerum adgregare soleo, quod virtute industriaque
our number to-gather am-wont because by-virtue and-industry
perfecisti ut, cum equitis Romani esses filius, summa
you-brought-it-about that though of-a-knight Roman you-were the-son of-the-highest
tamen amplitudine dignus putarere. Nec mihi umquam
still eminence worthy you-were-thought nor to-me ever
minus in Q. Pompeio, novo homine et fortissimo
less in Quintus Pompeius a-new man and most-brave
viro, virtutis esse visum est quam in homine nobilissimo,
man of-virtue to-be seemed has than in a-man most-noble
M. Aemilio. Etenim eiusdem animi atque ingeni est
Marcus Aemilius for-indeed of-the-same spirit and talent it-is
posteris suis, quod Pompeius fecit, amplitudinem nominis
to-descendants his-own as Pompeius did the-eminence of-a-name
quam non acceperit tradere et, ut Scaurus, memoriam
which not he-received to-hand-down and as Scaurus the-memory
prope intermortuam generis sua virtute renovare.
almost dead of-the-family by-his-own virtue to-renew

IV · BIRTH, QUAESTORSHIP, AND SERVICE

Cicero thought he had broken the barrier of nobility and need not hear a candidate reproached as a new man. The two were quaestors together, and the lot gave each an equal share. Then their lives parted: Murena went to the war as legate of Lucullus, while Sulpicius stayed in Rome answering clients. Cicero sets the general's glory against the lawyer's watchfulness and asks which wins the people's favor.

17 Quamquam ego iam putabam, iudices, multis viris fortibus
although I now was-thinking judges for-many men brave
ne ignobilitas generis obiceretur meo labore esse
that-not the-obscurity of-family be-cast-up by-my labor to-have-been

perfectum, qui non modo Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis, antiquis
accomplished who not only the-Curii the-Catos the-Pompeii ancient
illis fortissimis viris, novis hominibus, sed his recentibus,
those most-brave men new men but these recent
Mariis et Didiis et Caeliis, commemorandis id agebam.
the-Marii and the-Didii and the-Caelii by-recalling that I-was-aiming-at
Cum vero ego tanto intervallo claustra ista nobilitatis
when indeed I after-so-long an-interval the-barriers those of-the-nobility
refregissem, ut aditus ad consulatum posthac, sicut apud
had-broken-down that the-approach to the-consulship hereafter as among
maiores nostros fuit, non magis nobilitati quam virtuti
ancestors our it-was not more to-nobility than to-virtue
pateret, non arbitrabar, cum ex familia vetere et inlustri
should-lie-open not I-thought when from a-family old and illustrious
consul designatus ab equitis Romani filio consule defenderetur,
a-consul elect by of-a-knight Roman the-son a-consul was-being-defended
de generis novitate accusatores esse dicturos. Etenim mihi
about of-family the-newness the-accusers to-be going-to-speak for-indeed to-me
ipsi accidit ut cum duobus patriciis, altero improbissimo
myself it-happened that when with-two patricians the-one most-wicked
atque audacissimo, altero modestissimo atque optimo viro,
and most-audacious the-other most-modest and best man
peterem; superavi tamen dignitate Catilinam, gratia Galbam.
I-stood I-surpassed still in-dignity Catiline in-influence Galba
Quod si id crimen homini novo esse deberet, profecto
but if that a-charge against-a-man new to-be ought surely
mihi neque inimici neque invidi defuissent.
to-me neither enemies nor the-envious would-have-been-lacking
Omittamus igitur de genere dicere cuius est magna in 18
let-us-pass-over therefore about family to-speak whose is great in
utroque dignitas; videamus cetera. ‘Quaesturam una petiit
both dignity let-us-see the-rest the-quaestorship together he-sought

et sum ego factus prior.' Non est respondendum ad omnia.
and was I made first not it-is to-be-answered to all-things
Neque enim vestrum quemquam fugit, cum multi pares
nor for of-you anyone escapes when many equal
dignitate fiant, unus autem primum solus possit obtinere,
in-dignity are-made one however first alone can to-obtain
non eundem esse ordinem dignitatis et renuntiationis,
not the-same to-be the-order of-dignity and of-declaration
propterea quod renuntiatio gradus habeat, dignitas autem
for-this-reason that the-declaration steps has the-dignity however
sit persaepe eadem omnium. Sed quaestura utriusque prope
is very-often the-same of-all but the-quaestorship of-each almost
modum pari momento sortis fuit. Habuit hic lege
in-measure of-equal weight in-the-lot was had this-man by-the-law
Titia provinciam tacitam et quietam, tu illam cui, cum
Titian a-province quiet and peaceful you that at-which when
quaestores sortiuntur, etiam adclamari solet, Ostiensem, non
the-quaestors draw-lots even to-be-shouted is-wont the-Ostian not
tam gratiosam et inlustrem quam negotiosam et molestam.
so popular and illustrious as busy and troublesome
Consedit utriusque nomen in quaestura. Nullum enim vobis
settled of-each the-name in the-quaestorship no for to-you
sors campum dedit in quo excurrere virtus cognoscique posset.
the-lot a-field gave in which to-run-out virtue and-to-be-known could
19 Reliqui temporis spatium in contentionem vocatur. Ab
of-the-remaining time the-space into contest is-called by
utroque dissimillima ratione tractatum est. Servius hic
each in-a-most-unlike manner handled it-has-been Servius here
nobiscum hanc urbanam militiam respondendi, scribendi,
with-us this urban soldiering of-answering of-writing
cavendi plenam sollicitudinis ac stomachi secutus
of-drawing-up-cautions full of-anxiety and of-irritation followed

est; ius civile didicit, multum vigilavit, laboravit, praesto
has the-law civil he-learned much he-kept-watch he-labored at-hand
multis fuit, multorum stultitiam perpessus est, adrogantiam
to-many he-was of-many the-folly endured he-has arrogance
pertulit, difficultatem exsorbuit; vixit ad aliorum arbitrium,
he-bore difficulty he-swallowed he-lived at others' will
non ad suum. Magna laus et grata hominibus unum
not at his-own great praise and pleasing to-men one
hominem elaborare in ea scientia quae sit multis profutura.
man to-labor in that knowledge which is to-many going-to-profit
Quid Murena interea? Fortissimo et sapientissimo viro, 20
what Murena meanwhile to-a-most-brave and most-wise man
summo imperatori legatus, L. Lucullo, fuit; qua in
a-supreme commander legate to-Lucius Lucullus he-was which in
legatione duxit exercitum, signa contulit, manum conseruit,
legateship he-led an-army standards joined hand-to-hand fought
magnas copias hostium fudit, urbis partim vi, partim
great forces of-the-enemy routed cities partly by-force partly
obsidione cepit, Asiam istam refertam et eandem delicatam sic
by-siege took Asia that crammed and the-same luxurious so
obiit ut in ea neque avaritiae neque luxuriae vestigium
he-went-through that in it neither of-avarice nor of-luxury a-trace
reliquerit, maximo in bello sic est versatus ut hic multas
he-left the-greatest in war so he-was engaged that he many
res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc
things and great without the-commander did none without this-man
imperator. Atque haec quamquam praesente L. Lucullo
the-commander and these-things although with-present Lucius Lucullus
loquor, tamen ne ab ipso propter periculum nostrum
I-speak still lest by himself because-of the-danger our
concessam videamur habere licentiam fingendi, publicis
granted we-may-seem to-have a-license of-inventing in-public

litteris testata sunt omnia, quibus L. Lucullus tantum
letters attested are all-things in-which Lucius Lucullus so-much
laudis impertiit quantum neque ambitiosus imperator neque
of-praise imparted as-much-as neither an-ambitious commander nor
invidus tribuere alteri in communicanda gloria debuit.
an-envious-one to-grant to-another in sharing glory ought
21 Summa in utroque est honestas, summa dignitas; quam ego,
the-highest in both is honor the-highest dignity which I
si mihi per Servium liceat, pari atque eadem in laude
if to-me through Servius it-be-allowed equal and the-same in praise
ponam. Sed non licet; agitat rem militarem, insectatur
would-place but not it-is-allowed he-harries the-thing military he-attacks
totam hanc legationem, adsiduitatis et operarum harum
whole this legateship of-constant-attendance and of-labors these
cotidianarum putat esse consulatum. 'Apud exercitum mihi
daily he-thinks to-be the-consulship with the-army to-me
fueris' inquit; 'tot annos forum non attigeris;
you-have-been he-says so-many years the-forum not you-have-touched
afueris tam diu et, cum longo intervallo veneris,
you-have-been-away so long and when after-a-long interval you-have-come
cum his qui in foro habitarint de dignitate contendas?'
with those who in the-forum have-lived about dignity you-contend
Primum ista nostra adsiduitas, Servi, nescis quantum
first that our constant-attendance Servius you-do-not-know how-much
interdum adferat hominibus fastidi, quantum satietatis. Mihi
sometimes it-brings to-men of-distaste how-much of-satiety to-me
quidem vehementer expediit positam in oculis esse
indeed vehemently it-was-of-advantage placed in eyes to-be
gratiam; sed tamen ego mei satietatem magno meo labore
the-favor but still I of-myself the-satiety with-great my labor

superavi et tu item fortasse; verum tamen utrique nostrum
overcame and you likewise perhaps but still to-each of-us
desiderium nihil obfuisset.
longing nothing would-have-harmed
Sed ut hoc omisso ad studiorum atque artium 22
but that with-this passed-over to of-pursuits and of-arts
contentionem revertamur, qui potest dubitari quin ad
the-contest we-may-return how can it-be-doubted that for
consulatum adipiscendum multo plus adferat dignitatis
the-consulship to-be-attained much more brings of-dignity
rei militaris quam iuris civilis gloria? Vigilas tu
of-the-thing military than of-the-law civil the-glory you-keep-watch you
de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas, ille ut eo
by night that to-your clients you-may-answer he that to-that
quo intendit mature cum exercitu perveniat; te gallorum,
where he-is-heading early with the-army he-may-arrive you of-cocks
illum bucinarum cantus exsuscitat; tu actionem instituis, ille
him of-trumpets the-song wakes you a-suit draw-up he
aciem instruit; tu caves ne tui consultores, ille ne urbes
a-battle-line draws-up you take-care lest your clients he lest cities
aut castra capiantur; ille tenet et scit ut hostium copiae, tu
or camps be-taken he holds and knows how of-the-enemy the-forces you
ut aquae pluviae arceantur; ille exercitatus est in propagandis
how waters rain be-kept-off he practiced is in extending
finibus, tuque in regendis. Ac nimirum — dicendum est
boundaries and-you in ruling-them and no-doubt to-be-said it-is
enim quod sentio — rei militaris virtus praestat ceteris
for what I-feel of-the-thing military virtue excels the-other
omnibus. Haec nomen populo Romano, haec huic urbi
all this a-name for-the-people Roman this for-this city
aeternam gloriam peperit, haec orbem terrarum parere huic
eternal glory produced this the-world of-lands to-obey this

imperio coegit; omnes urbanae res, omnia haec nostra
empire compelled all urban things all these our
praeclara studia et haec forensis laus et industria latet
splendid pursuits and this forensic praise and industry lie-hidden
in tutela ac praesidio bellicae virtutis. Simul atque
in the-guardianship and protection of-warlike virtue as-soon as
increpuit suspicio tumultus, artes ilico nostrae conticiscunt.
has-sounded the-suspicion of-an-uprising arts at-once our fall-silent

V · THE LAWYER'S LITTLE SCIENCE

Cicero teases Sulpicius for kissing his legal science like a little daughter. Military glory and eloquence lead to the consulship; the civil law does not, for its matters are small, fixed in letters and punctuation, and full of forms the old jurists invented. He mocks the claim to Sabine land with its ritual words and the fictions of the old law, which the lawyers have bent to their own advantage.

23 Et quoniam mihi videris istam scientiam iuris tamquam
and since to-me you-seem that knowledge of-law as-if
filiolam osculari tuam, non patiar te in tanto errore
a-little-daughter to-kiss your not I-shall-allow you in so-great error
versari ut istud nescio quid quod tanto opere
to-be-engaged that that I-know-not what which with-so-great effort
didicisti praeclarum aliquid esse arbitrere. Aliis ego te
you-have-learned splendid something to-be you-may-think for-other I you
virtutibus, continentiae, gravitatis, iustitiae, fidei, ceteris
virtues of-self-control of-gravity of-justice of-good-faith the-other
omnibus, consulatu et omni honore semper dignissimum
all of-the-consulship and every office always most-worthy
iudicavi; quod quidem ius civile didicisti, non dicam
have-judged that indeed law civil you-have-learned not I-shall-say

operam perdidisti, sed illud dicam, nullam esse in ista
effort you-have-lost but this I-shall-say no to-be in that
disciplina munitam ad consulatum viam. Omnes enim artes,
discipline fortified to the-consulship road all for arts
quae nobis populi Romani studia concilient, et admirabilem
which to-us of-the-people Roman the-favor may-win both admirable
dignitatem et pergratam utilitatem debent habere.
dignity and very-welcome usefulness ought to-have
Summa dignitas est in eis qui militari laude antecellunt; 24
the-highest dignity is in those who in-military praise excel
omnia enim quae sunt in imperio et in statu civitatis
all-things for which are in the-empire and in the-standing of-the-state
ab his defendi et firmari putantur; summa etiam
by these to-be-defended and to-be-strengthened are-thought the-highest also
utilitas, si quidem eorum consilio et periculo cum re
usefulness since indeed by-their counsel and danger both the-thing
publica tum etiam nostris rebus perfrui possumus. Gravis
public and also our things to-enjoy we-can weighty
etiam illa est et plena dignitatis dicendi facultas quae
also that is and full of-dignity of-speaking the-faculty which
saepe valuit in consule deligendo, posse consilio atque
often has-prevailed in a-consul being-chosen to-be-able by-counsel and
oratione et senatus et populi et eorum qui res
speech both of-the-senate and of-the-people and of-those who matters
iudicant mentis permovere. Quaeritur consul qui dicendo
judge the-minds to-move is-sought a-consul who by-speaking
non numquam comprimat tribunicios furores, qui concitatum
not never may-curb tribunician frenzies who a-stirred-up
populum flectat, qui largitioni resistat. Non mirum, si
people may-turn who bribery may-resist not surprising if
ob hanc facultatem homines saepe etiam non nobiles
on-account-of this faculty men often even not noble

consulatum consecuti sunt, praesertim cum haec eadem res
the-consulship attained have especially since this same thing
plurimas gratias, firmissimas amicitias, maxima studia pariat.
very-many favors most-firm friendships the-greatest zeal produces
Quorum in isto vestro artificio, Sulpici, nihil est.
of-which in that your craft Sulpicius nothing there-is
25 Primum dignitas in tam tenui scientia non potest esse;
first dignity in so slight a-knowledge not can be
res enim sunt parvae, prope in singulis litteris atque
the-things for are small almost in single letters and
interpunctionibus verborum occupatae. Deinde, etiam si quid
punctuations of-words occupied then even if anything
apud maiores nostros fuit in isto studio admirationis,
among ancestors our there-was in that pursuit of-admiration
id enuntiatis vestris mysteriis totum est contemptum
that with-revealed your mysteries wholly has-been despised
et abiectum. Posset agi lege necne pauci quondam
and cast-aside could it-be-pleaded at-law or-not few once
sciebant; fastos enim volgo non habebant. Erant in
knew the-calendars for commonly not they-had there-were in
magna potentia qui consulebantur; a quibus etiam dies
great power those-who were-consulted from whom even the-day
tamquam a Chaldaeis petebatur. Inventus est scriba quidam,
as-if from Chaldaeans was-sought found was a-clerk a-certain
Cn. Flavius, qui cornicum oculos confixerit et singulis
Gnaeus Flavius who of-crows the-eyes pierced and by-single
diebus ediscendis fastos populo proposuerit et ab ipsis
days to-be-learned the-calendars to-the-people set-out and from the-very
his cautis iuris consultis eorum sapientiam compilarit. Itaque
these cautious law consultants their wisdom pilfered and-so
irati illi, quod sunt veriti ne dierum ratione pervolgata et
angry they because they-have feared lest of-the-days the-reckoning made-public and

cognita sine sua opera lege agi posset, verba quaedam
known without their help at-law to-be-pleaded could words certain
composuerunt ut omnibus in rebus ipsi interessent.
they-composed that all in things they-themselves might-take-part
Cum hoc fieri bellissime posset: 'fundus Sabinus meus 26
when this to-be-done most-prettily could the-farm Sabine mine
est.' 'Immo meus,' deinde iudicium, noluerunt. 'Fundus' inquit
is nay mine then the-trial they-refused the-farm he-says
'qui est in agro qui Sabinus vocatur.' Satis verbose; cedo
which is in the-district which Sabine is-called enough wordily come-on
quid postea? 'eum ego ex iure Quiritium meum esse aio.'
what then that I by right of-the-Quirites mine to-be say
Quid tum? 'Inde ibi ego te ex iure manum consertum
what then thence there I you from the-court hand to-join
voco.' Quid huic tam loquaciter litigioso responderet ille
summon what to-this-man so loquaciously litigious should-answer he
unde petebatur non habebat. Transit idem iuris consultus
from-whom it-was-claimed not he-had passes-over the-same law consultant
tibicinis Latini modo. 'Unde tu me' inquit 'ex iure
of-a-piper Latin in-the-manner whence you me he-says from the-court
manum consertum vocasti, inde ibi ego te revoco.'
hand to-join you-have-summoned thence there I you summon-back
Praetor interea ne pulchrum se ac beatum putaret atque
the-praetor meanwhile lest handsome himself and blessed he-should-think and
aliquid ipse sua sponte loqueretur, ei quoque carmen
something himself of-his-own accord he-should-say for-him also a-chant
compositum est cum ceteris rebus absurdum tum vero in illo:
composed was both in-other things absurd and indeed in that
'Suis utrisque superstitibus praesentibus istam viam dico; ite
their-own both surviving present that road I-declare go
viam.' Praesto aderat sapiens ille qui inire viam doceret.
the-road at-hand was the-wise-man that who to-enter the-road should-teach

‘Redite viam.’ Eodem duce redibant. Haec iam tum
return the-road with-the-same guide they-returned these-things already then
apud illos barbatos ridicula, credo, videbantur, homines, cum
among those bearded-men ridiculous I-believe seemed men when
recte atque in loco constitissent, iuberi abire ut, unde
rightly and in place they-had-stood to-be-ordered to-go-away that whence
abissent, eodem statim redirent. Isdem ineptiis
they-had-gone-away thither at-once they-should-return with-the-same absurdities
fucata sunt illa omnia: ‘Quando te in iure conspicio’ et haec:
colored are those all since you in court I-see and these
‘anne tu dicas qua ex causa vindicaveris?’ Quae dum erant
whether you say what from cause you-have-claimed which while they-were
occulta, necessario ab eis qui ea tenebant petebantur; postea
hidden of-necessity from those who them held were-sought afterward
vero pervolgata atque in manibus iactata et excussa, inanissima
indeed made-public and in hands tossed and shaken-out most-empty
prudentiae reperta sunt, fraudis autem et stultitiae plenissima.
of-wisdom found were of-fraud however and of-folly most-full
27 Nam, cum permulta praeclare legibus essent constituta, ea
for when very-many-things splendidly by-laws had-been established those
iure consultorum ingeniis pleraque corrupta ac depravata
of-law of-consultants by-the-talents mostly corrupted and depraved
sunt. Mulieres omnis propter infirmitatem consili maiores
have-been women all because-of the-weakness of-judgment the-ancestors
in tutorum potestate esse voluerunt; hi invenerunt genera
in of-guardians the-power to-be wished these devised kinds
tutorum quae potestate mulierum continerentur. Sacra
of-guardians which by-the-power of-the-women would-be-held sacred-rites
interire illi noluerunt; horum ingenio senes ad coemptiones
to-perish they did-not-wish by-these-men’s talent old-men for fictitious-marriages
faciendas interimendorum sacrorum causa reperti sunt. In
to-be-made to-be-extinguished of-sacred-rites for-the-sake found were in

omni denique iure civili aequitatem reliquerunt, verba ipsa
all finally law civil fairness they-have-left the-words themselves
tenuerunt, ut, quia in alicuius libris exempli causa id nomen
they-have-held so-that because in someone's books for-example's sake that name
invenerant, putarunt omnis mulieres quae coemptionem facerent
they-had-found they-thought all women who a-fictitious-marriage made
'Gaias' vocari. Iam illud mihi quidem mirum videri solet, tot
Gaias to-be-called now that to-me indeed surprising to-seem is-wont so-many
homines, tam ingeniosos, post tot annos etiam nunc statuere
men so ingenious after so-many years even now to-decide
non potuisse utrum 'diem tertium' an 'perendinum,'
not to-have-been-able whether the-day third or the-day-after-tomorrow
'iudicem' an 'arbitrum,' 'rem' an 'litem' dici oporteret.
a-judge or an-arbiter a-thing or a-suit to-be-said it-is-proper

VI · GENERALS, ORATORS, AND JURISTS

The consul's dignity never lay in a science made of fictions, which wins no gratitude because it lies open to all. Cicero says he could make himself a jurist in three days. Those who could not become orators fell back on the law, as Greek pipers who could not become lyre players. The two arts that raise men highest are the general's and the orator's. Cato calls the Mithridatic war a war against women; Cicero answers that Rome's wars with Pyrrhus, Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus were no small ones.

Itaque, ut dixi, dignitas in ista scientia consularis numquam 28
and-so as I-said dignity in that knowledge consular never
fuit, quae tota ex rebus fictis commenticiisque constaret,
was which wholly of things fictitious and-invented consisted
gratiae vero multo etiam minus. Quod enim omnibus patet et
of-favor indeed much even less what for to-all lies-open and
aeque promptum est mihi et adversario meo, id esse gratum
equally ready is for-me and for-opponent my that to-be pleasing

nullo pacto potest. Itaque non modo benefici conlocandi spem
in-no way can and-so not only of-a-favor to-be-placed the-hope
sed etiam illud quod aliquamdiu fuit 'licet consulere?'
but even that which for-some-time there-was it-is-allowed to-consult
iam perdidistis. Sapiens existimari nemo potest in ea prudentia
now you-have-lost wise to-be-thought no-one can in that expertise
quae neque extra Romam usquam neque Romae rebus
which neither outside Rome anywhere nor at-Rome with-business
prolatis quicquam valet. Peritus ideo haberi nemo potest
adjourned anything avails expert for-this-reason to-be-held no-one can
quod in eo quod sciunt omnes nullo modo possunt inter
because in that which know all in-no way can among
se discrepare. Difficilis autem res ideo non putatur
themselves to-differ difficult however the-thing for-this-reason not is-thought
quod et perpaucis et minime obscuris litteris continetur.
because both in-very-few and least obscure letters it-is-contained
Itaque si mihi, homini vehementer occupato, stomachum
and-so if for-me a-man vehemently busy the-stomach
moveritis, triduo me iuris consultum esse profitebor.
you-will-have-moved within-three-days that-I law consultant to-be I-shall-profess
Etenim quae de scripto aguntur, scripta sunt omnia,
for-indeed what-things from the-written-formula are-pleaded written are all
neque tamen quicquam tam anguste scriptum est quo ego
nor still anything so narrowly written is to-which I
non possim 'Qua de re agitur' addere; quae consuluntur
not could which about thing it-is-pleaded add what-things are-consulted
autem, minimo periculo respondentur. Si id quod oportet
however with-the-least danger are-answered if that which it-is-proper
responderis, idem videare respondisse quod Servius;
you-will-have-answered the-same you-may-seem to-have-answered as Servius
sin aliter, etiam controversum ius nosse et tractare videare.
but-if otherwise even disputed law to-know and to-handle you-may-seem

Quapropter non solum illa gloria militaris vestris formulis atque 29
wherefore not only that glory military to-your formulas and
actionibus anteponenda est verum etiam dicendi consuetudo
actions to-be-preferred is but also of-speaking the-practice
longe et multum isti vestrae exercitationi ad honorem
far and much that your training for honor
antecellit. Itaque mihi videntur plerique initio multo hoc
surpasses and-so to-me seem most at-the-beginning much this
maluisse, post, cum id adsequi non potuissent, istuc
to-have-preferred afterward when that to-attain not they-had-been-able to-that
potissimum sunt delapsi. Ut aiunt in Graecis artificibus eos
above-all have slipped as they-say among Greek artists those
auloedos esse qui citharoedi fieri non potuerint, sic nos
flute-singers to-be who lyre-singers to-become not could so we
videmus, qui oratores evadere non potuerint, eos ad iuris
see those-who orators to-turn-out not could those to of-law
studium devenire. Magnus dicendi labor, magna res, magna
the-study to-come great of-speaking the-labor great the-thing great
dignitas, summa autem gratia. Etenim a vobis salubritas
the-dignity the-highest however the-favor for-indeed from you a-healthiness
quaedam, ab eis qui dicunt salus ipsa petitur. Deinde vestra
a-certain from those who speak safety itself is-sought then your
responsa atque decreta et evertuntur saepe dicendo et sine
responses and decrees both are-overturned often by-speaking and without
defensione orationis firma esse non possunt. In qua si satis
the-defense of-speech firm to-be not can in which if sufficiently
profecissem, parcius de eius laude dicerem; nunc nihil de
I-had-progressed more-sparingly about its praise I-would-speak now nothing about
me dico, sed de eis qui in dicendo magni sunt aut fuerunt.
myself I-speak but about those who in speaking great are or were

30 Duae sint artes igitur quae possint locare homines in
two let-there-be arts therefore which can to-place men in
amplissimo gradu dignitatis, una imperatoris, altera oratoris
the-most-distinguished rank of-dignity one of-a-commander the-other of-an-orator
boni. Ab hoc enim pacis ornamenta retinentur, ab illo belli
good by this for of-peace the-ornaments are-retained by that of-war
pericula repelluntur. Ceterae tamen virtutes ipsae per se
the-dangers are-repelled the-other still virtues themselves by themselves
multum valent, iustitia, fides, pudor, temperantia; quibus te,
much avail justice good-faith modesty self-control in-which you
Servi, excellere omnes intellegunt. Sed nunc de studiis ad
Servius to-excel all understand but now about pursuits for
honorem appositis, non de insita cuiusque virtute disputo.
honor suited not about the-innate of-each virtue I-discuss
Omnia ista nobis studia de manibus excutiuntur, simul atque
all those to-us pursuits from the-hands are-struck-out as-soon as
aliqui motus novus bellicum canere coepit. Etenim, ut ait
some disturbance new the-war-call to-sound has-begun for-indeed as says
ingeniosus poeta et auctor valde bonus, 'proeliis promulgatis
a-talented poet and an-author very good with-battles proclaimed
pellitur e medio' non solum ista vestra verbosa simulatio
is-driven from the-midst not only that your wordy pretense
prudentiae sed etiam ipsa illa domina rerum, 'sapientia; vi
of-wisdom but even very that mistress of-things wisdom by-force
geritur res, spernitur orator' non solum odiosus in dicendo
is-done the-thing is-spurned the-orator not only odious in speaking
ac loquax verum etiam 'bonus; horridus miles amatur,'
and talkative but even good the-rough soldier is-loved
vestrum vero studium totum iacet. 'Non ex iure manum
your indeed pursuit wholly lies-prostrate not from the-court hand
consertum, sed mage ferro' inquit 'rem repetunt.' Quod si
to-join but rather with-steel he-says the-thing they-reclaim but if

ita est, cedat, opinor, Sulpici, forum castris, otium militiae,
so it-is let-yield I-think Sulpicius the-forum to-the-camp leisure to-soldiering
stilus gladio, umbra soli; sit denique in civitate ea
the-pen to-the-sword the-shade to-the-sun be-it finally in the-state that
prima res propter quam ipsa est civitas omnium princeps.
first thing on-account-of which itself is the-state of-all the-chief
Verum haec Cato nimium nos nostris verbis magna 31
but these-things Cato too-much us with-our words great
facere demonstrat et oblitos esse bellum illud omne
to-make shows and forgotten to-have-been war that whole
Mithridaticum cum mulierculis esse gestum. Quod
Mithridatic with little-women to-have-been waged which
ego longe secus existimo, iudices; deque eo pauca
I far otherwise think judges and-about that a-few-things
disseram; neque enim causa in hoc continetur. Nam si
I-shall-discuss nor for the-case in this is-contained for if
omnia bella quae cum Graecis gessimus contemnenda
all the-wars which with Greeks we-have-waged to-be-despised
sunt, derideatur de rege Pyrrho triumphus M'. Curi,
are let-be-mocked over king Pyrrhus the-triumph of-Manius Curius
de Philippo T. Flaminini, de Aetolis M. Fulvi, de
over Philip of-Titus Flamininus over the-Aetolians of-Marcus Fulvius over
rege Perse L. Pauli, de Pseudophilippo Q. Metelli,
king Perseus of-Lucius Paullus over the-Pseudo-Philip of-Quintus Metellus
de Corinthiis L. Mummi. Sin haec bella gravissima
over the-Corinthians of-Lucius Mummius but-if these wars most-weighty
victoriaeque eorum bellorum gratissimae fuerunt, cur Asiaticae
and-the-victories of-those wars most-welcome were why the-Asiatic
nationes atque ille a te hostis contemnitur? Atqui ex
nations and that by you enemy is-despised and-yet from
veterum rerum monumentis vel maximum bellum populum
of-old things the-records even the-greatest war the-people

Romanum cum Antiocho gessisse video; cuius belli victor
Roman with Antiochus to-have-waged I-see of-which war the-victor
L. Scipio aequa parta cum P. fratre gloria, quam
Lucius Scipio with-equal won with Publius his-brother glory which
laudem ille Africa oppressa cognomine ipso prae se
praise he with-Africa crushed by-the-surname itself before himself
ferebat, eandem hic sibi ex Asiae nomine adsumpsit.
carried the-same this-man for-himself from Asia's name took

VII · THE MITHRIDATIC WAR AND THE FICKLE VOTE

Cato's ancestor would not have gone with Scipio against an enemy fit only for women; and Mithridates, the greatest king Rome ever fought, was let go by Sulla with a peace, checked but not crushed by Murena's father, pressed by Lucullus, and finished only by Pompey and his own death. In this war Murena proved his courage. As for the election, no strait has such tides as the voting, where a day or a rumor overturns every forecast.

32 Quo quidem in bello virtus enituit egregia M. Catonis,
which indeed in war the-virtue shone-out outstanding of-Marcus Cato
proavi tui; quo ille, cum esset, ut ego mihi statuo,
great-grandfather your which he when he-was as I for-myself decide
talis qualem te esse video, numquam cum Scipione esset
such as you to-be I-see never with Scipio would-have
profectus, si cum mulierculis bellandum arbitraretur. Neque
set-out if with little-women war-to-be-waged he-thought nor
vero cum P. Africano senatus egisset ut legatus
indeed when with-Publius Africanus the-senate had-dealt that as-legate
fratri proficisceretur, cum ipse paulo ante Hannibale
to-his-brother he-should-set-out when he a-little before with-Hannibal
ex Italia expulso, ex Africa eiecto, Carthagine oppressa
from Italy driven from Africa thrown-out with-Carthage crushed

maximis periculis rem publicam liberasset, nisi illud
from-the-greatest dangers the-thing public had-freed unless that
grave bellum et vehemens putaretur. Atqui si diligenter quid
serious war and vehement were-thought and-yet if diligently what
Mithridates potuerit et quid effecerit et qui vir fuerit
Mithridates could and what he-accomplished and what-kind-of man he-was
consideraris, omnibus quibuscum populus Romanus bellum
you-will-have-considered to-all with-whom the-people Roman war
gessit hunc regem nimirum antepones. Quem L. Sulla
waged this king no-doubt you-will-prefer whom Lucius Sulla
maximo et fortissimo exercitu, pugnax et acer et non
with-the-greatest and bravest army a-combative and keen and not
rudis imperator, ut aliud nihil dicam, cum bello invectum
inexperienced commander that other nothing I-may-say with war having-invaded
totam in Asiam cum pace dimisit; quem L. Murena,
the-whole into Asia with peace dismissed whom Lucius Murena
pater huiusce, vehementissime vigilantissimeque vexatum
the-father of-this-man most-vehemently and-most-watchfully harried
repressum magna ex parte, non oppressum reliquit; qui rex
checked great from part not crushed left which king
sibi aliquot annis sumptis ad confirmandas rationes et
for-himself several years taken for strengthening the-resources and
copias belli tantum spe conatuque valuit ut se Oceanum
forces of-war so-much in-hope and-attempt prevailed that himself the-Ocean
cum Ponto, Sertori copias cum suis coniuncturum putaret.
with Pontus Sertorius' forces with his-own going-to-join he-thought
Ad quod bellum duobus consulibus ita missis ut alter 33
to which war with-two consuls so sent that the-one
Mithridatem persequeretur, alter Bithyniam tueretur, alterius
Mithridates should-pursue the-other Bithynia should-guard of-the-one
res et terra et mari calamitosae vehementer et opes
the-affairs both by-land and by-sea calamitous vehemently both the-resources

regis et nomen auxerunt; L. Luculli vero res tantae
of-the-king and the-name increased of-Lucius Lucullus indeed the-deeds so-great
exstiterunt ut neque maius bellum commemorari possit
stood-out that neither a-greater war to-be-recalled can
neque maiore consilio et virtute gestum. Nam cum totius
nor with-greater counsel and virtue waged for when of-the-whole
impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum moenia constitisset eamque
the-onset of-war at of-the-Cyzicenes the-walls had-halted and-that
urbem sibi Mithridates Asiae ianuam fore putasset qua
city for-himself Mithridates of-Asia the-gate going-to-be had-thought which
effracta et revolsa tota pateret provincia, perfecta a
broken-open and torn-off the-whole would-lie-open province accomplished by
Lucullo haec sunt omnia ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum
Lucullus these-things were all so-that the-city of-most-faithful allies
defenderetur et omnes copiae regis diuturnitate obsessionis
was-defended and all the-forces of-the-king by-the-length of-the-siege
consumerentur. Quid? illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum,
were-consumed what that battle naval at Tenedos
cum contento cursu acerrimis ducibus hostium classis Italiam
when with-strained course with-most-keen leaders of-the-enemy the-fleet Italy
spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine
with-hope and spirit puffed-up was-seeking by-a-moderate struggle
et parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? Mitto proelia,
and by-small fighting fought do-you-think I-pass-over battles
praetereo oppugnationes oppidorum; expulsus regno
I-pass-by assaults of-towns driven from-his-kingdom
tandem aliquando tantum tamen consilio atque auctoritate
at-last at-length so-much still in-counsel and authority
valuit ut se rege Armeniorum adiuncto novis opibus
he-prevailed that himself with-the-king of-the-Armenians joined with-new resources
copiisque renovarit. Ac si mihi nunc de rebus gestis esset
and-forces he-renewed and if by-me now about the-things done were

nostri exercitus imperatorisque dicendum, plurima et maxima
of-our army and-commander to-be-spoken very-many and the-greatest
proelia commemorare possem; sed non id agimus. Hoc dico:
battles to-recall I-could but not that we-are-doing this I-say
si bellum hoc, si hic hostis, si ille rex contemnendus 34
if war this if this enemy if that king to-be-despised
fuisset, neque tanta cura senatus et populus Romanus
had-been neither with-so-great care the-senate and people Roman
suscipiendum putasset neque tot annos gessisset
to-be-undertaken would-have-thought nor so-many years would-have-waged
neque tanta gloria L. Lucullus, neque vero eius belli
nor with-so-great glory Lucius Lucullus nor indeed of-that war
conficiendum exitum tanto studio populus Romanus ad
to-be-finished the-end with-so-great zeal the-people Roman to
Cn. Pompeium detulisset. Cuius ex omnibus pugnis, quae
Gnaeus Pompeius would-have-entrusted whose of all battles which
sunt innumerabiles, vel acerrima mihi videtur illa quae cum
are innumerable even the-fiercest to-me seems that which with
rege commissa est et summa contentione pugnata. Qua
the-king joined was and with-the-utmost effort fought which
ex pugna cum se ille eripuisset et Bosphorum confugisset
from battle when himself he had-snatched and to-the-Bosporus had-fled
quo exercitus adire non posset, etiam in extrema fortuna
where an-army to-approach not could even in extreme fortune
et fuga nomen tamen retinuit regium. Itaque ipse Pompeius
and flight the-name still he-kept royal and-so himself Pompeius
regno possesso ex omnibus oris ac notis sedibus
with-the-kingdom possessed from all shores and known seats
hoste pulso tamen tantum in unius anima posuit ut, cum
with-the-enemy driven-out still so-much on one's life placed that when
ipse omnia quae tenuerat, adierat, sperarat, victoria possideret,
he all-things which he-had-held approached hoped by-victory possessed

tamen non ante quam illum vita expulit bellum confectum
still not before that him life drove-out the-war finished
iudicarit. Hunc tu hostem, Cato, contemnis quocum per tot
he-judged this you enemy Cato despise with-whom through so-many
annos tot proeliis tot imperatores bella gesserunt, cuius
years in-so-many battles so-many commanders wars waged whose
expulsi et eiecti vita tanti aestimata est ut morte eius
driven-out and cast-out life at-so-much valued was that with-death his
nuntiata denique bellum confectum arbitrarentur? Hoc igitur
announced finally the-war finished they-thought in-this therefore
in bello L. Murenam legatum fortissimi animi, summi
in war Lucius Murena as-legate of-the-bravest spirit of-the-highest
consili, maximi laboris cognitum esse defendimus, et
counsel of-the-greatest labor known to-have-been we-maintain and
hanc eius operam non minus ad consulatum adipiscendum
this his service not less for the-consulship to-be-attained
quam hanc nostram forensem industriam dignitatis habuisse.
than this our forensic industry of-dignity to-have-had
35 At enim in praeturae petitione prior renuntiatus est
but indeed in the-praetorship's candidacy first declared was
Servius. Pergitisne vos tamquam ex syngrapha agere
Servius do-you-go-on-whether you as-if from a-bond to-deal
cum populo ut, quem locum semel honoris cuipiam dederit,
with the-people that what place once of-office to-anyone it-has-given
eundem in reliquis honoribus debeat? Quod enim fretum,
the-same in the-remaining offices it-should-owe what for strait
quem Euripum tot motus, tantas, tam varias habere
what Euripus so-many motions so-great so varied to-have
putatis agitationes commutationesque fluctuum, quantas
do-you-think agitations and-changes of-waves as-great
perturbationes et quantos aestus habet ratio comitiorum?
disturbances and as-great surges has the-working of-the-elections

Dies intermissus aut nox interposita saepe perturbat omnia,
a-day intermitted or a-night interposed often disturbs all-things
et totam opinionem parva non numquam commutat aura
and the-whole opinion a-small not never changes breeze
rumoris. Saepe etiam sine ulla aperta causa fit aliud
of-rumor often even without any open cause happens otherwise
atque existimaris, ut non numquam ita factum esse
than you-have-thought so-that not never so done to-have-been
etiam populus admiretur, quasi vero non ipse fecerit.
even the-people wonders as-if indeed not itself had-done-it

VIII · THE UNCERTAINTY OF ELECTIONS

Nothing is more uncertain than the crowd. Philippus, Catulus, and Scaurus lost to lesser men, and no one could say why. Two things Murena had lacked when he stood for the praetorship helped him to the consulship: the expectation of his games and the soldiers who had witnessed his generosity and courage, now in Rome for Lucullus' triumph; in his praetorship his lot was the city jurisdiction, where fairness wins goodwill and the games crown it.

Nihil est incertius volgo, nihil obscurius voluntate 36
nothing is more-uncertain than-the-crowd nothing more-obscure than-the-will
hominum, nihil fallacius ratione tota comitiorum. Quis
of-men nothing more-deceptive than-the-working whole of-the-elections who
L. Philippum summo ingenio, opera, gratia, nobilitate
Lucius Philippus of-the-highest talent effort influence nobility
a M. Herennio superari posse arbitratus est? quis
by Marcus Herennius to-be-surpassed to-be-able thought has who
Q. Catulum humanitate, sapientia, integritate antecellentem
Quintus Catulus in-humanity wisdom integrity excelling
a Cn. Mallio? quis M. Scaurum, hominem gravissimum,
by Gnaeus Mallius who Marcus Scaurus a-man most-weighty

civem egregium, fortissimum senatorem, a Q. Maximo? Non
a-citizen outstanding a-most-brave senator by Quintus Maximus not
modo horum nihil ita fore putatum est sed, ne cum esset
only of-these nothing so going-to-be thought was but not when it-had-been
factum quidem, qua re ita factum esset intellegi
done even by-which thing so done it-had-been to-be-understood
potuit. Nam, ut tempestates saepe certo aliquo caeli signo
could for as storms often by-a-certain some of-the-sky sign
commoventur, saepe improviso nulla ex certa ratione obscura
are-stirred often unexpectedly no from certain reason obscure
aliqua ex causa concitantur, sic in hac comitiorum tempestate
some from cause are-roused so in this of-the-elections storm
populari saepe intellegas quo signo commota sit, saepe
popular often you-may-understand by-what sign stirred it-be often
ita obscura causa est ut casu excitata esse videatur.
so obscure the-cause is that by-chance roused to-have-been it-may-seem

37 Sed tamen si est reddenda ratio, duae res vehementer in
but still if is to-be-rendered an-account two things vehemently in
praetura desideratae sunt quae ambae in consulatu multum
the-praetorship missed were which both in the-consulship much
Murenae profuerunt, una exspectatio muneris quae et
to-Murena profited one the-expectation of-a-show which both
rumore non nullo et studiis sermonibusque competitorum
by-rumor not none and by-the-zeal and-talk of-the-competitors
creverat, altera quod ei quos in provincia ac legatione
had-grown the-other that those whom in the-province and legateship
omni et liberalitatis et virtutis suae testis habuerat
whole both of-generosity and of-virtue his-own as-witnesses he-had-had
nondum decesserant. Horum utrumque ei fortuna ad
not-yet had-departed of-these each for-him fortune for
consulatus petitionem reservavit. Nam et L. Luculli
the-consulship's candidacy reserved for both of-Lucius Lucullus

exercitus qui ad triumphum convenerat idem comitiis
the-army which for the-triumph had-gathered the-same at-the-elections
L. Murenae praesto fuit, et munus amplissimum quod
to-Lucius Murena at-hand was and the-show most-magnificent which
petitio praeturae desiderarat praetura restituit.
the-candidacy of-the-praetorship had-missed the-praetorship restored
Num tibi haec parva videntur adiumenta et subsidia 38
surely-not to-you these small seem helps and supports
consulatus, voluntas militum, quaeque cum per se valet
of-the-consulship the-good-will of-the-soldiers which both by itself avails
multitudine, cum apud suos gratia, tum vero in consule
by-numbers and with their-own by-influence and indeed in a-consul
declarando multum etiam apud universum populum Romanum
being-declared much also with the-whole people Roman
auctoritatis habet, suffragatio militaris? Imperatores enim
of-authority has the-vote military commanders for
comitiis consularibus, non verborum interpretes deliguntur.
at-the-elections consular not of-words interpreters are-chosen
Qua re gravis est illa oratio: ‘me saucium recreavit, me
by-which thing weighty is that speech me wounded he-revived me
praeda donavit; hoc duce castra cepimus, signa
with-booty he-presented with-this-man as-leader the-camp we-took standards
contulimus; numquam iste plus militi laboris imposuit
we-joined never he more on-the-soldier of-labor imposed
quam sibi sumpsit, ipse cum fortis tum etiam felix.’ Hoc
than for-himself took himself both brave and also lucky this
quanti putas esse ad famam hominum ac voluntatem?
at-how-much do-you-think to-be for the-repute of-men and good-will
Etenim, si tanta illis comitiis religio est ut adhuc
for-indeed if so-great at-those elections religious-scruple is that till-now
semper omen valuerit praerogativum, quid mirum est in
always the-omen has-prevailed of-the-first-century what surprising is-it in

hoc felicitatis famam sermonemque valuisse? Sed si
this-man of-good-fortune the-repute and-talk to-have-availed but if
haec leviora ducis quae sunt gravissima et hanc urbanam
these-things lighter you-think which are most-weighty and this urban
suffragationem militari anteponis, noli ludorum huius
vote to-the-military you-prefer do-not-wish of-the-games of-this-man
elegantiam et scaenae magnificentiam tam valde contemnere;
the-elegance and of-the-stage the-magnificence so vehemently despise
quae huic admodum profuerunt. Nam quid ego dicam
which to-this-man very-much profited for why I should-say
populum ac volgus imperitorum ludis magno opere
the-people and the-crowd of-the-ignorant by-the-games in-great measure
delectari? Minus est mirandum. Quamquam huic causae id
to-be-delighted less is to-be-wondered-at although for-this case that
satis est; sunt enim populi ac multitudinis comitia. Qua
enough is they-are for of-the-people and of-the-multitude the-elections by-which
re, si populo ludorum magnificentia voluptati est, non est
thing if to-the-people of-the-games the-magnificence for-a-pleasure is not it-is
mirandum eam L. Murenae apud populum profuisse.
to-be-wondered-at it to-Lucius Murena with the-people to-have-profited

39 Sed si nosmet ipsi qui et ab delectatione communi
but if we ourselves who both from delight common
negotiis impedimur et in ipsa occupatione delectationes
by-business are-hindered and in the-very busyness delights
alias multas habere possumus, ludis tamen oblectamur et
other many to-have can by-games still are-delighted and
ducimur, quid tu admirere de multitudine indocta?
are-led why you should-wonder about the-multitude unlearned

40 L. Otho, vir fortis, meus necessarius, equestri ordini
Lucius Otho a-man brave my connection to-the-equestrian order
restituit non solum dignitatem sed etiam voluptatem. Itaque
restored not only its-dignity but also its-pleasure and-so

lex haec quae ad ludos pertinet est omnium gratissima,
law this which to the-games pertains is of-all most-welcome
quod honestissimo ordini cum splendore fructus quoque
because to-the-most-honorable order with splendor the-reward also
iucunditatis est restitutus. Qua re delectant homines,
of-pleasantness has-been restored by-which thing delight men
mihi crede, ludi, etiam illos qui dissimulant, non solum
me believe the-games even those who pretend not only
eos qui fatentur; quod ego in mea petitione sensi. Nam
those who admit which I in my candidacy felt for
nos quoque habuimus scaenam competitricem. Quod si ego
we also had a-stage competing but if I
qui trinos ludos aedilis feceram tamen Antoni ludis
who three-sets-of games as-aedile had-given still by-Antonius' games
commovebar, tibi qui casu nullos feceras nihil huius istam
was-disturbed you who by-chance none had-given nothing of-this that
ipsam quam inrides argenteam scaenam adversatam putas?
very which you-mock the-silver stage to-have-opposed-you do-you-think
Sed haec sane sint paria omnia, sit par forensis 41
but these-things indeed let-be equal all let-be equal forensic
opera militari, militaris suffragatio urbanae, sit idem
effort to-military the-military vote to-the-urban let-it-be the-same
magnificentissimos et nullos umquam fecisse ludos; quid?
most-magnificent and none ever to-have-given games what
in ipsa praetura nihilne existimas inter tuam et huius
in the-very praetorship nothing-whether do-you-think between your and this-man's
sortem interfuisse? Huius sors ea fuit quam omnes tui
lot to-have-differed this-man's lot that was which all your
necessarii tibi optabamus, iuris dicundi; in qua gloriam
connections for-you wished of-law to-be-administered in which glory
conciliat magnitudo negoti, gratiam aequitatis largitio;
wins the-magnitude of-the-business favor of-fairness the-bestowal

qua in sorte sapiens praetor qualis hic fuit offensionem
which in lot a-wise praetor such-as this-man was offense
vitat aequabilitate decernendi, benivolentiam adiungit lenitate
avoids by-evenness of-decreeing good-will adds by-mildness
audiendi. Egregia et ad consulatum apta provincia in
of-hearing outstanding and for the-consulship suited province in
qua laus aequitatis, integritatis, facilitatis ad extremum
which the-praise of-fairness of-integrity of-affability at the-end
ludorum voluptate concluditur.
by-the-games' pleasure is-concluded

IX · TWO PRAETORSHIPS AND A CANVASS

Sulpicius drew the grim court for embezzlement, which offended many; and he declined a province, as Cicero did himself. Murena raised troops in Umbria and governed Gaul with credit. In his canvass Sulpicius talked of prosecution, gathered evidence, and demanded a harsher law on bribery, which might have armed his accusation against a guilty man but cost him his votes.

42 Quid tua sors? Tristis, atrox, quaestio peculatus ex altera
what your lot grim harsh the-court of-embezzlement on the-one
parte lacrimarum et squaloris, ex altera plena accusatorum
side of-tears and of-squalor on the-other full of-accusers
atque indicum; cogendi iudices inviti, retinendi contra
and informers to-be-compelled judges unwilling to-be-kept against
voluntatem; scriba damnatus, ordo totus alienus; Sullana
their-will a-clerk condemned the-order whole estranged Sulla's
gratificatio reprehensa, multi viri fortes et prope pars civitatis
bounty censured many men brave and almost a-part of-the-state
offensa est; lites severe aestimatae; cui placet obliviscitur,
offended has-been damages severely assessed he-whom it-pleases forgets

cui dolet meminit. Postremo tu in provinciam ire
he-whom it-pains remembers finally you into a-province to-go
noluisti. Non possum id in te reprehendere quod in me ipso
refused not I-can that in you censure which in me myself
et praetore et consule probavi. Sed tamen L. Murenae
both as-praetor and as-consul I-approved but still to-Lucius Murena
provincia multas bonas gratias cum optima existimatione
the-province many good favors with the-best reputation
attulit. Habuit proficiscens dilectum in Umbria; dedit ei
brought he-held setting-out a-levy in Umbria gave to-him
facultatem res publica liberalitatis, qua usus multas
the-opportunity the-thing public of-generosity which using many
sibi tribus quae municipiis Umbriae conficiuntur adiunxit.
for-himself tribes which in-the-towns of-Umbria are-made-up he-attached
Ipse autem in Gallia ut nostri homines desperatas
he-himself however in Gaul so-that our men despaired-of
iam pecunias exigerent aequitate diligentiaque perfecit.
already monies might-exact by-fairness and-diligence brought-it-about
Tu interea Romae scilicet amicis praesto fuisti; fateor; sed
you meanwhile at-Rome no-doubt to-friends at-hand were I-admit but
tamen illud cogita non nullorum amicorum studia minui
still this consider of-not none friends the-zeal to-be-lessened
solere in eos a quibus provincias contemni intellegunt.
to-be-wont toward those by whom provinces to-be-despised they-understand
Et quoniam ostendi, iudices, parem dignitatem ad consulatus 43
and since I-have-shown judges equal dignity for of-the-consulship
petitionem, disparem fortunam provincialium negotiorum in
the-candidacy unequal fortune of-provincial business in
Murena atque in Sulpicio fuisse, dicam iam apertius in
Murena and in Sulpicius to-have-been I-shall-say now more-openly in
quo meus necessarius fuerit inferior, Servius, et ea
what my connection was inferior Servius and those-things

dicam vobis audientibus amisso iam tempore quae ipsi
I-shall-say with-you listening with-lost now time which to-himself
soli re integra saepe dixi. Petere consulatum nescire
alone with-the-thing untouched often I-said to-seek the-consulship not-to-know
te, Servi, persaepe tibi dixi; et in eis rebus ipsis quas
you Servius very-often to-you I-said and in those things themselves which
te magno et forti animo et agere et dicere videbam tibi
you with-great and brave mind both to-do and to-say I-saw to-you
solitus sum dicere magis te fortem accusatorem mihi videri
accustomed I-was to-say more you a-brave accuser to-me to-seem
quam sapientem candidatum. Primum accusandi terrores et
than a-wise candidate first of-accusing the-terrors and
minae quibus tu cotidie uti solebas sunt fortis viri, sed
threats which you daily to-use were-wont are of-a-brave man but
et populi opinionem a spe adipiscendi avertunt et
both the-people's opinion from the-hope of-attaining turn-away and
amicorum studia debilitant. Nescio quo pacto semper hoc
of-friends the-zeal weaken I-know-not in-what way always this
fit — neque in uno aut altero animadversum est sed
happens nor in one or another noticed has-it-been but
iam in pluribus — simul atque candidatus accusationem
already in more as-soon as a-candidate an-accusation
meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur.
to-be-pondering seemed has that the-office to-have-despaired-of he-seems
44 Quid ergo? acceptam iniuriam persequi non placet? Immo
what therefore a-received wrong to-pursue not does-it-please nay
vehementer placet; sed aliud tempus est petendi, aliud
vehemently it-pleases but one-thing the-time is of-canvassing another
persequendi. Petitorem ego, praesertim consulatus, magna
of-prosecuting a-candidate I especially of-the-consulship with-great
spe, magno animo, magnis copiis et in forum et
hope with-great spirit with-great forces both into the-forum and

in campum deduci volo. Non placet mihi inquisitio
into the-Campus to-be-escorted wish not pleases me the-investigation
candidati, praenuntia repulsae, non testium potius quam
of-a-candidate the-forerunner of-defeat not of-witnesses rather than
suffragatorum comparatio, non minae magis quam blanditiae,
of-voters the-gathering not threats more than flatteries
non denuntiatio potius quam persalutatio, praesertim cum
not a-summons rather than a-greeting-of-all especially when
iam hoc novo more omnes fere domos omnium concursent
now by-this new custom all almost houses of-all they-run-about
et ex voltu candidatorum coniecturam faciant quantum
and from the-face of-the-candidates a-conjecture they-make how-much
quisque animi et facultatis habere videatur.
each of-spirit and of-means to-have seems
'Videsne tu illum tristem, demissum? iacet, diffidit, 45
do-you-see-whether you him gloomy downcast he-lies-low he-distrusts
abiecit hastas.' Serpit hic rumor. 'Scis tu illum
he-has-thrown-away his-spears creeps this rumor do-you-know you him
accusationem cogitare, inquirere in competitores,
an-accusation to-be-pondering to-be-investigating against his-competitors
testis quaerere? Alium fac iam, quoniam sibi hic ipse
witnesses to-be-seeking another make now since for-himself this-man himself
desperat.' Eius modi rumoribus candidatorum amici intimi
despairs of-such kind by-rumors of-the-candidates the-friends intimate
debilitantur, studia deponunt; aut certam rem abiciunt aut
are-weakened their-zeal they-lay-down or the-certain thing they-throw-away or
suam operam et gratiam iudicio et accusationi reservant.
their effort and influence for-the-trial and the-accusation reserve
Accedit eodem ut etiam ipse candidatus totum animum
there-is-added to-the-same that even himself the-candidate his-whole mind
atque omnem curam operam diligentiamque suam in petitione
and all care effort and-diligence his in the-candidacy

non possit ponere. Adiungitur enim accusationis cogitatio,
not can to-place is-joined for of-accusation the-thought
non parva res sed nimirum omnium maxima. Magnum est
not a-small thing but no-doubt of-all the-greatest great it-is
enim te comparare ea quibus possis hominem e
for you to-prepare those-things by-which you-may-be-able a-man from
civitate, praesertim non inopem neque infirmum, exturbare,
the-state especially not needy nor weak to-drive-out
qui et per se et per suos et vero etiam per alienos
who both by himself and by his-own and indeed also by strangers
defendatur. Omnes enim ad pericula propulsanda concurrimus
is-defended all for to dangers being-warded-off we-run-together
et qui non aperte inimici sumus etiam alienissimis in
and we-who not openly enemies are even to-total-strangers in
capitis periculis amicissimorum officia et studia praestamus.
of-life dangers of-the-most-friendly the-services and zeal we-render
46 Qua re ego expertus et petendi et defendendi et
by-which thing I having-experienced both of-canvassing and of-defending and
accusandi molestiam sic intellexi in petendo studium esse
of-accusing the-vexation so have-understood in canvassing zeal to-be
acerrimum, in defendendo officium, in accusando laborem.
keenest in defending duty in accusing labor
Itaque sic statuo fieri nullo modo posse ut idem
and-so so I-decide to-be-done in-no way to-be-able that the-same-man
accusationem et petitionem consulatus diligenter adornet
an-accusation and a-candidacy for-the-consulship diligently should-equip
atque instruat. Unum sustinere pauci possunt, utrumque nemo.
and furnish one to-sustain few can both no-one
Tu cum te de curriculo petitionis deflexisses animumque
you when yourself from the-course of-the-candidacy you-had-turned and-your-mind
ad accusandum transtulisses, existimasti te utrique negotio
to accusing had-transferred you-thought that-you for-each business

satis facere posse. Vehementer errasti. Quis enim dies fuit,
enough to-do to-be-able vehemently you-erred what for day was-there
postea quam in istam accusandi denuntiationem ingressus
after that into that of-accusing announcement entered
es, quem tu non totum in ista ratione consumpseris? Legem
you-have which you not wholly in that plan spent the-law
ambitus flagitasti, quae tibi non deerat; erat enim severissime
of-bribery you-demanded which to-you not was-lacking it-was for most-severely
scripta Calpurnia. Gestus est mos et voluntati et dignitati
written the-Calpurnian shown was indulgence both to-the-wish and to-the-dignity
tuae. Sed tota illa lex accusationem tuam, si haberes nocentem
your but whole that law the-accusation your if you-had a-guilty
reum, fortasse armasset; petitioni vero refragata est.
defendant perhaps would-have-armed the-candidacy indeed opposed it-has

X · THE HARSH LAW AND CATILINE'S THREATS

The heavier penalties Sulpicius demanded offended the people and the senate, and his proposal to mix the centuries' votes alarmed the honest. Catiline, seeing his rival busy with an accusation, grew bolder, and his threats in a meeting at his house became known. Cicero came down to the Campus in his breastplate so that good men would see the consul in danger, and they turned to Murena.

Poena gravior in plebem tua voce efflagitata est; commoti 47
a-penalty heavier upon the-plebs by-your voice demanded was stirred
animi tenuiorum. Exsilium in nostrum ordinem; concessit
the-minds of-the-poorer exile on our order granted
senatus postulationi tuae, sed non libenter duriorem fortunae
the-senate to-the-demand your but not gladly a-harsher for-fortune
communi condicionem te auctore constituit. Morbi
common condition with-you as-author it-established of-illness

excusationi poena addita est; voluntas offensa multorum
to-the-excuse a-penalty added was the-will offended of-many
quibus aut contra valetudinis commodum laborandum est aut
by-whom either against of-health the-advantage to-be-labored is or
incommodo morbi etiam ceteri vitae fructus relinquendi.
with-the-disadvantage of-illness also the-other of-life rewards to-be-abandoned
Quid ergo? haec quis tulit? Is qui auctoritati senatus,
what therefore these-things who proposed he who to-the-authority of-the-senate
voluntati tuae paruit, denique is tulit cui minime
to-wish your obeyed finally he proposed to-whom least
proderant. Illa quidem quae mea summa voluntate senatus
they-were-of-use those indeed which with-my highest good-will the-senate
frequens repudiavit mediocriter adversata tibi esse existimas?
full rejected moderately opposed to-you to-have do-you-think
Confusionem suffragiorum flagitasti, praerogationum legis
the-confusion of-the-votes you-demanded of-the-first-centuries of-the-law
Maniliae, aequationem gratiae, dignitatis, suffragiorum. Graviter
Manilian the-equalizing of-influence of-dignity of-votes heavily
homines honesti atque in suis vicinitatibus et municipiis
men honorable and in their-own neighborhoods and towns
gratiosi tulerunt a tali viro esse pugnatum ut omnes et
influential took-it by such a-man to-have-been fought that all both
dignitatis et gratiae gradus tollerentur. Idem editicios
of-dignity and of-influence steps should-be-removed the-same chosen-by-the-prosecutor
iudices esse voluisti, ut odia occulta civium quae tacitis nunc
judges to-be you-wished that the-hatreds hidden of-citizens which in-silent now
discordiis continentur in fortunas optimi cuiusque erumperent.
discords are-contained upon the-fortunes of-the-best each might-burst-out
48 Haec omnia tibi accusandi viam muniebant, adipiscendi
these all for-you of-accusing the-road were-building of-attaining
obsaepiebant. Atque ex omnibus illa plaga est iniecta
were-blocking and from all that blow was dealt

petitioni tuae non tacente me maxima, de qua ab homine
to-the-candidacy your with-not silent me the-greatest about which by a-man
ingeniosissimo et copiosissimo, Q. Hortensio, multa
most-talented and most-eloquent Quintus Hortensius many-things
gravissime dicta sunt. Quo etiam mihi durior locus est dicendi
most-weightily said were by-which even to-me a-harder place is of-speaking
datus ut, cum ante me et ille dixisset et vir summa
given that since before me both he had-spoken and a-man of-the-highest
dignitate et diligentia et facultate dicendi, M. Crassus,
dignity and diligence and power of-speaking Marcus Crassus
ego in extremo non partem aliquam agerem causae sed de
I at the-end not part some might-plead of-the-case but about
tota re dicerem quod mihi videretur. Itaque in isdem rebus
the-whole thing might-say what to-me seemed and-so in the-same things
fere versor et quoad possum, iudices, occurro vestrae satietati.
almost I-move and as-far-as I-can judges I-meet your satiety
Sed tamen, Servi, quam te securim putas iniecisse
but still Servius what you axe do-you-think to-have-thrown
petitioni tuae, cum populum Romanum in eum metum
on-the-candidacy your when the-people Roman into that fear
adduxisti ut pertimesceret ne consul Catilina fieret, dum tu
you-brought that it-dreaded lest consul Catiline be-made while you
accusationem comparares deposita atque abiecta petitione?
an-accusation were-preparing with-laid-down and cast-aside the-candidacy
Etenim te inquirere videbant, tristem ipsum, maestos 49
for-indeed you to-be-investigating they-saw gloomy yourself sad
amicos; observationes, testificationes, seductiones testium,
friends watchings attestations takings-aside of-witnesses
secessiones subscriptorum animadvertebant, quibus rebus
withdrawals of-the-co-signers they-noticed by-which things
certe ipsi candidatorum voltus obscuriores videri solent;
certainly the-very of-candidates faces more-gloomy to-seem are-wont

Catilinam interea alacrem atque laetum, stipatum choro
Catiline meanwhile eager and glad thronged by-a-chorus
iuventutis, vallatum indicibus atque sicariis, inflatum cum
of-youth walled by-informers and assassins puffed-up both
spe militum tum conlegae mei, quem ad modum dicebat
with-hope of-the-soldiers and of-colleague my in-what to manner he-said
ipse, promissis, circumfluentem colonorum Arretinorum et
himself with-the-promises flowing-around of-colonists Arretine and
Faesulanorum exercitu; quam turbam dissimillimo ex genere
Faesulan with-an-army which crowd of-a-most-unlike from kind
distinguebant homines perculsi Sullani temporis calamitate.
distinguished men struck by-the-Sullan time's calamity
Voltus erat ipsius plenus furoris, oculi sceleris, sermo
the-face was his-own full of-frenzy the-eyes of-crime the-talk
adrogantiae, sic ut ei iam exploratus et domi conditus
of-arrogance so that to-him already explored and at-home stored
consulatus videretur. Murenam contemnebat, Sulpicium
the-consulship seemed Murena he-despised Sulpicius
accusatorem suum numerabat non competitorem; ei vim
accuser his he-counted not competitor to-him violence
denuntiabat, rei publicae minabatur.
he-threatened to-the-thing public he-made-threats
50 Quibus rebus qui timor bonis omnibus iniectus sit quantaque
by-which things what fear to-the-good all thrown was and-how-great
desperatio rei publicae, si ille factus esset, nolite a
despair of-the-thing public if he made had-been do-not by
me commoneri velle; vosmet ipsi vobiscum recordamini.
me be-reminded wish you yourselves with-yourselves recall
Meministis enim, cum illius nefarii gladiatoris voces
you-remember for when of-that wicked gladiator the-words
percrebruissent quas habuisse in contione domestica dicebatur,
had-spread which to-have-held in an-assembly domestic he-was-said

cum miserorum fidelem defensorem negasset inveniri posse
when of-the-wretched a-faithful defender he-denied to-be-found to-be-able
nisi eum qui ipse miser esset; integrorum et fortunatorum
unless him who himself wretched were of-the-sound and fortunate
promissis saucios et miseros credere non oportere; qua
the-promises the-wounded and wretched to-believe not to-be-proper by-which
re qui consumpta replere, erepta reciperare
thing those-who what-was-consumed to-refill what-was-snatched to-recover
vellent, spectarent quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid
wished should-look what he-himself owed what he-possessed what
auderet; minime timidum et valde calamitosum esse oportere
he-dared least timid and very calamitous to-be to-be-proper
eum qui esset futurus dux et signifer calamitosorum.
him who was going-to-be the-leader and standard-bearer of-the-calamitous
Tum igitur, his rebus auditis, meministis fieri 51
then therefore with-these things heard you-remember to-be-made
senatus consultum referente me ne postero die comitia
of-the-senate a-decree with-referring me that-not on-the-next day the-elections
haberentur, ut de his rebus in senatu agere possemus.
be-held that about these things in the-senate to-act we-might-be-able
Itaque postridie frequenti senatu Catilinam excitavi atque eum
and-so the-next-day with-a-full senate Catiline I-roused and him
de his rebus iussi, si quid vellet, quae ad me adlatae
about these things I-ordered if anything he-wished which to me brought
essent dicere. Atque ille, ut semper fuit apertissimus, non
had-been to-say and he as always he-was most-open not
se purgavit sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit
himself cleared but showed and entangled-himself then for he-said
duo corpora esse rei publicae, unum debile infirmo
two bodies to-be of-the-thing public one feeble with-a-weak
capite, alterum firmum sine capite; huic, si ita de
head the-other strong without a-head to-this-one if so about

se meritum esset, caput se vivo non defuturum.
himself deserved it-had-been a-head with-himself alive not going-to-be-lacking
Congemuit senatus frequens neque tamen satis severe pro
groaned the-senate full nor still sufficiently severely for
rei indignitate decrevit; nam partim ideo fortes
of-the-thing the-outrageousness decreed for partly for-this-reason brave
in decernendo non erant, quia nihil timebant, partim, quia
in decreeing not they-were because nothing they-feared partly because
omnia. Erupit e senatu triumphans gaudio quem omnino
everything burst-out from the-senate triumphing with-joy who at-all
vivum illinc exire non oportuerat, praesertim cum idem
alive from-there to-go-out not ought-to-have especially when the-same
ille in eodem ordine paucis diebus ante Catoni, fortissimo
he in the-same order a-few days before to-Cato a-most-brave
viro, iudicium minitanti ac denuntianti respondisset, si quod
man a-trial threatening and announcing had-answered if any
esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non
were on his fortunes a-conflagration roused that he not
aqua sed ruina restincturum.
with-water but with-ruin going-to-extinguish

52 His tum rebus commotus et quod homines iam tum
by-these then things moved and because men already then
coniuratos cum gladiis in campum deduci a Catilina
conspirators with swords into the-Campus to-be-led-down by Catiline
sciebam, descendi in campum cum firmissimo praesidio
I-knew I-went-down into the-Campus with a-most-strong guard
fortissimorum virorum et cum illa lata insignique lorica,
of-most-brave men and with that broad and-conspicuous breastplate
non quae me tegeret — etenim sciebam Catilinam non latus
not which me might-protect for-indeed I-knew Catiline not the-side
aut ventrem sed caput et collum solere petere — verum ut
or the-belly but the-head and neck to-be-wont to-aim-at but that

omnes boni animadverterent et, cum in metu et periculo
all the-good might-notice and when in fear and danger
consulem viderent, id quod est factum, ad opem praesidiumque
the-consul they-saw that which was done to help and-protection
concurrerent. Itaque cum te, Servi, remissiorem in petendo
they-might-run-together and-so when you Servius rather-slack in canvassing
putarent, Catilinam et spe et cupiditate inflammatum
they-thought Catiline both by-hope and by-desire inflamed
viderent, omnes qui illam ab re publica pestem depellere
they-saw all who that from the-thing public plague to-drive-off
cupiebant ad Murenam se statim contulerunt.
desired to Murena themselves at-once betook

XI · THE CHARGES OF BRIBERY

Murena, a good man well equipped for the canvass, gained from Catiline's sudden hopes. Cicero turns to the bribery charges, already cleared by those who spoke before him, and laments Murena's fortune and accusers who took up enmity for love of accusing. He answers Postumus first, and then Cato, whose authority as an accuser weighs heavily; the ancestors, Cicero recalls, did not want any man to fall in court crushed by the power of his accuser, as when Lucius Cotta was acquitted against Africanus.

Magna est autem comitiis consularibus repentina voluntatum 53
great is however at-elections consular the-sudden of-wills
inclinatio, praesertim cum incubuit ad virum bonum
inclination especially when it-has-leaned toward a-man good
et multis aliis adiumentis petitionis ornatum. Qui
and with-many other helps of-candidacy furnished who
cum honestissimo patre atque maioribus, modestissima
since with-a-most-honorable father and ancestors with-a-most-modest

adulescentia, clarissima legatione, praetura probata in
youth with-a-most-illustrious legateship with-a-praetorship approved in
iure, grata in munere, ornata in provincia petisset diligenter,
law pleasing in the-show adorned in the-province had-canvassed diligently
et ita petisset ut neque minanti cederet neque cuiquam
and so had-canvassed that neither to-one-threatening he-yielded nor anyone
minaretur, huic mirandum est magno adiumento
threatened for-this-man to-be-wondered-at is-it for-a-great help
Catilinae subitam spem consulatus adipiscendi fuisse?
Catiline's sudden hope of-the-consulship to-be-attained to-have-been
54 Nunc mihi tertius ille locus est relictus orationis, de
now to-me the-third that part is left of-the-speech about
ambitus criminibus, perpurgatus ab eis qui ante me
of-bribery the-charges thoroughly-cleansed by those who before me
dixerunt, a me, quoniam ita Murena voluit, retractandus;
spoke by me since so Murena wished to-be-handled-again
quo in loco C. Postumo, familiari meo, ornatissimo
which in part to-Gaius Postumus intimate my a-most-distinguished
viro, de divisorum indiciis et de deprehensis
man about of-the-distributors the-informations and about the-caught
pecuniis, adulescenti ingenioso et bono, Ser. Sulpicio, de
monies to-a-young-man talented and good Servius Sulpicius about
equitum centuriis, M. Catoni, homini in omni virtute
of-the-knights the-centuries to-Marcus Cato a-man in all virtue
excellenti, de ipsius accusatione, de senatus consulto,
excelling about his-own accusation about of-the-senate the-decree
de re publica respondebo.
about the-thing public I-shall-answer
55 Sed pauca quae meum animum repente moverunt prius
but a-few-things which my mind suddenly moved first
de L. Murenae fortuna conquerar. Nam cum saepe
about Lucius Murena's fortune I-shall-lament for when often

antea, iudices, et ex aliorum miseriis et ex meis curis
before judges both from others' miseries and from my cares
laboribusque cotidianis fortunatos eos homines iudicarem qui
and-labors daily fortunate those men I-judged who
remoti a studiis ambitionis otium ac tranquillitatem vitae
removed from the-pursuits of-ambition leisure and tranquility of-life
secuti sunt, tum vero in his L. Murenae tantis tamque
followed have then indeed in these of-Lucius Murena so-great and-so
improvisis periculis ita sum animo adfectus ut non queam
unforeseen dangers so I-am in-mind affected that not I-can
satis neque communem omnium nostrum condicionem
sufficiently either the-common of-all of-us condition
neque huius eventum fortunamque miserari. Qui primum,
or this-man's outcome and-fortune pity who first
dum ex honoribus continuis familiae maiorumque suorum
while from the-offices continuous of-his-family and-ancestors his-own
unum ascendere gradum dignitatis conatus est, venit in
one to-climb step of-dignity tried has he-has-come into
periculum ne et ea quae ei relicta, et haec quae
danger lest both those-things which to-him left and these which
ab ipso parta sunt amittat, deinde propter studium novae
by himself won have-been he-lose then because-of zeal for-new
laudis etiam in veteris fortunae discrimen adducitur.
praise even into of-his-old fortune hazard he-is-brought
Quae cum sunt gravia, iudices, tum illud acerbissimum est 56
which-things both are grievous judges and that most-bitter is
quod habet eos accusatores, non qui odio inimicitiarum
that he-has those accusers not who from-hatred of-enmities
ad accusandum, sed qui studio accusandi ad inimicitias
to accusing but who from-zeal for-accusing to enmities
descenderint. Nam ut omittam Servium Sulpicium quem
have-come-down for that I-may-pass-over Servius Sulpicius whom

intellego non iniuria L. Murenae sed honoris contentione
I-understand not by-wrong of-Lucius Murena but by-the-office's contest
permotum, accusat paternus amicus, C. Postumus, vetus,
moved accuses his-father's friend Gaius Postumus an-old
ut ait ipse, vicinus ac necessarius, qui necessitudinis
as he-says himself neighbor and connection who of-connection
causas compluris protulit, simultatis nullam commemorare
the-reasons several brought-forward of-quarrel none to-mention
potuit. Accusat Ser. Sulpicius, sodalis filius, cuius ingenio
could accuses Servius Sulpicius a-comrade's son whose by-talent
paterni omnes necessarii munitiores esse debebant. Accusat
his-father's all connections more-fortified to-be ought accuses
M. Cato qui cum a Murena nulla re umquam alienus
Marcus Cato who both from Murena in-no thing ever estranged
fuit, tum ea condicione nobis erat in hac civitate natus
was and on-that condition for-us he-had in this state been-born
ut eius opes, ut ingenium praesidio multis etiam alienis,
that his resources that talent for-a-protection to-many even strangers
exitio vix cuiquam inimico esse deberet.
for-ruin scarcely to-any enemy to-be ought

57 Respondebo igitur Postumo primum qui nescio quo pacto
I-shall-answer therefore to-Postumus first who I-know-not in-what way
mihi videtur praetorius candidatus in consularem quasi
to-me seems a-praetorian candidate into the-consular-race like
desultorius in quadrigarum curriculum incurrere. Cuius
a-trick-rider into of-four-horse-chariots the-course to-run whose
competitores si nihil deliquerunt, dignitati eorum concessit,
competitors if nothing have-offended to-the-dignity their he-yielded
cum petere destitit; sin autem eorum aliquis largitus est,
when to-canvass he-ceased but-if however of-them some bribed has

expetendus amicus est qui alienam potius iniuriam quam
to-be-sought-out a-friend is-he who another's rather wrong than
suam persequatur.
his-own pursues

DE POSTUMI CRIMINIBUS, DE SERVI ADULESCENTIS.

about of-Postumus the-charges about of-Servius the-young-man

Venio nunc ad M. Catonem, quod est fundamentum 58
I-come now to Marcus Cato which is the-foundation
ac robur totius accusationis; qui tamen ita gravis est
and strength of-the-whole accusation who still so weighty is
accusator et vehemens ut multo magis eius auctoritatem
an-accuser and vehement that much more his authority
quam criminationem pertimescam. In quo ego accusatore,
than accusation I-dread in which I accuser
iudices, primum illud deprecabor ne quid L. Murenae
judges first this I-shall-deprecate lest anything to-Lucius Murena
dignitas illius, ne quid exspectatio tribunatus, ne quid
the-dignity of-that-man lest anything the-expectation of-the-tribunate lest anything
totius vitae splendor et gravitas noceat, denique ne
of-the-whole life the-splendor and gravity harm finally lest
ea soli huic obsint bona M. Catonis quae ille
those alone to-this-man be-harmful the-goods of-Marcus Cato which he
adeptus est ut multis prodesse possit. Bis consul fuerat
attained has that many to-benefit he-may-be-able twice consul had-been
P. Africanus et duos terrores huius imperi, Carthaginem
Publius Africanus and the-two terrors of-this empire Carthage
Numantiamque, deleverat cum accusavit L. Cottam. Erat
and-Numantia had-destroyed when he-accused Lucius Cotta there-was
in eo summa eloquentia, summa fides, summa integritas,
in him the-highest eloquence the-highest good-faith the-highest integrity
auctoritas tanta quanta in imperio populi Romani quod
authority as-great as in the-empire of-the-people Roman which

illius opera tenebatur. Saepe hoc maiores natu dicere
by-his effort was-held often this my-elders by-birth to-say
audivi, hanc accusatoris eximiam vim et dignitatem
I-have-heard this of-the-accuser outstanding force and dignity
plurimum L. Cottae profuisse. Noluerunt sapientissimi
very-much to-Lucius Cotta to-have-profited did-not-wish most-wise
homines qui tum rem illam iudicabant ita quemquam cadere
men who then thing that were-judging so anyone to-fall
in iudicio ut nimiis adversarii viribus abiectus videretur.
in a-trial that by-the-excessive of-the-opponent strength cast-down he-might-seem

XII · CATO'S STOICISM

Galba was saved from Cato's ancestor by the people, who always resisted overpowerful accusers. Cicero praises Cato's virtues, but finds fault with the doctrine he learned from Zeno: that the wise man is never moved, never pardons, never changes his mind, and that all faults are equal. The gentler followers of Plato and Aristotle would have him relent where duty allows.

59 Quid? Ser. Galbam — nam traditum memoriae est —
what Servius Galba for handed-down to-memory it-is
nonne proavo tuo, fortissimo atque florentissimo
surely from-great-grandfather your a-most-brave and most-flourishing
viro, M. Catoni, incumbenti ad eius perniciem populus
man Marcus Cato pressing for his ruin the-people
Romanus eripuit? Semper in hac civitate nimis magnis
Roman snatched always in this state too great
accusatorum opibus et populus universus et sapientes
of-accusers the-resources and the-people whole and wise
ac multum in posterum prospicientes iudices restiterunt.
and much into the-future looking-forward judges resisted

Nolo accusator in iudicium potentiam adferat, non vim
I-do-not-wish an-accuser into court power should-bring not force
maiorem aliquam, non auctoritatem excellentem, non nimiam
greater some not authority excellent not excessive
gratiam. Valeant haec omnia ad salutem innocentium, ad
influence let-avail these all for the-safety of-the-innocent for
opem impotentium, ad auxilium calamitosorum, in periculo
the-help of-the-powerless for the-aid of-the-calamitous in the-danger
vero et in pernicie civium repudientur.
indeed and in the-ruin of-citizens let-them-be-rejected
Nam si quis hoc forte dicet, Catonem descensurum ad 60
for if anyone this perhaps will-say Cato going-to-come-down to
accusandum non fuisse, nisi prius de causa iudicasset,
accusing not to-have-been unless first about the-case he-had-judged
iniquam legem, iudices, et miseram condicionem instituet
an-unfair law judges and a-wretched condition he-will-establish
periculis hominum, si existimabit iudicium accusatoris in
for-the-dangers of-men if he-will-think the-judgment of-the-accuser against
reum pro aliquo praeiudicio valere oportere. Ego tuum
the-defendant for some prejudgment to-avail to-be-proper I your
consilium, Cato, propter singulare animi mei de tua
plan Cato because-of the-unparalleled of-my mind about your
virtute iudicium vituperare non possum; non nulla forsitan
virtue judgment to-censure not I-can not none perhaps
conformare et leviter emendare possim. ‘Non multa peccas,’
to-shape and lightly to-amend I-could not many-things you-err
inquit ille fortissimo viro senior magister, ‘sed peccas; te
says that to-a-most-brave man older teacher but you-err you
regere possum.’ At ego non te; verissime dixerim peccare te
to-direct I-can but I not you most-truly should-say to-err you
nihil neque ulla in re te esse huius modi ut corrigendus
nothing nor any in thing you to-be of-this kind that to-be-corrected

potius quam leviter inflectendus esse videare. Finxit enim
rather than lightly to-be-bent to-be you-may-seem has-shaped for
te ipsa natura ad honestatem, gravitatem, temperantiam,
you itself nature for honor gravity self-control
magnitudinem animi, iustitiam, ad omnis denique virtutes
greatness of-mind justice for all finally virtues
magnum hominem et excelsum. Accessit istuc doctrina
a-great man and lofty has-been-added to-that a-doctrine
non moderata nec mitis sed, ut mihi videtur, paulo asperior
not moderate nor mild but as to-me it-seems a-little harsher
et durior quam aut veritas aut natura patitur.
and harder than either truth or nature allows

61 Et quoniam non est nobis haec oratio habenda aut in
and since not is by-us this speech to-be-held either in
imperita multitudine aut in aliquo conventu agrestium,
an-unlearned crowd or in some gathering of-rustics
audacius paulo de studiis humanitatis quae et mihi et
more-boldly a-little about the-pursuits of-humanity which both to-me and
vobis nota et iucunda sunt disputabo. In M. Catone,
to-you known and pleasant are I-shall-discuss in Marcus Cato
iudices, haec bona quae videmus divina et egregia ipsius
judges these goods which we-see divine and outstanding his-own
scitote esse propria; quae non numquam requirimus, ea
know to-be own which not never we-miss those
sunt omnia non a natura verum a magistro. Fuit enim
are all not from nature but from a-teacher there-was for
quidam summo ingenio vir, Zeno, cuius inventorum aemuli
a-certain of-the-highest talent man Zeno whose of-discoveries the-rivals
Stoici nominantur. Huius sententiae sunt et praecepta
the-Stoics are-named of-his doctrines are and precepts
eius modi. Sapientem gratia numquam moveri, numquam
of-this kind the-wise-man by-influence never to-be-moved never

cuiusquam delicto ignoscere; neminem misericordem esse nisi
anyone's fault to-pardon no-one merciful to-be except
stultum et levem; viri non esse neque exorari neque
the-foolish and light of-a-man not to-be either to-be-entreated or
placari; solos sapientes esse, si distortissimi sint, formosos,
to-be-appeased the-only wise to-be if most-crooked they-be handsome
si mendicissimi, divites, si servitutem serviant, reges; nos
if most-beggarly rich if slavery they-serve kings we
autem qui sapientes non sumus fugitivos, exsules, hostis,
however who wise not are runaways exiles enemies
insanos denique esse dicunt; omnia peccata esse paria; omne
madmen finally to-be they-say all faults to-be equal every
delictum scelus esse nefarium, nec minus delinquere eum
offense a-crime to-be wicked nor less to-offend him
qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum
who a-cock cockerel when need not was than him
qui patrem suffocaverit; sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei
who his-father strangled the-wise-man nothing to-opine of-no thing
paenitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare numquam.
to-repent no in thing to-be-deceived his-opinion to-change never
Hoc homo ingeniosissimus, M. Cato, auctoribus eruditissimis 62
this a-man most-talented Marcus Cato with-authors most-learned
inductus adripuit, neque disputandi causa, ut magna pars, sed
led seized nor of-disputing for-the-sake as the-great part but
ita vivendi. Petunt aliquid publicani; cave ne quicquam habeat
so of-living ask something the-tax-farmers take-care lest anything have
momenti gratia. Supplices aliqui veniunt miseri et calamitosi;
of-weight influence suppliants some come wretched and calamitous
sceleratus et nefarius fueris, si quicquam misericordia
criminal and wicked you-will-have-been if anything by-pity
adductus feceris. Fatetur aliquis se peccasse et sui
led you-will-have-done admits someone himself to-have-erred and of-his-own

delicti veniam petit; 'nefarium est facinus ignoscere.' At leve
offense pardon seeks a-wicked is deed to-pardon but a-light
delictum est. 'Omnia peccata sunt paria.' Dixisti quippiam:
offense it-is all faults are equal you-have-said something
'fixum et statutum est.' Non re ductus es sed
fixed and settled it-is not by-the-thing led you-are but
opinione; 'sapiens nihil opinatur.' Errasti aliqua in re; male
by-opinion the-wise-man nothing opines you-have-erred some in thing ill
dici putat. Hac ex disciplina nobis illa sunt: 'dixi
to-be-spoken he-thinks this from discipline to-us those-things are I-said
in senatu me nomen consularis candidati delaturum.' Iratus
in the-senate that-I the-name of-a-consular candidate going-to-bring angry
dixisti. 'Numquam' inquit 'sapiens irascitur.' At temporis
you-said never he-says the-wise-man is-angry but of-the-occasion
causa. 'Improbi' inquit 'hominis est mendacio fallere; mutare
for-the-sake of-a-wicked he-says man it-is by-a-lie to-deceive to-change
sententiam turpe est, exorari scelus, misereri flagitium.'
one's-opinion shameful it-is to-be-entreated a-crime to-pity an-outrage

63 Nostri autem illi — fatebor enim, Cato, me quoque
our however those-men I-shall-confess for Cato that-I also
in adulescentia diffisum ingenio meo quaesisse adiumenta
in youth distrusting talent my to-have-sought the-helps
doctrinae — nostri, inquam, illi a Platone et Aristotele,
of-doctrine our I-say those-men from Plato and Aristotle
moderati homines et temperati, aiunt apud sapientem valere
moderate men and temperate say with the-wise-man to-avail
aliquando gratiam; viri boni esse misereri; distincta genera
sometimes influence of-a-man good to-be to-pity distinct kinds
esse delictorum et disparis poenas; esse apud hominem
to-be of-offenses and unequal penalties to-be with a-man
constantem ignoscendi locum; ipsum sapientem saepe aliquid
steady of-pardoning a-place himself the-wise-man often something

opinari quod nesciat, irasci non numquam, exorari
to-opine which he-does-not-know to-be-angry not never to-be-entreated
eundem et placari, quod dixerit interdum, si ita rectius
the-same and to-be-appeased what he-has-said sometimes if so better
sit, mutare, de sententia decedere aliquando; omnis virtutes
it-be to-change from his-opinion to-withdraw sometimes all virtues
mediocritate quadam esse moderatas.
by-a-mean certain to-be moderated
Hos ad magistros si qua te fortuna, Cato, cum ista natura 64
these to teachers if some you fortune Cato with that nature
detulisset, non tu quidem vir melior esses nec fortior nec
had-carried not you indeed a-man better would-be nor braver nor
temperantior nec iustior — neque enim esse potes — sed
more-self-controlled nor juster nor for to-be can-you but
paulo ad lenitatem propensior. Non accusares nullis adductus
a-little to mildness more-inclined not you-would-accuse by-no led
inimicitiis, nulla lacessitus iniuria, pudentissimum hominem
enmities by-no provoked wrong a-most-modest man
summa dignitate atque honestate praeditum; putares,
with-the-highest dignity and honor endowed you-would-think
cum in eiusdem anni custodia te atque L. Murenam
since in of-the-same year the-guardianship you and Lucius Murena
fortuna posuisset, aliquo te cum hoc rei publicae
fortune had-placed by-some you with this-man of-the-thing public
vinculo esse coniunctum; quod atrociter in senatu dixisti, aut
bond to-be joined what fiercely in the-senate you-said either
non dixisses aut, si potuisses, mitiorem in partem
not you-would-have-said or if you-had-been-able a-milder in sense
interpretarere. Ac te ipsum, quantum ego opinione auguror,
you-would-interpret and you yourself as-far-as I by-opinion divine
nunc et animi quodam impetu concitatum et vi naturae
now both of-mind by-a-certain impulse roused and by-the-force of-nature

atque ingeni elatum et recentibus praeceptorum studiis
and of-talent carried-away and with-recent of-precepts studies
flagrantem iam usus flectet, dies leniet, aetas mitigabit.
burning presently experience will-bend time will-soften age will-mellow
65 Etenim isti ipsi mihi videntur vestri praeceptores et virtutis
for-indeed those very to-me seem your teachers and of-virtue
magistri finis officiorum paulo longius quam natura vellet
masters the-limits of-duties a-little farther than nature wished
protulisse ut, cum ad ultimum animo contendissemus,
to-have-extended so-that when to the-utmost in-mind we-had-strained
ibi tamen ubi oporteret consisteremus. 'Nihil ignoveris.'
there still where it-was-proper we-should-stop nothing pardon
Immo aliquid, non omnia. 'Nihil gratiae causa feceris.'
nay something not all-things nothing of-influence for-the-sake do
Immo resistito gratiae, cum officium et fides postulabit.
nay resist influence when duty and good-faith will-demand
'Misericordia commotus ne sis.' Etiam, in dissolvenda
by-pity moved not be yes in relaxing
severitate; sed tamen est laus aliqua humanitatis. 'In
severity but still there-is praise some of-humanity in
sententia permaneto.' Vero, nisi sententiam sententia alia
your-opinion persist indeed unless opinion opinion another
vicerit melior.
will-have-conquered better

Scipio kept Panaetius at home and was not made harsher by the same doctrines but most gentle; so were Laelius, Philus, and Gallus; and Cato's own ancestor was the most humane of men. Cicero turns to the charges: the senate's decree only says that paid crowds, hired escorts, seats, and dinners would break the law. Crowds met Murena on his return, as they meet every candidate, unpaid; let Cato show that any were paid.

Huiusce modi Scipio ille fuit quem non paenitebat facere 66
of-this kind Scipio that was whom not it-repented to-do
idem quod tu, habere eruditissimum hominem Panaetium
the-same as you to-have a-most-learned man Panaetius
domi; cuius oratione et praeceptis, quamquam erant eadem
at-home whose by-speech and precepts although they-were the-same
ista quae te delectant, tamen asperior non est factus sed, ut
those which you delight still harsher not was made but as
accepi a senibus, lenissimus. Quis vero C. Laelio
I-have-received from the-old-men most-mild who indeed than-Gaius Laelius
comior fuit, quis iucundior eodem ex studio isto, quis illo
more-affable was who more-pleasant the-same from pursuit that who than-him
gravior, sapientior? Possum de L. Philo, de C. Gallo
weightier wiser I-can about Lucius Philus about Gaius Gallus
dicere haec eadem, sed te domum iam deducam tuam.
to-say these same-things but you home now I-shall-lead your
Quemquamne existimas Catone, proavo tuo, commodiorem,
anyone-whether do-you-think than-Cato great-grandfather your more-obliging
communiorem, moderatiorem fuisse ad omnem rationem
more-sociable more-moderate to-have-been for every manner
humanitatis? De cuius praestanti virtute cum vere graviterque
of-humanity about whose outstanding virtue when truly and-weightily
diceres, domesticum te habere dixisti exemplum ad imitandum.
you-spoke a-household you to-have you-said example for imitating

Est illud quidem exemplum tibi propositum domi, sed
is that indeed an-example for-you set-before at-home but
tamen naturae similitudo illius ad te magis qui ab illo ortus
still of-nature the-likeness of-his to you more who from him sprung
es quam ad unum quemque nostrum pervenire potuit,
you-are than to one each of-us to-come could
ad imitandum vero tam mihi propositum exemplar illud
for imitating indeed so to-me set-before model that
est quam tibi. Sed si illius comitatem et facilitatem tuae
is as to-you but if his affability and easiness on-your
gravitati severitatique asperseris, non ista quidem erunt
gravity and-severity you-will-have-sprinkled not those indeed will-be
meliora, quae nunc sunt optima, sed certe condita iucundius.
better which now are best but certainly seasoned more-pleasantly
67 Qua re, ut ad id quod institui revertar, tolle mihi e
by-which thing that to that which I-began I-may-return take-away for-me from
causa nomen Catonis, remove vim, praetermitte auctoritatem
the-case the-name of-Cato remove the-force pass-over the-authority
quae in iudiciis aut nihil valere aut ad salutem debet
which in courts either nothing to-avail or for safety ought
valere, congredere mecum criminibus ipsis. Quid accusas,
to-avail engage with-me on-the-charges themselves what do-you-accuse
Cato, quid adfers ad iudicium, quid arguis? Ambitum
Cato what do-you-bring to the-court what do-you-allege bribery
accusas; non defendo. Me reprehendis, quod idem defendam
you-accuse not I-defend-it me you-censure because the-same I-defend
quod lege punierim. Punivi ambitum, non innocentiam;
which by-law I-punished I-punished bribery not innocence
ambitum vero ipsum vel tecum accusabo, si voles. Dixisti
bribery indeed itself even with-you I-shall-accuse if you-will-wish you-said
senatus consultum me referente esse factum, si
of-the-senate a-decree with-me referring to-have-been made if

mercede obviam candidatis issent, si conducti sectarentur,
for-pay to-meet the-candidates they-had-gone if hired-men followed-them
si gladiatoribus volgo locus tributim et item prandia si
if to-gladiators commonly places by-tribes and likewise lunches if
volgo essent data, contra legem Calpurniam factum videri.
commonly had-been given against the-law Calpurnian done to-seem
Ergo ita senatus iudicat, contra legem facta haec videri,
therefore so the-senate judges against the-law done these-things to-seem
si facta sint; decernit quod nihil opus est, dum candidatis
if done they-be it-decrees what nothing need is while to-the-candidates
morem gerit. Nam factum sit necne vehementer quaeritur;
indulgence it-shows for done it-be or-not vehemently it-is-asked
sin factum sit, quin contra legem sit dubitare nemo potest.
but-if done it-be that against the-law it-be to-doubt no-one can
Est igitur ridiculum, quod est dubium, id relinquere 68
it-is therefore ridiculous what is doubtful that to-leave
incertum, quod nemini dubium potest esse, id iudicare.
uncertain what to-no-one doubtful can be that to-judge
Atque id decernitur omnibus postulantibus candidatis, ut
and that is-decreed with-all demanding the-candidates so-that
ex senatus consulto neque cuius intersit, neque contra quem
from the-senate's decree neither whose it-matter nor against whom
sit intellegi possit. Qua re doce ab L. Murena
it-be to-be-understood could by-which thing show by Lucius Murena
illa esse commissa; tum egomet tibi contra legem
those-things to-have-been committed then I-myself to-you against the-law
commissa esse concedam. 'Multi obviam prodierunt de
committed to-have-been I-shall-grant many to-meet came-forward from
provincia decedenti.' Consulatum petenti solet fieri;
the-province departing the-consulship to-one-seeking it-is-wont to-be-done
eccui autem non proditur revertenti? 'Quae fuit
to-whom-ever however not is-there-a-coming-forth returning what was

ista multitudo?' Primum, si tibi istam rationem non possim
that multitude first if to-you that account not I-could
reddere, quid habet admirationis tali viro advenienti,
to-render what has-it of-surprise for-such a-man arriving
candidato consulari, obviam prodisse multos? quod nisi
a-candidate consular to-meet to-have-come-forth many which unless
esset factum, magis mirandum videretur.
it-had-been done more to-be-wondered-at it-would-seem

69 Quid? Si etiam illud addam quod a consuetudine non
what if even that I-should-add which from custom not
abhorret, rogatos esse multos, num aut criminosum sit
shrinks asked to-have-been many surely-not either criminal is-it
aut mirandum, qua in civitate rogati infimorum hominum
or surprising which in state asked of-the-lowest men's
filios prope de nocte ex ultima saepe urbe deductum venire
sons almost by night from the-farthest often city to-escort to-come
soleamus, in ea non esse gravatos homines prodire hora
we-are-wont in it not to-be reluctant men to-come-forth at-the-hour
tertia in campum Martium, praesertim talis viri nomine
third into the-Campus of-Mars especially of-such a-man in-the-name
rogatos? Quid? Si omnes societates venerunt quarum ex numero
asked what if all the-companies came of-whose from number
multi sedent iudices; quid? Si multi homines nostri ordinis
many sit as-judges what if many men of-our order
honestissimi; quid? Si illa officiosissima quae neminem patitur
most-honorable what if that most-obliging which no-one allows
non honeste in urbem introire tota natio candidatorum,
not honorably into the-city to-enter the-whole tribe of-candidates
si denique ipse accusator noster Postumus obviam cum
if finally himself the-accuser our Postumus to-meet-him with
bene magna caterva sua venit, quid habet ista multitudo
quite a-large troop his-own came what has that multitude

admirationis? Omitto clientis, vicinos, tribulis, exercitum
of-surprise I-pass-over clients neighbors fellow-tribesmen the-army
totum Luculli qui ad triumphum per eos dies venerat; hoc
whole of-Lucullus which for the-triumph during those days had-come this
dico, frequentiam in isto officio gratuitam non modo dignitati
I-say a-crowd in that duty free not only to-the-dignity
nullius umquam sed ne voluntati quidem defuisse. At
of-no-one ever but not to-the-wish even to-have-been-lacking but
sectabantur multi. Doce mercede; concedam esse crimen.
followed-him many show for-pay I-shall-grant to-be a-crime

XIV · ESCORTS, BANQUETS, AND SEATS

Escorts are the one service poor men can render their patrons, and to forbid them takes away the humble's share in the canvass. Seats at shows and invitations to lunch were given by Murena's friends, not by him, and are old customs; the senate condemns them only when paid for or offered to all comers. Cato's Stoic severity the city rejects, and Sparta and Crete kept their states no better than Romans who divide their time between work and pleasure.

Hoc quidem remoto quid reprendis? 'Quid opus est' inquit 70
this indeed removed what do-you-censure what need is-there he-says
'sectatoribus?' A me tu id quaeris, quid opus sit
for-escorts from me you that ask what need there-be
eo quo semper usi sumus? Homines tenues unum
of-that which always used we-have men of-small-means one
habent in nostrum ordinem aut promerendi aut referendi
have toward our order either of-earning or of-returning
benefici locum, hanc in nostris petitionibus operam atque
a-favor occasion this in our candidacies service and
adsectationem. Neque enim fieri potest neque postulandum
attendance nor for to-be-done can nor to-be-demanded

est a nobis aut ab equitibus Romanis ut suos necessarios
is from us or from the-knights Roman that their connections
candidatos adsectentur totos dies; a quibus si domus nostra
being-candidates they-should-attend whole days by whom if house our
celebratur, si interdum ad forum deducimur, si uno basilicae
is-thronged if sometimes to the-forum we-are-escorted if in-one of-the-basilica
spatio honestamur, diligenter observari videmur et coli;
walk we-are-honored diligently to-be-attended we-seem and to-be-courted
tenuiorum amicorum et non occupatorum est ista adsiduitas,
of-the-poorer friends and not busy is that constant-attendance
quorum copia bonis viris et beneficis deesse non solet.
of-whom the-supply to-good men and beneficent to-be-lacking not is-wont
71 Noli igitur eripere hunc inferiori generi hominum fructum
do-not therefore snatch this from-the-lower class of-men the-reward
offici, Cato; sine eos qui omnia a nobis sperant habere
of-service Cato allow those who all-things from us hope to-have
ipsos quoque aliquid quod nobis tribuere possint. Si nihil
themselves also something which to-us to-give they-can if nothing
erit praeter ipsorum suffragium, tenues, etsi suffragantur,
there-will-be besides their vote the-poor even-if they-vote
nil valent gratia. Ipsi denique, ut solent loqui, non
nothing avail in-influence they finally as they-are-wont to-speak not
dicere pro nobis, non spondere, non vocare domum suam
to-plead for us not to-go-surety not to-invite to-house their-own
possunt. Atque haec a nobis petunt omnia neque ulla
can and these-things from us they-ask all nor by-any
re alia quae a nobis consequuntur nisi opera
thing other the-things-which from us they-obtain except by-service
sua compensari putant posse. Itaque et legi Fabiae
their-own to-be-repaid they-think to-be-able and-so both to-the-law Fabian
quae est de numero sectatorum, et senatus consulto
which is about the-number of-escorts and to-the-senate's decree

quod est L. Caesare consule factum restiterunt. Nulla
which was with-Lucius Caesar as-consul made they-resisted none
est enim poena quae possit observantiam tenuiorum ab
is for penalty which could the-attentiveness of-the-poorer from
hoc vetere instituto officiorum excludere.
this old institution of-services shut-out
At spectacula sunt tributim data et ad prandium volgo 72
but shows were by-tribes given and to lunch commonly
vocati. Etsi hoc factum a Murena omnino, iudices, non est,
invited although this done by Murena at-all judges not has-been
ab eius amicis autem more et modo factum est, tamen
by his friends however by-custom and in-measure done it-has-been still
admonitus re ipsa recordor quantum hae conquestiones
reminded by-the-thing itself I-recall how-many these complaints
in senatu habitae punctorum nobis, Servi, detraxerint. Quod
in the-senate held of-votes from-us Servius took-away what
enim tempus fuit aut nostra aut patrum nostrorum
for time was-there either in-our or of-fathers our
memoria quo haec sive ambitio est sive liberalitas non
in-memory in-which this whether ambition it-is or generosity not
fuerit ut locus et in circo et in foro daretur amicis et
there-was that a-place both in the-circus and in the-forum was-given to-friends and
tribulibus? Haec homines tenuiores praemia commodaque
to-fellow-tribesmen these-things men poorer as-rewards and-advantages
a suis tribulibus vetere instituto adsequebantur ***
from their-own fellow-tribesmen by-old institution obtained (lacuna)
praefectum fabrum semel locum tribulibus suis dedisse, 73
the-prefect of-engineers once a-place to-fellow-tribesmen his to-have-given
quid statuent in viros primarios qui in circo totas
what will-they-decide against men leading who in the-circus whole
tabernas tribulium causa compararunt? Haec omnia
booths of-fellow-tribesmen for-the-sake have-procured these all

sectatorum, spectaculorum, prandiorum item crimina a
of-escorts of-shows of-lunches likewise the-charges by
multitudine in tuam nimiam diligentiam, Servi, coniecta
the-crowd onto your excessive diligence Servius thrown
sunt, in quibus tamen Murena ab senatus auctoritate
have-been in which still Murena by the-senate's authority
defenditur. Quid enim? Senatus num obviam prodire
is-defended what for the-senate surely-not to-meet to-come-forth
crimen putat? Non, sed mercede. Convince. Num sectari
a-crime does-it-think no but for-pay prove-it surely-not to-follow
multos? Non, sed conductos. Doce. Num locum ad
many no but hired-men show-it surely-not a-place for
spectandum dare aut ad prandium invitare? Minime, sed
watching to-give or to lunch to-invite by-no-means but
volgo, passim. Quid est volgo? Universos. Non igitur, si
commonly everywhere what is commonly all-men not therefore if
L. Natta, summo loco adulescens, qui et quo animo
Lucius Natta of-the-highest rank a-young-man who both with-what mind
iam sit et qualis vir futurus sit videmus, in equitum
already he-be and what-kind-of man going-to-be he-be we-see in the-knights'
centuriis voluit esse et ad hoc officium necessitudinis et ad
centuries wished to-be both for this duty of-connection and for
reliquum tempus gratiosus, id erit eius vitrico fraudi aut
the-remaining time popular that will-be to-his stepfather for-harm or
crimini, nec, si virgo Vestalis, huius propinqua et necessaria,
for-a-charge nor if a-virgin Vestal this-man's relative and connection
locum suum gladiatorium concessit huic, non et illa pie
place her gladiatorial yielded to-this-man not both she dutifully
fecit et hic a culpa est remotus. Omnia haec sunt officia
acted and he from guilt is far-removed all these-things are the-duties
necessariorum, commoda tenuiorum, munia candidatorum.
of-connections the-advantages of-the-poorer the-tasks of-candidates

At enim agit mecum austere et Stoice Cato, negat verum 74
but indeed deals with-me severely and like-a-Stoic Cato he-denies true
esse adlici benivolentiam cibo, negat iudicium hominum in
to-be to-be-lured goodwill by-food he-denies the-judgment of-men in
magistratibus mandandis corrumpi voluptatibus oportere. Ergo,
magistracies being-conferred to-be-corrupted by-pleasures to-be-proper therefore
ad cenam petitionis causa si quis vocat, condemnetur?
to dinner of-candidacy for-the-sake if anyone invites let-him-be-condemned
'Quippe' inquit 'tu mihi summum imperium, tu summam
naturally he-says you to-me the-highest command you the-highest
auctoritatem, tu gubernacula rei publicae petas fovendis
authority you the-helm of-the-thing public would-seek by-fondling
hominum sensibus et deleniendis animis et adhibendis
men's senses and by-soothing their-minds and by-applying
voluptatibus? Utrum lenocinium' inquit 'a grege delicatae
pleasures whether pandering he-says from a-flock of-pampered
iuventutis, an orbis terrarum imperium a populo Romano
youth or of-the-world of-lands the-empire from the-people Roman
petebas?' Horribilis oratio; sed eam usus, vita, mores,
were-you-seeking a-dreadful speech but it experience life manners
civitas ipsa respuit. Neque tamen Lacedaemonii, auctores istius
the-state itself spits-out nor still the-Lacedaemonians the-authors of-that
vitae atque orationis, qui cotidianis epulis in robore accumbunt,
life and speech who at-daily feasts on oak recline
neque vero Cretes quorum nemo gustavit umquam cubans,
nor indeed the-Cretans of-whom no-one has-tasted ever lying-down
melius quam Romani homines qui tempora voluptatis
better than Roman men who the-times of-pleasure
laborisque dispertiunt res publicas suas retinuerunt;
and-labor divide the-things public their-own have-kept

quorum alteri uno adventu nostri exercitus deleti sunt, alteri
of-whom the-one by-one arrival of-our army destroyed were the-others
nostri imperi praesidio disciplinam suam legesque conservant.
by-our empire's protection their-discipline their-own and-laws preserve

XV · TUBERO'S GOATSKINS

Quintus Tubero, asked to lay the couches for a public banquet in Africanus' memory, spread goatskins and set out Samian ware, and the people punished his perverse wisdom by refusing him the praetorship. The Roman people hates private luxury and loves public magnificence. Cato keeps a nomenclator while condemning the custom. Cicero then warns the judges that the enemy is within the city, the Trojan horse inside the walls.

75 Qua re noli, Cato, maiorum instituta quae res ipsa,
by-which thing do-not Cato of-the-ancestors the-institutions which the-thing itself
quae diuturnitas imperi comprobat nimium severa oratione
which the-long-duration of-the-empire approves with-too severe speech
reprehendere. Fuit eodem ex studio vir eruditus apud
censure there-was the-same from pursuit a-man learned among
patres nostros et honestus homo et nobilis, Q. Tubero.
fathers our both an-honorable man and noble Quintus Tubero
Is, cum epulum Q. Maximus P. Africani, patrui sui,
he when a-feast Quintus Maximus of-Publius Africanus uncle his
nomine populo Romano daret, rogatus est a Maximo ut
in-the-name to-the-people Roman was-giving asked was by Maximus that
triclinium sterneret, cum esset Tubero eiusdem Africani
the-dining-couch he-should-spread since was Tubero of-the-same Africanus'
sororis filius. Atque ille, homo eruditissimus ac Stoicus,
sister's the-son and he a-man most-learned and a-Stoic
stravit pelliculis haedinis lectulos Punicanos et exposuit
spread with-skins of-goats couches Punic and set-out

vasa Samia, quasi vero esset Diogenes Cynicus mortuus et
vessels Samian as-if indeed were Diogenes the-Cynic dead and
non divini hominis Africani mors honestaretur; quem
not of-the-divine man Africanus the-death were-being-honored whom
cum supremo eius die Maximus laudaret, gratias egit
when on-the-last his day Maximus was-praising thanks he-gave
dis immortalibus quod ille vir in hac re publica
to-the-gods immortal that that man in this thing public
potissimum natus esset; necesse enim fuisse ibi esse
above-all born had-been necessary for to-have-been there to-be
terrarum imperium ubi ille esset. Huius in morte celebranda
of-the-world the-empire where he was of-his in death being-celebrated
graviter tulit populus Romanus hanc perversam sapientiam
heavily took the-people Roman this perverse wisdom
Tuberonis, itaque homo integerrimus, civis optimus, cum
of-Tubero and-so a-man most-upright a-citizen the-best though
esset L. Pauli nepos, P. Africani, ut dixi, sororis
he-was of-Lucius Paullus the-grandson of-Publius Africanus as I-said sister's
filius, his haedinis pelliculis praetura deiectus est.
son by-these goat skins from-the-praetorship cast-down was
Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam 76
hates the-people Roman private luxury public
magnificentiam diligit; non amat profusas epulas, sordis et
magnificence it-loves not it-loves lavish feasts meanness and
inhumanitatem multo minus; distinguit rationem officiorum
inhumanity much less it-distinguishes the-reckoning of-duties
ac temporum, vicissitudinem laboris ac voluptatis. Nam
and of-times the-alternation of-labor and pleasure for
quod ais nulla re adlici hominum mentis oportere
as-to-what you-say by-no thing to-be-lured men's minds to-be-proper
ad magistratum mandandum nisi dignitate, hoc tu ipse in
for a-magistracy to-be-conferred except by-dignity this you yourself in

quo summa est dignitas non servas. Cur enim quemquam
whom the-highest is dignity not keep why for anyone
ut studeat tibi, ut te adiuvet rogas? Rogas tu me
that he-should-support you that you he-should-help do-you-ask you-ask you me
ut mihi praesis, ut committam ego me tibi. Quid
that over-me you-should-preside that I-may-entrust I myself to-you what
tandem? istuc me rogari oportet abs te, an te potius a
pray that me to-be-asked it-is-proper by you or you rather by
me ut pro mea salute laborem periculumque suscipias?
me that for my safety labor and-danger you-should-undertake
77 Quid quod habes nomenclatorem? in eo quidem fallis et
what of-the-fact-that you-have a-name-caller in that indeed you-cheat and
decipis. Nam, si nomine appellari abs te civis tuos honestum
deceive for if by-name to-be-addressed by you citizens your honorable
est, turpe est eos notiores esse servo tuo quam tibi. Sin
it-is shameful it-is them better-known to-be to-slave your than to-you but-if
iam noris, tamenne per monitorem appellandi sunt cum
already you-know-them still-whether through a-prompter to-be-addressed are when
petis, quasi incertus sis? Quid quod, cum admoneris,
you-canvass as-if uncertain you-were what of-the-fact-that when you-are-reminded
tamen, quasi tute noris, ita salutas? Quid, postea quam
still as-if you-yourself knew-them so you-greet what after that
es designatus, multo salutas neglegentius? Haec omnia ad
you-are elected much you-greet more-carelessly these all to
rationem civitatis si derigas, recta sunt; sin perpendere ad
the-method of-the-state if you-direct right they-are but-if to-weigh to
disciplinae praecepta velis, reperiantur pravissima. Qua
of-the-discipline the-precepts you-wish they-would-be-found most-crooked by-which
re nec plebi Romanae eripiendi fructus isti sunt
thing neither from-the-plebs Roman to-be-snatched rewards those are
ludorum, gladiatorum, conviviorum, quae omnia maiores nostri
of-games of-gladiators of-banquets which all ancestors our

comparaverunt, nec candidatis ista benignitas adimenda
provided nor from-the-candidates that kindness to-be-taken-away
est quae liberalitatem magis significat quam largitionem.
is which generosity more signifies than bribery
At enim te ad accusandum res publica adduxit. Credo, 78
but indeed you to accusing the-thing public led I-believe
Cato, te isto animo atque ea opinione venisse; sed tu
Cato you with-that mind and that opinion to-have-come but you
imprudentia laberis. Ego quod facio, iudices, cum amicitiae
through-imprudence slip I what I-do judges both of-friendship
dignitatisque L. Murenae gratia facio, tum me pacis,
and-of-dignity of-Lucius Murena for-the-sake I-do-it and myself of-peace
oti, concordiae, libertatis, salutis, vitae denique omnium
of-leisure of-concord of-liberty of-safety of-life finally of-all
nostrum causa facere clamo atque testor. Audite, audite
of-us for-the-sake to-do I-cry and call-to-witness hear hear
consulem, iudices, nihil dicam adrogantius, tantum dicam
the-consul judges nothing I-shall-say more-arrogantly only I-shall-say
totos dies atque noctes de re publica cogitantem! Non
whole days and nights about the-thing public thinking not
usque eo L. Catilina rem publicam despexit atque
to-such a-degree Lucius Catiline the-thing public looked-down-on and
contempsit ut ea copia quam secum eduxit se
despised that with-that force which with-himself he-led-out himself
hanc civitatem oppressurum arbitraretur. Latius patet illius
this state going-to-crush he-thought more-widely extends of-his
sceleris contagio quam quisquam putat, ad pluris pertinet.
crime the-contagion than anyone thinks to more it-pertains
Intus, intus, inquam, est equus Troianus; a quo numquam
within within I-say is the-horse Trojan by which never
me consule dormientes opprimemini.
with-me as-consul sleeping you-will-be-crushed

79 Quaeris a me ecquid ego Catilinam metuam. Nihil, et
you-ask from me whether-at-all I Catiline fear nothing and
curavi ne quis metueret, sed copias illius quas hic video
I-have-taken-care lest anyone should-fear but the-forces his which here I-see
dico esse metuendas; nec tam timendus est nunc exercitus
I-say to-be to-be-feared nor so-much to-be-feared is now the-army
L. Catilinae quam isti qui illum exercitum deseruisse
of-Lucius Catiline as those who that army to-have-deserted
dicuntur. Non enim deseruerunt sed ab illo in speculis atque
are-said not for they-deserted but by him on watchtowers and
insidiis relicti in capite atque in cervicibus nostris restiterunt.
in-ambushes left on the-head and on the-necks our have-stayed
Hi et integrum consulem et bonum imperatorem et
these both an-upright consul and a-good commander and
natura et fortuna cum rei publicae salute coniunctum
by-nature and by-fortune with of-the-thing public the-safety joined
deici de urbis praesidio et de custodia civitatis
to-be-cast-down from of-the-city the-defense and from the-guardianship of-the-state
vestris sententiis deturbari volunt. Quorum ego ferrum et
by-your votes to-be-thrown-down wish whose I steel and
audaciam reieci in campo, debilitavi in foro, compressi
audacity drove-back in the-Campus weakened in the-forum crushed
etiam domi meae saepe, iudices, his vos si alterum
even at-house my often judges to-these you if the-second
consulem tradideritis, plus multo erunt vestris sententiis
consul you-will-have-handed-over much more they-will by-your votes
quam suis gladiis consecuti. Magni interest, iudices, id
than by-their-own swords have-attained greatly it-matters judges that
quod ego multis repugnantibus egi atque perfeci, esse
which I with-many opposing achieved and completed there-to-be
Kalendis Ianuariis in re publica duo consules.
on-the-Kalends of-January in the-thing public two consuls

Plans to destroy the city are being laid, and Cicero is meeting them daily, but his consulship is ending. A tribune-elect's threatening speech shows what the coming year holds. The conspirators want Cicero and Cato out of their way, Silanus without a colleague, and the state without protection. Catiline himself would condemn Murena; the enemy is inside the senate house, and with one consul busy electing a colleague the danger will break out next year.

Nolite arbitrari, mediocribus consiliis aut usitatis viis eos 80
do-not think with-ordinary plans or usual ways them
uti. Non lex improba, non perniciosa largitio, non auditum
to-use not a-law wicked not destructive bribery not heard-of
aliquando aliquod malum rei publicae quaeritur. Inita
ever some evil for-the-thing public is-sought entered-upon
sunt in hac civitate consilia, iudices, urbis delendae,
have-been in this state plans judges of-the-city to-be-destroyed
civium trucidandorum, nominis Romani exstinguendi.
of-the-citizens to-be-slaughtered of-the-name Roman to-be-extinguished
Atque haec cives, cives, inquam, si eos hoc nomine appellari
and these citizens citizens I-say if them by-this name to-be-called
fas est, de patria sua et cogitant et cogitaverunt.
right it-is about country their-own both are-plotting and have-plotted
Horum ego cotidie consiliis occurro, audaciam debilito,
their I daily plans meet the-audacity I-weaken
sceleri resisto. Sed moneo, iudices. In exitu iam est meus
the-crime I-resist but I-warn judges at the-end already is my
consulatus; nolite mihi subtrahere vicarium meae diligentiae,
consulship do-not from-me withdraw a-deputy of-my diligence
nolite adimere eum cui rem publicam cupio tradere
do-not take-away him to-whom the-thing public I-desire to-hand-over
incolumem ab his tantis periculis defendendam.
unharmed from these so-great dangers to-be-defended

81 Atque ad haec mala, iudices, quid accedat aliud non videtis?
and to these evils judges what may-be-added else not do-you-see
Te, te appello, Cato; nonne prospicis tempestatem anni tui?
you you I-call-upon Cato surely you-foresee the-storm of-year your
Iam enim in hesterna contione intonuit vox perniciosa
already for in yesterday's assembly thundered the-voice destructive
designati tribuni, conlegae tui; contra quem multum tua
of-the-designate tribune colleague your against whom much your
mens, multum omnes boni providerunt qui te ad tribunatus
mind much all good-men have-provided who you to of-the-tribunate
petitionem vocaverunt. Omnia quae per hoc triennium
the-candidacy called all-things which through this three-years
agitata sunt, iam ab eo tempore quo a L. Catilina et
stirred have-been already from that time at-which by Lucius Catiline and
Cn. Pisone initum consilium senatus interficiendi scitis
Gnaeus Piso entered-upon the-plan of-the-senate to-be-killed you-know
esse, in hos dies, in hos mensis, in hoc tempus erumpunt.
to-be into these days into these months into this time are-breaking-out
82 Qui locus est, iudices, quod tempus, qui dies, quae nox cum
what place is judges what time what day what night when
ego non ex istorum insidiis ac mucronibus non solum meo
I not from their plots and swords not only by-my
sed multo etiam magis divino consilio eripiar atque evolem?
but much even more by-divine counsel am-snatched and fly-out
Neque isti me meo nomine interfici sed vigilantem
nor they me in-my-own name to-be-killed but the-watchful
consulem de rei publicae praesidio demoveri volunt. Nec
consul from of-the-thing public the-defense to-be-removed want nor
minus vellent, Cato, te quoque aliqua ratione, si possent,
less would-they-wish Cato you also by-some means if they-could
tollere; id quod, mihi crede, et agunt et moliuntur.
to-remove that which to-me believe both they-are-doing and are-contriving

Vident quantum in te sit animi, quantum ingeni, quantum
they-see how-much in you there-is of-spirit how-much of-talent how-much
auctoritatis, quantum rei publicae praesidi; sed, cum
of-authority how-much of-the-thing public of-defense but when
consulari auctoritate et auxilio spoliatam vim tribuniciam
by-consular authority and help stripped the-power tribunician
viderint, tum se facilius inermem et debilitatum te
they-have-seen then themselves more-easily unarmed and weakened you
oppressuros arbitrantur. Nam ne sufficiatur consul non
going-to-crush they-think for lest may-be-elected-in-his-place a-consul not
timent. Vident in tuorum potestate conlegarum fore; sperant
they-fear they-see in of-your the-power colleagues to-be they-hope
sibi D. Silanum, clarum virum, sine conlega, te
to-themselves Decimus Silanus a-famous man without a-colleague you
sine consule, rem publicam sine praesidio obici posse.
without a-consul the-thing public without defense to-be-exposed to-be-able
His tantis in rebus tantisque in periculis est tuum, M. Cato, 83
these so-great in matters and-so-great in dangers it-is your-part Marcus Cato
qui mihi non tibi, sed patriae natus esse videris, videre
who to-me not to-yourself but to-your-country born to-be seem to-see
quid agatur, retinere adiutorem, defensorem, socium in re
what is-being-done to-retain a-helper a-defender an-ally in the-thing
publica, consulem non cupidum, consulem, quod maxime
public a-consul not covetous a-consul as most
tempus hoc postulat, fortuna constitutum ad amplexandum
time this demands by-fortune established for embracing
otium, scientia ad bellum gerendum, animo et usu ad
peace by-knowledge for war to-be-waged by-spirit and experience for
quod velis negotium sustinendum. Quamquam huiusce rei
whatever you-may-wish business to-be-sustained although of-this thing
potestas omnis in vobis sita est, iudices; totam rem publicam
the-power all in you placed is judges the-whole thing public

vos in hac causa tenetis, vos gubernatis. Si L. Catilina cum
you in this case hold you steer if Lucius Catiline with
suo consilio nefariorum hominum quos secum eduxit hac de
his council of-wicked men whom with-himself he-led-out this about
re posset iudicare, condemnaret L. Murenam, si interficere
thing could to-judge he-would-condemn Lucius Murena if to-kill
posset, occideret. Petunt enim rationes illius ut orbetur
he-could he-would-slay seek for the-plans of-that-man that be-bereft
auxilio res publica, ut minuatur contra suum furorem
of-help the-thing public that be-diminished against his-own fury
imperatorum copia, ut maior facultas tribunis plebis
of-commanders the-supply that greater opportunity to-the-tribunes of-the-plebs
detur depulso adversario seditionis ac discordiae concitandae.
be-given driven-off the-opponent of-sedition and of-discord to-be-stirred-up
Idemne igitur delecti ex amplissimis ordinibus
the-same-thing-whether therefore chosen from the-most-ample orders
honestissimi atque sapientissimi viri iudicabunt quod ille
most-honorable and most-wise men will-judge which that
importunissimus gladiator, hostis rei publicae iudicaret?
most-ruthless gladiator the-enemy of-the-thing public would-judge
84 Mihi credite, iudices, in hac causa non solum de
to-me believe judges in this case not only about
L. Murenae verum etiam de vestra salute sententiam
of-Lucius Murena but also about your safety a-verdict
feretis. In discrimen extremum venimus; nihil est iam
you-will-bring into crisis the-extreme we-have-come nothing is now
unde nos reficiamus aut ubi lapsi resistamus. Non
whence ourselves we-may-restore or where having-slipped we-may-stand-firm not
solum minuenda non sunt auxilia quae habemus sed etiam
only to-be-diminished not are the-aids which we-have but also
nova, si fieri possit, comparanda. Hostis est enim non apud
new if to-be-done it-can to-be-procured the-enemy is for not by

Anienem, quod bello Punico gravissimum visum est, sed in
the-Anio which in-the-war Punic most-grievous seemed has but in
urbe, in foro — di immortales! Sine gemitu hoc dici non
the-city in the-forum gods immortal without a-groan this to-be-said not
potest — non nemo etiam in illo sacrario rei publicae,
can not no-one even in that sanctuary of-the-thing public
in ipsa, inquam, curia non nemo hostis est. Di faxint
in the-very I-say senate-house not no-one an-enemy is the-gods grant
ut meus conlega, vir fortissimus, hoc Catilinae nefarium
that my colleague a-man most-brave this of-Catiline wicked
latrocinium armatus opprimat! Ego togatus vobis bonisque
brigandage armed may-crush I in-the-toga with-you and-the-good
omnibus adiutoribus hoc quod conceptum res publica
all as-helpers this which conceived the-thing public
periculum parturit consilio discutiam et comprimam.
danger is-in-labor-with by-counsel will-dispel and suppress
Sed quid tandem fiet, si haec elapsa de manibus 85
but what pray will-happen if these having-slipped from hands
nostris in eum annum qui consequitur redundarint? Unus
our into that year which follows will-have-overflowed one
erit consul, et is non in administrando bello sed in
will-be consul and he not in conducting war but in
sufficiendo conlega occupatus. Hunc iam qui impedituri sint
electing-in-place a-colleague occupied him already who going-to-hinder may-be
*** illa pestis immanis importuna Catilinae prorumpet,
(lacuna) that plague monstrous ruthless of-Catiline will-burst-forth
qua po *** minatur; in agros suburbanos repente
where (fragment) (lacuna) it-threatens into the-fields suburban suddenly
advolabit; versabitur in urbe furor, in curia timor, in
it-will-fly will-dwell in the-city fury in the-senate-house fear in
foro coniuratio, in campo exercitus, in agris vastitas;
the-forum conspiracy in the-Campus an-army in the-fields devastation

omni autem in sede ac loco ferrum flammamque metuemus.
every however in seat and place sword and-flame we-shall-fear
Quae iam diu comparantur, eadem ista omnia, si ornata
which now for-long are-being-prepared these those all-things if equipped
suis praesidiis erit res publica, facile et magistratuum
with-its-own defenses will-be the-thing public easily both of-the-magistrates
consiliis et privatorum diligentia comprimentur.
by-the-counsels and of-private-men by-the-diligence will-be-suppressed

XVII · THE PLEA FOR MURENA

Cicero warns, exhorts, and adjures the judges to think of peace and safety, and begs them not to overwhelm Murena's fresh joy with new grief. Lately honored, now in mourning, he looks to them. If condemned, where will he go: home to his father's laureled image, to his mother, into exile in the East or in Gaul, before his brother? Cicero promises them a consul devoted to peace, brave in war, and hostile to the conspiracy.

86 Quae cum ita sint, iudices, primum rei publicae
which since so are judges first of-the-thing public
causa, qua nulla res cuiquam potior debet esse,
for-the-sake than-which no thing to-anyone preferable ought to-be
vos pro mea summa et vobis cognita in re publica
you by my highest and to-you known in the-thing public
diligentia moneo, pro auctoritate consulari hortor, pro
diligence I-warn by authority consular I-exhort by
magnitudine periculi obtestor, ut otio, ut paci,
the-greatness of-the-danger I-adjure that for-leisure that for-peace
ut saluti, ut vitae vestrae et ceterorum civium
that for-the-safety that for-the-life your and of-the-other citizens
consulatis; deinde ego idem et defensoris et amici
you-take-thought then I the-same both of-defender and of-friend

officio adductus oro atque obsecro, iudices, ut ne
by-the-duty led beg and beseech judges that not
hominis miseri et cum corporis morbo tum animi dolore
of-a-man wretched and both of-body by-disease and of-mind by-grief
confecti, L. Murenae, recentem gratulationem nova
worn-out of-Lucius Murena the-recent congratulation with-new
lamentatione obruatis. Modo maximo beneficio populi
lamentation you-overwhelm just-now by-the-greatest kindness of-the-people
Romani ornatus fortunatus videbatur, quod primus in
Roman honored fortunate he-seemed because first into
familiam veterem, primus in municipium antiquissimum
a-family old first into a-town most-ancient
consulatum attulisset; nunc idem in squalore et
the-consulship he-had-brought now the-same-man in squalor and
sordibus, confectus morbo, lacrimis ac maerore perditus
mourning-rags worn-out by-disease by-tears and grief ruined
vester est supplex, iudices, vestram fidem obtestatur, vestram
your is suppliant judges your faith he-adjures your
misericordiam implorat, vestram potestatem ac vestras opes
pity he-implores your power and your resources
intuetur.
he-looks-to

Nolite, per deos immortalis! iudices, hac eum cum re 87
do-not by the-gods immortal judges this him with thing
qua se honestiorem fore putavit etiam ceteris
by-which himself more-honored going-to-be he-thought even of-the-other
ante partis honestatibus atque omni dignitate fortunaque
before acquired honors and of-all dignity and-fortune
privare. Atque ita vos L. Murena, iudices, orat atque
deprive and so you Lucius Murena judges begs and
obsecrat, si iniuste neminem laesit, si nullius auris
beseeches if unjustly no-one he-has-harmed if of-no-one the-ears

voluntatemve violavit, si nemini, ut levissime dicam,
or-the-will he-has-violated if to-no-one that most-lightly I-may-say
odio nec domi nec militiae fuit, sit apud
an-object-of-hatred neither at-home nor in-the-field he-has-been let-there-be with
vos modestiae locus, sit demissis hominibus perfugium,
you for-modesty a-place let-there-be for-humbled men a-refuge
sit auxilium pudori. Misericordiam spoliatio consulatus
let-there-be help for-shame pity the-stripping of-the-consulship
magnam habere debet, iudices; una enim eripiuntur cum
great to-have ought judges together for are-snatched-away with
consulatu omnia; invidiam vero his temporibus habere
the-consulship all-things envy indeed in-these times to-have
consulatus ipse nullam potest; obicitur enim contionibus
the-consulship itself none can it-is-exposed for to-the-assemblies
seditiosorum, insidiis coniuratorum, telis Catilinae, ad
of-the-seditious to-the-plots of-the-conspirators to-the-weapons of-Catiline to
omne denique periculum atque ad omnem iniuriam solus
every finally danger and to every injury alone
opponitur.
it-is-set-against

88 Qua re quid invidendum Murenae aut cuiquam nostrum
by-which thing what to-be-envied to-Murena or to-anyone of-us
sit in hoc praeclaro consulatu non video, iudices; quae
there-is in this splendid consulship not I-see judges what-things
vero miseranda sunt, ea et mihi ante oculos versantur et
indeed to-be-pitied are those both to-me before eyes turn and
vos videre et perspicere potestis. Si, quod Iuppiter omen
you to-see and to-perceive can if which Jupiter omen
avertat! hunc vestris sententiis adflixeritis, quo se
may-avert him by-your verdicts you-will-have-struck-down where himself
miser vertet? domumne? ut eam imaginem clarissimi
wretched will-he-turn home-whether that that image of-a-most-famous

viri, parentis sui, quam paucis ante diebus laureatam in
man parent his which few before days laureled in
sua gratulatione conspexit, eandem deformatam ignominia
his congratulation he-saw the-same disfigured with-disgrace
lugentemque videat? An ad matrem quae misera modo
and-mourning he-may-see or to his-mother who wretched just-now
consulem osculata filium suum nunc cruciatur et sollicita
the-consul having-kissed son her-own now is-tortured and anxious
est ne eundem paulo post spoliatum omni dignitate
is lest the-same-man a-little after stripped of-all dignity
conspiciat?
she-may-see
Sed quid eius matrem aut domum appello quem nova 89
but why his mother or home do-I-invoke whom a-new
poena legis et domo et parente et omnium suorum
penalty of-the-law both of-home and of-parent and of-all his-own
consuetudine conspectuque privat? Ibit igitur in exsilium
of-the-company and-sight deprives will-he-go therefore into exile
miser? Quo? ad Orientisne partis in quibus annos multos
wretched where to of-the-East-whether the-parts in which years many
legatus fuit, exercitus duxit, res maximas gessit? At
legate he-was armies he-led things very-great he-accomplished but
habet magnum dolorem, unde cum honore decesseris,
it-has great pain whence with honor you-have-departed
eodem cum ignominia reverti. An se in contrariam
to-the-same-place with disgrace to-return or himself into the-opposite
partem terrarum abdet, ut Gallia Transalpina, quem
part of-the-lands will-he-hide that Gaul Transalpine whom
nuper summo cum imperio libentissime viderit, eundem
lately highest with command most-gladly saw the-same-man
lugentem, maerentem, exsulem videat? In ea porro provincia
mourning grieving an-exile may-see in that moreover province

quo animo C. Murenam fratrem suum aspiciet?
with-what mind Gaius Murena brother his-own will-he-look-on
Qui huius dolor, qui illius maeror erit, quae
what of-this-man the-pain what of-that-man the-grief will-be what
utriusque lamentatio, quanta autem perturbatio fortunae
of-both the-lamentation how-great however the-upheaval of-fortune
atque sermonis, cum, quibus in locis paucis ante diebus
and of-talk when which in places few before days
factum esse consulem Murenam nuntii litteraeque
made to-have-been consul Murena messages and-letters
celebrassent et unde hospites atque amici gratulatum Romam
had-celebrated and whence guests and friends to-congratulate to-Rome
concurrerent, repente exstiterit ipse nuntius suae
were-running-together suddenly has-appeared himself the-messenger of-his-own
calamitatis!
calamity
90 Quae si acerba, si misera, si luctuosa sunt, si
which-things if bitter if wretched if mournful are if
alienissima a mansuetudine et misericordia vestra,
most-foreign from gentleness and pity your
iudices, conservate populi Romani beneficium, reddite
judges preserve of-the-people Roman the-kindness restore
rei publicae consulem, date hoc ipsius pudori,
to-the-thing public the-consul grant this to-his-own modesty
date patri mortuo, date generi et familiae, date
grant to-his-father dead grant to-his-race and family grant
etiam Lanuvio, municipio honestissimo, quod in hac tota
even to-Lanuvium the-town most-honorable which in this whole
causa frequens maestumque vidistis. Nolite a sacris
case crowded and-sorrowful you-have-seen do-not from the-rites
patriis Iunonis Sospitae, cui omnis consules facere
ancestral of-Juno the-Savior to-whom all consuls to-sacrifice

necesse est, domesticum et suum consulem potissimum
necessary it-is a-domestic and its-own consul above-all
avellere. Quem ego vobis, si quid habet aut momenti
tear-away whom I to-you if anything has either of-weight
commendatio aut auctoritatis confirmatio mea, consul
commendation or of-authority confirmation my a-consul
consulem, iudices, ita commendo ut cupidissimum oti,
a-consul judges so commend that most-desirous of-peace
studiosissimum bonorum, acerrimum contra seditionem,
most-devoted to-the-good-men most-fierce against sedition
fortissimum in bello, inimicissimum huic coniurationi quae
most-brave in war most-hostile to-this conspiracy which
nunc rem publicam labefactat futurum esse promittam et
now the-thing public is-shaking going-to be I-promise and
spondeam.
pledge

CICERO

Pro Sulla

In Defense of Sulla

PRO SULLA

I · WHY CICERO DEFENDS SULLA

Cicero wishes Sulla had kept his dignity, or had at least reaped the fruit of modesty after his fall; yet he welcomes the occasion to show the good men his old mildness and the wicked that his severity was the state's. Since Torquatus attacked his defense to weaken it, he will first justify himself. He asks why Hortensius may defend Sulla and he may not; the conspiracy he uncovered lies open to all. The leading men who now stand by Sulla deserted Vargunteius and Autronius, as Cicero did.

Maxime vellem, iudices, ut P. Sulla et antea dignitatis 1
most-greatly I-would-wish judges that Publius Sulla both before of-dignity
suae splendorem obtinere et post calamitatem acceptam
his-own the-splendor to-retain and after the-calamity received
modestiae fructum aliquem percipere potuisset. Sed quoniam ita
of-modesty fruit some to-gather had-been-able but since so
tulit casus infestus ut in amplissimo honore cum communi
brought chance hostile that in the-most-ample office both by-the-common
ambitionis invidia tum singulari Autroni odio everteretur,
of-canvassing ill-will and by-the-singular of-Autronius hatred he-was-overthrown
et in his pristinae fortunae reliquiis miseris et adflictis tamen
and in these of-his-former fortune remnants wretched and afflicted still
haberet quosdam quorum animos ne supplicio quidem suo
he-had certain-men whose minds not by-the-punishment even his-own
satiare posset, quamquam ex huius incommodis magnam
to-satisfy he-could although from of-this-man the-misfortunes great
animo molestiam capio, tamen in ceteris malis facile patior
in-mind annoyance I-take still in the-other evils easily I-suffer
oblatum mihi tempus esse in quo boni viri lenitatem
offered to-me an-occasion to-have-been in which good men the-mildness
meam misericordiamque, notam quondam omnibus, nunc quasi
my and-pity known once to-all now as-if

intermissam agnoscerent, improbi ac perditi cives domiti atque
interrupted might-recognize the-wicked and abandoned citizens tamed and
victi praecipitante re publica vehementem me fuisse
conquered with-falling-headlong the-thing public vehement me to-have-been
atque fortem, conservata mitem ac misericordem faterentur.
and brave with-it-preserved mild and merciful might-confess
2 Et quoniam L. Torquatus, meus familiaris ac necessarius,
and since Lucius Torquatus my intimate and connection
iudices, existimavit, si nostram in accusatione sua
judges thought if our in accusation his-own
necessitudinem familiaritatemque violasset, aliquid se de
bond and-intimacy he-had-violated something himself from
auctoritate meae defensionis posse detrahere, cum huius
the-authority of-my defense to-be-able to-take-away with of-this-man
periculi propulsatione coniungam defensionem offici mei. Quo
of-the-danger the-warding-off I-shall-join the-defense of-duty my which
quidem genere non uterer orationis, iudices, hoc tempore, si
indeed kind not I-would-use of-speech judges at-this time if
mea solum interesset; multis enim locis mihi et data facultas
to-me alone it-mattered in-many for places to-me both given the-opportunity
est et saepe dabitur de mea laude dicendi; sed, ut ille
has-been and often will-be-given about my praise of-speaking but as he
vidit, quantum de mea auctoritate deripuisset, tantum se
saw how-much from my authority he-had-snatched so-much himself
de huius praesidiis deminuturum, sic hoc ego sentio, si mei
from of-this-man the-defenses going-to-diminish so this I feel if of-my
facti rationem vobis constantiamque huius offici ac defensionis
act the-reason to-you and-the-consistency of-this duty and defense
probaro, causam quoque me P. Sullae probaturum.
I-shall-have-proved the-case also myself of-Publius Sulla going-to-prove

Ac primum abs te illud, L. Torquate, quaero, cur me a 3
and first from you this Lucius Torquatus I-ask why me from
ceteris clarissimis viris ac principibus civitatis in hoc officio
the-other most-famous men and leaders of-the-state in this duty
atque in defensionis iure secernas. Quid enim est quam
and in of-defense the-right you-separate what for is which
ob rem abs te Q. Hortensi factum, clarissimi viri
on-account-of thing by you of-Quintus Hortensius the-act a-most-famous man
atque ornatissimi, non reprehendatur, reprehendatur meum?
and most-distinguished not is-censured is-censured mine
Nam, si est initum a P. Sulla consilium inflammandae
for if was entered-upon by Publius Sulla a-plan of-being-set-on-fire
huius urbis, exstinguendi imperi, delendae civitatis,
of-this city of-being-extinguished of-the-empire of-being-destroyed of-the-state
mihi maiorem hae res dolorem quam Q. Hortensio,
to-me greater these things grief than to-Quintus Hortensius
mihi maius odium adferre debent, meum denique gravius esse
to-me greater hatred to-bring ought my finally weightier to-be
iudicium, qui adiuvandus in his causis, qui oppugnandus,
the-judgment who to-be-helped in these cases who to-be-attacked
qui defendendus, qui deserendus esse videatur? 'Ita,' inquit;
who to-be-defended who to-be-abandoned to-be may-seem so he-says
'tu enim investigasti, tu patefecisti coniurationem.'
you for tracked-down you laid-open the-conspiracy
Quod cum dicit, non attendit eum qui patefecerit hoc 4
which when he-says not he-notices him who laid-open this
curasse, ut id omnes viderent quod antea fuisset occultum.
to-have-taken-care that it all might-see which before had-been hidden
Qua re ista coniuratio, si patefacta per me est,
by-which thing that conspiracy if laid-open through me has-been
tam patet Hortensio quam mihi. Quem cum videas hoc
as-much lies-open to-Hortensius as to-me whom when you-see with-this

honore, auctoritate, virtute, consilio praeditum non dubitasse
office authority virtue counsel endowed not to-have-hesitated
quin innocentiam P. Sullae defenderet, quaero cur
but-that the-innocence of-Publius Sulla he-should-defend I-ask why
qui aditus ad causam Hortensio patuerit mihi interclusus
which the-approach to the-case to-Hortensius lay-open to-me shut-off
esse debuerit; quaero illud etiam, si me, qui defendo,
to-have-been ought I-ask this also if me who defend
reprehendendum putas esse, quid tandem de his existimes
to-be-censured you-think to-be what pray about these you-think
summis viris et clarissimis civibus, quorum studio et dignitate
highest men and most-famous citizens whose by-zeal and dignity
celebrari hoc iudicium, ornari causam, defendi huius
to-be-thronged this trial to-be-adorned the-case to-be-defended of-this-man
innocentiam vides. Non enim una ratio est defensionis ea
the-innocence you-see not for one the-method is of-defense that
quae posita est in oratione; omnes qui adsunt, qui laborant, qui
which placed is in speech all who are-present who labor who
salvum volunt, pro sua parte atque auctoritate defendunt.
safe wish-him for their-own part and authority defend
5 An vero, in quibus subselliis haec ornamenta ac lumina
or indeed on which benches these ornaments and lights
rei publicae viderem, in his me apparere nollem,
of-the-thing public I-saw on these myself to-appear I-would-be-unwilling
cum ego illum in locum atque in hanc excelsissimam
when I that into place and into this most-lofty
sedem dignitatis atque honoris multis meis ac magnis
seat of-dignity and of-honor by-many my and great
laboribus et periculis ascendissem? Atque ut intellegas,
labors and dangers had-climbed and that you-may-understand
Torquate, quem accuses, si te forte id offendit quod ego,
Torquatus whom you-accuse if you perhaps it offends that I

qui in hoc genere quaestionis defenderim neminem, non
who in this kind of-inquiry have-defended no-one not
desim P. Sullae, recordare de ceteris quos adesse
I-fail Publius Sulla recall about the-others whom to-be-present
huic vides; intelleges et de hoc et de aliis
for-this-man you-see you-will-understand both about this-man and about the-others
iudicium meum et horum par atque unum fuisse.
the-judgment my and of-these-men equal and one to-have-been
Quis nostrum adfuit Vargunteio? Nemo, ne hic quidem 6
who of-us stood-by Vargunteius no-one not this-man even
Q. Hortensius, praesertim qui illum solus antea de
Quintus Hortensius especially who him alone before on
ambitu defendisset. Non enim iam se ullo officio
bribery had-defended not for any-longer himself by-any duty
cum illo coniunctum arbitrabatur, cum ille tanto scelere
with that-man joined he-thought since he so-great a-crime
commisso omnium officiorum societatem diremisset.
having-been-committed of-all duties the-fellowship had-broken-off
Quis nostrum Serv. Sullam, quis Publium, quis M. Laecam,
who of-us Servius Sulla who Publius who Marcus Laeca
quis C. Cornelium defendendum putavit, quis eis
who Gaius Cornelius to-be-defended thought who to-them
horum adfuit? Nemo. Quid ita? Quia ceteris in causis
of-these-men stood-by no-one why so because other in cases
etiam nocentis viri boni, si necessarii sunt, deserendos esse
even the-guilty men good if connections they-are to-be-abandoned to-be
non putant; in hoc crimine non solum levitatis est culpa
not think in this charge not only of-fickleness is the-fault
verum etiam quaedam contagio sceleris, si defendas eum
but also a-certain contagion of-crime if you-defend him
quem obstrictum esse patriae parricidio suspicere.
whom bound to-be to-the-country by-parricide you-suspect

7 Quid? Autronio nonne sodales, non conlegae sui, non veteres
what to-Autronius surely comrades not colleagues his not old
amici, quorum ille copia quondam abundarat, non
friends whose he by-the-abundance once had-abounded not
hi omnes qui sunt in re publica principes defuerunt?
these all who are in the-thing public leaders failed-him
Immo etiam testimonio plerique laeserunt. Statuerant tantum
nay even by-testimony most harmed-him they-had-decided so-great
illud esse maleficium quod non modo non occultari per
that to-be the-evil-deed that not only not to-be-hidden by
se sed etiam aperiri inlustrarique deberet. Quam
itself but also to-be-opened and-to-be-brought-to-light it-ought which
ob rem quid est quod mirere, si cum isdem
on-account-of thing what is that you-should-wonder if with the-same-men
me in hac causa vides adesse cum quibus in ceteris
me in this case you-see to-be-present with whom in the-others
intellegis afuisse? Nisi vero me unum vis ferum
you-understand to-have-been-absent unless indeed me alone you-want savage
praeter ceteros, me asperum, me inhumanum existimari, me
beyond the-others me harsh me inhuman to-be-thought me
singulari immanitate et crudelitate praeditum.
with-singular monstrousness and cruelty endowed

Torquatus sees Cicero as vehement by nature; but nature made him merciful, and only his country made him severe. He stands with the leading men in this defense, sharing their cause and their praise. That he testified against Autronius and now defends Sulla shows only that he judges each case. Torquatus speaks of two conspiracies: of the first, in the consulship of Lepidus and Volcatius, Cicero knew nothing, and Hortensius, who sat in council with Torquatus' father, has answered it.

Hanc mihi tu si propter meas res gestas imponis in 8
this on-me you if on-account-of my deeds done impose in
omni vita mea, Torquate, personam, vehementer erras. Me
all life my Torquatus the-role vehemently you-err me
natura misericordem, patria severum, crudelem nec patria
nature merciful my-country severe cruel neither my-country
nec natura esse voluit; denique istam ipsam personam
nor nature to-be wished finally that very role
vehementem et acrem quam mihi tum tempus et res
vehement and fierce which on-me then the-time and the-thing
publica imposuit iam voluntas et natura ipsa detraxit. Illa
public imposed now my-will and nature itself has-taken-off that
enim ad breve tempus severitatem postulavit, haec in omni
for for a-short time severity demanded this in all
vita misericordiam lenitatemque desiderat.
life mercy and-mildness desires
Qua re nihil est quod ex tanto comitatu virorum 9
by-which thing nothing is why from so-great a-company of-men
amplissimorum me unum abstrahas; simplex officium atque
most-ample me alone you-should-drag-away single the-duty and
una bonorum est omnium causa. Nihil erit quod admirere
one of-the-good is of-all the-cause nothing will-be why you-should-wonder
posthac, si in ea parte in qua hos animum adverteris
hereafter if on that side on which these-men the-mind you-will-have-turned

me videbis. Nulla est enim in re publica mea causa propria;
me you-will-see none is for in the-thing public my cause personal
tempus agendi fuit mihi magis proprium quam ceteris,
the-time of-acting was to-me more personal than to-the-others
doloris vero et timoris et periculi fuit illa causa communis;
of-the-grief indeed and of-the-fear and of-the-danger was that cause common
neque enim ego tunc princeps ad salutem esse potuissem, si
nor for I then a-leader for safety to-be could-have-been if
esse alii comites noluissent. Qua re necesse est, quod
to-be others companions had-been-unwilling by-which thing necessary it-is that-which
mihi consuli praecipuum fuit praeter alios, id iam privato
to-me as-consul special was beyond others that now as-a-private-man
cum ceteris esse commune. Neque ego hoc partiendae
with the-others to-be common nor I this of-dividing
invidiae, sed communicandae laudis causa loquor; oneris
ill-will but of-sharing praise for-the-sake say of-the-burden
mei partem nemini impertio, gloriae bonis omnibus.
my a-part to-no-one I-impart of-the-glory to-the-good all
10 'In Autronium testimonium dixisti,' inquit; 'Sullam defendis.'
against Autronius testimony you-gave he-says Sulla you-defend
Hoc totum eius modi est, iudices, ut, si ego sum inconstans
this whole of-that kind is judges that if I am inconsistent
ac levis, nec testimonio fidem tribui convenerit nec
and fickle neither to-my-testimony credit to-be-granted will-be-fitting nor
defensioni auctoritatem; sin est in me ratio rei publicae,
to-my-defense authority but-if there-is in me regard of-the-thing public
religio privati offici, studium retinendae voluntatis bonorum,
scruple of-private duty zeal of-retaining the-goodwill of-the-good
nihil minus accusator debet dicere quam a me defendi
nothing less the-accuser ought to-say than by me to-be-defended
Sullam, testimonio laesum esse Autronium. Videor enim
Sulla by-testimony harmed to-have-been Autronius I-seem for

iam non solum studium ad defendendas causas verum etiam
now not only zeal for defending cases but also
opinionis aliquid et auctoritatis adferre; qua ego et moderate
of-reputation something and of-authority to-bring which I both moderately
utar, iudices, et omnino non uterer, si ille me non coegisset.
I-shall-use judges and at-all not would-use if he me not had-compelled
Duae coniurationes abs te, Torquate, constituuntur, una quae 11
two conspiracies by you Torquatus are-set-up one which
Lepido et Volcatio consulibus patre tuo consule designato
with-Lepidus and Volcatius as-consuls with-father your as-consul designate
facta esse dicitur, altera quae me consule; harum in
made to-have-been is-said the-other which with-me as-consul of-these in
utraque Sullam dicis fuisse. Patris tui, fortissimi viri atque
each Sulla you-say to-have-been of-father your most-brave a-man and
optimi consulis, scis me consiliis non interfuisse; scis
best consul you-know me in-the-counsels not to-have-taken-part you-know
me, cum mihi summus tecum usus esset, tamen illorum
me although to-me the-highest with-you intimacy there-was still of-those
expertem temporum et sermonum fuisse, credo quod
without-share times and talks to-have-been I-believe because
nondum penitus in re publica versabar, quod nondum ad
not-yet deeply in the-thing public I-was-engaged because not-yet to
propositum mihi finem honoris perveneram, quod me ambitio
the-set for-me end of-office I-had-arrived because me canvassing
et forensis labor ab omni illa cogitatione abstrahebat.
and of-the-forum labor from all that thought was-drawing-away
Quis ergo intererat vestris consiliis? Omnes hi quos vides 12
who therefore took-part in-your counsels all these whom you-see
huic adesse et in primis Q. Hortensius; qui cum
for-this-man to-be-present and in the-first Quintus Hortensius who both
propter honorem ac dignitatem atque animum eximium
on-account-of his-office and dignity and spirit outstanding

in rem publicam, tum propter summam familiaritatem
toward the-thing public and on-account-of the-highest intimacy
summumque amorem in patrem tuum cum communibus
and-the-highest love toward father your both by-the-common
tum praecipuis patris tui periculis commovebatur. Ergo istius
and the-special of-father your dangers was-moved therefore of-that
coniurationis crimen defensum ab eo est qui interfuit, qui
conspiracy the-charge defended by him has-been who took-part who
cognovit, qui particeps et consili vestri fuit et timoris;
learned who a-sharer both of-the-counsel your was and of-the-fear
cuius in hoc crimine propulsando cum esset copiosissima
whose in this charge being-warded-off although was most-copious
atque ornatissima oratio, tamen non minus inerat auctoritatis
and most-distinguished the-speech still not less was-in-it of-authority
in ea quam facultatis. Illius igitur coniurationis quae facta
in it than of-skill of-that therefore conspiracy which made
contra vos, delata ad vos, a vobis prolata esse dicitur,
against you reported to you by you brought-forward to-have-been is-said
ego testis esse non potui; non modo animo nihil comperi,
I a-witness to-be not could not only in-mind nothing I-learned
sed vix ad auris meas istius suspicionis fama pervenit.
but scarcely to ears my of-that suspicion the-report arrived
13 Qui vobis in consilio fuerunt, qui vobiscum illa
those-who to-you in council were who with-you those-things
cognorunt, quibus ipsis periculum tum conflari putabatur,
learned against-whom themselves danger then to-be-kindled was-thought
qui Autronio non adfuerunt, qui in illum testimonia gravia
who for-Autronius not stood-by who against him testimonies weighty
dixerunt, hunc defendunt, huic adsunt, in huius
spoke this-man they-defend for-this-man they-are-present in of-this-man's
periculo declarant se non crimine coniurationis, ne
danger they-declare themselves not by-the-charge of-conspiracy that-not

adessent ceteris, sed hominum maleficio deterritos
they-should-stand-by the-others but of-the-men by-the-evil-doing deterred
esse. Mei consulatus autem tempus et crimen maximae
to-have-been of-my consulship however the-time and the-charge of-the-greatest
coniurationis a me defendetur. Atque haec inter nos partitio
conspiracy by me will-be-defended and this between us the-division
defensionis non est fortuito, iudices, nec temere facta; sed cum
of-the-defense not is by-chance judges nor rashly made but when
videremus eorum criminum nos patronos adhiberi quorum
we-saw of-those charges ourselves as-advocates to-be-employed of-which
testes esse possemus, uterque nostrum id sibi suscipiendum
witnesses to-be we-could each of-us that to-himself to-be-undertaken
putavit de quo aliquid scire ipse atque existimare potuisset.
thought about which something to-know himself and to-judge he-could-have

III · AUTRONIUS AND SULLA

Of the conspiracy in his own consulship Cicero heard nothing against Sulla. He did not defend Autronius because Autronius' case was not Sulla's: Autronius rioted against his court, joined Catiline and Lentulus in everything, and was exposed by the Allobroges and by letters, while Sulla stayed quietly at Naples. Autronius begged him with tears, recalling their schooling and service together, but Cicero remembered the city's danger and refused him and the Marcelli; for Sulla, with no charge against him, he gladly took the case.

Et quoniam de criminibus superioris coniurationis Hortensium 14
and since about the-charges of-the-earlier conspiracy Hortensius
diligenter audistis, de hac coniuratione quae me consule
carefully you-have-heard about this conspiracy which with-me as-consul
facta est hoc primum attendite. Multa, cum essem consul,
made was this first attend-to many-things when I-was consul

de summis rei publicae periculis audivi, multa
about the-highest of-the-thing public dangers I-heard many-things
quaesivi, multa cognovi; nullus umquam de Sulla nuntius
I-inquired many-things I-learned no ever about Sulla message
ad me, nullum indicium, nullae litterae pervenerunt, nulla
to me no information no letters arrived no
suspicio. Multum haec vox fortasse valere deberet eius hominis
suspicion much this voice perhaps to-avail ought of-that man
qui consul insidias rei publicae consilio investigasset,
who as-consul the-plots against-the-thing public by-counsel had-tracked-down
veritate aperuisset, magnitudine animi vindicasset, cum is se
by-truth had-opened by-greatness of-spirit had-punished when he himself
nihil audisse de P. Sulla, nihil suspicatum esse diceret.
nothing to-have-heard about Publius Sulla nothing suspected to-have said
Sed ego nondum utor hac voce ad hunc defendendum;
but I not-yet use this voice for this-man to-be-defended
ad purgandum me potius utar, ut mirari Torquatus
for clearing myself rather I-shall-use-it that to-wonder Torquatus
desinat me qui Autronio non adfuerim Sullam defendere.
may-cease me who for-Autronius not stood-by Sulla to-defend
15 Quae enim Autroni fuit causa, quae Sullae est? Ille ambitus
what for of-Autronius was the-case what of-Sulla is he of-bribery
iudicium tollere ac disturbare primum conflato voluit
the-trial to-remove and to-disrupt first by-a-stirred-up wished
gladiatorum ac fugitivorum tumultu, deinde, id quod
of-gladiators and of-runaways by-a-riot then that which
vidimus omnes, lapidatione atque concursu; Sulla, si sibi
we-saw all by-stoning and a-rush Sulla if to-himself
suus pudor ac dignitas non prodesset, nullum auxilium
his-own modesty and dignity not were-of-use no help
requisivit. Ille damnatus ita se gerebat non solum consiliis
sought he condemned so himself conducted not only in-counsels

et sermonibus verum etiam aspectu atque voltu ut inimicus
and talks but also in-look and face that hostile
esse amplissimis ordinibus, infestus bonis omnibus, hostis
to-be to-the-most-ample orders dangerous to-the-good all an-enemy
patriae videretur; hic se ita fractum illa calamitate
of-the-country he-seemed this-man himself so broken by-that calamity
atque adflictum putavit ut nihil sibi ex pristina dignitate
and afflicted thought that nothing to-himself from former dignity
superesse arbitraretur, nisi quod modestia retinuisset.
to-remain he-judged except what by-modesty he-had-retained
Hac vero in coniuratione quid tam coniunctum quam 16
in-this indeed in conspiracy what so joined as
ille cum Catilina, cum Lentulo? quae tanta societas ullis
he with Catiline with Lentulus what so-great fellowship to-any
inter se rerum optimarum quanta ei cum illis
among themselves of-things the-best as-great-as to-him with them
sceleris, libidinis, audaciae? quod flagitium Lentulus non
of-crime of-lust of-audacity what outrage Lentulus not
cum Autronio concepit? quod sine eodem illo Catilina
with Autronius conceived what without the-same that Catiline
facinus admisit? Cum interim Sulla cum isdem illis non
deed committed when meanwhile Sulla with the-same those-men not
modo noctem solitudinemque non quaereret sed ne mediocri
only night and-solitude not sought but not by-ordinary
quidem sermone et congressu coniungeretur.
even talk and meeting was-joined
Illum Allobroges, maximarum rerum verissimi indices, illum 17
him the-Allobroges of-the-greatest things most-truthful informers him
multorum litterae ac nuntii coarguerunt; Sullam interea nemo
of-many the-letters and messages convicted Sulla meanwhile no-one
insimulavit, nemo nominavit. Postremo eiecto sive emisso
accused no-one named finally thrown-out or let-go

iam ex urbe Catilina ille arma misit, cornua, tubas, fascis,
already from the-city Catiline he arms sent horns trumpets fasces
signa, legiones, ille relictus intus, exspectatus foris, Lentuli
standards legions he left inside awaited outside by-Lentulus'
poena compressus convertit se aliquando ad timorem,
punishment checked turned himself at-last to fear
numquam ad sanitatem; hic contra ita quievit ut eo
never to sanity this-man on-the-contrary so kept-quiet that in-that
tempore omni Neapoli fuerit, ubi neque homines fuisse
time all at-Naples he-was where neither men to-have-been
putantur huius adfines suspicionis et locus est ipse non tam
are-thought of-this partakers of-suspicion and the-place is itself not so-much
ad inflammandos calamitosorum animos quam ad consolandos
for being-inflamed of-the-ruined the-minds as for being-consoled
accommodatus. Propter hanc igitur tantam dissimilitudinem
suited on-account-of this therefore so-great unlikeness
hominum atque causarum dissimilem me in utroque praebui.
of-the-men and of-the-cases unlike myself in each I-showed
18 Veniebat enim ad me et saepe veniebat Autronius multis
used-to-come for to me and often used-to-come Autronius many
cum lacrimis supplex ut se defenderem, et se meum
with tears a-suppliant that him I-should-defend and himself my
condiscipulum in pueritia, familiarem in adulescentia, conlegam
schoolfellow in boyhood intimate in youth colleague
in quaestura commemorabat fuisse; multa mea in se, non
in the-quaestorship he-recalled to-have-been many my toward him not
nulla etiam sua in me proferebat officia. Quibus ego
none even his-own toward me he-brought-forward services by-which I
rebus, iudices, ita flectebar animo atque frangebar ut iam ex
things judges so was-bent in-mind and was-broken that now from
memoria quas mihi ipsi fecerat insidias deponerem, ut iam
memory which on-me himself he-had-made plots I-was-setting-aside that now

immissum esse ab eo C. Cornelium qui me in meis
sent-in to-have-been by him Gaius Cornelius who me in my-own
sedibus, in conspectu uxoris ac liberorum meorum trucidaret
home in the-sight of-wife and of-children my should-slaughter
obliviscerer. Quae si de uno me cogitasset, qua mollitia
I-was-forgetting which-things if about alone me he-had-thought with-what softness
sum animi ac lenitate, numquam me hercule illius
I-am of-mind and gentleness never so-help-me Hercules to-his
lacrimis ac precibus restitissem; sed cum mihi patriae,
tears and prayers would-I-have-resisted but when to-me of-the-country
cum vestrorum periculorum, cum huius urbis, cum illorum 19
when of-your dangers when of-this city when of-those
delubrorum atque templorum, cum puerorum infantium, cum
shrines and temples when of-the-children infant when
matronarum ac virginum veniebat in mentem, et cum
of-the-matrons and maidens it-came into mind and when
illae infestae ac funestae faces universumque totius urbis
those hostile and deadly torches and-the-whole of-all the-city
incendium, cum tela, cum caedes, cum civium cruor,
the-burning when the-weapons when the-slaughter when of-citizens the-blood
cum cinis patriae versari ante oculos atque animum
when the-ash of-the-country to-dwell before the-eyes and the-mind
memoria refricare coeperat, tum denique ei resistebam, neque
by-memory to-refresh had-begun then at-last him I-resisted nor
solum illi hosti ac parricidae sed his etiam propinquis illius,
only that enemy and parricide but these even relatives of-him
Marcellis, patri et filio, quorum alter apud me parentis
the-Marcelli father and son of-whom the-one with me of-a-parent
gravitatem, alter fili suavitatem obtinebat; neque me
the-gravity the-other of-a-son the-sweetness held nor myself

arbitrabar sine summo scelere posse, quod maleficium in aliis
did-I-think without the-highest crime to-be-able what evil-deed in others
vindicassem, idem in illorum socio, cum scirem, defendere.
I-had-punished the-same in their ally when I-knew to-defend
20 Atque idem ego neque P. Sullam supplicem ferre, neque
and the-same I neither Publius Sulla as-suppliant to-bear nor
eosdem Marcellos pro huius periculis lacrimantis aspicere,
the-same Marcelli for of-this-man's dangers weeping to-look-upon
neque huius M. Messalae, hominis necessarii, preces sustinere
nor of-this Marcus Messala a-man connected the-prayers to-withstand
potui; neque enim est causa adversata naturae, nec homo
could nor for is the-case opposed to-nature nor the-man
nec res misericordiae meae repugnavit. Nusquam nomen,
nor the-thing to-mercy my was-repugnant nowhere the-name
nusquam vestigium fuerat, nullum crimen, nullum indicium,
nowhere a-trace had-been no charge no information
nulla suspicio. Suscepi causam, Torquate, suscepi, et feci
no suspicion I-undertook the-case Torquatus I-undertook-it and did-so
libenter ut me, quem boni constantem, ut spero, semper
gladly that me whom the-good consistent as I-hope always
existimassent, eundem ne improbi quidem crudelem dicerent.
had-thought the-same not the-wicked even cruel should-call

Torquatus calls Cicero a tyrant. In his consulship he obeyed the senate and the good, and he is no king now; if his testimony was true, it is no tyranny to prove it on oath. To the gibe that he is the third foreign king after Tarquin and Numa, he answers that his town has twice saved Rome, and that Torquatus, whose mother came from Asculum, will stand against rivals from all Italy. If serving no desire is kingship, he owns it; but he toils for everyone without rest.

Hic ait se ille, iudices, regnum meum ferre non posse. 21
here says himself he judges the-tyranny my to-bear not to-be-able
Quod tandem, Torquate, regnum? Consulatus, credo, mei; in
what pray Torquatus tyranny of-the-consulship I-suppose my in
quo ego imperavi nihil et contra patribus conscriptis
which I commanded nothing and on-the-contrary the-fathers enrolled
et bonis omnibus parui; quo in magistratu non institutum
and the-good all obeyed which in magistracy not set-up
est videlicet a me regnum, sed repressum. An tum in tanto
was evidently by me a-tyranny but repressed or then in so-great
imperio, tanta potestate non dicis me fuisse regem, nunc
command so-great power not you-say me to-have-been a-king now
privatum regnare dicis? Quo tandem nomine? 'Quod,
as-a-private-man to-reign you-say by-what pray name because
in quos testimonia dixisti,' inquit, 'damnati sunt; quem
against whom testimonies you-gave he-says condemned they-are whom
defendis, sperat se absolutum iri.' Hic tibi ego de
you-defend hopes himself acquitted to-be-going here to-you I about
testimoniis meis hoc respondeo, si falsum dixerim, te in
the-testimonies my this answer if false I-have-said you against
eosdem dixisse; sin verum, non esse hoc regnare, cum
the-same-men to-have-said-it but-if true not to-be this to-reign when
verum iuratus dicas, probare. De huius spe tantum dico,
true on-oath you-say to-prove about of-this-man's hope only I-say

nullas a me opes P. Sullam, nullam potentiam, nihil
no from me resources Publius Sulla no power nothing
denique praeter fidem defensionis exspectare.
finally except the-good-faith of-a-defense to-expect
22 'Nisi tu,' inquit, 'causam recepisses, numquam mihi
unless you he-says the-case had-taken-up never to-me
restitisset, sed indicta causa profugisset.' Si iam hoc
would-he-have-stood but with-unpleaded case would-have-fled if now this
tibi concedam, Q. Hortensium, tanta gravitate hominem,
to-you I-should-grant Quintus Hortensius of-such-great gravity a-man
si hos talis viros non suo stare iudicio, sed meo; si hoc
if these such men not by-their-own to-stand judgment but by-mine if this
tibi dem quod credi non potest, nisi ego huic
to-you I-should-give which to-be-believed not can unless I for-this-man
adessem, hos adfuturos non fuisse, uter tandem
were-present these going-to-be-present not to-have-been which-of-the-two pray
rex est, isne cui innocentes homines non resistunt, an
a-king is he-whether to-whom innocent men not resist or
is qui calamitosos non deserit? At hic etiam, id quod tibi
he who the-ruined not abandons but here even that which for-you
necesse minime fuit, facetus esse voluisti, cum Tarquinium
necessary least was witty to-be you-wished when Tarquinius
et Numam et me tertium peregrinum regem esse dixisti.
and Numa and me third foreign king to-be you-said
Mitto iam de rege quaerere; illud quaero peregrinum cur
I-pass-over now about king to-inquire this I-ask foreign why
me esse dixeris. Nam si ita sum, non tam est admirandum
me to-be you-said for if so I-am not so-much is to-be-wondered-at
regem esse me, quoniam, ut tu ais, duo iam peregrini reges
a-king to-be me since as you say two already foreign kings

Romae fuerunt, quam consulem Romae fuisse peregrinum.
at-Rome have-been as a-consul at-Rome to-have-been foreign
'Hoc dico,' inquit, 'te esse ex municipio.'
this I-say he-says you to-be from a-town
Fateor et addo etiam: ex eo municipio unde iterum 23
I-confess and I-add even from that town whence a-second-time
iam salus huic urbi imperioque missa est. Sed scire
already safety to-this city and-empire sent has-been but to-know
ex te pervelim quam ob rem qui ex
from you I-should-greatly-like which on-account-of thing those-who from
municipiis veniant peregrini tibi esse videantur. Nemo istuc
the-towns come foreigners to-you to-be seem no-one that
M. illi Catoni seni, cum plurimos haberet inimicos,
to-Marcus that Cato the-elder although very-many he-had enemies
nemo Ti. Coruncanio, nemo M'. Curio, nemo huic
no-one to-Tiberius Coruncanius no-one to-Manius Curius no-one to-this
ipsi nostro C. Mario, cum ei multi inviderent, obiecit
very our Gaius Marius although him many envied cast-in-his-teeth
umquam. Equidem vehementer laetor eum esse me in
ever for-my-part vehemently I-rejoice him to-be me against
quem tu, cum cuperes, nullam contumeliam iacere potueris
whom you although you-desired no insult to-throw could
quae non ad maximam partem civium conveniret. Sed tamen
which not to the-greatest part of-citizens would-apply but still
te a me pro magnis causis nostrae necessitudinis monendum
you by me for great reasons of-our bond to-be-warned
esse etiam atque etiam puto. Non possunt omnes esse
to-be again and again I-think not can all to-be
patricii; si verum quaeris, ne curant quidem; nec se
patricians if the-truth you-seek not do-they-care even nor themselves
aequales tui propter istam causam abs te anteiri putant.
the-equals your on-account-of that reason by you to-be-surpassed think

24 Ac si tibi nos peregrini videmur, quorum iam et nomen
and if to-you we foreigners seem whose already both name
et honos inveteravit et urbi huic et hominum famae
and office has-grown-old both to-city this and of-men to-the-report
ac sermonibus, quam tibi illos competitores tuos peregrinos
and talks how to-you those competitors your foreigners
videri necesse erit qui iam ex tota Italia delecti tecum
to-seem necessary it-will-be who now from all Italy chosen with-you
de honore ac de omni dignitate contendent! Quorum
about office and about all dignity will-contend of-whom
cave tu quemquam peregrinum appelles, ne peregrinorum
take-care you anyone a-foreigner call lest of-foreigners
suffragiis obruare. Qui si attulerint nervos et
by-the-votes you-be-overwhelmed who if they-will-have-brought sinews and
industriam, mihi crede, excutient tibi istam verborum
industry to-me believe they-will-shake-out of-you that of-words
iactationem et te ex somno saepe excitabunt nec patientur
boasting and you from sleep often will-rouse nor will-they-allow
se abs te, nisi virtute vincentur, honore superari.
themselves by you unless by-virtue they-will-be-conquered in-office to-be-surpassed
25 Ac si, iudices, ceteris patriciis me et vos peregrinos videri
and if judges to-the-other patricians I and you foreigners to-seem
oporteret, a Torquato tamen hoc vitium sileretur; est
it-were-proper by Torquatus still this fault would-be-kept-silent is
enim ipse a materno genere municipalis, honestissimi ac
for he-himself from the-maternal line of-a-town of-a-most-honorable and
nobilissimi generis, sed tamen Asculani. Aut igitur doceat
most-noble family but still of-Asculum either therefore let-him-show
Picentis solos non esse peregrinos aut gaudeat suo generi me
the-Picentes alone not to-be foreigners or let-him-rejoice to-his race me
meum non anteponere. Qua re neque tu me peregrinum
mine not to-prefer by-which thing neither you me a-foreigner

posthac dixeris, ne gravius refutere, neque regem, ne
hereafter should-call lest more-heavily you-be-refuted nor a-king lest
derideare. Nisi forte regium tibi videtur ita vivere ut non
you-be-laughed-at unless perhaps kingly to-you it-seems so to-live that not
modo homini nemini sed ne cupiditati quidem ulli servias,
only to-man to-no but not to-desire even to-any you-be-a-slave
contemnere omnis libidines, non auri, non argenti, non
to-despise all lusts not of-gold not of-silver not
ceterarum rerum indigere, in senatu sentire libere, populi
of-other things to-need in the-senate to-vote freely of-the-people
utilitati magis consulere quam voluntati, nemini cedere,
for-the-advantage rather to-consult than for-the-wish to-no-one to-yield
multis obsistere. Si hoc putas esse regium, regem me esse
many to-resist if this you-think to-be kingly a-king me to-be
confiteor; sin te potentia mea, si dominatio, si denique aliquod
I-confess but-if you the-power my if the-domination if finally some
dictum adrogans aut superbum movet, quin tu id potius
saying arrogant or proud moves why-not you that rather
profers quam verbi invidiam contumeliamque maledicti?
bring-forward than of-a-word the-odium and-the-insult of-abuse
Ego, tantis a me beneficiis in re publica positis, si 26
I so-great by me benefits in the-thing public having-been-placed if
nullum aliud mihi praemium ab senatu populoque Romano
no other to-me reward from the-senate and-the-people Roman
nisi honestum otium postularem, quis non concederet?
except honorable leisure I-demanded who not would-grant
Ceteri sibi haberent honores, sibi imperia, sibi
the-others to-themselves let-them-have offices to-themselves commands to-themselves
provincias, sibi triumphos, sibi alia praeclarae laudis
provinces to-themselves triumphs to-themselves other of-splendid praise
insignia; mihi liceret eius urbis quam conservassem
the-marks to-me let-it-be-allowed of-that city which I-had-preserved

conspectu tranquillo animo et quieto frui. Quid si hoc non
the-sight with-tranquil mind and quiet to-enjoy what if this not
postulo? Si ille labor meus pristinus, si sollicitudo, si officia, si
I-demand if that labor my former if anxiety if services if
operae, si vigiliae deserviunt amicis, praesto sunt omnibus; si
efforts if watchings are-devoted to-friends ready are for-all if
neque amici in foro requirunt studium meum neque res
neither friends in the-forum miss zeal my nor the-thing
publica in curia; si me non modo non rerum gestarum
public in the-senate-house if me not only not of-things done
vacatio sed neque honoris neque aetatis excusatio vindicat
the-exemption but neither of-office nor of-age the-excuse claims
a labore; si voluntas mea, si industria, si domus, si animus,
from labor if will my if industry if house if mind
si aures patent omnibus; si mihi ne ad ea quidem quae
if ears lie-open to-all if to-me not for those-things even which
pro salute omnium gessi recordanda et cogitanda quicquam
for the-safety of-all I-did to-be-recalled and to-be-thought-on any
relinquitur temporis: tamen hoc regnum appellabitur, cuius
is-left of-time still this a-tyranny will-be-called of-which
vicarius qui velit esse inveniri nemo potest?
a-deputy who would-wish to-be to-be-found no-one can

Cicero is far from aspiring to tyranny; his only hope is that his deeds bring no danger back upon him. The forum is full of the men he drove from the citizens' necks, and he lives at war with every wicked man. Torquatus, a young man of great hope, lets his words run away with him: he speaks softly of Lentulus' crime but loudly of the prison and the punishment, and blames the state for executing traitors.

Longe abest a me regni suspicio; si quaeris qui sint 27
far is-distant from me of-tyranny the-suspicion if you-ask who have
Romae regnum occupare conati, ut ne replices annalium
at-Rome the-tyranny to-seize tried that not you-unroll of-the-annals
memoriam, ex domesticis imaginibus invenies. Res enim
the-record from domestic images you-will-find the-things for
gestae, credo, meae me nimis extulerunt ac mihi nescio
done I-suppose my me too-much have-carried-away and to-me I-know-not
quos spiritus attulerunt. Quibus de rebus tam claris,
what airs have-brought which about things so famous
tam immortalibus, iudices, hoc possum dicere, me qui ex
so immortal judges this I-can to-say me who from
summis periculis eripuerim urbem hanc et vitam omnium
the-highest dangers have-snatched city this and the-life of-all
civium satis adeptum fore, si ex hoc tanto in omnis
citizens enough to-have-gained going-to-be if from this so-great toward all
mortalis beneficio nullum in me periculum redundarit.
mortals kindness no upon me danger will-have-overflowed
Etenim in qua civitate res tantas gesserim memini, in qua 28
for-indeed in what state things so-great I-did I-remember in what
urbe verser intellego. Plenum forum est eorum hominum quos
city I-dwell I-understand full the-forum is of-those men whom
ego a vestris cervicibus depuli, iudices, a meis non removi.
I from your necks drove-off judges from mine not removed

Nisi vero paucos fuisse arbitramini qui conari aut sperare
unless indeed few to-have-been you-think who to-try or to-hope
possent se tantum imperium posse delere. Horum ego
could themselves so-great an-empire to-be-able to-destroy their I
faces eripere de manibus et gladios extorquere potui, sicuti
the-torches to-snatch from hands and the-swords to-wrest could as
feci, voluntates vero consceleratas ac nefarias nec sanare potui
I-did the-wills indeed criminal and wicked neither to-heal could-I
nec tollere. Qua re non sum nescius quanto periculo
nor to-remove by-which thing not I-am ignorant with-how-great danger
vivam in tanta multitudine improborum, cum mihi uni cum
I-live in so-great a-multitude of-the-wicked since by-me alone with
omnibus improbis aeternum videam bellum esse susceptum.
all wicked-men eternal I-see war to-have-been undertaken

29 Quod si illis meis praesidiis forte invides, et si ea tibi
but if those my defenses perhaps you-envy and if they to-you
regia videntur quod omnes boni omnium generum atque
kingly seem because all good-men of-all classes and
ordinum suam salutem cum mea coniungunt, consolare te
orders their-own safety with mine join console yourself
quod omnium mentes improborum mihi uni maxime sunt
that of-all the-minds of-the-wicked to-me alone most are
infensae et adversae; qui me non modo idcirco oderunt
hostile and adverse who me not only for-this-reason hate
quod eorum conatus impios et furorem consceleratum
because their attempts impious and fury criminal
repressi, sed eo etiam magis quod nihil iam se simile
I-repressed but by-this even more because nothing now themselves similar
me vivo conari posse arbitrantur.
with-me alive to-try to-be-able they-think

At vero quid ego mirer, si quid ab improbis de 30
but indeed why I should-wonder if anything by the-wicked about
me improbe dicitur, cum L. Torquatus primum ipse
me wickedly is-said when Lucius Torquatus first himself
his fundamentis adulescentiae iactis, ea spe proposita
with-these foundations of-youth laid that hope set-before-him
amplissimae dignitatis, deinde L. Torquati, fortissimi
of-the-most-ample dignity then of-Lucius Torquatus most-brave
consulis, constantissimi senatoris, semper optimi civis filius,
consul most-steadfast senator always best citizen the-son
interdum efferatur immoderatione verborum? Qui cum
sometimes is-carried-away by-the-immoderation of-words who when
suppressa voce de scelere P. Lentuli, de audacia
with-suppressed voice about the-crime of-Publius Lentulus about the-audacity
coniuratorum omnium dixisset, tantum modo ut vos qui
of-the-conspirators all he-had-spoken so-much only that you who
ea probatis exaudire possetis, de supplicio, de carcere
those-things approve to-hear could about the-execution about the-prison
magna et queribunda voce dicebat.
with-great and complaining voice he-spoke
In quo primum illud erat absurdum quod, cum ea quae 31
in which first this was absurd that while those-things which
leviter dixerat vobis probare volebat, eos autem qui circum
lightly he-had-spoken to-you to-commend he-wished those however who around
iudicium stabant audire nolebat, non intellegebat ea quae
the-court stood to-hear he-wished-not not he-understood those-things which
clare diceret ita illos audituros quibus se venditabat ut vos
loudly he-said so those-men going-to-hear to-whom himself he-was-selling that you
quoque audiretis, qui id non probabatis. Deinde alterum iam
also would-hear who it not approved then the-other now
oratoris est vitium non videre quid quaeque causa postulet.
of-an-orator is the-fault not to-see what each case demands

Nihil est enim tam alienum ab eo qui alterum coniurationis
nothing is for so foreign from him who another-man of-conspiracy
accuset quam videri coniuratorum poenam mortemque
accuses as to-seem of-the-conspirators the-punishment and-death
lugere. Quod cum is tribunus pl. facit qui unus videtur
to-mourn which when that tribune of-the-plebs does who alone seems
ex illis ad lugendos coniuratos relictus, nemini mirum est;
of those for being-mourned the-conspirators left to-no-one surprising it-is
difficile est enim tacere, cum doleas; te, si quid eius modi
difficult it-is for to-be-silent when you-grieve you if anything of-that kind
facis, non modo talem adulescentem sed in ea causa in qua
you-do not only such a-young-man but in that case in which
te vindicem coniurationis velis esse vehementer admiror.
you the-avenger of-the-conspiracy you-wish to-be vehemently I-wonder-at
32 Sed reprehendo tamen illud maxime quod isto ingenio
but I-censure still this most that with-that talent
et prudentia praeditus causam rei publicae non tenes,
and good-sense endowed the-case of-the-thing public not you-grasp
qui arbitrere plebi Romanae res eas non probari quas
you-who think to-the-plebs Roman things those not to-be-approved which
me consule omnes boni pro communi salute gesserunt.
with-me as-consul all good-men for the-common safety did
Ecquem tu horum qui adsunt, quibus te contra ipsorum
any you of-these-men who are-present to-whom yourself against their-own
voluntatem venditabas, aut tam sceleratum statuis fuisse
will you-were-selling either so wicked do-you-judge to-have-been
ut haec omnia perire voluerit, aut tam miserum ut et se
that these all-things to-perish he-wished or so wretched that both himself
perire cuperet et nihil haberet quod salvum esse vellet?
to-perish he-desired and nothing he-had which safe to-be he-wished
An vero clarissimum virum generis vestri ac nominis nemo
or indeed the-most-famous man of-race your and name no-one

reprehendit, qui filium suum vita privavit ut in ceteros
censures who son his-own of-life deprived that over the-others
firmaret imperium; tu rem publicam reprehendis, quae
he-might-strengthen his-command you the-thing public censure which
domesticos hostis, ne ab eis ipsa necaretur, necavit?
domestic enemies lest by them itself be-killed killed

VI · THE CONSUL'S GLORY

Cicero proclaims before the assembled crowd what he did as consul: with five men seized and confessing, he saved the city from burning, the citizens from slaughter, and the empire from ruin, without riot or levy. Torquatus' own father and Torquatus himself shared that work. Returning to the case, Cicero reads the Allobroges' information: Cassius named Autronius, and only when the Gauls asked about Sulla did he say he did not know.

Itaque attende, Torquate, quam ego defugiam auctoritatem 33
and-so attend Torquatus how I shun the-authority
consulatus mei! Maxima voce ut omnes exaudire possint
of-the-consulship my with-greatest voice that all to-hear may-be-able
dico semperque dicam. Adeste omnes animis, Quirites, quorum
I-say and-always will-say attend all with-minds citizens whose
ego frequentia magno opere laetor; erigite mentis aurisque
I in-the-crowd in-great measure rejoice raise minds and-ears
vestras et me de invidiosis rebus, ut ille putat, dicentem
your and me about invidious things as he thinks speaking
attendite! Ego consul, cum exercitus perditorum civium
attend-to I as-consul when an-army of-abandoned citizens
clandestino scelere conflatus crudelissimum et luctuosissimum
by-secret crime assembled the-most-cruel and most-mournful
exitium patriae comparasset, cum ad occasum interitumque
destruction for-the-country had-prepared when for the-fall and-ruin

rei publicae Catilina in castris, in his autem templis
of-the-thing public Catiline in the-camp in these however temples
atque tectis dux Lentulus esset constitutus, meis consiliis,
and houses leader Lentulus had-been established by-my counsels
meis laboribus, mei capitis periculis, sine tumultu, sine
by-my labors of-my life by-the-dangers without uproar without
dilectu, sine armis, sine exercitu, quinque hominibus
levy without arms without army five men
comprehensis atque confessis incensione urbem, internicione
seized and confessing from-burning the-city from-slaughter
civis, vastitate Italiam, interitu rem publicam liberavi;
the-citizens from-devastation Italy from-ruin the-thing public I-freed
ego vitam omnium civium, statum orbis terrae, urbem hanc
I the-life of-all citizens the-state of-the-world of-earth city this
denique, sedem omnium nostrum, arcem regum ac nationum
finally the-seat of-all of-us the-citadel of-kings and nations
exterarum, lumen gentium, domicilium imperi, quinque
foreign the-light of-peoples the-home of-the-empire of-five
hominum amentium ac perditorum poena redemi.
men mad and abandoned by-the-punishment I-redeemed

34 An me existimasti haec iniuratum in iudicio non esse
or me did-you-think these-things unsworn in court not to-be
dicturum quae iuratus in maxima contione dixissem? Atque
going-to-say which sworn in the-greatest assembly I-had-said and
etiam illud addam, ne qui forte incipiat improbus subito te
even this I-shall-add lest any perhaps begin wicked-man suddenly you
amare, Torquate, et aliquid sperare de te, atque ut idem
to-love Torquatus and something to-hope about you and that the-same
omnes exaudiant clarissima voce dicam. Harum omnium rerum
all may-hear with-the-clearest voice I-shall-say of-these all things
quas ego in consulatu pro salute rei publicae suscepi
which I in the-consulship for the-safety of-the-thing public undertook

atque gessi L. ille Torquatus, cum esset meus contubernalis
and did Lucius that Torquatus since he-was my tent-companion
in consulatu atque etiam in praetura fuisset, cum princeps,
in the-consulship and even in the-praetorship had-been since the-leader
cum auctor, cum signifer esset iuventutis, actor, adiutor,
since the-author since the-standard-bearer he-was of-the-youth an-actor a-helper
particeps exstitit; parens eius, homo amantissimus patriae,
a-sharer stood-out the-parent his a-man most-loving of-his-country
maximi animi, summi consili, singularis constantiae, cum
of-the-greatest spirit of-the-highest counsel of-singular steadfastness although
esset aeger, tamen omnibus rebus illis interfuit, nusquam est
he-was sick still in-all things those took-part nowhere was
a me digressus, studio, consilio, auctoritate unus adiuvit
from me departed by-zeal by-counsel by-authority alone he-helped
plurimum, cum infirmitatem corporis animi virtute superaret.
most since the-weakness of-body of-mind by-virtue he-overcame
Videsne ut eripiam te ex improborum subita gratia et 35
do-you-see-whether how I-snatch you from of-the-wicked the-sudden favor and
reconciliem bonis omnibus? Qui te et diligunt et retinent
reconcile-you to-the-good all who you both love and retain
retinebuntque semper nec, si a me forte desciveris,
and-will-retain always nor if from me perhaps you-will-have-revolted
idcirco te a se et a re publica et a tua
for-that-reason you from themselves and from the-thing public and from your
dignitate deficere patientur. Sed iam redeo ad causam atque
dignity to-fall-away will-they-allow but now I-return to the-case and
hoc vos, iudices, testor: mihi de memet ipso tam multa
this you judges I-call-to-witness on-me about me myself so many-things
dicendi necessitas quaedam imposita est ab illo. Nam si
of-saying necessity a-certain imposed has-been by him for if
Torquatus Sullam solum accusasset, ego quoque hoc tempore
Torquatus Sulla alone had-accused I also at-this time

nihil aliud agerem nisi eum qui accusatus esset defenderem;
nothing else would-do but him who accused had-been I-would-defend
sed cum ille tota illa oratione in me esset invectus et
but since he in-whole that speech against me had-been inveighed and
cum, ut initio dixi, defensionem meam spoliare auctoritate
since as at-the-beginning I-said defense my to-strip of-authority
voluisset, etiam si dolor meus respondere non cogeret,
he-had-wished even if grief my to-answer not compelled
tamen ipsa causa hanc a me orationem flagitavisset.
still itself the-case this from me speech would-have-demanded
36 Ab Allobrogibus nominatum Sullam esse dicis. Quis negat?
by the-Allobroges named Sulla to-have-been you-say who denies-it
Sed lege indicium et vide quem ad modum nominatus sit.
but read the-information and see in-what to manner named he-was
L. Cassium dixerunt commemorasse cum ceteris Autronium
Lucius Cassius they-said to-have-mentioned with the-others Autronius
secum facere. Quaero num Sullam dixerit Cassius. Nusquam.
with-himself to-act I-ask whether Sulla said Cassius nowhere
Sese aiunt quaesisse de Cassio quid Sulla sentiret. Videte
themselves they-say to-have-asked of Cassius what Sulla felt see
diligentiam Gallorum; qui vitam hominum naturamque non
the-diligence of-the-Gauls who the-life of-the-men and-nature not
nossent ac tantum audissent eos pari calamitate esse,
knew and only had-heard them in-equal calamity to-be
quaesiverunt essentne eadem voluntate. Quid tum Cassius?
they-asked whether-they-were of-the-same will what then Cassius
Si respondisset idem sentire et secum facere Sullam,
if he-had-answered the-same to-feel and with-himself to-act Sulla
tamen mihi non videretur in hunc id criminosum esse
still to-me not it-would-seem against this-man that incriminating to-be
debere. Quid ita? Quia, qui barbaros homines ad bellum
to-have-to why so because he-who barbarian men to war

impelleret, non debebat minuere illorum suspicionem et
was-urging not ought to-diminish their suspicion and
purgare eos de quibus illi aliquid suspicari viderentur.
to-clear those about whom they something to-suspect seemed
Non respondit tamen una facere Sullam. Etenim esset 37
not he-answered still together to-act Sulla for-indeed it-would-be
absurdum, cum ceteros sua sponte nominasset, mentionem
absurd since the-others of-his-own accord he-had-named mention
facere Sullae nullam nisi admonitum et interrogatum; nisi
to-make of-Sulla none unless reminded and asked unless
forte veri simile est P. Sullae nomen in memoria
perhaps of-the-truth like it-is of-Publius Sulla the-name in memory
Cassio non fuisse. Si nobilitas hominis, si adflicta
to-Cassius not to-have-been if the-nobility of-the-man if the-afflicted
fortuna, si reliquiae pristinae dignitatis non tam inlustres
fortune if the-remnants of-former dignity not so illustrious
fuissent, tamen Autroni commemoratio memoriam Sullae
had-been still of-Autronius the-mention the-memory of-Sulla
rettulisset; etiam, ut arbitror, cum auctoritates principum
would-have-brought-back even as I-think when the-authorities of-the-leaders
coniurationis ad incitandos animos Allobrogum conligeret
of-the-conspiracy for being-incited the-minds of-the-Allobroges he-was-collecting
Cassius, et cum sciret exteras nationes maxime nobilitate
Cassius and since he-knew foreign nations most by-nobility
moveri, non prius Autronium quam Sullam nominavisset.
to-be-moved not sooner Autronius than Sulla would-he-have-named
Iam vero illud minime probari potest, Gallos Autronio 38
now indeed this least to-be-proved can the-Gauls with-Autronius
nominato putasse propter calamitatis similitudinem
named to-have-thought on-account-of of-calamity the-likeness
sibi aliquid de Sulla esse quaerendum, Cassio, si
to-themselves something about Sulla to-be to-be-asked to-Cassius if

hic esset in eodem scelere, ne cum appellasset quidem
this-man were in the-same crime not when he-had-named even
Autronium, huius in mentem venire potuisse. Sed tamen
Autronius of-this-man into mind to-come to-have-been-able but still
quid respondit de Sulla Cassius? Se nescire certum.
what did-he-answer about Sulla Cassius himself not-to-know for-certain
'Non purgat,' inquit. Dixi antea: ne si argueret
not he-clears-him he-says I-said before not if he-were-to-accuse-him
quidem tum denique, cum esset interrogatus, id mihi
even then finally when he-had-been asked that to-me
criminosum videretur.
incriminating would-it-seem

VII · THE ALLOBROGES AND THE RECORDS

A trial asks whether a man is charged, not whether he is cleared; Cassius, who knew of everyone, said he did not know of Sulla, and that ignorance is a clearing. Torquatus next accuses Cicero of falsifying the public record. Cicero had senators of proven memory and speed take down every word, had the record copied and sent through all Italy and the provinces, and asks why Torquatus, who could have seen it before anyone, kept silent until now.

39 Sed ego in iudiciis et in quaestionibus non hoc quaerendum
but I in trials and in inquiries not this to-be-asked
arbitror, num purgetur aliquis, sed num arguatur.
think whether-at-all is-cleared someone but whether-at-all he-is-accused
Etenim cum se negat scire Cassius, utrum sublevat Sullam
for-indeed when himself denies to-know Cassius whether he-relieves Sulla
an satis probat se nescire? 'Sublevat apud Gallos.' Quid
or sufficiently proves himself not-to-know he-relieves-him among the-Gauls why
ita? 'Ne indicent.' Quid? Si periculum esse putasset ne
so lest they-inform what if danger to-be he-had-thought lest

illi umquam indicarent, de se ipse confessus esset?
they ever should-inform about himself he-himself confessed would-have
'Nesciit videlicet.' Credo celatum esse Cassium de
he-did-not-know evidently I-suppose kept-in-the-dark to-have-been Cassius about
Sulla uno; nam de ceteris certe sciebat; etenim domi eius
Sulla alone for about the-others certainly he-knew for-indeed at-home his
pleraque conflata esse constabat. Qui negare noluit
most-things contrived to-have-been it-was-agreed who to-deny was-unwilling
esse in eo numero Sullam quo plus spei Gallis daret,
to-be in that number Sulla that more of-hope to-the-Gauls he-might-give
dicere autem falsum non ausus est, se nescire dixit.
to-say however a-falsehood not dared he-has himself not-to-know he-said
Atque hoc perspicuum est, cum is qui de omnibus scierit
and this clear is when he who about all knew
de Sulla se scire negarit, eandem vim esse negationis
about Sulla himself to-know denied the-same force to-be of-denial
huius quam si extra coniurationem hunc esse se scire
this as if outside the-conspiracy this-man to-be himself to-know
dixisset. Nam cuius scientiam de omnibus constat fuisse,
he-had-said for whose knowledge about all-men it-is-agreed to-have-been
eius ignoratio de aliquo purgatio debet videri. Sed iam
his ignorance about someone a-clearing ought to-seem but now
non quaero purgetne Cassius Sullam; illud mihi tantum
not I-ask whether-clears Cassius Sulla this to-me only
satis est contra Sullam nihil esse in indicio.
enough is against Sulla nothing to-be in the-information
Exclusus hac criminatione Torquatus rursus in me inruit, 40
shut-out from-this charge Torquatus again upon me rushes
me accusat; ait me aliter ac dictum sit in tabulas
me he-accuses he-says me otherwise than said it-was into the-records
publicas rettulisse. O di immortales! — vobis enim tribuo
public to-have-entered O gods immortal to-you for I-assign

quae vestra sunt, nec vero possum meo tantum ingenio
what yours are nor indeed can-I to-my-own so-much talent
dare ut tot res tantas, tam varias, tam repentinas
give that so-many things so-great so various so sudden
in illa turbulentissima tempestate rei publicae mea
in that most-turbulent storm of-the-thing public of-my-own
sponte dispexerim — vos profecto animum meum tum
accord I-discerned you surely the-mind my then
conservandae patriae cupiditate incendistis, vos me ab
of-preserving the-country with-desire inflamed you me from
omnibus ceteris cogitationibus ad unam salutem rei
all other thoughts to the-one safety of-the-thing
publicae convertistis, vos denique in tantis tenebris erroris
public turned you finally in so-great darkness of-error
et inscientiae clarissimum lumen menti meae praetulistis.
and of-ignorance the-brightest light to-mind my held-before
41 Vidi ego hoc, iudices, nisi recenti memoria senatus
saw I this judges unless while-fresh in-memory of-the-senate
auctoritatem huius indici monumentis publicis testatus
the-authority of-this information by-records public attested
essem, fore ut aliquando non Torquatus neque Torquati
I-had it-would-be that some-day not Torquatus nor of-Torquatus
quispiam similis — nam id me multum fefellit — sed ut
anyone like for that me much it-deceived but that
aliquis patrimoni naufragus, inimicus oti, bonorum hostis,
some of-his-patrimony shipwrecked-man enemy of-peace of-the-good foe
aliter indicata haec esse diceret, quo facilius vento
otherwise informed these-things to-have-been would-say so-that more-easily with-wind
aliquo in optimum quemque excitato posset in malis
some against best everyone stirred-up he-might in the-evils
rei publicae portum aliquem suorum malorum invenire.
of-the-thing public harbor some of-his-own evils find

Itaque introductis in senatum indicibus constitui senatores qui
and-so brought-in into the-senate the-informers I-appointed senators who
omnia indicum dicta, interrogata, responsa perscriberent.
all of-the-informers the-sayings questions answers should-write-down
At quos viros! Non solum summa virtute et fide, 42
but what men not only of-highest virtue and good-faith
cuius generis erat in senatu facultas maxima, sed etiam
of-which kind there-was in the-senate supply very-great but also
quos sciebam memoria, scientia, celeritate scribendi facillime
whom I-knew by-memory by-knowledge by-speed of-writing most-easily
quae dicerentur persequi posse, C. Cosconium, qui tum
what was-said to-follow to-be-able Gaius Cosconius who then
erat praetor, M. Messalam, qui tum praeturam petebat,
was praetor Marcus Messala who then the-praetorship was-seeking
P. Nigidium, App. Claudium. Credo esse neminem
Publius Nigidius Appius Claudius I-believe there-to-be no-one
qui his hominibus ad vere referendum aut fidem putet
who to-these men for truly reporting either good-faith thinks
aut ingenium defuisse. Quid deinde? quid feci? Cum
or talent to-have-been-lacking what then what did-I-do when
scirem ita esse indicium relatum in tabulas publicas
I-knew so to-have-been the-information entered into the-records public
ut illae tabulae privata tamen custodia more maiorum
that those records in-private still custody by-the-custom of-the-ancestors
continerentur, non occultavi, non continui domi, sed statim
were-kept not I-hid not I-kept-it at-home but at-once
describi ab omnibus librariis, dividi passim et pervolgari
to-be-copied by all the-clerks to-be-distributed everywhere and to-be-published
atque edi populo Romano imperavi. Divisi tota
and to-be-issued to-the-people Roman I-ordered I-distributed-it through-all

Italia, emisi in omnis provincias; eius indici ex quo
Italy I-sent-it-out into all provinces of-that information from which
oblata salus esset omnibus expertem esse neminem volui.
offered safety had-been to-all without-share to-be no-one I-wished
43 Itaque dico locum in orbe terrarum esse nullum, quo in loco
and-so I-say a-place in the-circle of-the-lands to-be none which in place
populi Romani nomen sit, quin eodem perscriptum
of-the-people Roman the-name is but-that to-the-same-place written-out
hoc indicium pervenerit. In quo ego tam subito et exiguo et
this information has-arrived in which I in-so sudden and brief and
turbido tempore multa divinitus, ita ut dixi, non mea
turbulent a-time many-things divinely so as I-said not of-my-own
sponte providi, primum ne quis posset tantum aut de
accord foresaw first lest anyone could so-much either about
rei publicae aut de alicuius periculo meminisse quantum
of-the-thing public or about of-anyone the-danger to-remember as-much-as
vellet; deinde ne cui liceret umquam reprehendere
he-might-wish then lest to-anyone it-be-allowed ever to-censure
illud indicium aut temere creditum criminari; postremo ne
that information or rashly believed to-charge finally lest
quid iam a me, ne quid ex meis commentariis quaereretur,
anything now from me lest anything from my notebooks be-sought
ne aut oblivio mea aut memoria nimia videretur, ne denique
lest either forgetfulness my or memory excessive should-seem lest finally
aut neglegentia turpis aut diligentia crudelis putaretur.
either negligence shameful or diligence cruel be-thought
44 Sed tamen abs te, Torquate, quaero: cum indicatus tuus
but still from you Torquatus I-ask when informed-against your
esset inimicus et esset eius rei frequens senatus et recens
was enemy and there-was of-that thing a-crowded senate and fresh
memoria testis, et tibi, meo familiari et contubernali,
memory as-witness and to-you my intimate and tent-companion

prius etiam edituri indicium fuerint scribae mei, si
sooner even going-to-give the-information would-have-been clerks my if
voluisses, quam in codicem rettulissent, cur cum videres
you-had-wished than into the-register they-had-entered why when you-saw
aliter fieri, tacuisti, passus es, non mecum aut ut
otherwise to-be-done were-you-silent allowed you-have not with-me either as
cum familiarissimo questus es aut, quoniam tam facile
with a-most-intimate-friend complained you-have or since so easily
inveheris in amicos, iracundius et vehementius expostulasti?
you-inveigh against friends more-angrily and more-vehemently did-you-protest
Tu, cum tua vox numquam sit audita, cum indicio
you when your voice never has been-heard when with-the-information
lecto, descripto, divolgato quieveris, tacueris, repente
read copied published you-have-kept-quiet have-been-silent suddenly
tantam rem ementiare et in eum locum te deducas
so-great a-thing do-you-falsify and into that place yourself bring
ut, ante quam me commutati indici coargueris, te
that before than me of-altered information you-have-convicted yourself
summae neglegentiae tuo iudicio convictum esse fateare?
of-the-highest negligence by-your-own judgment convicted to-be you-confess

Cicero would not have neglected his own safety for anyone's, nor falsified a record the whole senate knew. He has borne Torquatus' insults out of friendship, youth, and respect for his father, but warns him not to presume on this mildness. Torquatus' father did not resent the friends who defended Sulla, and Torquatus, whose family won the consulship Sulla lost, has no cause for anger. Cornelius' son accuses, but Cicero himself saw Autronius in the Campus.

45 Mihi cuiusquam salus tanti fuisset ut meam
to-me of-anyone the-safety of-so-much would-have-been that my-own
neglegerem? Per me ego veritatem patefactam contaminarem
I-should-neglect by me I the-truth laid-open should-I-pollute
aliquo mendacio? quemquam denique ego iuvarem, a quo
with-some lie anyone finally I should-I-help by whom
et tam crudelis insidias rei publicae factas et
both so cruel plots against-the-thing public made and
me potissimum consule constitutas putarem? Quod si iam
with-me above-all as-consul set-up I-thought but if now
essem oblitus severitatis et constantiae meae, tamne amens
I-had forgotten severity and steadfastness my so-whether mad
eram ut, cum litterae posteritatis causa repertae sint,
was-I that since letters of-posterity for-the-sake invented have-been
quae subsidio oblivioni esse possent, ego recentem putarem
which as-aid to-forgetfulness to-be could I the-fresh should-think
memoriam cuncti senatus commentario meo posse superari?
memory of-all the-senate by-notebook my to-be-able to-be-overcome
46 Fero ego te, Torquate, iam dudum fero, et non numquam
I-bear I you Torquatus now long I-bear and not never
animum incitatum ad ulciscendam orationem tuam revoco
the-mind roused for avenging speech your I-call-back
ipse et reflecto, permitto aliquid iracundiae tuae, do
myself and turn-back I-allow something to-anger your I-give

adulescentiae, cedo amicitiae, tribuo parenti. Sed nisi
to-youth I-yield to-friendship I-grant to-your-parent but unless
tibi aliquem modum tute constitueris, coges
for-yourself some limit you-yourself will-have-set you-will-compel
oblitum me nostrae amicitiae habere rationem meae dignitatis.
forgetful me of-our friendship to-have regard of-my dignity
Nemo umquam me tenuissima suspicione perstrinxit quem
no-one ever me with-the-slightest suspicion grazed whom
non perverterim ac perfregerim. Sed mihi hoc credas
not I-overturned and broke-down but to-me this you-should-believe
velim: non eis libentissime soleo respondere quos
I-would-wish not to-those most-gladly I-am-accustomed to-answer whom
mihi videor facillime posse superare.
to-me I-seem most-easily to-be-able to-overcome
Tu quoniam minime ignoras consuetudinem dicendi meam, 47
you since least are-ignorant-of the-habit of-speaking my
noli hac nova lenitate abuti mea, noli aculeos orationis
do-not this new mildness abuse my do-not the-stings of-speech
meae, qui reconditi sunt, excussos arbitrari, noli id omnino
my which hidden are shaken-out think do-not that at-all
a me putare esse amissum si quid est tibi remissum
from me think to-be lost if anything is to-you remitted
atque concessum. Cum illae valent apud me excusationes
and granted while those avail with me the-excuses
iniuriae tuae, iratus animus tuus, aetas, amicitia nostra,
of-wrong your the-angry mind your age friendship our
tum nondum statuo te virium satis habere ut ego tecum
then not-yet I-judge you of-strength enough to-have that I with-you
luctari et congredi debeam. Quod si esses usu atque
to-wrestle and to-engage ought but if you-were in-experience and
aetate robustior, essem idem qui soleo cum
age more-robust I-would-be the-same-man who I-am-accustomed when

sum lacessitus; nunc tecum sic agam tulisse ut potius
I-am provoked now with-you so I-shall-deal to-have-borne that rather
iniuriam quam rettulisse gratiam videar.
the-wrong than to-have-returned the-favor I-may-seem

48 Neque vero quid mihi irascare intellegere possum. Si, quod
nor indeed why to-me you-are-angry to-understand can-I if because
eum defendo quem tu accusas, cur tibi ego non suscenseo,
him I-defend whom you accuse why with-you I not am-angry
quod accusas eum quem ego defendo? 'Inimicum ego,' inquis,
because you-accuse him whom I defend my-enemy I you-say
'accuso meum.' Et amicum ego defendo meum. 'Non debes tu
accuse my and my-friend I defend my not ought you
quemquam in coniurationis quaestione defendere.' Immo nemo
anyone in of-conspiracy an-inquiry to-defend nay no-one
magis eum de quo nihil umquam est suspicatus quam is
rather him about whom nothing ever has suspected than he
qui de aliis multa cognovit. 'Cur dixisti testimonium
who about others many-things learned why did-you-give testimony
in alios?' Quia coactus sum. 'Cur damnati sunt?' Quia
against others because compelled I-was why condemned were-they because
creditum est. 'Regnum est dicere in quem velis et
believed it-was a-tyranny it-is to-speak against whom you-wish and
defendere quem velis.' Immo servitus est non dicere in
to-defend whom you-wish nay slavery it-is not to-speak against
quem velis et non defendere quem velis. Ac si considerare
whom you-wish and not to-defend whom you-wish and if to-consider
coeperis utrum magis mihi hoc necesse fuerit facere an
you-will-have-begun whether more for-me this necessary was to-do or
istud tibi, intelleges honestius te inimicitiarum modum
that for-you you-will-understand more-honorably you of-enmities a-limit
statuere potuisse quam me humanitatis.
to-set to-have-been-able than me of-humanity

At vero, cum honos agebatur familiae vestrae amplissimus, hoc 49
but indeed when an-office was-at-stake of-family your most-ample this
est consulatus parentis tui, sapientissimus vir familiarissimis
is the-consulship of-parent your the-most-wise man with-his-most-intimate
suis non suscensuit, pater tuus, cum Sullam et defenderent
friends not was-angry father your when Sulla both they-defended
et laudarent? intellegebat hanc nobis a maioribus esse
and praised he-understood this to-us from the-ancestors to-have-been
traditam disciplinam ut nullius amicitia ad pericula
handed-down discipline that by-no-one's friendship for dangers
propulsanda impediremur. At erat huic iudicio longe
being-warded-off we-should-be-hindered but was to-this trial far
dissimilis illa contentio. Tum adflicto P. Sulla consulatus
unlike that contest then with-struck-down Publius Sulla the-consulship
vobis pariebatur, sicuti partus est; honoris erat certamen;
for-you was-being-gained as gained it-was of-office it-was a-contest
ereptum repetere vos clamitabatis, ut victi in campo
snatched-away to-recover you were-shouting that conquered in the-Campus
in foro vinceretis; tum qui contra vos pro huius
in the-forum you-might-conquer then those-who against you for of-this-man's
salute pugnabant, amicissimi vestri, quibus non irascebamini,
safety fought best-friends your with-whom not you-were-angry
consulatum vobis eripiebant, honori vestro repugnabant, et
the-consulship from-you were-snatching to-office your were-opposed and
tamen id inviolata vestra amicitia, integro officio, vetere
still it with-unviolated your friendship with-intact duty by-the-old
exemplo atque instituto optimi cuiusque faciebant.
example and practice of-best everyone they-were-doing
Ego vero quibus ornamentis adversor tuis aut cui dignitati 50
I indeed which distinctions oppose your or which dignity
vestrae repugno? Quid est quod iam ab hoc expetas? Honos
of-yours resist what is it-that now from this-man you-seek the-office

ad patrem, insignia honoris ad te delata sunt. Tu ornatus
to your-father the-insignia of-office to you brought have-been you adorned
exuviis huius venis ad eum lacerandum quem interemisti,
with-the-spoils of-this-man come for him being-torn-apart whom you-have-destroyed
ego iacentem et spoliatum defendo et protego. Atque hic tu
I lying-down and stripped defend and protect and here you
et reprehendis me quia defendam et irasceris; ego autem non
both censure me because I-defend and are-angry I however not
modo tibi non irascor sed ne reprehendo quidem factum
only with-you not am-angry but not I-censure even the-deed
tuum. Te enim existimo tibi statuisse quid faciendum
your you for I-judge for-yourself to-have-decided what to-be-done
putares et satis idoneum offici tui iudicem esse potuisse.
you-thought and enough suitable of-duty your judge to-be to-have-been-able
51 At accusat C. Corneli filius et id aeque valere debet
but accuses of-Gaius Cornelius the-son and that equally to-avail ought
ac si pater indicaret. O patrem Cornelium sapientem
as if the-father were-informing O father Cornelius wise
qui, quod praemi solet esse in indicio, reliquerit, quod
who what of-reward is-wont to-be in information he-left-behind what
turpitudinis in confessione, id per accusationem fili
of-disgrace in confession that through the-accusation of-his-son
susceperit! Sed quid est tandem quod indicat per istum
he-has-taken-on but what is pray that informs through that
puerum Cornelius? Si vetera, mihi ignota, cum Hortensio
boy Cornelius if old-things to-me unknown with Hortensius
communicata, respondit Hortensius; sin, ut ais, illum
shared has-answered Hortensius but-if as you-say that
conatum Autroni et Catilinae, cum in campo consularibus
attempt of-Autronius and of-Catiline when in the-Campus at-the-consular
comitiis, quae a me habita sunt, caedem facere voluerunt,
elections which by me held were slaughter to-make they-wished

Autronium tum in campo vidimus — sed quid dixi
Autronius then in the-Campus we-saw but why did-I-say
vidisse nos? ego vidi; vos enim tum, iudices, nihil laborabatis
to-have-seen us I saw you for then judges nothing were-anxious
neque suspicabamini, ego tectus praesidio firmo amicorum
nor suspected I protected by-a-guard strong of-friends
Catilinae tum et Autroni copias et conatum repressi.
of-Catiline then and of-Autronius the-forces and attempt checked

IX · CORNELIUS, THE GLADIATORS, AND SITTIUS

Young Cornelius' information, prompted by his father, says nothing of Sulla in the Campus or on the night at Laeca's house, when Cornelius' father undertook to murder Cicero; at that time Sulla was far away at Naples. The gladiators Sulla bought were owed under Faustus' father's will, and the purchase was made at Faustus' request. Publius Sittius went to Spain before the conspiracy, on old business with the king of Mauretania, and Sulla sold Sittius' estates to pay Sittius' debts.

Num quis est igitur qui tum dicat in campum aspirasse 52
surely-not anyone is therefore who then may-say into the-Campus to-have-approached
Sullam? Atqui, si tum se cum Catilina societate sceleris
Sulla and-yet if then himself with Catiline in-a-fellowship of-crime
coniunxerat, cur ab eo discedebat, cur cum Autronio
he-had-joined why from him did-he-part why with Autronius
non erat, cur in pari causa non paria signa criminis
not was-he why in an-equal case not equal signs of-the-charge
reperiuntur? Sed quoniam Cornelius ipse etiam nunc de
are-found but since Cornelius himself even now about
indicando dubitat, et, ut dicitis, informat ad hoc adumbratum
informing besitates and as you-say instructs for this sketched-out
indicium filium, quid tandem de illa nocte dicit, cum
information his-son what pray about that night does-he-say when

inter falcarios ad M. Laecam nocte ea quae consecuta
among the-scythe-makers at Marcus Laeca's in-the-night that which followed
est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium me consule
has the-next day of-the-Nones of-November with-me as-consul
Catilinae denuntiatione convenit? quae nox omnium temporum
at-Catiline's summons he-met which night of-all times
coniurationis acerrima fuit atque acerbissima. Tum Catilinae
of-the-conspiracy the-fiercest was and most-bitter then for-Catiline
dies exeundi, tum ceteris manendi condicio, tum discriptio
the-day of-going-out then for-the-others of-remaining the-terms then the-allotment
totam per urbem caedis atque incendiorum constituta est;
the-whole through city of-slaughter and of-fires settled was
tum tuus pater, Corneli, id quod tandem aliquando confitetur,
then your father Cornelius that which at-last ever he-confesses
illam sibi officiosam provinciam depoposcit ut, cum prima
that for-himself dutiful province demanded that when at-first
luce consulem salutatum veniret, intromissus et meo more
light the-consul to-greet he-came let-in both by-my custom
et iure amicitiae me in meo lectulo trucidaret.
and by-the-right of-friendship me in my bed he-might-slaughter

53 Hoc tempore, cum arderet acerrime coniuratio, cum Catilina
at-this time when was-blazing most-fiercely the-conspiracy when Catiline
egrederetur ad exercitum, Lentulus in urbe relinqueretur,
was-going-out to the-army Lentulus in the-city was-left
Cassius incendiis, Cethegus caedi praeponeretur,
Cassius over-the-fires Cethegus over-the-slaughter was-set
Autronio ut occuparet Etruriam praescriberetur, cum omnia
to-Autronius that he-should-seize Etruria was-prescribed when all-things
ornarentur, instruerentur, pararentur, ubi fuit Sulla,
were-being-equipped arranged prepared where was Sulla
Corneli? num Romae? Immo longe afuit. Num in eis
Cornelius surely-not at-Rome nay far he-was-away surely-not in those

regionibus quo se Catilina inferebat? Multo etiam longius.
regions where himself Catiline was-carrying much even farther
Num in agro Camerti, Piceno, Gallico, quas in oras
surely-not in the-district of-Camerinum of-Picenum of-Gaul which into regions
maxime quasi morbus quidam illius furoris pervaserat? Nihil
most as-if a-disease certain of-that madness had-spread nothing
vero minus. Fuit enim, ut iam ante dixi, Neapoli, fuit
indeed less he-was for as already before I-said at-Naples he-was
in ea parte Italiae quae maxime ista suspicione caruit.
in that part of-Italy which most that suspicion lacked
Quid ergo indicat aut quid adfert aut ipse Cornelius aut 54
what therefore informs or what brings either himself Cornelius or
vos qui haec ab illo mandata defertis? Gladiatores emptos
you who these-things from him entrusted report gladiators bought
esse Fausti simulatione ad caedem ac tumultum? 'Ita
to-have-been by-Faustus' pretense for slaughter and riot so
prorsus; interpositi sunt gladiatores.' Quos testamento patris
precisely interposed were the-gladiators whom by-the-will of-his-father
deberi videmus. 'Adrepta est familia.' Quae si esset
to-be-owed we-see seized was the-troop which if it-had-been
praetermissa, posset alia familia Fausti munus praebere.
passed-over could another troop of-Faustus the-show provide
Utinam quidem haec ipsa non modo iniquorum invidiae
would-that indeed this very-one not only of-the-unfair to-the-ill-will
sed aequorum exspectationi satis facere posset! 'Properatum
but of-the-fair to-the-expectation enough to-do could hurried
vehementer est, cum longe tempus muneris abesset.' Quasi vero
vehemently it-was when far the-time of-the-show was-away as-if indeed
tempus dandi muneris non valde appropinquaret. 'Nec opinante
the-time of-giving the-show not greatly were-approaching not expecting
Fausto, cum is neque sciret neque vellet, familia est comparata.'
with-Faustus since he neither knew nor wished the-troop was got-together

55 At litterae sunt Fausti, per quas ille precibus a P. Sulla
but letters there-are of-Faustus through which he with-prayers from Publius Sulla
petit ut emat gladiatores et ut hos ipsos emat, neque solum
asks that he-buy gladiators and that these very-ones he-buy nor only
ad Sullam missae sed ad L. Caesarem, Q. Pompeium,
to Sulla sent but to Lucius Caesar Quintus Pompeius
C. Memmium, quorum de sententia tota res gesta est.
Gaius Memmius of-whom by advice the-whole affair conducted was
'At praefuit familiae Cornelius, libertus eius.' Iam si in
but was-in-charge of-the-troop Cornelius freedman his now if in
paranda familia nulla suspicio est, quis praefuerit nihil ad
getting the-troop no suspicion is who was-in-charge nothing to
rem pertinet; sed tamen munere servili obtulit se ad
the-matter pertains but still in-a-service servile offered himself for
ferramenta prospicienda, praefuit vero numquam, eaque res
the-weapons to-be-inspected was-in-charge indeed never and-that affair
omni tempore per Bellum, Fausti libertum, administrata est.
at-every time through Bellus of-Faustus the-freedman managed was
56 At enim Sittius est ab hoc in ulteriorem Hispaniam missus
but indeed Sittius was by this-man into further Spain sent
ut eam provinciam perturbaret. Primum Sittius, iudices,
that that province he-might-disturb first Sittius judges
L. Iulio C. Figulo consulibus profectus est aliquanto
with-Lucius Julius and-Gaius Figulus as-consuls set-out has some-time
ante furorem Catilinae et suspicionem huius coniurationis;
before the-madness of-Catiline and the-suspicion of-this conspiracy
deinde est profectus non tum primum sed cum in isdem
then has set-out not then for-the-first-time but when in the-same
locis aliquanto ante eadem de causa aliquot annos fuisset,
places some-time before the-same for reason some years he-had-been
ac profectus est non modo ob causam sed etiam
and set-out he-has not only on-account-of a-reason but also

ob necessariam causam, magna ratione cum Mauretaniae
on-account-of a-necessary reason a-great account with of-Mauretania
rege contracta. Tum autem, illo profecto, Sulla procurante
the-king contracted then however he having-set-out with-Sulla managing
eius rem et gerente plurimis et pulcherrimis P. Sitti
his property and conducting-it very-many and very-fine of-Publius Sittius
praediis venditis aes alienum eiusdem dissolutum est, ut,
estates sold bronze another's of-the-same-man paid-off was so-that
quae causa ceteros ad facinus impulit, cupiditas retinendae
what cause the-others to crime drove the-desire of-retaining
possessionis, ea Sittio non fuerit praediis deminutis.
possessions that to-Sittius not was with-his-estates diminished
Iam vero illud quam incredibile, quam absurdum, qui 57
now indeed this how incredible how absurd that-he-who
Romae caedem facere, qui hanc urbem inflammare vellet,
at-Rome slaughter to-make who this city to-set-on-fire wished
eum familiarissimum suum dimittere ab se et amandare
him most-intimate his to-send-away from himself and to-banish
in ultimas terras! Utrum quo facilius Romae ea quae
into the-farthest lands whether so-that more-easily at-Rome those-things which
conabatur efficeret, si in Hispania turbatum esset?
he-was-attempting he-might-accomplish if in Spain disturbed it-had-been
At haec ipsa per se sine ulla coniunctione agebantur.
but these-things very by themselves without any connection were-being-done
An in tantis rebus, tam novis consiliis, tam periculosis, tam
or in so-great matters with-so new plans so dangerous so
turbulentis hominem amantissimum sui, familiarissimum,
turbulent a-man most-loving of-himself most-intimate
coniunctissimum officiis, consuetudine, usu dimittendum
most-closely-joined by-services by-familiarity by-intimacy to-be-sent-away
esse arbitrabatur? Veri simile non est ut, quem in
to-be did-he-think of-the-truth like not it-is that whom in

secundis rebus, quem in otio secum semper habuisset,
favorable circumstances whom in leisure with-himself always he-had-had
hunc in adversis et in eo tumultu quem ipse
him in adverse-circumstances and in that tumult which he-himself
comparabat ab se dimitteret.
was-preparing from himself he-should-send-away

X · SITTIUS AND THE POMPEIANS

Sittius' father stood out in loyalty to Rome when the neighboring allies revolted, and Sittius himself paid his debts by selling his estates rather than keep his creditors waiting, so he was no man to make war on Rome. The charge that Sulla stirred up the Pompeians is answered by the patrons, who settled their quarrel with the colonists, and by both peoples, who stand here beside him. Caecilius' bill to lighten his brother's penalty threatened no court.

58 Ipse autem Sittius — non enim mihi deserenda est causa
himself however Sittius not for by-me to-be-abandoned is the-cause
amici veteris atque hospitis — is homo est aut ea familia
of-a-friend old and guest-friend he a-man is or of-that family
ac disciplina ut hoc credi possit, eum bellum populo
and training that this to-be-believed can him war on-the-people
Romano facere voluisse? Ut, cuius pater, cum ceteri
Roman to-make to-have-wished that whose father when the-others
deficerent finitimi ac vicini, singulari exstiterit in rem
were-revolting neighbors and dwellers-near by-singular stood-out toward the-thing
publicam nostram officio et fide, is sibi nefarium bellum
public our duty and good-faith he for-himself wicked a-war
contra patriam suscipiendum putaret? Cuius aes alienum
against his-country to-be-undertaken should-think whose bronze another's
videmus, iudices, non libidine, sed negoti gerendi studio
we-see judges not by-lust but of-business of-conducting by-zeal

esse contractum, qui ita Romae debuit ut in provinciis
to-have-been contracted who so at-Rome owed that in the-provinces
et in regnis ei maximae pecuniae deberentur; quas cum
and in kingdoms to-him very-great sums were-owed which when
peteret, non commisit ut sui procuratores quicquam oneris
he-sought not he-allowed that his agents any of-burden
absente se sustinerent; venire omnis suas possessiones et
with-absent himself should-bear to-be-sold all his possessions and
patrimonio se ornatissimo spoliari maluit quam ullam
of-patrimony himself most-splendid to-be-stripped he-preferred than any
moram cuiquam fieri creditorum suorum.
delay to-anyone to-be-made of-creditors his
A quo quidem genere, iudices, ego numquam timui, cum 59
from which indeed kind judges I never feared when
in illa rei publicae tempestate versarer. Illud erat
in that of-the-thing public storm I-was-engaged that was
hominum genus horribile et pertimescendum qui tanto
of-men a-kind horrible and to-be-dreaded who with-so-great
amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant ut ab eis
love their possessions embraced held that from them
membra citius divelli ac distrahi posse diceres.
limbs sooner to-be-torn-off and to-be-pulled-apart to-be-able you-would-say
Sittius numquam sibi cognationem cum praediis esse
Sittius never to-himself kinship with estates to-be
existimavit suis. Itaque se non modo ex suspicione
thought his-own and-so himself not only from the-suspicion
tanti sceleris verum etiam ex omni hominum sermone
of-so-great a-crime but also from all of-men the-talk
non armis, sed patrimonio suo vindicavit.
not with-arms but with-patrimony his-own he-cleared

60 Iam vero quod obiecit Pompeianos esse a Sulla
now indeed as-to-what he-charged the-Pompeians to-have-been by Sulla
impulsos ut ad istam coniurationem atque ad hoc nefarium
driven that to that conspiracy and to this wicked
facinus accederent, id cuius modi sit intellegere non
crime they-should-accede that of-what kind it-is to-understand not
possum. An tibi Pompeiani coniurasse videntur? Quis
I-can or to-you the-Pompeians to-have-conspired seem who
hoc dixit umquam, aut quae fuit istius rei vel minima
this said ever or what was of-that thing even-the least
suspicio? 'Diiunxit,' inquit, 'eos a colonis ut hoc discidio
suspicion he-separated he-says them from the-colonists that this split
ac dissensione facta oppidum in sua potestate posset
and dissension having-been-made the-town in his-own power he-might
per Pompeianos habere.' Primum omnis Pompeianorum
through the-Pompeians to-hold first all of-the-Pompeians
colonorumque dissensio delata ad patronos est, cum iam
and-of-the-colonists the-dissension referred to the-patrons was when already
inveterasset ac multos annos esset agitata; deinde ita a patronis
it-had-grown-old and many years had been-stirred then so by the-patrons
res cognita est ut nulla in re a ceterorum sententiis
the-matter examined was that no in thing from of-the-others the-opinions
Sulla dissenserit; postremo coloni ipsi sic intellegunt, non
Sulla differed finally the-colonists themselves so understand not
Pompeianos a Sulla magis quam sese esse defensos.
the-Pompeians by Sulla more than themselves to-have-been defended
61 Atque hoc, iudices, ex hac frequentia colonorum,
and this judges from this crowd of-the-colonists
honestissimorum hominum, intellegere potestis, qui adsunt,
most-honorable men to-understand you-can who are-present
laborant, hunc patronum, defensorem, custodem illius
labor this-man as-patron defender guardian of-that

coloniae si in omni fortuna atque omni honore incolumem
colony if in all fortune and all office unharmed
habere non potuerunt, in hoc tamen casu in quo adflictus
to-have not they-could in this still misfortune in which afflicted
iacet per vos iuvari conservarique cupiunt. Adsunt pari
he-lies through you to-be-helped and-to-be-preserved they-desire are-present with-equal
studio Pompeiani, qui ab istis etiam in crimen vocantur;
zeal the-Pompeians who by those-men even into the-charge are-called
qui ita de ambulatione ac de suffragiis suis cum colonis
who so about the-portico and about votes their with the-colonists
dissenserunt ut idem de communi salute sentirent.
disagreed that the-same about the-common safety they-felt
Ac ne haec quidem P. Sullae mihi videtur silentio 62
and not this even of-Publius Sulla to-me seems in-silence
praetereunda esse virtus, quod, cum ab hoc illa colonia
to-be-passed-over to-be the-virtue that although by this-man that colony
deducta sit, et cum commoda colonorum a fortunis
founded was and although the-interests of-the-colonists from the-fortunes
Pompeianorum rei publicae fortuna diiunxerit, ita carus
of-the-Pompeians of-the-thing public the-fortune separated so dear
utrisque est atque iucundus ut non alteros demovisse sed
to-both he-is and pleasant that not the-ones to-have-dislodged but
utrosque constituisse videatur. At enim et gladiatores et
both to-have-established he-seems but indeed both the-gladiators and
omnis ista vis rogationis Caeciliae causa comparabatur.
all that force of-the-bill Caecilian for-the-sake was-being-prepared
Atque hoc loco in L. Caecilium, pudentissimum atque
and at-this point against Lucius Caecilius a-most-modest and
ornatissimum virum, vehementer invectus est. Cuius ego de
most-distinguished man vehemently inveighed he-has of-whom I about
virtute et constantia, iudices, tantum dico, talem hunc in ista
the-virtue and steadfastness judges only say such him in that

rogatione quam promulgarat non de tollenda, sed de levanda
bill which he-had-promulgated not about removing but about lightening
calamitate fratris sui fuisse ut consulere voluerit fratri,
the-calamity of-brother his to-have-been that to-consult he-wished for-his-brother
cum re publica pugnare noluerit; promulgarit impulsus
with the-thing public to-fight he-was-unwilling he-promulgated-it driven
amore fraterno, destiterit fratris auctoritate deductus.
by-love brotherly he-desisted by-his-brother's authority led-away
63 Atque in ea re per L. Caecilium Sulla accusatur in
and in that thing through Lucius Caecilius Sulla is-accused in
qua re est uterque laudandus. Primum Caecilius — quid?
which thing is each to-be-praised first Caecilius what
'Id promulgavit in quo res iudicatas videbatur voluisse
that he-promulgated in which things judged he-seemed to-have-wished
rescindere, ut restitueretur Sulla.' Recte reprehendis; status
to-rescind that might-be-restored Sulla rightly you-censure the-state
enim rei publicae maxime iudicatis rebus continetur;
for of-the-thing public most by-judged things is-held-together
neque ego tantum fraterno amori dandum arbitror ut
nor I so-much to-brotherly love to-be-given think that
quisquam, dum saluti suorum consulat, communem
anyone while for-the-safety of-his-own he-consults the-common
relinquat. At nihil de iudicio ferebat, sed poenam
he-may-abandon but nothing about the-judgment he-proposed but the-penalty
ambitus eam referebat quae fuerat nuper superioribus legibus
of-bribery that he-was-restoring which had-been lately by-the-earlier laws
constituta. Itaque hac rogatione non iudicum sententia,
established and-so by-this bill not of-the-judges the-verdict
sed legis vitium corrigebatur. Nemo iudicium reprehendit,
but of-the-law the-fault was-being-corrected no-one the-judgment censures

cum de poena queritur, sed legem. Damnatio est enim
when about the-penalty he-complains but the-law the-condemnation is for
iudicum, quae manebat, poena legis, quae levabatur.
of-the-judges which was-remaining the-penalty of-the-law which was-being-lightened

XI · CAECILIUS' BILL AND CICERO'S LETTER

Caecilius proposed only to soften the penalty of the bribery law, and withdrew the bill at Sulla's wish on the first of January; nothing was done by force, for all the fear came from Autronius. Torquatus reads Cicero's letter to Pompey, which says that the madness conceived two years before broke out in his consulship, as if that put Sulla in the earlier conspiracy; Cicero denies it, and Torquatus himself removed the suspicion by saying Sulla gathered a band against his father to make Catiline consul. The charges answered, Cicero turns to the life of the accused, by which every grave charge must be weighed, and recalls the lives of Catiline, Lentulus, and Cethegus.

Noli igitur animos eorum ordinum qui praesunt iudiciis 64
do-not therefore the-minds of-those orders which preside-over the-courts
summa cum gravitate et dignitate alienare a causa.
highest with gravity and dignity estrange from the-case
Nemo labefactare iudicium est conatus, nihil est eius
no-one to-shake the-judgment has tried nothing was of-that
modi promulgatum, semper Caecilius in calamitate fratris
kind promulgated always Caecilius in the-calamity of-brother
sui iudicum potestatem perpetuandam, legis acerbitatem
his of-the-judges the-power to-be-made-permanent of-the-law the-harshness
mitigandam putavit. Sed quid ego de hoc plura disputem?
to-be-softened thought but why I about this more should-argue
Dicerem fortasse, et facile et libenter dicerem, si paulo etiam
I-would-say perhaps both easily and gladly I-would-say if a-little even
longius quam finis cotidiani offici postulat L. Caecilium
farther than the-limit of-daily duty demands Lucius Caecilius

pietas et fraternus amor propulisset, implorarem sensus
devotion and brotherly love had-driven I-would-implore the-feelings
vestros, unius cuiusque indulgentiam in suos testarer,
your one of-each the-indulgence toward his-own I-would-call-to-witness
peterem veniam errato L. Caecili ex intimis vestris
I-would-seek pardon for-the-error of-Lucius Caecilius from inmost your
cogitationibus atque ex humanitate communi.
thoughts and from humanity common
65 Lex dies fuit proposita paucos, ferri coepta numquam,
the-law days was set-out a-few to-be-carried it-began never
deposita est in senatu. Kalendis Ianuariis cum in Capitolium
dropped it-was in the-senate on-the-Kalends of-January when to the-Capitol
nos senatum convocassemus, nihil est actum prius, et id
we the-senate had-summoned nothing was done sooner and that
mandatu Sullae Q. Metellus praetor se loqui dixit
on-the-instruction of-Sulla Quintus Metellus the-praetor himself to-speak said
Sullam illam rogationem de se nolle ferri. Ex
Sulla that bill about himself to-be-unwilling to-be-carried from
illo tempore L. Caecilius egit de re publica multa;
that time Lucius Caecilius acted about the-thing public many-things
agrariae legi, quae tota a me reprehensa et abiecta est,
to-the-agrarian law which wholly by me censured and cast-aside was
se intercessorem fore professus est, improbis largitionibus
himself the-vetoer going-to-be declared has the-wicked largesses
restitit, senatus auctoritatem numquam impedivit, ita se
he-resisted of-the-senate the-authority never he-hindered so himself
gessit in tribunatu ut onere deposito domestici offici
he-conducted in the-tribunate that the-burden laid-down of-domestic duty
nihil postea nisi de rei publicae commodis cogitarit.
nothing afterward except about of-the-thing public the-advantages he-thought

Atque in ipsa rogatione ne per vim quid ageretur, quis 66
and in the-very bill lest by violence anything be-done who
tum nostrum Sullam aut Caecilium verebatur? nonne omnis
then of-us Sulla or Caecilius feared surely all
ille terror, omnis seditionis timor atque opinio ex Autroni
that terror all of-sedition the-fear and belief from Autronius'
improbitate pendebat? Eius voces, eius minae ferebantur, eius
wickedness hung his voices his threats were-reported his
aspectus, concursatio, stipatio, greges hominum perditorum
look running-about crowding herds of-men abandoned
metum nobis seditionesque adferebant. Itaque P. Sulla hoc
fear to-us and-seditions brought and-so Publius Sulla with-this
importunissimo cum honoris tum etiam calamitatis socio
most-ruthless both of-office and also of-calamity partner
atque comite et secundas fortunas amittere coactus est et
and companion both favorable fortunes to-lose compelled was and
in adversis sine ullo remedio atque adlevamento permanere.
in adverse without any remedy and relief to-remain
Hic tu epistulam meam saepe recitas quam ego ad 67
here you the-letter my often recite which I to
Cn. Pompeium de meis rebus gestis et de summa re
Gnaeus Pompey about my deeds done and about the-highest thing
publica misi, et ex ea crimen aliquod in P. Sullam
public sent and from it charge some against Publius Sulla
quaeris et, si furorem incredibilem biennio ante conceptum
you-seek and if a-madness incredible two-years before conceived
erupisse in meo consulatu scripsi, me hoc demonstrasse
to-have-broken-out in my consulship I-wrote me this to-have-shown
dicis, Sullam in illa fuisse superiore coniuratione. Scilicet
you-say Sulla in that to-have-been earlier conspiracy evidently
ego is sum qui existimem Cn. Pisonem et Catilinam
I that-man am who would-judge Gnaeus Piso and Catiline

et Vargunteium et Autronium nihil scelerate, nihil audacter
and Vargunteius and Autronius nothing wickedly nothing boldly
ipsos per sese sine P. Sulla facere potuisse.
themselves by themselves without Publius Sulla to-do to-have-been-able
68 De quo etiam si quis dubitasset antea an id quod
about which even if anyone had-doubted before whether that which
tu arguis cogitasset, ut interfecto patre tuo consul
you allege he-had-planned that with-killed father your consul
descenderet Kalendis Ianuariis cum lictoribus, sustulisti
he-might-come-down on-the-Kalends of-January with lictors you-have-removed
hanc suspicionem, cum dixisti hunc, ut Catilinam
this suspicion when you-said this-man that Catiline
consulem efficeret, contra patrem tuum operas et manum
consul he-might-make against father your hirelings and a-band
comparasse. Quod si tibi ego confitear, tu mihi concedas
to-have-got-together but if to-you I should-confess-it you to-me should-concede
necesse est hunc, cum Catilinae suffragaretur, nihil de
necessary it-is this-man when for-Catiline he-was-canvassing nothing about
suo consulatu, quem iudicio amiserat, per vim recuperando
his-own consulship which by-a-court he-had-lost by force recovering
cogitavisse. Neque enim istorum facinorum tantorum, tam
to-have-planned nor for of-those deeds so-great so
atrocium crimen, iudices, P. Sullae persona suscipit.
atrocious the-charge judges of-Publius Sulla the-character takes-on
69 Iam enim faciam criminibus omnibus fere dissolutis, contra
now for I-shall-do with-the-charges all almost dissolved contrary
atque in ceteris causis fieri solet, ut nunc denique de
to-what in other cases to-be-done is-wont that now at-last about
vita hominis ac de moribus dicam. Etenim de principio
the-life of-the-man and about his-character I-shall-speak for-indeed from the-beginning
studuit animus occurrere magnitudini criminis, satis facere
was-eager my-mind to-meet the-greatness of-the-charge enough to-do

exspectationi hominum, de me aliquid ipso qui accusatus
for-the-expectation of-men about me something myself who accused
eram dicere; nunc iam revocandi estis eo quo vos ipsa
had-been to-say now already to-be-called-back you-are thither where you itself
causa etiam tacente me cogit animos mentisque convertere.
the-case even with-silent me compels the-minds and-thoughts to-turn
Omnibus in rebus, iudices, quae graviores maioresque sunt,
all in things judges which weightier and-greater are
quid quisque voluerit, cogitarit, admiserit, non ex crimine,
what each-man wished planned committed not from the-charge
sed ex moribus eius qui arguitur est ponderandum. Neque
but from the-character of-him who is-accused is to-be-weighed nor
enim potest quisquam nostrum subito fingi neque
for can anyone of-us suddenly to-be-molded nor
cuiusquam repente vita mutari aut natura converti.
of-anyone suddenly the-life to-be-changed or the-nature to-be-turned
Circumspicite paulisper mentibus vestris, ut alia 70
look-around a-little with-minds your that other-things
mittamus, hosce ipsos homines qui huic adfines sceleri
we-may-dismiss these very men who to-this partakers crime
fuerunt. Catilina contra rem publicam coniuravit. Cuius
were Catiline against the-thing public conspired whose
aures umquam haec respuerunt? Conatum esse audacter
ears ever this rejected attempted to-have-been boldly
hominem a pueritia non solum intemperantia et scelere sed
a-man from boyhood not only in-intemperance and crime but
etiam consuetudine et studio in omni flagitio, stupro, caede
also in-habit and zeal in every outrage debauchery slaughter
versatum? Quis eum contra patriam pugnantem perisse
engaged who him against his-country fighting to-have-perished
miratur quem semper omnes ad civile latrocinium natum
wonders whom always all for civil brigandage born

putaverunt? Quis Lentuli societates cum indicibus, quis
thought who of-Lentulus the-partnerships with informers who
insaniam libidinum, quis perversam atque impiam religionem
the-insanity of-lusts who the-perverse and impious religion
recordatur qui illum aut nefarie cogitasse aut stulte sperasse
recalls who him either wickedly planned or foolishly hoped
miretur? Quis de C. Cethego atque eius in Hispaniam
would-wonder who about Gaius Cethegus and his into Spain
profectione ac de volnere Q. Metelli Pii cogitat cui
departure and about the-wound of-Quintus Metellus Pius thinks to-whom
non ad illius poenam carcer aedificatus esse videatur?
not for his punishment the-prison built to-have-been may-seem

XII · CHARACTER AS WITNESS

Every conspirator was condemned by his own life before any suspicion, Autronius above all, violent and lustful from youth. Sulla's life was gentle: in his kinsman Sulla's victory he saved many, and after his fall he lived in grief and shame, almost exiling himself. Such a man would not abandon his friends to live and die with Lentulus, Catiline, and Cethegus, beasts in human form whom the Furies drove to pay the state's penalty.

71 Omitto ceteros, ne sit infinitum; tantum a vobis peto ut
I-pass-over the-others lest it-be endless only from you I-ask that
taciti de omnibus quos coniurasse cognitum est cogitetis;
silently about all whom to-have-conspired known it-is you-think
intellegetis unum quemque eorum prius ab sua vita quam
you-will-understand one each of-them sooner by his-own life than
vestra suspicione esse damnatum. Ipsum illum Autronium,
by-your suspicion to-have-been condemned the-very that Autronius
quoniam eius nomen finitimum maxime est huius periculo
since his name bordering most is on-this-man's danger

et crimini, non sua vita ac natura convicit? Semper audax,
and charge not his-own life and nature convicted always audacious
petulans, libidinosus; quem in stuprorum defensionibus non
insolent lustful whom in of-debaucheries defenses not
solum verbis uti improbissimis solitum esse scimus
only words to-use most-wicked accustomed to-have-been we-know
verum etiam pugnis et calcibus, quem exturbare homines
but also fists and heels whom to-drive-out men
ex possessionibus, caedem facere vicinorum, spoliare fana
from possessions slaughter to-make of-neighbors to-plunder the-shrines
sociorum, comitatu et armis disturbare iudicia, in bonis
of-allies with-a-retinue and arms to-disrupt courts in good
rebus omnis contemnere, in malis pugnare contra bonos,
times all to-despise in bad to-fight against the-good
non rei publicae cedere, non fortunae ipsi succumbere.
not to-the-thing public to-yield not to-fortune itself to-succumb
Huius si causa non manifestissimis rebus teneretur, tamen
of-this-man if the-case not by-most-manifest facts were-held still
eum mores ipsius ac vita convinceret.
him the-character his-own and life would-convict
Agedum, conferte nunc cum illius vita vitam P. Sullae 72
come-now compare now with of-that-man the-life the-life of-Publius Sulla
vobis populoque Romano notissimam, iudices, et eam ante
to-you and-the-people Roman most-known judges and it before
oculos vestros proponite. Ecquod est huius factum aut
eyes your set any is of-this-man's deed or
commissum non dicam audacius, sed quod cuiquam paulo
act not I-shall-say more-audacious but which to-anyone a-little
minus consideratum videretur? Factum quaero; verbum ecquod
less considered might-seem a-deed I-ask a-word any
umquam ex ore huius excidit in quo quisquam
ever from the-mouth of-this-man fell in which anyone

posset offendi? At vero in illa gravi L. Sullae
could to-be-offended but indeed in that grim of-Lucius Sulla
turbulentaque victoria quis P. Sulla mitior, quis
and-turbulent victory who than-Publius Sulla milder who
misericordior inventus est? Quam multorum hic vitam
more-merciful found was of-how many this-man the-life
est a L. Sulla deprecatus! Quam multi sunt summi
has from Lucius Sulla begged-off how many are the-highest
homines et ornatissimi et nostri et equestris ordinis
men and most-distinguished both of-our and of-the-equestrian order
quorum pro salute se hic Sullae obligavit! Quos ego
of-whom for safety himself this-man to-Sulla bound whom I
nominarem — neque enim ipsi nolunt et huic
would-name nor for they-themselves are-unwilling and to-this-man
animo gratissimo adsunt — sed, quia maius est beneficium
with-a-mind most-grateful stand-by but since greater is a-favor
quam posse debet civis civi dare, ideo a vobis
than to-be-able ought a-citizen to-a-citizen to-give therefore from you
peto ut quod potuit, tempori tribuatis, quod fecit, ipsi.
I-ask that what he-could to-the-time you-assign what he-did to-himself
73 Quid reliquae constantiam vitae commemorem, dignitatem,
why of-the-rest the-steadfastness of-his-life should-I-recall the-dignity
liberalitatem, moderationem in privatis rebus, splendorem in
the-generosity the-moderation in private affairs the-splendor in
publicis? quae ita deformata sunt a fortuna ut tamen
public which so disfigured have-been by fortune that still
a natura inchoata compareant. Quae domus, quae celebratio
by nature begun they-appear what a-house what thronging
cotidiana, quae familiarium dignitas, quae studia amicorum,
daily what of-intimates dignity what zeal of-friends
quae ex quoque ordine multitudo! Haec diu multumque et
what from each order a-multitude these long and-much and

multo labore quaesita una eripuit hora. Accepit P. Sulla,
with-much labor acquired one snatched-away hour received Publius Sulla
iudices, volnus vehemens et mortiferum, verum tamen eius
judges a-wound violent and deadly but still of-such-a
modi quod videretur huius vita et natura accipere potuisse.
kind as might-seem his life and nature to-receive to-have-been-able
Honestatis enim et dignitatis habuisse nimis magnam
of-honor for and dignity to-have-had too great
iudicatus est cupiditatem; quam si nemo alius habuit in
judged he-was a-desire which if no-one other had in
consulatu petendo, cupidior iudicatus est hic fuisse quam
the-consulship seeking more-desirous judged was this-man to-have-been than
ceteri; sin etiam in aliis non nullis fuit iste consulatus
the-others but-if even in others not none there-was that of-the-consulship
amor, fortuna in hoc fuit fortasse gravior quam in ceteris.
love fortune in this-man was perhaps heavier than in the-others
Postea vero quis P. Sullam nisi maerentem, demissum 74
afterward indeed who Publius Sulla except grieving downcast
adflictumque vidit, quis umquam est suspicatus hunc magis
and-afflicted saw who ever has suspected this-man more
odio quam pudore hominum aspectum lucemque vitare?
from-hatred than from-shame of-men the-sight and-the-light to-shun
Qui cum multa haberet invitamenta urbis et fori
who although many he-had attractions of-the-city and of-the-forum
propter summa studia amicorum, quae tamen ei sola
on-account-of the-highest zeal of-friends which still to-him alone
in malis restiterunt, afuit ab oculis vestris et, cum
in evils remained was-absent from eyes your and although
lege retineretur, ipse se exsilio paene multavit. In
by-law he-was-kept he-himself himself with-exile almost punished in
hoc vos pudore, iudices, et in hac vita tanto sceleri
this you modesty judges and in this life for-so-great a-crime

locum fuisse credatis? Aspicite ipsum, contuemini os,
a-place to-have-been would-you-believe look-at him gaze-on his-face
conferte crimen cum vita, vitam ab initio usque ad
compare the-charge with his-life his-life from the-beginning up to
hoc tempus explicatam cum crimine recognoscite.
this time unfolded with the-charge review
75 Mitto rem publicam, quae fuit semper Sullae carissima;
I-pass-over the-thing public which was always to-Sulla dearest
hosne amicos, talis viros, tam cupidos sui, per quos
these-whether friends such men so desirous of-him through whom
res eius secundae quondam erant ornatae, nunc sublevantur
fortunes his favorable once were adorned now are-relieved
adversae, crudelissime perire voluit, ut cum Lentulo et
adverse most-cruelly to-perish did-he-wish that with Lentulus and
Catilina et Cethego foedissimam vitam ac miserrimam
Catiline and Cethegus a-most-foul life and most-wretched
turpissima morte proposita degeret? Non, inquam, cadit
with-a-most-shameful death set-before-him he-might-spend not I-say falls
in hos mores, non in hunc pudorem, non in hanc vitam,
upon these morals not upon this modesty not upon this life
non in hunc hominem ista suspicio. Nova quaedam illa
not upon this man that suspicion new a-certain that
immanitas exorta est, incredibilis fuit ac singularis furor,
monstrousness arisen has incredible was and singular the-madness
ex multis ab adulescentia conlectis perditorum hominum
from many from youth collected of-abandoned men
vitiis repente ista tanta importunitas inauditi sceleris exarsit.
vices suddenly that so-great ruthlessness of-unheard-of crime blazed-out
76 Nolite, iudices, arbitrari hominum illum impetum et conatum
do-not judges think of-men that onset and attempt
fuisse — neque enim ulla gens tam barbara aut tam immanis
to-have-been nor for any race so barbarous or so monstrous

umquam fuit in qua non modo tot, sed unus tam
ever was in which not only so-many but one so
crudelis hostis patriae sit inventus—, beluae quaedam illae
cruel an-enemy of-the-country was found beasts certain those
ex portentis immanes ac ferae forma hominum indutae
from portents monstrous and savage in-the-form of-men clothed
exstiterunt. Perspicite etiam atque etiam, iudices, — nihil
arose look-into again and again judges nothing
enim est quod in hac causa dici possit vehementius —
for is which in this case to-be-said can more-vehemently
penitus introspicite Catilinae, Autroni, Cethegi, Lentuli
deeply look-within of-Catiline of-Autronius of-Cethegus of-Lentulus
ceterorumque mentis; quas vos in his libidines, quae flagitia,
and-of-the-others the-minds what you in these lusts what outrages
quas turpitudines, quantas audacias, quam incredibilis furores,
what disgraces how-great audacities what incredible madnesses
quas notas facinorum, quae indicia parricidiorum, quantos
what marks of-crimes what proofs of-parricides how-great
acervos scelerum reperietis! Ex magnis et diuturnis et iam
heaps of-wickedness will-you-find from great and long-lasting and now
desperatis rei publicae morbis ista repente vis erupit,
desperate of-the-thing public diseases that suddenly force broke-out
ut ea confecta et eiecta convalescere aliquando et sanari
so-that it exhausted and cast-out to-recover at-some-time and to-be-healed
civitas posset; neque enim est quisquam qui arbitretur illis
the-state could nor for is anyone who thinks with-those
inclusis in re publica pestibus diutius haec stare
shut-in in the-thing public plagues longer these-things to-stand
potuisse. Itaque eos non ad perficiendum scelus, sed ad
to-have-been-able and-so them not for accomplishing crime but for
luendas rei publicae poenas Furiae quaedam incitaverunt.
paying of-the-thing public penalties Furies certain have-roused

Should Sulla be cast among such men, away from the honorable crowd that stands by him? The accuser threatens the torture of slaves, but pain and fear govern that evidence; let Sulla's whole life be questioned instead, for it can be bent by no one. Cicero asks that his own word count for something, since he kept clear of the other conspirators, then defends the consulars who stood by Catiline before the conspiracy was known, Torquatus' father among them, and praises those who stood by no conspirator afterward.

77 In hunc igitur gregem vos nunc P. Sullam, iudices, ex
into this therefore herd you now Publius Sulla judges from
his qui cum hoc vivunt atque vixerunt honestissimorum
these who with this-man live and have-lived of-most-honorable
hominum gregibus reicietis, ex hoc amicorum numero, ex
men herds will-you-cast from this of-friends number from
hac familiarium dignitate in impiorum partem atque in
this of-intimates dignity into of-the-impious the-party and into
parricidarum sedem et numerum transferetis? Ubi erit igitur
of-the-parricides the-seat and number will-you-transfer where will-be therefore
illud firmissimum praesidium pudoris, quo in loco nobis vita
that most-firm defense of-modesty what in place to-us life
ante acta proderit, quod ad tempus existimationis partae
before led will-be-of-use what to time of-reputation acquired
fructus reservabitur, si in extremo discrimine ac dimicatione
the-fruit will-be-reserved if in the-final crisis and struggle
fortunae deseret, si non aderit, si nihil adiuvabit?
of-fortune it-will-desert if not it-will-be-present if nothing it-will-help

78 Quaestiones nobis servorum accusator et tormenta minitatur. In
examinations to-us of-slaves the-accuser and tortures threatens in
quibus quamquam nihil periculi suspicamur, tamen illa tormenta
which although nothing of-danger we-suspect still those tortures

gubernat dolor, moderatur natura cuiusque cum animi tum
governs pain controls the-nature of-each both of-mind and
corporis, regit quaesitor, flectit libido, corrumpit spes, infirmat
of-body directs the-examiner bends caprice corrupts hope weakens
metus, ut in tot rerum angustiis nihil veritati loci
fear so-that in so-many of-things straits nothing for-truth of-place
relinquatur. Vita P. Sullae torqueatur, ex ea quaeratur
be-left let-the-life of-Publius Sulla be-tortured from it let-it-be-asked
num quae occultetur libido, num quod lateat facinus,
whether-at-all any be-hidden lust whether-at-all any lurk crime
num quae crudelitas, num quae audacia. Nihil erroris
whether-at-all any cruelty whether-at-all any audacity nothing of-error
erit in causa nec obscuritatis, iudices, si a vobis vitae perpetuae
will-be in the-case nor of-obscurity judges if by you of-life continuous
vox, ea quae verissima et gravissima debet esse, audietur.
the-voice that which most-true and most-weighty ought to-be will-be-heard
Nullum in hac causa testem timemus, nihil quemquam scire, 79
no in this case witness we-fear nothing anyone to-know
nihil vidisse, nihil audisse arbitramur. Sed tamen, si nihil
nothing to-have-seen nothing to-have-heard we-think but still if nothing
vos P. Sullae fortuna movet, iudices, vestra moveat.
you of-Publius Sulla the-fortune moves judges your-own let-it-move
Vestra enim, qui cum summa elegantia atque integritate
to-you for who with the-highest refinement and integrity
vixistis, hoc maxime interest, non ex libidine aut simultate
have-lived this most it-matters not from the-caprice or rivalry
aut levitate testium causas honestorum hominum ponderari,
or fickleness of-witnesses the-cases of-honorable men to-be-weighed
sed in magnis disquisitionibus repentinisque periculis vitam
but in great inquiries and-sudden dangers the-life
unius cuiusque esse testem. Quam vos, iudices, nolite
one of-each to-be the-witness which you judges do-not

armis suis spoliatam atque nudatam obicere invidiae, dedere
arms its-own stripped and naked expose to-ill-will surrender
suspicioni; munite communem arcem bonorum, obstruite
to-suspicion fortify the-common citadel of-the-good block
perfugia improborum; valeat ad poenam et ad salutem vita
the-refuges of-the-wicked let-avail for punishment and for safety life
plurimum, quam solam videtis per se ex sua natura
most which alone you-see by itself from its-own nature
facillime perspici, subito flecti fingique non posse.
most-easily to-be-seen-through suddenly to-be-bent and-to-be-molded not to-be-able
80 Quid vero? haec auctoritas — saepe enim est de ea dicendum,
what indeed this authority often for is about it to-be-spoken
quamquam a me timide modiceque dicetur — quid? inquam,
although by me timidly and-moderately it-will-be-spoken what I-say
haec auctoritas nostra, qui a ceteris coniurationis causis
this authority our who from the-other of-conspiracy cases
abstinuimus, P. Sullam defendimus, nihil hunc tandem
kept-away Publius Sulla we-defend nothing this-man pray
iuvabit? Grave est hoc dictu fortasse, iudices, grave, si
will-it-help grievous is this to-say perhaps judges grievous if
appetimus aliquid; si, cum ceteri de nobis silent, non etiam
we-aim-at something if when the-others about us are-silent not also
nosmet ipsi tacemus, grave; sed, si laedimur, si accusamur,
we-ourselves ourselves are-silent grievous but if we-are-hurt if we-are-accused
si in invidiam vocamur, profecto conceditis, iudices, ut
if into ill-will we-are-called surely you-grant judges that
nobis libertatem retinere liceat, si minus liceat dignitatem.
to-us liberty to-retain be-allowed if less be-allowed dignity
81 Accusati sunt uno nomine omnes consulares, ut iam
accused have-been under-one name all the-consulars so-that now
videatur honoris amplissimi nomen plus invidiae quam dignitatis
it-seems of-office the-most-ample the-name more of-ill-will than of-dignity

adferre. ‘Adfuerunt,’ inquit, ‘Catilinae illumque laudarunt.’
to-bring they-stood-by he-says Catiline and-him praised
Nulla tum patebat, nulla erat cognita coniuratio; defendebant
none then lay-open none was known conspiracy they-were-defending
amicum, aderant supplici, vitae eius turpitudinem in
a-friend they-were-standing-by a-suppliant of-his-life his the-disgrace in
summis eius periculis non insequebantur. Quin etiam parens
the-greatest his dangers not they-were-pursuing nay even parent
tuus, Torquate, consul reo de pecuniis repetundis
your Torquatus as-consul for-the-defendant on moneys to-be-recovered
Catilinae fuit advocatus, improbo homini, at supplici, fortasse
of-Catiline was advocate to-a-wicked man but a-suppliant perhaps
audaci, at aliquando amico. Cui cum adfuit post delatam
audacious but once a-friend for-whom when he-stood-by after reported
ad eum primam illam coniurationem, indicavit se audisse
to him first that conspiracy he-showed himself to-have-heard
aliquid, non credidisse. ‘At idem non adfuit alio in iudicio,
something not to-have-believed but the-same not stood-by another in trial
cum adessent ceteri.’ Si postea cognorat ipse aliquid quod
when were-standing-by the-others if afterward had-learned himself something which
in consulatu ignorasset, ignoscendum est eis qui postea
in the-consulship he-had-not-known to-be-pardoned it-is those who afterward
nihil audierunt; sin illa res prima valuit, num inveterata
nothing heard but-if that thing first had-force surely-not grown-old
quam recens debuit esse gravior? Sed si tuus parens etiam
than fresh ought to-be weightier but if your parent even
in ipsa suspicione periculi sui tamen humanitate adductus
in the-very suspicion of-danger his-own still by-humanity led
advocationem hominis improbissimi sella curuli atque
the-advocacy of-a-man most-wicked with-the-chair curule and

ornamentis et suis et consulatus honestavit, quid est quam
with-the-insignia both his-own and of-the-consulship honored why is which
ob rem consulares qui Catilinae adfuerunt reprendantur?
on-account-of thing the-consulars who for-Catiline stood-by are-censured
82 'At idem eis qui ante hunc causam de coniuratione
but the-same for-those who before this-man the-case about the-conspiracy
dixerunt non adfuerunt.' Tanto scelere astrictis hominibus
pleaded not stood-by with-so-great crime bound men
statuerunt nihil a se adiumenti, nihil opis, nihil
they-decided nothing from themselves of-aid nothing of-help nothing
auxili ferri oportere. Atque ut de eorum constantia
of-assistance to-be-brought to-be-proper and that about their steadfastness
atque animo in rem publicam dicam quorum tacita
and spirit toward the-thing public I-may-speak whose silent
gravitas et fides de uno quoque loquitur neque
gravity and good-faith about one each speaks nor
cuiusquam ornamenta orationis desiderat, potest quisquam
of-anyone the-ornaments of-speech needs can anyone
dicere umquam meliores, fortiores, constantiores consularis
to-say ever better braver more-steadfast consulars
fuisse quam his temporibus et periculis quibus paene
to-have-been than in-these times and dangers by-which almost
oppressa est res publica? Quis non de communi salute
crushed has-been the-thing public who not about the-common safety
optime, quis non fortissime, quis non constantissime sensit?
best who not most-bravely who not most-steadfastly felt
Neque ego praecipue de consularibus disputo; nam haec et
nor I especially about the-consulars argue for this both
hominum ornatissimorum, qui praetores fuerunt, et universi
of-men most-distinguished who praetors have-been and of-the-whole
senatus communis est laus, ut constet post hominum
senate common is the-praise so-that it-is-agreed after of-men

memoriam numquam in illo ordine plus virtutis, plus amoris
the-memory never in that order more of-virtue more of-love
in rem publicam, plus gravitatis fuisse; sed quia sunt
toward the-thing public more of-gravity to-have-been but since they-have
descripti consulares, de his tantum mihi dicendum putavi
been-singled-out the-consulars about these only for-me to-be-said I-thought
quod satis esset ad testandam omnium memoriam, neminem
what enough were for attesting of-all the-memory no-one
esse ex illo honoris gradu qui non omni studio, virtute,
to-be from that of-office step who not with-all zeal virtue
auctoritate incubuerit ad rem publicam conservandam.
authority applied-himself for the-thing public to-be-preserved

XIV · CICERO'S WORD

Cicero, who never praised Catiline or stood by him, and who testified against the conspirators, would be mad to defend now the leader of the men he crushed. He claims nothing beyond what everyone allows, and declares on his conscience, calling the gods to witness, that he learned nothing against Sulla in his consulship. Having been severe when the state demanded it, he is merciful now by nature.

Sed quid ego? qui Catilinam non laudavi, qui reo 83
but what I who Catiline not praised who for-the-defendant
Catilinae consul non adfui, qui testimonium de coniuratione
Catiline as-consul not stood-by who testimony about the-conspiracy
dixi in alios, adeone vobis alienus a sanitate, adeo oblitus
gave against others so-whether to-you estranged from sanity so forgetful
constantiae meae, adeo immemor rerum a me gestarum esse
of-steadfastness my so unmindful of-things by me done to-be
videor ut, cum consul bellum gesserim cum coniuratis, nunc
do-I-seem that when as-consul war I-waged with the-conspirators now

eorum ducem servare cupiam et animum inducam, cuius
their leader to-save I-should-desire and the-mind bring whose
nuper ferrum rettuderim flammamque restinxerim, eiusdem
lately the-sword I-blunted and-the-flame quenched of-the-same-man
nunc causam vitamque defendere? Si me dius fidius,
now the-case and-life to-defend if so-help-me the-god of-faith
iudices, non me ipsa res publica meis laboribus et periculis
judges not me the-very thing public by-my labors and dangers
conservata ad gravitatem animi et constantiam sua
preserved to gravity of-mind and steadfastness by-its-own
dignitate revocaret, tamen hoc natura est insitum ut,
dignity were-calling-back still this by-nature is implanted that
quem timueris, quicum de vita fortunisque contenderis,
whom you-have-feared with-whom about life and-fortunes you-have-contended
cuius ex insidiis evaseris, hunc semper oderis. Sed cum
whose from plots you-have-escaped him always you-hate but when
agatur honos meus amplissimus, gloria rerum gestarum
is-at-stake honor my most-ample the-glory of-things done
singularis, cum, quotiens quisque est in hoc scelere convictus,
singular when as-often-as anyone is in this crime convicted
totiens renovetur memoria per me inventae salutis, ego
so-often is-renewed the-memory through me of-found safety I
sim tam demens, ego committam ut ea quae
should-I-be so mad I should-I-bring-it-about that those-things which
pro salute omnium gessi, casu magis et felicitate a me
for the-safety of-all I-did by-chance rather and good-luck by me
quam virtute et consilio gesta esse videantur?
than by-virtue and counsel done to-have-been may-seem
84 'Quid ergo? hoc tibi sumis,' dicet fortasse quispiam,
what therefore this to-yourself you-claim will-say perhaps someone
'ut, quia tu defendis, innocens iudicetur?' Ego vero,
that because you defend innocent he-be-judged I indeed

iudices, non modo mihi nihil adsumo in quo quispiam
judges not only to-myself nothing I-claim in which anyone
repugnet sed etiam, si quid ab omnibus conceditur, id
may-object but even if anything by all is-granted that
reddo ac remitto. Non in ea re publica versor, non
I-give-back and remit not in that thing public I-am-engaged not
eis temporibus caput meum obtuli pro patria periculis
in-those times the-head my I-exposed for the-country to-dangers
omnibus, non aut ita sunt exstincti quos vici
all not either so have-been extinguished those-whom I-conquered
aut ita grati quos servavi, ut ego mihi plus appetere
or so grateful those-whom I-saved that I for-myself more to-aim-at
coner quam quantum omnes inimici invidique patiantur.
should-try than as-much-as all enemies and-envious-men would-allow
Grave esse videtur eum qui investigarit coniurationem, qui 85
grievous to-be seems him who tracked-down the-conspiracy who
patefecerit, qui oppresserit, cui senatus singularibus verbis
laid-it-open who crushed-it to-whom the-senate in-singular words
gratias egerit, cui uni togato supplicationem decreverit,
thanks gave to-whom alone in-the-toga a-thanksgiving decreed
dicere in iudicio: 'non defenderem, si coniurasset.' Non dico id
to-say in court not I-would-defend if he-had-conspired not I-say that
quod grave est, dico illud quod in his causis coniurationis non
which grievous is I-say this which in these cases of-conspiracy not
auctoritati adsumam, sed pudori meo: 'ego ille coniurationis
to-authority I-shall-claim but to-modesty my I that-man of-the-conspiracy
investigator atque ultor certe non defenderem Sullam, si
the-tracker and avenger certainly not would-defend Sulla if
coniurasse arbitrarer.' Ego, iudices, de tantis omnium periculis
to-have-conspired I-thought I judges about so-great of-all dangers
cum quaererem omnia, multa audirem, crederem non
when I-was-inquiring-into all-things many-things I-was-hearing I-was-believing not

omnia, caverem omnia, dico hoc quod initio dixi,
all-things I-was-guarding-against all-things I-say this which at-the-beginning I-said
nullius indicio, nullius nuntio, nullius suspicione, nullius
by-no-one's information by-no-one's message by-no-one's suspicion by-no-one's
litteris de P. Sulla rem ullam ad me esse delatam.
letters about Publius Sulla thing any to me to-have-been reported
86 Quam ob rem vos, di patrii ac penates, qui huic
which on-account-of thing you gods ancestral and household-gods who over-this
urbi atque huic rei publicae praesidetis, qui hoc imperium,
city and over-this thing public preside who this empire
qui hanc libertatem, qui populum Romanum, qui haec tecta
who this liberty who the-people Roman who these houses
atque templa me consule vestro numine auxilioque servastis,
and temples with-me as-consul by-your divine-will and-help preserved
testor integro me animo ac libero P. Sullae causam
I-call-to-witness with-whole me mind and free of-Publius Sulla the-case
defendere, nullum a me sciente facinus occultari, nullum scelus
to-defend no by me knowing deed to-be-concealed no crime
susceptum contra salutem omnium defendi ac tegi. Nihil
undertaken against the-safety of-all to-be-defended and covered nothing
de hoc consul comperi, nihil suspicatus sum, nihil audivi.
about this-man as-consul I-learned nothing suspected I-have nothing I-heard
87 Itaque idem ego ille qui vehemens in alios, qui
and-so the-same I that-man who vehement against others who
inexorabilis in ceteros esse visus sum, persolvi patriae
inexorable toward the-rest to-be seemed I-have paid-in-full to-my-country
quod debui; reliqua iam a me meae perpetuae consuetudini
what I-owed the-rest-things now by me to-my lifelong habit
naturaeque debentur; tam sum misericors, iudices, quam vos,
and-nature are-owed as am merciful judges as you
tam mitis quam qui lenissimus; in quo vehemens fui vobiscum
as mild as he-who most-gentle in what vehement I-was with-you

nihil feci nisi coactus, rei publicae praecipitanti subveni,
nothing I-did unless compelled to-the-thing public falling-headlong I-came-to-help
patriam demersam extuli; misericordia civium adducti tum
the-country sunk I-raised by-pity for-the-citizens led then
fuimus tam vehementes quam necesse fuit. Salus esset
we-were as vehement as necessary it-was the-safety would-have-been
amissa omnium una nocte, nisi esset severitas illa suscepta.
lost of-all in-one night unless had-been severity that undertaken
Sed ut ad sceleratorum poenam amore rei publicae
but as to of-the-wicked the-punishment by-love of-the-thing public
sum adductus, sic ad salutem innocentium voluntate deducor.
I-was led so to the-safety of-the-innocent by-will I-am-led

XV · THE PLEA FOR SULLA

Sulla asks not to escape his calamity but that no brand of crime be burned onto his family and name. His house will not be adorned again, for everything he had was lost at his first trial; he fears for his young son, who begs the judges to let him congratulate his father some day. Cicero asks Torquatus to be content, and the judges, who were chosen by the accusers, to soften the severity of these months with mercy.

Nihil video esse in hoc P. Sulla, iudices, odio dignum, 88
nothing I-see to-be in this Publius Sulla judges of-hatred worthy
misericordia digna multa. Neque enim nunc propulsandae
of-pity worthy many-things nor for now of-being-warded-off
calamitatis suae causa supplex ad vos, iudices, confugit,
of-calamity his-own for-the-sake as-suppliant to you judges has-he-fled
sed ne qua generi ac nomini suo nota nefariae
but lest any on-his-race and name his-own the-brand of-wicked
turpitudinis inuratur. Nam ipse quidem, si erit vestro
disgrace be-burned-in for he-himself indeed if he-will-be by-your

iudicio liberatus, quae habet ornamenta, quae solacia
judgment freed what has-he distinctions what consolations
reliquae vitae quibus laetari ac perfrui possit? Domus
of-the-rest of-his-life in-which to-rejoice and to-take-delight could-he his-house
erit, credo, exornata, aperientur maiorum imagines, ipse
will-be I-suppose adorned will-be-opened of-his-ancestors the-images he-himself
ornatum ac vestitum pristinum recuperabit. Omnia, iudices,
dress and clothing former will-recover all-things judges
haec amissa sunt, omnia generis, nominis, honoris insignia
these lost are all of-race of-name of-office the-insignia
atque ornamenta unius iudici calamitate occiderunt. Sed ne
and distinctions by-one court's calamity have-perished but lest
exstinctor patriae, ne proditor, ne hostis appelletur, ne
the-destroyer of-his-country lest a-traitor lest an-enemy he-be-called lest
hanc labem tanti sceleris in familia relinquat, id laborat,
this stain of-so-great a-crime in his-family he-leave that he-labors-for
id metuit, ne denique hic miser coniurati et conscelerati
that he-fears lest finally this wretched-boy of-a-conspirator and of-a-criminal
et proditoris filius nominetur; huic puero qui est ei vita
and of-a-traitor the-son be-named for-this boy who is to-him than-life
sua multo carior metuit, cui honoris integros fructus non
his-own much dearer he-fears to-whom of-office whole the-fruits not
sit traditurus, ne aeternam memoriam dedecoris relinquat.
he-is going-to-hand-down lest an-eternal memory of-disgrace he-leave
89 Hic vos orat, iudices, parvus, ut se aliquando si non
this-boy you begs judges little that himself some-day if not
integra fortuna, at ut adflicta patri suo gratulari
on-his-whole fortune but even on-his-afflicted father his-own to-congratulate
sinatis. Huic misero notiora sunt itinera iudiciorum et
you-allow to-this wretched-boy better-known are the-roads of-the-courts and
fori quam campi et disciplinarum. Non iam de vita
of-the-forum than of-the-Campus and of-studies not now about the-life

P. Sullae, iudices, sed de sepultura contenditur; vita erepta
of-Publius Sulla judges but about burial it-is-contended his-life snatched
est superiore iudicio, nunc ne corpus eiciatur laboramus. Quid
has-been by-the-earlier trial now lest his-body be-cast-out we-labor what
enim est huic reliqui quod eum in hac vita teneat, aut
for is to-this-man of-remainder which him in this life may-hold or
quid est quam ob rem haec cuiquam vita videatur? Nuper
what is which on-account-of thing this to-anyone life may-seem lately
is homo fuit in civitate P. Sulla ut nemo ei se neque
he a-man was in the-state Publius Sulla that no-one to-him himself neither
honore neque gratia neque fortunis anteferret, nunc spoliatus
in-office nor in-favor nor in-fortunes would-prefer now stripped
omni dignitate quae erepta sunt non repetit; quod
of-all dignity which-things snatched have-been not he-seeks-back what
fortuna in malis reliqui fecit, ut cum parente, cum liberis,
fortune in evils of-remainder made that with his-parent with his-children
cum fratre, cum his necessariis lugere suam calamitatem
with his-brother with these connections to-mourn his-own calamity
liceat, id sibi ne eripiatis vos, iudices, obtestatur.
be-allowed that from-him lest you-snatch you judges he-adjures
Te ipsum iam, Torquate, expletum huius miseriis esse par 90
you yourself now Torquatus sated with-this-man's miseries to-be fitting
erat et, si nihil aliud Sullae nisi consulatum abstulissetis,
it-was and if nothing else from-Sulla except the-consulship you-had-taken-away
tamen eo vos contentos esse oportebat; honoris enim
still with-that you content to-be it-was-proper of-office for
contentio vos ad causam, non inimicitiae deduxerunt. Sed
the-contest you to the-case not enmities led but
cum huic omnia cum honore detracta sint, cum in
since from-this-man all-things with his-office stripped have-been since in
hac fortuna miserrima ac luctuosissima destitutus sit, quid
this fortune most-wretched and most-mournful abandoned he-is what

est quod expetas amplius? Lucisne hanc usuram eripere
is it-that you-seek more of-the-light-whether this use to-snatch
vis plenam lacrimarum atque maeroris, in qua cum
do-you-wish full of-tears and of-grief in which with
maximo cruciatu ac dolore retinetur? Libenter reddiderit
the-greatest torment and pain he-is-held gladly he-would-render-it
adempta ignominia foedissimi criminis. An vero inimicum
with-removed the-disgrace of-the-foulest charge or indeed an-enemy
ut expellas? Cuius ex miseriis, si esses crudelissimus,
that you-may-drive-out whose from miseries if you-were most-cruel
videndo fructum caperes maiorem quam audiendo.
by-seeing fruit you-would-take greater than by-hearing
91 O miserum et infelicem illum diem quo consul omnibus
O wretched and unhappy that day on-which consul by-all
centuriis P. Sulla renuntiatus est, o falsam spem, o
the-centuries Publius Sulla declared was O false hope O
volucrem fortunam, o caecam cupiditatem, o praeposteram
winged fortune O blind desire O preposterous
gratulationem! Quam cito illa omnia ex laetitia et voluptate
congratulation how quickly those all-things from joy and pleasure
ad luctum et lacrimas recciderunt, ut, qui paulo ante
to grief and tears fell-back so-that he-who a-little before
consul designatus fuisset, repente nullum vestigium retineret
consul designate had-been suddenly no trace retained
pristinae dignitatis! Quid enim erat mali quod huic spoliato
of-former dignity what for was of-evil which to-this-man stripped
fama, honore, fortunis deesse videretur? Aut cui
of-reputation of-office of-fortunes to-be-lacking might-seem or for-what
novae calamitati locus ullus relictus? Urget eadem fortuna
new calamity place any left presses the-same fortune

quae coepit, repperit novum maerorem, non patitur hominem
which began it-has-found a-new grief not it-allows a-man
calamitosum uno malo adflictum uno in luctu perire.
ruined by-one evil afflicted one in grief to-perish
Sed iam impedior egomet, iudices, dolore animi ne de 92
but now am-hindered I-myself judges by-the-grief of-my-mind lest about
huius miseria plura dicam. Vestrae sunt iam partes, iudices, in
this-man's misery more I-say yours are now the-parts judges in
vestra mansuetudine atque humanitate causam totam repono.
your gentleness and humanity the-case whole I-rest
Vos reiectione interposita nihil suspicantibus nobis repentini
you with-the-rejection interposed nothing suspecting with-us sudden
in nos iudices consedistis, ab accusatoribus delecti ad
upon us as-judges have-taken-your-seats by the-accusers chosen for
spem acerbitatis, a fortuna nobis ad praesidium innocentiae
the-hope of-harshness by fortune for-us for the-defense of-innocence
constituti. Ut ego quid de me populus Romanus existimaret,
appointed as I what about me the-people Roman might-think
quia severus in improbos fueram, laboravi et, quae prima
because severe toward the-wicked I-had-been labored and what first
innocentis mihi defensio est oblata, suscepi, sic vos
of-an-innocent-man to-me the-defense was offered I-undertook so you
severitatem iudiciorum quae per hos mensis in homines
the-severity of-the-courts which through these months against men
audacissimos facta sunt lenitate ac misericordia mitigate.
most-audacious held have-been with-mildness and pity soften
Hoc cum a vobis impetrare causa ipsa debet, tum est 93
this both from you to-obtain the-case itself ought and it-is
vestri animi atque virtutis declarare non esse eos vos ad
of-your mind and virtue to-declare not to-be them you to
quos potissimum interposita reiectione devenire convenerit.
whom above-all with-interposed rejection to-come it-was-fitting

In quo ego vos, iudices, quantum meus in vos amor
in which I you judges as-much-as my toward you love
postulat, tantum hortor ut communi studio, quoniam in
demands so-much exhort that with-common zeal since in
re publica coniuncti sumus, mansuetudine et misericordia
the-thing public joined we-are by-gentleness and pity
nostra falsam a nobis crudelitatis famam repellamus.
our false from us of-cruelty the-report we-may-drive-back

CICERO

Pro Sestio

In Defense of Sestius

PRO SESTIO

I · THE GOOD CITIZEN ON TRIAL

No one should now wonder that few citizens dare to risk themselves for the state: those who restored it stand in mourning as defendants, while those who overturned all law flit about unafraid and plot against the best. Worse, they now seek through the judges what they could not achieve with stones and swords. Hortensius has answered the charges; Cicero will speak from devotion and grief rather than as an advocate, and asks pardon for his anger. He begins with Sestius' life: his father was a wise tribune of the best times; Sestius married the daughter of Gaius Albinus and, after her death, the daughter of Lucius Scipio, and went at once to Massilia to visit Scipio in exile.

Si quis antea, iudices, mirabatur quid esset quod, pro tantis 1
if anyone before judges wondered what it-was that for so-great
opibus rei publicae tantaque dignitate imperi, nequaquam
resources of-the-thing public and-so-great dignity of-empire by-no-means
satis multi cives forti et magno animo invenirentur qui
enough many citizens of-brave and great spirit were-found who
auderent se et salutem suam in discrimen offerre pro
would-dare themselves and safety their-own into crisis to-offer for
statu civitatis et pro communi libertate, ex hoc tempore
the-state of-the-community and for common liberty from this time
miretur potius si quem bonum et fortem civem viderit,
let-him-wonder rather if any good and brave citizen he-will-have-seen
quam si quem aut timidum aut sibi potius quam rei
than if any either timid or for-himself rather than for-the-thing
publicae consulentem. Nam ut omittatis de unius cuiusque
public taking-thought for that you-may-omit about one of-each
casu cogitando recordari, uno aspectu intueri potestis
the-misfortune by-thinking to-recall at-one glance to-behold you-can

eos qui cum senatu, cum bonis omnibus, rem publicam
those who with the-senate with the-good all the-thing public
adflictam excitarint et latrocinio domestico liberarint,
afflicted have-roused and from-brigandage domestic have-freed
maestos sordidatos reos, de capite, de fama, de civitate,
sorrowful in-mourning defendants for life for reputation for citizenship
de fortunis, de liberis dimicantis; eos autem qui omnia divina
for fortunes for children fighting those however who all-things divine
et humana violarint vexarint perturbarint everterint, non
and human have-violated harassed confounded overturned not
solum alacris laetosque volitare, sed etiam fortissimis atque
only eager and-joyful to-flit-about but also for-the-bravest and
optimis civibus periculum moliri, de se nihil timere.
best citizens danger to-contrive about themselves nothing to-fear
2 In quo cum multa sunt indigna, tum nihil minus
in which although many-things are unworthy yet nothing less
est ferendum quam quod iam non per latrones suos,
is to-be-borne than that now not through brigands their
non per homines egestate et scelere perditos, sed per
not through men by-want and crime ruined but through
vos nobis, per optimos viros optimis civibus periculum
you on-us through the-best men on-the-best citizens danger
inferre conantur, et quos lapidibus, quos ferro, quos
to-bring they-try and whom with-stones whom with-iron whom
facibus, quos vi manu copiis delere non potuerunt,
with-torches whom by-violence hand forces to-destroy not they-could
hos vestra auctoritate, vestra religione, vestris sententiis
these by-your authority by-your scruple by-your verdicts
se oppressuros arbitrantur. Ego autem, iudices, qua voce
themselves going-to-crush they-think I however judges which voice
mihi in agendis gratiis commemorandoque eorum qui de
to-me in giving thanks and-recalling of-those who of

me optime meriti sunt beneficio esse utendum putabam,
me best deserved have by-the-kindness to-be to-be-used I-thought
ea nunc uti cogor in eorum periculis depellendis, ut
that now to-use I-am-compelled in their dangers being-driven-off that
iis potissimum vox haec serviat quorum opera et mihi
for-them above-all voice this may-serve whose by-work both to-me
et vobis et populo Romano restituta est.
and to-you and to-the-people Roman restored it-has-been
Et quamquam a Q. Hortensio, clarissimo viro atque 3
and although by Quintus Hortensius a-most-famous man and
eloquentissimo, causa est P. Sesti perorata,
most-eloquent the-case has-been of-Publius Sestius pleaded-to-the-end
nihilque ab eo praetermissum est quod aut pro re
and-nothing by him passed-over has-been which either for the-thing
publica conquerendum fuit aut pro reo disputandum,
public to-be-lamented was or for the-defendant to-be-argued
tamen adgrediar ad dicendum, ne mea propugnatio ei
still I-shall-approach to speaking lest my defense to-him
potissimum defuisse videatur per quem est perfectum
above-all to-have-failed may-seem through whom it-was accomplished
ne ceteris civibus deesset. Atque ego sic statuo, iudices,
that-not to-the-other citizens it-should-fail and I so decide judges
a me in hac causa atque hoc extremo dicendi loco pietatis
by me in this case and in-this last of-speaking place of-devotion
potius quam defensionis, querelae quam eloquentiae, doloris
rather than of-defense of-complaint than of-eloquence of-grief
quam ingeni partis esse susceptas.
than of-talent the-parts to-be taken-up
Itaque si aut acrius egero aut liberius quam qui 4
and-so if either more-sharply I-shall-have-acted or more-freely than those-who
ante me dixerunt, peto a vobis ut tantum orationi meae
before me spoke I-ask from you that as-much to-speech my

concedatis quantum et pio dolori et iustae iracundiae
you-concede as-much-as both to-dutiful grief and to-just anger
concedendum putetis; nam neque officio coniunctior dolor
to-be-conceded you-think for neither to-duty more-closely-joined the-grief
ullius esse potest quam hic meus susceptus ex hominis
of-anyone to-be can than this my taken-up from of-a-man
de me optime meriti periculo, neque iracundia magis ulla
of me best deserving the-danger nor anger more any
laudanda est quam ea quae me inflammat eorum scelere
to-be-praised is than that which me inflames by-their crime
qui cum omnibus meae salutis defensoribus bellum esse
who with all of-my safety the-defenders war to-be
sibi gerendum iudicaverunt.
for-themselves to-be-waged judged
5 Sed quoniam singulis criminibus ceteri responderunt,
but since to-the-single charges the-others have-answered
dicam ego de omni statu P. Sesti, de genere
I-shall-speak I about the-whole condition of-Publius Sestius about his-kind
vitae, de natura, de moribus, de incredibili amore in
of-life about his-nature about his-character about his-incredible love toward
bonos, de studio conservandae salutis communis atque
the-good about his-zeal of-preserving the-safety common and
oti; contendamque, si modo id consequi potero, ut in
the-peace and-I-shall-strive if only that to-achieve I-shall-be-able that in
hac confusa atque universa defensione nihil ab me quod ad
this mingled and general defense nothing by me which to
vestram quaestionem, nihil quod ad reum, nihil quod ad
your inquiry nothing which to the-defendant nothing which to
rem publicam pertineat praetermissum esse videatur. Et
the-thing public pertains passed-over to-have-been may-seem and
quoniam in gravissimis temporibus civitatis atque in ruinis
since in the-gravest times of-the-state and in the-ruins

eversae atque adflictae rei publicae P. Sesti tribunatus
of-the-overturned and afflicted thing public of-Publius Sestius the-tribunate
est a Fortuna ipsa conlocatus, non adgrediar ad illa maxima
was by Fortune herself placed not I-shall-approach to those greatest
atque amplissima prius quam docuero quibus initiis ac
and most-ample-things sooner than I-shall-have-shown from-what beginnings and
fundamentis haec tantae summis in rebus laudes excitatae sint.
foundations these so-great the-highest in affairs praises raised have-been
Parente P. Sestius natus est, iudices, homine, ut plerique 6
from-a-parent Publius Sestius born was judges a-man as most
meministis, et sapiente et sancto et severo; qui cum tribunus
remember both wise and upright and severe who when tribune
plebis primus inter homines nobilissimos temporibus optimis
of-the-plebs first among men most-noble in-times the-best
factus esset, reliquis honoribus non tam uti voluit
made had-been the-remaining offices not so-much to-use wished
quam dignus videri. Eo auctore duxit honestissimi et
as worthy to-seem with-him as-adviser he-married of-a-most-honorable and
spectatissimi viri, C. Albini, filiam, ex qua hic est puer et
most-esteemed man Gaius Albinus the-daughter from whom this is boy and
nupta iam filia. Duobus gravissimis ac plenissimis antiquitatis
married now a-daughter by-two most-weighty and fullest of-antiquity
viris sic probatus fuit ut utrique eorum et carus maxime
men so approved he-was that to-each of-them both dear most
et iucundus esset. Ademit Albino soceri nomen mors
and pleasant he-was took-away from-Albinus of-father-in-law the-name the-death
filiae, sed caritatem illius necessitudinis et benivolentiam
of-his-daughter but the-affection of-that bond and goodwill
non ademit: hodie sic hunc diligit ut vos facillime potestis ex
not it-took-away today so this-man he-loves as you most-easily can from
hac vel adsiduitate eius vel sollicitudine et molestia iudicare.
this either constancy his or anxiety and distress judge

7 Duxit uxorem patre vivo optimi et calamitosissimi viri
he-married as-wife with-father living of-the-best and most-unfortunate man
filiam, L. Scipionis. Clara in hoc P. Sesti pietas
the-daughter Lucius Scipio's famous in this of-Publius Sestius the-devotion
exstitit et omnibus grata, quod et Massiliam statim profectus
stood-out and to-all pleasing because both to-Massilia at-once set-out
est, ut socerum videre consolarique posset fluctibus
he-has that his-father-in-law to-see and-to-console he-might-be-able by-the-waves
rei publicae expulsum, in alienis terris iacentem, quem
of-the-thing public cast-out in foreign lands lying whom
in maiorum suorum vestigiis stare oportebat, et ad eum
in of-ancestors his-own the-footsteps to-stand it-was-proper and to him
filiam eius adduxit, ut ille insperato aspectu complexuque
daughter his brought that he by-the-unhoped-for sight and-embrace
si non omnem at aliquam partem maeroris sui deponeret, et
if not all but some part of-grief his might-lay-down and
maximis pro illa necessitudine studiis et officiis et illius
with-the-greatest for that bond zeal and services both his
aerumnam, quoad vixit, et filiae solitudinem sustentavit.
hardship as-long-as he-lived and of-his-daughter the-loneliness he-sustained
Possum multa dicere de liberalitate, de domesticis officiis,
I-can many-things to-say about his-generosity about domestic duties
de tribunatu militari, de provinciali in eo magistratu
about his-tribunate military about his-provincial in that magistracy
abstinentia; sed mihi ante oculos obversatur rei publicae
restraint but to-me before the-eyes hovers of-the-thing public
dignitas, quae me ad sese rapit, haec minora relinquere hortatur.
the-dignity which me to itself snatches these lesser-things to-leave exhorts

As quaestor to Cicero's colleague Antonius, Sestius served the state, drove the conspirator Mevulanus and Gaius Marcellus from Capua, and was thanked by its people, whose decree is read. Summoned by Cicero's letter, he came to Rome with his army and checked the new tribunes' attacks. He then overtook Antonius with that army and spurred him on, and with Petreius saved Italy from a long war with Catiline; his honesty as quaestor in Macedonia Cicero passes over to come to the tribunate.

Quaestor hic C. Antoni, conlegae mei, iudices, fuit 8
quaestor this-man of-Gaius Antonius colleague my judges was
sorte, sed societate consiliorum meus. Impedior non nullius
by-lot but by-sharing of-counsels mine I-am-hindered not of-none
offici, ut ego interpretor, religione quo minus exponam
duty as I interpret by-scruple by-which less I-may-set-out
quam multa P. Sestius, cum esset cum conlega meo,
how many-things Publius Sestius when he-was with colleague my
senserit, ad me detulerit, quanto ante providerit. Atque ego
perceived to me reported how-far before foresaw and I
de Antonio nihil dico praeter unum: numquam illum illo
about Antonius nothing say except one-thing never him in-that
summo timore ac periculo civitatis neque communem metum
highest fear and danger of-the-state either the-common dread
omnium nec propriam non nullorum de ipso suspicionem
of-all or the-particular not of-none about himself suspicion
aut infitiando tollere aut dissimulando sedare voluisse.
either by-denying to-remove or by-dissembling to-allay to-have-wished
In quo conlega sustinendo atque moderando si meam in
in which colleague being-sustained and moderated if my toward
illum indulgentiam coniunctam cum summa custodia rei
him indulgence joined with the-highest guarding of-the-thing

publicae laudare vere solebatis, par prope laus P. Sesti
public to-praise truly you-were-wont equal nearly praise of-Publius Sestius
esse debet, qui ita suum consulem observavit ut et illi
to-be ought who so his-own consul watched that both to-him
quaestor bonus et nobis omnibus optimus civis videretur.
a-quaestor good and to-us all the-best citizen he-seemed
9 Idem, cum illa coniuratio ex latebris atque ex
the-same-man when that conspiracy from hiding-places and from
tenebris erupisset palamque armata volitaret, venit cum
darkness had-burst-out and-openly armed was-flitting came with
exercitu Capuam, quam urbem propter plurimas belli
an-army to-Capua which city on-account-of very-many of-war
opportunitates ab illa impia et scelerata manu temptari
advantages by that impious and criminal band to-be-tested
suspicabamur; C. Mevulanum, tribunum militum Antoni,
we-suspected Gaius Mevulanus tribune of-the-soldiers of-Antonius
Capua praecipitem eiecit, hominem perditum et non
from-Capua headlong he-cast-out a-man abandoned and not
obscure Pisauri et in aliis agri Gallici partibus in illa
obscurely at-Pisaurum and in other of-the-district Gallic parts in that
coniuratione versatum; idemque C. Marcellum, cum is
conspiracy engaged and-the-same-man Gaius Marcellus when he
non Capuam solum venisset, verum etiam se quasi armorum
not to-Capua only had-come but also himself as-if of-arms
studio in maximam familiam coniecisset, exterminandum ex
from-zeal into a-very-large troop had-thrown to-be-banished from
illa urbe curavit. Qua de causa et tum conventus ille Capuae,
that city took-care-that which for reason both then association that at-Capua
qui propter salutem illius urbis consulatu conservatam
which on-account-of the-safety of-that city in-the-consulship preserved
meo me unum patronum adoptavit, huic apud me
my me alone as-patron adopted to-this-man in-the-presence-of me

P. Sestio maximas gratias egit, et hoc tempore eidem
Publius Sestius the-greatest thanks gave and at-this time the-same
homines nomine commutato coloni decurionesque, fortissimi
men with-name changed colonists and-councilors most-brave
atque optimi viri, beneficium P. Sesti testimonio
and best men the-kindness of-Publius Sestius by-testimony
declarant, periculum decreto suo deprecantur.
declare his-danger by-decree their-own pray-to-avert
Recita, quaeso, L. Sesti, quid decrerint Capuae decuriones, 10
read I-pray Lucius Sestius what decreed at-Capua the-councilors
ut iam puerilis tua vox possit aliquid significare
so-that now boyish your voice may-be-able something to-signify
inimicis vestris, quidnam, cum se conroborarit,
to-the-enemies your what when itself it-will-have-strengthened
effectura esse videatur. DECURIONUM DECRETA.
going-to-accomplish to-be it-may-seem OF-THE-COUNCILORS THE-DECREES
Non recito decretum officio aliquo expressum vicinitatis
not I-read a-decree by-duty some extorted of-neighborhood
aut clientelae aut hospiti publici aut ambitionis aut
or of-clientship or of-guest-friendship public or of-canvassing or
commendationis gratia, sed recito memoriam perfuncti
of-recommendation for-the-sake but I-read the-memory of-a-past
periculi, praedicationem amplissimi benefici, vocem offici
danger the-proclamation of-a-most-ample kindness the-voice of-duty
praesentis, testimonium praeteriti temporis.
present the-testimony of-past time
Atque illis temporibus eisdem, cum iam Capuam metu 11
and in-those times the-same when already Capua from-fear
Sestius liberasset, urbem senatus atque omnes boni
Sestius had-freed the-city the-senate and all good-men
deprehensis atque oppressis domesticis hostibus me duce
with-caught and crushed domestic enemies with-me as-leader

ex periculis maximis extraxissent, ego litteris P. Sestium
from dangers the-greatest had-drawn-out I by-letter Publius Sestius
Capua arcessivi cum illo exercitu quem tum secum
from-Capua summoned with that army which then with-himself
habebat; quibus hic litteris lectis ad urbem
he-had which this-man letter having-been-read to the-city
confestim incredibili celeritate advolavit. Atque ut illius
at-once with-incredible speed flew and that of-that
temporis atrocitatem recordari possitis, audite litteras et
time the-atrocity to-recall you-may-be-able hear the-letter and
vestram memoriam ad timoris praeteriti cogitationem excitate.
your memory to of-fear past the-thought rouse

LITTERAE CICERONIS CONSULIS.
LETTER OF-CICERO CONSUL

Hoc adventu P. Sesti tribunorum plebis novorum, qui
by-this arrival of-Publius Sestius of-the-tribunes of-the-plebs new who
tum extremis diebus consulatus mei res eas quas gesseram
then in-the-last days of-the-consulship my things those which I-had-done
vexare cupiebant, reliquaeque coniurationis impetus et
to-harass desired and-of-the-remaining conspiracy the-onset and
conatus sunt retardati.
attempts were checked

12 Ac postea quam est intellectum, M. Catone tribuno
and afterward that it-was understood with-Marcus Cato as-tribune
plebis, fortissimo atque optimo cive, rem publicam
of-the-plebs a-most-brave and best citizen the-thing public
defendente, per se ipsum senatum populumque Romanum
defending by itself its-very-self the-senate and-the-people Roman
sine militum praesidio tueri facile maiestate sua
without of-soldiers defense to-protect easily by-majesty its-own
dignitatem eorum qui salutem communem periculo suo
the-dignity of-those who the-safety common at-danger their-own

defendissent, Sestius cum illo exercitu summa celeritate
had-defended Sestius with that army with-the-highest speed
est Antonium consecutus. Hic ego quid praedicem quibus
has Antonius overtaken here I why should-I-proclaim by-what
hic rebus consulem ad rem gerendam excitarit, quos
this-man means the-consul to the-thing to-be-done roused what
stimulos admoverit homini studioso fortasse victoriae, sed
goads applied to-a-man eager perhaps for-victory but
tamen nimium communem Martem belli casumque metuenti?
still too-much the-common Mars of-war and-the-chance fearing
Longum est ea dicere, sed hoc breve dicam: si
long it-is those-things to-say but this brief-thing I-shall-say if
M. Petrei non excellens animus et amor rei publicae,
of-Marcus Petreius not the-excellent spirit and love of-the-thing public
non praestans in re publica virtus, non summa auctoritas
not outstanding in the-thing public virtue not the-highest authority
apud milites, non mirificus usus in re militari exstitisset,
among the-soldiers not wonderful experience in matters military had-appeared
neque adiutor ei P. Sestius ad excitandum Antonium,
nor as-helper to-him Publius Sestius for rousing Antonius
cohortandum, accusandum, impellendum fuisset, datus illo in
exhorting accusing pushing had-been given that in
bello esset hiemi locus, neque umquam Catilina, cum
war would-have-been for-winter a-place nor ever Catiline when
e pruina Appennini atque e nivibus illis emersisset atque
from the-frost of-the-Apennines and from snows those he-had-emerged and
aestatem integram nanctus Italiae callis et pastorum
summer whole having-gained of-Italy the-tracks and of-the-shepherds
stabula praeoccupare coepisset, sine multo sanguine ac
the-folds to-seize-first had-begun without much blood and
sine totius Italiae vastitate miserrima concidisset.
without of-all Italy devastation most-wretched would-have-fallen

13 Hunc igitur animum attulit ad tribunatum P. Sestius,
this therefore spirit brought to the-tribunate Publius Sestius
ut quaesturam Macedoniae relinquam et aliquando ad haec
that the-quaestorship of-Macedonia I-may-leave and at-last to these
propiora veniam; quamquam non est omittenda singularis
nearer-things I-may-come although not is to-be-omitted singular
illa integritas provincialis, cuius ego nuper in Macedonia vidi
that integrity provincial of-which I lately in Macedonia saw
vestigia non pressa leviter ad exigui praedicationem temporis,
the-traces not pressed lightly for of-a-brief the-proclamation time
sed fixa ad memoriam illius provinciae sempiternam. Verum
but fixed for the-memory of-that province everlasting but
haec ita praetereamus ut tamen intuentes et respectantes
these-things so let-us-pass-over that still gazing and looking-back
relinquamus: ad tribunatum, qui ipse ad sese iam dudum
we-may-leave-them to the-tribunate which itself to itself now long-since
vocat et quodam modo absorbet orationem meam, contento
calls and in-a-certain manner absorbs speech my with-strained
studio cursuque veniamus.
zeal and-course let-us-come

Hortensius has spoken of Sestius' tribunate; Cicero will lament rather than argue, since that tribunate served only his own cause, and he will spare those who keep quiet. He must first set out the shipwreck of the year before: the transfer to the plebs of a furious man who broke Pompey's guarantee not to harm Cicero. The consul released this beast from the laws, and fortune gave him two consuls: one perfumed, curled, and sunk in debt, who sold himself to the gangs for a province; the other shaggy and grim, an image of antiquity whose eyebrow seemed the year's surety.

De quo quidem tribunatu ita dictum est a Q. Hortensio 14
about which indeed tribunate so spoken it-has-been by Quintus Hortensius
ut eius oratio non defensionem modo videretur criminum
that his speech not the-defense only seemed of-the-charges
continere, sed etiam memoria dignam iuventuti rei publicae
to-contain but also of-memory worthy for-the-youth of-the-thing public
capessendae auctoritatem disciplinamque praescribere. Sed tamen,
to-be-taken-up an-authority and-training to-prescribe but still
quoniam tribunatus totus P. Sesti nihil aliud nisi meum
since the-tribunate whole of-Publius Sestius nothing other except my
nomen causamque sustinuit, necessario mihi de isdem rebus
name and-cause sustained necessarily for-me about the-same things
esse arbitror si non subtilius disputandum, at certe dolentius
to-be I-think if not more-subtly to-be-argued but certainly more-grievingly
deplorandum. Qua in oratione si asperius in quosdam
to-be-lamented which in speech if more-harshly against certain
homines invehi vellem, quis non concederet ut eos, quorum
men to-inveigh I-wished who not would-grant that those whose
sceleris furore violatus essem, vocis libertate perstringerem?
of-crime by-the-fury violated I-had-been of-voice by-the-freedom I-should-graze
Sed agam moderate et huius potius tempori serviam
but I-shall-act moderately and of-this-man rather the-occasion I-shall-serve

quam dolori meo: si qui occulte a salute nostra dissentiunt,
than grief my if any secretly from safety our dissent
lateant; si qui fecerunt aliquid aliquando atque eidem nunc
let-them-lie-hidden if any did something once and the-same now
tacent et quiescunt, nos quoque simus obliti; si qui se
are-silent and keep-quiet we also let-us-be forgetful if any themselves
offerunt, insectantur, quoad ferri poterunt, perferemus, neque
offer assail as-long-as to-be-borne they-can we-shall-endure nor
quemquam offendet oratio mea nisi qui se ita obtulerit
anyone will-offend speech my except who himself so will-have-offered
ut in eum non invasisse sed incucurrisse videamur.
that upon him not to-have-attacked but to-have-run-into we-may-seem
15 Sed necesse est, ante quam de tribunatu P. Sesti
but necessary it-is before than about the-tribunate of-Publius Sestius
dicere incipiam, me totum superioris anni rei publicae
to-speak I-begin me the-whole of-the-former year of-the-thing public
naufragium exponere, in quo conligendo ac reficienda salute
shipwreck to-set-out in which being-gathered and being-restored safety
communi omnia reperientur P. Sesti facta, dicta, consilia
common all-things will-be-found of-Publius Sestius deeds words counsels
versata. Fuerat ille annus tam in re publica, iudices, cum
engaged had-been that year so in the-thing public judges when
in magno motu et multorum timore intentus est arcus
in great commotion and of-many fear bent was the-bow
in me unum, sicut vulgo ignari rerum loquebantur,
against me alone as commonly the-ignorant of-things were-saying
re quidem vera in universam rem publicam, traductione
in-thing indeed true against the-whole thing public by-the-transfer
ad plebem furibundi hominis ac perditi, mihi irati, sed
to the-plebs of-a-furious man and abandoned with-me angry but
multo acrius oti et communis salutis inimici. Hunc
much more-fiercely of-peace and of-common safety the-enemy him

vir clarissimus mihique multis repugnantibus amicissimus,
a-man most-famous and-to-me with-many opposing most-friendly
Cn. Pompeius, omni cautione, foedere, exsecratione devinxerat
Gnaeus Pompey by-every guarantee treaty curse had-bound
nihil in tribunatu contra me esse facturum: quod ille
nothing in the-tribunate against me to-be going-to-do which that
nefarius ex omnium scelerum conluvione natus parum
wicked-man from of-all crimes the-cesspool born too-little
se foedus violaturum arbitratus est, nisi ipsum cautorem
himself the-treaty going-to-violate thought has unless the-very guarantor
alieni periculi suis propriis periculis terruisset.
of-another's danger by-his-own personal dangers he-had-terrified
Hanc taetram immanemque beluam, vinctam auspiciis, 16
this foul and-monstrous beast bound by-the-auspices
adligatam more maiorum, constrictam legum sacratarum
tied by-the-custom of-the-ancestors constrained of-the-laws sacred
catenis, solvit subito lege curiata consul, vel, ut ego
by-the-chains released suddenly by-a-law curiate the-consul either as I
arbitror, exoratus vel, ut non nemo putabat, mihi
think won-over-by-entreaty or as not no-one thought with-me
iratus, ignarus quidem certe et imprudens impendentium
angry ignorant indeed certainly and unaware of-impending
tantorum scelerum et malorum. Qui tribunus plebis felix
so-great crimes and evils who tribune of-the-plebs fortunate
in evertenda re publica fuit nullis suis nervis — qui
in overturning the-thing public was by-no his-own sinews what
enim in eius modi vita nervi esse potuerunt hominis fraternis
for in of-such kind a-life sinews to-be could of-a-man by-brotherly
flagitiis, sororiis stupris, omni inaudita libidine exsanguis? —
outrages by-sisterly debaucheries by-every unheard-of lust bloodless

17 sed fuit profecto quaedam illa rei publicae fortuna fatalis,
but it-was surely some that of-the-thing public fortune fated
ut ille caecus atque amens tribunus plebis nancisceretur —
that that blind and mad tribune of-the-plebs should-obtain
quid dicam? Consules? Hocine ut ego nomine appellem
what shall-I-say consuls by-this-whether that I by-name should-call
eversores huius imperi, proditores vestrae dignitatis, hostis
the-overturners of-this empire the-betrayers of-your dignity the-enemies
bonorum omnium, qui ad delendum senatum, adfligendum
of-the-good all who for destroying the-senate crushing
equestrem ordinem, exstinguenda omnia iura atque instituta
the-equestrian order extinguishing all the-rights and institutions
maiorum se illis fascibus ceterisque insignibus
of-the-ancestors themselves with-those fasces and-the-other insignia
summi honoris atque imperi ornatos esse arbitrabantur?
of-the-highest office and command adorned to-have-been thought
Quorum, per deos immortalis, si nondum scelera vulneraque
of-whom by the-gods immortal if not-yet the-crimes and-wounds
inusta rei publicae vultis recordari, vultum atque
branded-on the-thing public you-wish to-recall the-face and
incessum animis intuemini: facilius eorum facta occurrent
gait in-your-minds behold more-easily their deeds will-occur
mentibus vestris, si ora ipsa oculis proposueritis.
to-minds your if the-faces themselves to-your-eyes you-will-have-set-before
18 Alter unguentis adfluens, calamistrata coma, despiciens
the-one with-perfumes dripping with-curled hair despising
conscios stuprorum ac veteres vexatores aetatulae suae,
his-accomplices in-debaucheries and old harassers of-tender-youth his
puteali et faeneratorum gregibus inflatus, a quibus
at-the-Puteal and of-moneylenders by-the-herds puffed-up by whom
compulsus olim, ne in Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni tamquam
driven once lest in Scylla's that of-bronze another's as-it-were

fretu ad columnam adhaeresceret, in tribunatus portum
strait at the-Column he-should-stick into of-the-tribunate the-harbor
perfugerat, contemnebat equites Romanos, minitabatur senatui,
he-had-fled he-despised the-knights Roman he-threatened the-senate
venditabat se operis atque ab iis se ereptum ne de
he-sold himself to-the-hired-gangs and by them himself snatched lest on
ambitu causam diceret praedicabat, ab isdemque se etiam
bribery a-case he-should-plead he-proclaimed and by-the-same himself even
invito senatu provinciam sperare dicebat; eamque nisi
with-unwilling senate a-province to-hope he-said and-it unless
adeptus esset, se incolumem nullo modo fore arbitrabatur.
obtained he-had himself unharmed in-no way going-to-be he-thought
Alter, o di boni, quam taeter incedebat, quam truculentus, 19
the-other O gods good how foul he-strode how truculent
quam terribilis aspectu! Unum aliquem te ex barbatis illis,
how terrible in-aspect one some you from the-bearded those
exemplum imperi veteris, imaginem antiquitatis, columen
an-example of-command old an-image of-antiquity a-pillar
rei publicae diceres intueri. Vestitus aspere nostra
of-the-thing public you-would-say to-behold dressed roughly with-our
hac purpura plebeia ac paene fusca, capillo ita horrido
this purple plebeian and almost dark with-hair so shaggy
ut Capua, in qua ipsa tum imaginis ornandae causa
that from-Capua in which itself then of-the-image to-be-adorned for-the-sake
duumviratum gerebat, Seplasiam sublaturus videretur. Nam
the-duumvirate he-was-holding the-Seplasia going-to-remove he-seemed for
quid ego de supercilio dicam, quod tum hominibus non
what I about his-eyebrow I-shall-say which then to-men not
supercilium, sed pignus rei publicae videbatur? Tanta
an-eyebrow but a-pledge of-the-thing public seemed so-great

erat gravitas in oculo, tanta contractio frontis, ut illo
was the-gravity in his-eye so-great the-contraction of-his-brow that on-that
supercilio annus ille niti tamquam vade videretur.
eyebrow year that to-rest as-if on-a-surety seemed

IV · TWO CONSULS

Men said the state still had one consul, Piso, to oppose the tribune and curb his colleague; but Gabinius, a drunkard fresh from the brothels, deceived no one, while Piso, unkempt and grave in the old style, deceived many with his family's name. Cicero always knew Piso for worthless, a man who praised the philosophers of pleasure and called a statesman mad. The two bargained with the tribune for provinces in exchange for the state and Cicero's blood; the bills were proposed together, and the consuls refused and mocked the senate's daily pleas.

20 Erat hic omnium sermo: 'est tamen rei publicae
was this of-all the-talk there-is still for-the-thing public
magnum firmumque subsidium; habeo quem opponam labi illi
a-great and-firm support I-have whom to-oppose to-filth that
atque caeno; vultu me dius fidius conlegae sui libidinem
and mud by-his-face so-help-me the-god of-faith of-colleague his the-lust
levitatemque franget; habebit senatus in hunc annum
and-levity he-will-break will-have the-senate for this year
quem sequatur; non deerit auctor et dux bonis.' Mihi
one-whom to-follow not will-be-lacking a-guide and leader to-the-good to-me
denique homines praecipue gratulabantur, quod habiturus
finally men especially offered-congratulations because going-to-have
essem contra tribunum plebis furiosum et audacem cum
I-was against a-tribune of-the-plebs furious and audacious both
amicum et adfinem tum etiam fortem et gravem consulem.
a-friend and a-relative and also a-brave and weighty consul

Atque eorum alter fefellit neminem. Quis enim clavum
and of-them the-one deceived no-one who for the-tiller
tanti imperi tenere et gubernacula rei publicae
of-so-great an-empire to-hold and the-helm of-the-thing public
tractare in maximo cursu ac fluctibus posse arbitraretur
to-handle in the-greatest course and waves to-be-able would-think
hominem emersum subito ex diuturnis tenebris lustrorum ac
a-man emerged suddenly from long darkness of-brothels and
stuprorum, vino, ganeis, lenociniis adulteriisque confectum?
of-debaucheries by-wine by-eating-houses by-pimping and-adulteries worn-out
Cum is praeter spem in altissimo gradu alienis opibus positus
when he beyond hope in the-highest step by-others' resources placed
esset, qui non modo tempestatem impendentem intueri
had-been who not only the-storm impending to-behold
temulentus, sed ne lucem quidem insolitam aspicere posset.
drunk but not the-light even unaccustomed to-look-at could
Alter multos plane in omnis partis fefellit; erat enim 21
the-other many plainly in all directions deceived he-was for
hominum opinioni nobilitate ipsa, blanda conciliatricula,
to-men's opinion by-nobility itself the-flattering little-matchmaker
commendatus. Omnes boni semper nobilitati favemus,
commended all good-men always the-nobility we-favor
et quia utile est rei publicae nobilis homines esse
both because useful it-is for-the-thing public noble men to-be
dignos maioribus suis, et quia valet apud nos clarorum
worthy of-ancestors their-own and because avails with us of-famous
hominum et bene de re publica meritorum memoria,
men and well of the-thing public having-deserved the-memory
etiam mortuorum. Quia tristem semper, quia taciturnum,
even dead because gloomy always because taciturn
quia subhorridum atque incultum videbant, et quod erat
because somewhat-rough and unkempt they-saw-him and because he-was

eo nomine ut ingenerata familiae frugalitas videretur,
of-that name that inborn in-the-family frugality seemed
favebant, gaudebant, et ad integritatem maiorum spe
they-favored they-rejoiced and to the-integrity of-his-ancestors by-hope
sua hominem vocabant materni generis obliti.
their-own the-man called of-his-maternal race forgetful
22 Ego autem, — vere dicam, iudices, — tantum esse in homine
I however truly I-shall-say judges so-much to-be in the-man
sceleris, audaciae, crudelitatis, quantum ipse cum re publica
of-crime of-audacity of-cruelty as-much-as I-myself with the-thing public
sensi, numquam putavi. Nequam esse hominem et levem
felt never did-I-think worthless to-be the-man and fickle
et falsa opinione hominum ab adulescentia commendatum
and by-false opinion of-men from youth commended
sciebam; etenim animus eius vultu, flagitia parietibus
I-knew for-indeed mind his by-his-face his-outrages by-walls
tegebantur. Sed haec obstructio nec diuturna est neque obducta
were-covered but this screening neither long-lasting is nor drawn-over
ita ut curiosis oculis perspici non possit. Videbamus genus
so that by-curious eyes to-be-seen-through not it-can we-saw his-kind
vitae, desidiam, inertiam; inclusas eius libidines qui paulo
of-life idleness inertia shut-up his lusts those-who a-little
propius accesserant intuebantur; denique etiam sermo nobis
nearer had-approached beheld finally even talk to-us
ansas dabat quibus reconditos eius sensus tenere possemus.
handles gave by-which hidden his feelings to-grasp we-might
23 Laudabat homo doctus philosophos nescio quos, neque
praised the-man learned philosophers I-know-not what nor
eorum tamen nomina poterat dicere, sed tamen eos laudabat
their still names could-he to-say but still them he-praised
maxime qui dicuntur praeter ceteros esse auctores et
most who are-said beyond the-others to-be the-authors and

laudatores voluptatis; cuius et quo tempore et quo modo
praisers of-pleasure of-which both at-what time and in-what manner
non quaerebat, verbum ipsum omnibus viribus animi et
not he-asked the-word itself with-all the-strength of-mind and
corporis devorarat; eosdemque praeclare dicere aiebat sapientis
of-body he-had-devoured and-the-same splendidly to-say he-said the-wise
omnia sua causa facere, rem publicam capessere
all-things for-their-own sake to-do the-thing public to-take-up
hominem bene sanum non oportere, nihil esse praestabilius
a-man well sane not ought nothing to-be more-excellent
otiosa vita, plena et conferta voluptatibus; eos autem
than-a-leisured life full and crammed with-pleasures those however
qui dicerent dignitati esse serviendum, rei publicae
who said to-dignity to-be to-be-served for-the-thing public
consulendum, offici rationem in omni vita, non commodi esse
to-be-taken-thought of-duty the-reckoning in all life not of-advantage to-be
ducendam, adeunda pro patria pericula, vulnera excipienda,
to-be-considered to-be-faced for the-country dangers wounds to-be-received
mortem oppetendam, vaticinari atque insanire dicebat.
death to-be-met to-rave and to-be-insane he-said
Ex his adsiduis eius cotidianisque sermonibus, et quod 24
from these constant his and-daily talks and because
videbam quibuscum hominibus in interiore parte aedium
I-saw with-what men in the-inner part of-the-house
viveret, et quod ita domus ipsa fumabat ut multa
he-lived and because so the-house itself reeked that many
eius consortionis indicia redolerent, statuebam sic, boni
of-that fellowship signs smelled I-decided thus of-good
nihil ab illis nugis exspectandum, mali quidem certe
nothing from those trifles to-be-expected of-evil indeed certainly
nihil pertimescendum. Sed ita est, iudices, ut, si gladium
nothing to-be-dreaded but so it-is judges that if a-sword

parvo puero aut si imbecillo seni aut debili dederis,
to-a-little boy or if to-a-feeble old-man or a-crippled-one you-give
ipse impetu suo nemini noceat, sin ad nudum vel
he-himself by-the-thrust his-own no-one would-harm but-if to the-naked even
fortissimi viri corpus accesserit, possit acie ipsa et
of-a-most-brave man body it-came it-could by-the-edge itself and
ferri viribus vulnerare: cum hominibus enervatis atque
of-the-steel by-the-strength to-wound when to-men unnerved and
exsanguibus consulatus tamquam gladius esset datus, qui per
bloodless the-consulship as-if a-sword had-been given who by
se pungere neminem umquam potuissent, ii summi
themselves to-prick no-one ever could-have these by-the-highest
imperi nomine armati rem publicam contrucidarunt. Foedus
command's name armed the-thing public butchered a-treaty
fecerunt cum tribuno plebis palam, ut ab eo provincias
they-made with the-tribune of-the-plebs openly that from him provinces
acciperent quas ipsi vellent, exercitum et pecuniam
they-should-receive which they-themselves wished an-army and money
quantam vellent, ea lege, si ipsi prius tribuno
as-much-as they-wished on-that condition if they-themselves first to-the-tribune
plebis adflictam et constrictam rem publicam tradidissent:
of-the-plebs crushed and bound the-thing public had-handed-over
id autem foedus meo sanguine ictum sanciri posse dicebant.
that however treaty by-my blood struck to-be-ratified to-be-able they-said
25 Qua re patefacta — neque enim dissimulari tantum
by-which thing having-been-disclosed nor for to-be-concealed so-great
scelus poterat nec latere — promulgantur uno eodemque
a-crime could nor to-lie-hidden are-promulgated at-one and-the-same
tempore rogationes ab eodem tribuno de mea pernicie et
time bills by the-same tribune about my destruction and
de provinciis consulum nominatim.
about the-provinces of-the-consuls by-name

Hic tum senatus sollicitus, vos, equites Romani, excitati,
here then the-senate anxious you knights Roman roused
Italia cuncta permota, omnes denique omnium generum atque
Italy all stirred all finally of-all classes and
ordinum cives summae rei publicae a consulibus atque
orders citizens for-the-highest thing public from the-consuls and
a summo imperio petendum esse auxilium arbitrabantur,
from the-highest command to-be-sought to-be help thought
cum illi soli essent praeter furiosum illum tribunum duo
since they alone were besides furious that tribune two
rei publicae turbines, qui non modo praecipitanti
of-the-thing public whirlwinds who not only to-the-falling-headlong
patriae non subvenirent, sed eam nimium tarde concidere
country not came-to-help but it too slowly to-fall
maererent. Flagitabatur ab his cotidie cum querelis
grieved it-was-demanded of these daily both with-the-complaints
bonorum omnium tum etiam precibus senatus, ut
of-the-good all and also with-the-prayers of-the-senate that
meam causam susciperent, agerent aliquid, denique ad
my case they-should-take-up should-do something finally to
senatum referrent: non modo negando, sed etiam inridendo
the-senate should-refer not only by-refusing but also by-mocking
amplissimum quemque illius ordinis insequebantur.
most-ample everyone of-that order they-pursued

When a vast crowd from the city and all Italy gathered on the Capitol and changed their dress, Gabinius rejected the weeping senate's prayers, and at Ninnius' motion the senate decreed mourning for Cicero's safety. Gabinius told the assembly that the knights would pay for the day they stood armed on the Capitoline slope; the tribune set his gangs on the young nobles who interceded; and the consul banished Lucius Lamia two hundred miles from Rome, without trial, for pleading for a citizen. Cicero tells all this because Sestius' tribunate was spent on healing these wounds.

26 Hic subito cum incredibilis in Capitolium multitudo ex tota
here suddenly when an-incredible to the-Capitol multitude from the-whole
urbe cunctaque Italia convenisset, vestem mutandam omnes
city and-all Italy had-gathered dress to-be-changed all
meque iam omni ratione, privato consilio, quoniam publicis
and-me now by-every means by-private counsel since of-public
ducibus res publica careret, defendendum putarunt. Erat
leaders the-thing public was-lacking to-be-defended thought there-was
eodem tempore senatus in aede Concordiae, quod ipsum
at-the-same time the-senate in the-temple of-Concord which very
templum repraesentabat memoriam consulatus mei, cum flens
temple recalled the-memory of-the-consulship my when weeping
universus ordo cincinnatum consulem orabat; nam alter ille
the-whole order the-curly-haired consul begged for the-other that
horridus et severus consulto se domi continebat. Qua
shaggy and severe-one deliberately himself at-home kept with-what
tum superbia caenum illud ac labes amplissimi ordinis
then pride filth that and stain of-the-most-ample order
preces et clarissimorum civium lacrimas repudiavit! Me ipsum
the-prayers and of-the-most-famous citizens the-tears rejected me myself
ut contempsit helluo patriae! Nam quid ego patrimoni
how he-despised the-glutton of-his-country for what I of-his-patrimony

dicam, quod ille tum cum quaestum faceret amisit?
should-speak which he then while gain he-was-making lost
Venistis ad senatum, vos, inquam, equites Romani et omnes
you-came to the-senate you I-say knights Roman and all
boni veste mutata, vosque pro meo capite ad pedes
good-men with-dress changed and-yourselves for my life at the-feet
lenonis impurissimi proiecistis, cum, vestris precibus ab latrone
of-a-pimp most-foul threw when with-your prayers by brigand
illo repudiatis, vir incredibili fide, magnitudine animi,
that rejected a-man of-incredible good-faith greatness of-spirit
constantia, L. Ninnius, ad senatum de re publica rettulit,
steadfastness Lucius Ninnius to the-senate about the-thing public referred
senatusque frequens vestem pro mea salute mutandam censuit.
and-the-senate crowded dress for my safety to-be-changed decreed
O diem illum, iudices, funestum senatui bonisque omnibus, 27
O day that judges deadly for-the-senate and-the-good all
rei publicae luctuosum, mihi ad domesticum maerorem
for-the-thing public mournful for-me for domestic grief
gravem, ad posteritatis memoriam gloriosum! Quid enim
heavy for of-posterity the-memory glorious what for
quisquam potest ex omni memoria sumere inlustrius quam
anyone can from all memory to-take more-illustrious than
pro uno civi et bonos omnis privato consensu et universum
for one citizen both the-good all by-private consent and the-whole
senatum publico consilio mutasse vestem? Quae quidem tum
senate by-public counsel to-have-changed dress which indeed then
mutatio non deprecationis est causa facta, sed luctus: quem
change not of-entreaty was for-the-sake made but of-mourning whom
enim deprecarere, cum omnes essent sordidati, cumque hoc satis
for would-you-entreat when all were in-mourning and-when this enough
esset signi esse improbum, qui mutata veste non esset? Hac
was of-a-sign to-be wicked who with-changed dress not was with-this

mutatione vestis facta tanto in luctu civitatis, omitto quid ille
change of-dress made so-great in mourning of-the-state I-pass-over what that
tribunus omnium rerum divinarum humanarumque praedo
tribune of-all things divine and-human the-plunderer
fecerit, qui adesse nobilissimos adulescentis, honestissimos
did who to-be-present the-most-noble young-men most-honorable
equites Romanos, deprecatores salutis meae iusserit, eosque
knights Roman intercessors for-the-safety my ordered and-them
operarum suarum gladiis et lapidibus obiecerit: de
of-gangs his-own to-the-swords and stones exposed about
consulibus loquor, quorum fide res publica niti debuit.
the-consuls I-speak whose on-good-faith the-thing public to-rest ought
28 Exanimatus evolat ex senatu, non minus perturbato animo
breathless he-flies-out from the-senate with-no less disturbed mind
atque vultu quam si annis ante paucis in creditorum conventum
and face than if years before few into of-creditors a-meeting
incidisset; advocat contionem, habet orationem talem consul
he-had-fallen he-calls an-assembly he-delivers a-speech such a-consul
qualem numquam Catilina victor habuisset: errare homines
as never Catiline as-victor would-have-delivered to-err men
si etiam tum senatum aliquid in re publica posse
if even then the-senate anything in the-thing public to-be-able
arbitrarentur; equites vero Romanos daturos illius diei poenas
they-thought the-knights indeed Roman going-to-pay of-that day the-penalty
quo me consule cum gladiis in clivo Capitolino fuissent;
on-which with-me as-consul with swords on the-slope Capitoline they-had-been
venisse tempus iis qui in timore fuissent — coniuratos
to-have-come the-time for-those who in fear had-been the-conspirators
videlicet dicebat — ulciscendi se. Si dixisset haec solum,
evidently he-meant of-avenging themselves if he-had-said these-things only

omni supplicio esset dignus; nam oratio ipsa consulis
of-every punishment he-would-be worthy for the-speech itself of-a-consul
perniciosa potest rem publicam labefactare; quid fecerit videte.
destructive can the-thing public to-shake what he-did see
L. Lamiam, qui cum me ipsum pro summa familiaritate 29
Lucius Lamia who both me myself for the-highest intimacy
quae mihi cum patre eius erat unice diligebat, tum pro
which to-me with father his was singularly loved and for
re publica vel mortem oppetere cupiebat, in contione
the-thing public even death to-meet desired in the-assembly
relegavit, edixitque ut ab urbe abesset milia passuum
he-banished and-proclaimed that from the-city he-should-be-away miles of-paces
ducenta, quod esset ausus pro civi, pro bene merito civi,
two-hundred because he-had dared for a-citizen for a-well deserving citizen
pro amico, pro re publica deprecari.
for a-friend for the-thing public to-intercede
Quid hoc homine facias, aut quo civem importunum
what with-this man would-you-do or for-what a-citizen ruthless
aut quo potius hostem tam sceleratum reserves? qui,
or for-what rather an-enemy so criminal would-you-reserve who
ut omittam cetera quae sunt ei cum conlega
that I-may-pass-over the-other-things which are to-him with his-colleague
immani impuroque coniuncta atque communia, hoc unum
monstrous and-foul joined and common this one
habet proprium, ut ex urbe expulerit, relegarit non dico
has peculiar that from the-city he-expelled banished not I-say
equitem Romanum, non ornatissimum atque optimum virum,
a-knight Roman not a-most-distinguished and best man
non amicissimum rei publicae civem, non illo ipso
not most-friendly to-the-thing public a-citizen not at-that very
tempore una cum senatu et cum bonis omnibus casum
time together with the-senate and with the-good all the-misfortune

amici reique publicae lugentem, sed civem Romanum
of-a-friend and-of-the-thing public mourning but a-citizen Roman
sine ullo iudicio ut edicto ex patria consul eiecerit.
without any trial that by-edict from his-country a-consul cast-out
30 Nihil acerbius socii et Latini ferre soliti sunt quam
nothing more-bitter the-allies and Latins to-bear accustomed have-been than
se, id quod perraro accidit, ex urbe exire a consulibus
themselves that which very-rarely happens from the-city to-go-out by the-consuls
iuberi: atque illis erat tum reditus in suas civitates,
to-be-ordered and for-them there-was then a-return into their-own states
ad suos Lares familiaris, et in illo communi incommodo
to their-own Lares household and in that common misfortune
nulla in quemquam propria ignominia nominatim cadebat.
no upon anyone personal disgrace by-name fell
Hoc vero quid est? Exterminabit civis Romanos edicto consul
this indeed what is will-banish citizens Roman by-edict a-consul
a suis dis penatibus? Expellet ex patria? Deliget
from their-own gods household will-he-expel from their-country will-he-choose
quem volet, damnabit atque eiciet nominatim? Hic si
whom he-will-wish will-he-condemn and cast-out by-name this-man if
umquam vos eos qui nunc estis in re publica fore
ever you such as now you-are in the-thing public going-to-be
putasset, si denique imaginem iudiciorum aut simulacrum
he-had-thought if finally an-image of-courts or a-likeness
aliquod futurum in civitate reliquum credidisset, umquam
some going-to-be in the-state left he-had-believed ever
ausus esset senatum de re publica tollere, equitum
dared would-he-have the-senate from the-thing public to-remove of-the-knights
Romanorum preces aspernari, civium denique omnium
Roman the-prayers to-spurn of-the-citizens finally of-all
novis et inauditis edictis ius libertatemque pervertere?
by-new and unheard-of edicts the-right and-liberty to-overturn

Etsi me attentissimis animis summa cum benignitate 31
although me with-most-attentive minds the-highest with kindness
auditis, iudices, tamen vereor ne quis forte vestrum miretur
you-hear judges still I-fear lest anyone perhaps of-you wonder
quid haec mea oratio tam longa aut tam alte repetita velit,
what this my speech so long or so deeply drawn-back may-mean
aut quid ad P. Sesti causam eorum qui ante huius
or what to of-Publius Sestius the-case of-those who before his
tribunatum rem publicam vexarunt delicta pertineant.
tribunate the-thing public harassed the-misdeeds may-pertain
Mihi autem hoc propositum est ostendere, omnia consilia
to-me however this purpose is to-show all the-counsels
P. Sesti mentemque totius tribunatus hanc fuisse, ut
of-Publius Sestius and-the-mind of-the-whole tribunate this to-have-been that
adflictae et perditae rei publicae quantum posset mederetur.
the-afflicted and ruined thing public as-much-as he-could he-might-heal
Ac si in exponendis vulneribus illis de me ipso plura
and if in setting-out wounds those about me myself more
dicere videbor, ignoscitote; nam et illam meam cladem vos
to-say I-shall-seem pardon-me for both that my disaster you
et omnes boni maximum esse rei publicae vulnus
and all good-men the-greatest to-be of-the-thing public wound
iudicastis, et P. Sestius est reus non suo, sed
judged and Publius Sestius is a-defendant not on-his-own but
meo nomine: qui cum omnem vim sui tribunatus in
on-my account who since all the-force of-his-own of-tribunate in
mea salute consumpserit, necesse est meam causam praeteriti
my safety he-spent necessary it-is my cause of-past
temporis cum huius praesenti defensione esse coniunctam.
time with of-this-man's present defense to-be joined

The consuls ordered the senators to put off their mourning, as no tyrant ever did, and in the Circus Flaminius approved before the assembly all the tribune did. Under them the auspices and vetoes were abolished, slaves enrolled by districts, arms carried into the temple of Castor, and the forum held by gangs. Cicero could have resisted with the good men's support, but other fears moved him; his case was not Metellus', who yielded to Marius' army over a matter of his own glory.

32 Erat igitur in luctu senatus, squalebat civitas publico consilio
was therefore in mourning the-senate was-squalid the-state by-public counsel
veste mutata, nullum erat Italiae municipium, nulla
with-dress changed no there-was of-Italy town no
colonia, nulla praefectura, nulla Romae societas vectigalium,
colony no prefecture no at-Rome company of-the-revenues
nullum conlegium aut concilium aut omnino aliquod commune
no guild or council or at-all any common
consilium quod tum non honorificentissime de mea salute
counsel which then not most-honorably about my safety
decrevisset: cum subito edicunt duo consules ut ad suum
had-decreed when suddenly proclaim the-two consuls that to their-own
vestitum senatores redirent. Quis umquam consul senatum
dress the-senators should-return what ever consul the-senate
ipsius decretis parere prohibuit? Quis tyrannus miseros lugere
its-own decrees to-obey forbade what tyrant the-wretched to-mourn
vetuit? Parumne est, Piso, ut omittam Gabinium, quod
forbade too-little-whether is-it Piso that I-may-pass-over Gabinius that
tantum homines fefellisti ut neglegeres auctoritatem senatus,
so-much men you-deceived that you-should-neglect the-authority of-the-senate
optimi cuiusque consilia contemneres, rem publicam proderes,
of-best everyone the-counsels should-despise the-thing public should-betray
consulare nomen adfligeres? Etiamne edicere audebas ne
the-consular name should-afflict even-whether to-proclaim did-you-dare that-not

maererent homines meam, suam, rei publicae calamitatem,
should-mourn men my their-own of-the-thing public calamity
ne hunc suum dolorem veste significarent? Sive illa
that-not this their-own grief by-dress they-should-signify whether that
vestis mutatio ad luctum ipsorum sive ad deprecandum
of-dress change for the-mourning of-themselves or for interceding
valebat, quis umquam tam crudelis fuit qui prohiberet
availed who ever so cruel was who would-forbid
quemquam aut sibi maerere aut ceteris supplicare?
anyone either for-himself to-grieve or to-the-others to-supplicate
Quid? Sua sponte homines in amicorum periculis vestitum 33
what of-their-own accord men in of-friends dangers dress
mutare non solent? Pro te ipso, Piso, nemone mutabit?
to-change not are-wont for you yourself Piso no-one-whether will-change
Ne isti quidem quos legatos non modo nullo senatus
not those even whom as-legates not only by-no of-the-senate
consulto, sed etiam repugnante senatu tibi tute legasti?
decree but even with-opposing senate for-yourself you-yourself appointed
Ergo hominis desperati et proditoris rei publicae
therefore of-a-man desperate and of-a-betrayer of-the-thing public
casum lugebunt fortasse qui volent: civis florentissimi
the-fall will-mourn perhaps those-who will-wish of-a-citizen most-flourishing
benivolentia bonorum et optime de salute patriae meriti
in-the-goodwill of-the-good and best of the-safety of-the-country having-deserved
periculum, coniunctum cum periculo civitatis, lugere senatui
the-danger joined with the-danger of-the-state to-mourn for-the-senate
non licebit? Idemque consules, si appellandi sunt
not will-it-be-allowed and-the-same consuls if to-be-called they-are
consules quos nemo est quin non modo ex memoria sed
consuls whom no-one there-is who-not not only from memory but
etiam ex fastis evellendos putet, pacto iam foedere
even from the-calendars to-be-torn-out thinks with-agreed already the-treaty

provinciarum, producti in circo Flaminio in contionem
of-the-provinces brought-forward in the-circus Flaminian into an-assembly
ab illa furia ac peste patriae, maximo cum gemitu vestro,
by that fury and plague of-the-country the-greatest with groaning your
illa omnia quae tum contra me contraque rem publicam
those things which then against me and-against the-thing public
agebantur voce ac sententia sua comprobaverunt.
were-being-done by-voice and opinion their-own approved
Isdemque consulibus sedentibus atque inspectantibus lata
and-with-the-same consuls sitting and looking-on carried
lex est, ne auspicia valerent, ne quis obnuntiaret,
a-law was that-not the-auspices should-avail that-not anyone should-announce-ill-omens
ne quis legi intercederet, ut omnibus fastis diebus
that-not anyone to-a-law should-interpose-a-veto that on-all lawful days
legem ferri liceret, ut lex Aelia, lex Fufia ne
a-law to-be-carried be-allowed that the-law Aelian the-law Fufian not
valeret: qua una rogatione quis est qui non intellegat
should-avail by-which one bill who is who not understands
universam rem publicam esse deletam?
the-whole thing public to-have-been destroyed
34 Isdemque consulibus inspectantibus servorum dilectus
and-with-the-same consuls looking-on of-slaves a-levy
habebatur pro tribunali Aurelio nomine conlegiorum, cum
was-held before the-tribunal Aurelian under-the-name of-the-guilds when
vicatim homines conscriberentur, decuriarentur, ad vim,
street-by-street men were-enrolled were-formed-into-squads to violence
ad manus, ad caedem, ad direptionem incitarentur. Isdemque
to hands to slaughter to plunder were-incited and-with-the-same
consulibus arma in templum Castoris palam comportabantur,
consuls arms into the-temple of-Castor openly were-carried
gradus eiusdem templi tollebantur, armati homines forum et
the-steps of-the-same temple were-removed armed men the-forum and

contiones tenebant, caedes lapidationesque fiebant; nullus erat
assemblies held slaughters and-stonings took-place no there-was
senatus, nihil reliqui magistratus: unus omnem omnium
senate nothing the-remaining magistrates one-man all of-all
potestatem armis et latrociniis possidebat, non aliqua vi sua,
the-power by-arms and brigandage possessed not by-some force his-own
sed, cum duo consules a re publica provinciarum foedere
but when the-two consuls from the-thing public of-the-provinces by-a-treaty
retraxisset, insultabat, dominabatur, aliis pollicebatur,
he-had-drawn-away he-insulted he-lorded to-others he-promised
terrore ac metu multos, pluris etiam spe et promissis tenebat.
by-terror and fear many more even by-hope and promises he-held
Quae cum essent eius modi, iudices, cum senatus 35
which-things since they-were of-such kind judges since the-senate
duces nullos ac pro ducibus proditores aut potius apertos
leaders none and for leaders betrayers or rather open
hostis haberet, equester ordo reus a consulibus
enemies had the-equestrian order as-defendant by the-consuls
citaretur, Italiae totius auctoritas repudiaretur, alii nominatim
was-summoned of-Italy whole the-authority was-rejected some by-name
relegarentur, alii metu et periculo terrerentur, arma essent
were-banished others by-fear and danger were-terrified arms were
in templis, armati in foro, eaque non silentio consulum
in temples armed-men in the-forum and-those not by-the-silence of-the-consuls
dissimularentur sed et voce et sententia comprobarentur,
were-dissembled but both by-voice and by-opinion approved
cum omnes urbem nondum excisam et eversam sed iam
when all the-city not-yet razed and overturned but already
captam atque oppressam videremus: tamen his tantis malis
captured and crushed saw still to-these so-great evils

tanto bonorum studio, iudices, restitissemus, sed me
with-so-great of-the-good zeal judges we-would-have-resisted but me
alii metus atque aliae curae suspicionesque moverunt.
other fears and other cares and-suspicions moved
36 Exponam enim hodierno die, iudices, omnem rationem
I-shall-set-out for on-today's day judges the-whole reckoning
facti et consili mei, neque huic vestro tanto studio
of-the-deed and of-counsel my nor this your so-great zeal
audiendi nec vero huic tantae multitudini, quanta mea
of-hearing nor indeed this so-great multitude as-great-as in-my
memoria numquam ullo in iudicio fuit, deero. Nam si
memory never any in trial has-been shall-I-fail for if
ego in causa tam bona, tanto studio senatus, consensu
I in a-case so good with-so-great zeal of-the-senate with-a-consensus
tam incredibili bonorum omnium, tam parato populo, tota
so incredible of-the-good all with-so ready a-people with-all
denique Italia ad omnem contentionem expedita, cessi tribuni
finally Italy for every struggle prepared yielded of-a-tribune
plebis, despicatissimi hominis, furori, contemptissimorum
of-the-plebs of-a-most-despised man to-the-fury of-most-contemptible
consulum levitatem audaciamque pertimui, nimium me
consuls the-levity and-audacity dreaded too me
timidum, nullius animi, nullius consili fuisse confiteor.
timid of-no spirit of-no counsel to-have-been I-confess
37 Quid enim simile fuit in Q. Metello? Cuius causam
what for like was in Quintus Metellus whose cause
etsi omnes boni probabant, tamen neque senatus publice
although all good-men approved still neither the-senate publicly
neque ullus ordo proprie neque suis decretis Italia cuncta
nor any order particularly nor by-its-own decrees Italy all
susceperat. Ad suam enim quandam magis ille gloriam quam
had-taken-up to his-own for a-certain rather he glory than

ad perspicuam salutem rei publicae respiciens rem
to the-evident safety of-the-thing public looking the-thing
gesserat, cum unus in legem per vim latam iurare noluerat:
had-done when alone to a-law through violence carried to-swear he-had-refused
denique videbatur ea condicione tam fortis fuisse ut
finally he-seemed on-that condition so brave to-have-been that
cum patriae caritate constantiae gloriam commutaret. Erat
with of-his-country the-love of-steadfastness the-glory he-exchanged was
autem res ei cum exercitu C. Mari invicto, habebat
however business to-him with the-army of-Gaius Marius unconquered he-had
inimicum C. Marium, conservatorem patriae, sextum iam
as-enemy Gaius Marius the-preserver of-the-country his-sixth already
illum consulatum gerentem; res erat cum L. Saturnino,
that consulship holding business there-was with Lucius Saturninus
iterum tribuno plebis, vigilante homine, et in causa populari
a-second-time tribune of-the-plebs a-watchful man and in a-cause popular
si non moderate at certe populariter abstinenterque versato.
if not moderately but certainly popularly and-disinterestedly engaged
Cessit, ne aut victus a fortibus viris cum dedecore caderet,
he-yielded lest either conquered by brave men with disgrace he-should-fall
aut victor multis et fortibus civibus rem publicam orbaret.
or as-victor of-many and brave citizens the-thing public he-should-bereave

Cicero's cause was the whole state's, and his enemies were not a victorious army but hired gangs, two monstrous consuls, and a tribune who claimed the backing of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar. The silence of those men, who feared for their own acts of the year before, alarmed him more than the tribune's boasts. Men planted for the purpose warned Pompey that Cicero was plotting against his life, and Caesar stood at the gates with an army in which the tribune's brother held a command.

38 Meam causam senatus palam, equester ordo acerrime, cuncta
my cause the-senate openly the-equestrian order most-fiercely all
Italia publice, omnes boni proprie enixeque susceperant.
Italy publicly all good-men personally and-strenuously had-taken-up
Eas res gesseram quarum non unus auctor sed dux
those things I-had-done of-which not alone the-author but the-leader
omnium voluntatis fuissem, quaeque non modo ad singularem
of-all of-the-will I-had-been and-which not only to singular
meam gloriam sed ad communem salutem omnium civium
my glory but to the-common safety of-all citizens
et prope gentium pertinerent; ea condicione gesseram
and almost of-nations pertained on-that condition I-had-done-them
ut meum factum semper omnes praestare tuerique deberent.
that my deed always all to-answer-for and-to-protect ought
Erat autem mihi contentio non cum victore exercitu, sed
was however to-me a-struggle not with a-victorious army but
cum operis conductis et ad diripiendam urbem concitatis;
with gangs hired and for plundering the-city roused
habebam inimicum non C. Marium, terrorem hostium,
I-had as-enemy not Gaius Marius the-terror of-enemies
spem subsidiumque patriae, sed duo importuna prodigia,
the-hope and-support of-the-country but two ruthless monsters

quos egestas, quos aeris alieni magnitudo, quos levitas,
whom want whom of-bronze another's the-magnitude whom levity
quos improbitas tribuno plebis constrictos addixerat;
whom wickedness to-the-tribune of-the-plebs bound had-made-over
nec mihi erat res cum Saturnino, qui quod a se 39
nor to-me was business with Saturninus who because from himself
quaestore Ostiensi per ignominiam ad principem et
as-quaestor at-Ostia through disgrace to the-leader both
senatus et civitatis, M. Scaurum, rem frumentariam
of-the-senate and of-the-state Marcus Scaurus the-supply of-grain
tralatam sciebat, dolorem suum magna contentione animi
transferred he-knew grief his-own with-great exertion of-mind
persequebatur, sed cum scurrarum locupletium scorto, cum
pursued but with of-buffoons rich the-harlot with
sororis adultero, cum stuprorum sacerdote, cum venefico,
of-his-sister the-adulterer with of-debaucheries the-priest with a-poisoner
cum testamentario, cum sicario, cum latrone; quos homines
with a-forger-of-wills with an-assassin with a-brigand which men
si, id quod facile factu fuit et quod fieri debuit
if that which easy to-do was and which to-be-done ought
quodque a me optimi et fortissimi cives flagitabant, vi
and-which from me the-best and bravest citizens demanded by-force
armisque superassem, non verebar ne quis aut vim vi
and-arms I-had-overcome not I-feared lest anyone either force by-force
depulsam reprehenderet aut perditorum civium vel potius
driven-off should-censure or of-abandoned citizens or rather
domesticorum hostium mortem maereret. Sed me illa
of-domestic enemies the-death should-mourn but me those-things
moverunt: omnibus in contionibus illa furia clamabat se
moved all in assemblies that fury shouted himself
quae faceret contra salutem meam facere auctore
what-things he-was-doing against safety my to-do with-the-backing

Cn. Pompeio, clarissimo viro mihique et nunc et quoad
of-Gnaeus Pompey a-most-famous man and-to-me both now and as-long-as
licuit amicissimo; M. Crassus, quocum mihi omnes erant
it-was-allowed most-friendly Marcus Crassus with-whom to-me all were
amicitiae necessitudines, vir fortissimus, ab eadem illa peste
of-friendship the-bonds man a-most-brave by the-same that plague
infestissimus esse meis fortunis praedicabatur; C. Caesar, qui
most-hostile to-be to-my fortunes was-proclaimed Gaius Caesar who
a me nullo meo merito alienus esse debebat, inimicissimus
from me by-no my desert estranged to-be ought most-hostile
esse meae saluti ab eodem cotidianis contionibus dicebatur.
to-be to-my safety by the-same in-daily assemblies was-said
40 His se tribus auctoribus in consiliis capiendis, adiutoribus
these himself three as-backers in counsels being-taken as-helpers
in re gerenda esse usurum dicebat; ex quibus unum
in the-thing being-done to-be going-to-use he-said of whom one
habere exercitum in Italia maximum, duo, qui privati tum
to-have an-army in Italy very-great two who private-men then
essent, et populo Romano praeesse et parare, si vellent,
were both the-people Roman to-lead and to-prepare if they-wished
exercitum posse, idque facturos esse dicebat. Nec mihi
an-army to-be-able and-that going-to-do-it to-be he-said nor to-me
ille iudicium populi nec legitimam aliquam contentionem
he a-trial of-the-people nor a-lawful some contest
nec disceptationem aut causae dictionem, sed vim, arma,
nor debate or of-a-case pleading but violence arms
exercitus, imperatores, castra denuntiabat.
armies commanders camps he-announced
Quid ergo? inimici oratio, vana praesertim, tam improbe
what therefore of-an-enemy the-speech empty especially so wickedly
in clarissimos viros coniecta me movit? Me vero non
against most-famous men hurled me moved me indeed not

illius oratio, sed eorum taciturnitas in quos illa oratio
his speech but their silence against whom that speech
tam improba conferebatur; qui tum, quamquam ob
so wicked was-directed who then although on-account-of
alias causas tacebant, tamen hominibus omnia timentibus
other reasons they-were-silent still to-men all-things fearing
tacendo loqui, non infitiando confiteri videbantur. Illi
by-being-silent to-speak by-not denying to-confess seemed they
autem aliquo tum timore perterriti, quod acta illa atque
however by-some then fear terrified because acts those and
omnis res anni superioris labefactari a praetoribus,
all the-business of-the-year former to-be-shaken by the-praetors
infirmari a senatu atque a principibus civitatis putabant,
to-be-annulled by the-senate and by the-leaders of-the-state they-thought
tribunum popularem a se alienare nolebant, suaque
a-tribune popular from themselves to-estrange were-unwilling and-their-own
sibi propiora esse pericula quam mea loquebantur.
to-themselves nearer to-be the-dangers than mine they-said
Sed tamen et Crassus a consulibus meam causam 41
but still both Crassus by the-consuls my case
suscipiendam esse dicebat, et eorum fidem Pompeius
to-be-taken-up to-be said and their good-faith Pompey
implorabat neque se privatum publice susceptae causae
implored nor himself as-a-private-man publicly undertaken to-the-cause
defuturum esse dicebat; quem virum studiosum mei,
going-to-be-lacking to-be he-said which man devoted to-me
cupidissimum rei publicae conservandae, domi meae
most-desirous of-the-thing public being-preserved at-home my
certi homines ad eam rem positi monuerunt ut esset
certain men for that purpose placed warned that be-should-be
cautior, eiusque vitae a me insidias apud me domi
more-cautious and-his against-the-life by me plots at me at-home

positas esse dixerunt; atque hanc eius suspicionem alii
placed to-have-been they-said and this his suspicion some
litteris mittendis, alii nuntiis, alii coram ipsi excitaverunt,
by-letters being-sent others by-messages others in-person themselves roused
ut ille, cum a me certe nihil timeret, ab illis,
so-that he although from me certainly nothing he-feared from them
ne quid meo nomine molirentur, sibi cavendum
lest anything in-my name they-might-contrive for-himself to-be-guarded-against
putaret. Ipse autem Caesar, quem maxime homines ignari
thought himself however Caesar whom most men ignorant
veritatis mihi esse iratum putabant, erat ad portas, erat
of-the-truth with-me to-be angry thought was at the-gates was
cum imperio; erat in Italia eius exercitus, inque eo exercitu
with command was in Italy his army and-in that army
ipsius tribuni plebis, inimici mei, fratrem praefecerat.
of-the-very tribune of-the-plebs enemy my the-brother he-had-put-in-command

VIII · TO FIGHT OR TO GO

With the senate abolished, the consuls hostile, and violence threatened, Cicero asks what he should have done. To fight the tribune as a private citizen would have meant a second war with the consuls as avengers. Like a passenger who throws himself overboard to save the ship from pirates, he chose to go rather than bring slaughter on the good. He did not flee death: he knew it is not to be feared, and that a life is better given to one's country than kept for nature.

42 Haec ergo cum viderem, — neque enim erant occulta, —
these-things therefore when I-saw nor for were-they hidden
senatum, sine quo civitas stare non posset, omnino de
the-senate without which the-state to-stand not could altogether from
civitate esse sublatum; consules, qui duces publici consili
the-state to-have-been removed the-consuls who the-leaders of-public counsel

esse deberent, perfecisse ut per ipsos publicum
to-be ought to-have-brought-about that through themselves public
consilium funditus tolleretur; eos qui plurimum possent
counsel utterly should-be-removed those who most could
opponi omnibus contionibus falso, sed formidolose tamen,
to-be-set-against-me in-all assemblies falsely but frighteningly still
auctores ad perniciem meam; contiones haberi cotidie contra
as-backers for destruction my assemblies to-be-held daily against
me; vocem pro me ac pro re publica neminem mittere;
me a-voice for me and for the-thing public no-one to-send-forth
intenta signa legionum existimari cervicibus ac bonis
leveled the-standards of-the-legions to-be-thought at-the-necks and goods
vestris falso, sed putari tamen; coniuratorum copias veteres
your falsely but to-be-supposed still of-the-conspirators the-forces old
et effusam illam ac superatam Catilinae importunam manum
and scattered that and overcome of-Catiline ruthless band
novo duce et insperata commutatione rerum esse
with-a-new leader and unhoped-for change of-things to-have-been
renovatam: — haec cum viderem, quid agerem, iudices?
renewed these-things when I-saw what was-I-to-do judges
Scio enim tum non mihi vestrum studium, sed meum prope 43
I-know for then not to-me your zeal but mine almost
vestro defuisse. Contenderem contra tribunum plebis
to-yours to-have-been-lacking should-I-have-contended against a-tribune of-the-plebs
privatus armis? Vicissent improbos boni, fortes
as-a-private-man with-arms would-have-conquered the-wicked the-good the-brave
inertis; interfectus esset is qui hac una medicina sola
the-inert killed would-have-been he who by-this one remedy alone
potuit a rei publicae peste depelli. Quid deinde?
could from of-the-thing public the-plague to-be-driven-off what then
Quis reliqua praestaret? Cui denique erat dubium quin
who the-rest would-answer-for to-whom finally was doubtful but-that

ille sanguis tribunicius, nullo praesertim publico consilio
that blood tribunician by-no especially public counsel
profusus, consules ultores et defensores esset habiturus? Cum
shed consuls as-avengers and defenders was going-to-have since
quidam in contione dixisset aut mihi semel pereundum
a-certain-man in assembly had-said either for-me once to-be-perished
aut bis esse vincendum. Quid erat bis vincere? Id profecto,
or twice to-be to-be-conquered what was twice to-conquer that surely
ut, si cum amentissimo tribuno plebis decertassem, cum
that if with a-most-insane tribune of-the-plebs I-had-fought-it-out with
consulibus ceterisque eius ultoribus dimicarem.
the-consuls and-the-other his avengers I-should-fight

44 Ego vero, vel si pereundum fuisset ac non accipienda
I indeed even if to-be-perished it-had-been and not to-be-received
plaga mihi sanabilis, illi mortifera qui imposuisset, semel
a-blow for-me curable for-him deadly who had-inflicted-it once
perire tamen, iudices, maluissem quam bis vincere; erat
to-perish still judges I-would-have-preferred than twice to-conquer was
enim illa altera eius modi contentio ut neque victi neque
for that second of-such kind a-contest that neither conquered nor
victores rem publicam tenere possemus. Quid, si in prima
conquerors the-thing public to-hold we-could what if in the-first
contentione vi tribunicia victus in foro cum multis
contest by-force tribunician conquered in the-forum with many
bonis viris concidissem? Senatum consules, credo, vocassent,
good men I-had-fallen the-senate the-consuls I-suppose would-have-called
quem totum de civitate delerant; ad arma vocassent,
which wholly from the-state they-had-destroyed to arms they-would-have-called
qui ne vestitu quidem defendi rem publicam sissent;
who not by-dress even to-be-defended the-thing public had-allowed

a tribuno plebis post interitum dissedissent, qui eandem
from the-tribune of-the-plebs after the-death would-have-parted who the-same
horam meae pestis et suorum praemiorum esse voluissent.
hour of-my destruction and of-their-own rewards to-be had-wished
Unum autem mihi restabat illud quod forsitan non nemo 45
one-thing however for-me remained that which perhaps not no-one
vir fortis et acris animi magnique dixerit: 'restitisses,
a-man brave and of-keen spirit and-great might-say you-should-have-resisted
repugnasses, mortem pugnans oppetisses.' De quo te, te,
you-should-have-fought death fighting you-should-have-met about which you you
inquam, patria, testor et vos, penates patriique dei, me
I-say my-country I-call-to-witness and you household-gods and-ancestral gods me
vestrarum sedum templorumque causa, me propter salutem
of-your seats and-temples for-the-sake me on-account-of the-safety
meorum civium, quae mihi semper fuit mea carior vita,
of-my citizens which to-me always was than-my dearer life
dimicationem caedemque fugisse. Etenim si mihi in aliqua nave
the-struggle and-slaughter to-have-fled for-indeed if to-me in some ship
cum meis amicis naviganti hoc, iudices, accidisset, ut multi ex
with my friends sailing this judges had-happened that many from
multis locis praedones classibus eam navem se oppressuros
many places pirates with-fleets that ship themselves going-to-crush
minitarentur nisi me unum sibi dedidissent, si id
were-threatening unless me alone to-themselves they-had-surrendered if that
vectores negarent ac mecum simul interire quam me tradere
the-passengers refused and with-me together to-perish than me to-hand-over
hostibus mallent, iecissem ipse me potius in profundum,
to-the-enemies preferred I-would-have-thrown myself me rather into the-deep
ut ceteros conservarem, quam illos mei tam cupidos non modo
that the-others I-might-save than them for-me so desirous not only
ad certam mortem, sed in magnum vitae discrimen adducerem.
to certain death but into great of-life peril I-should-bring

46 Cum vero in hanc rei publicae navem, ereptis
when indeed upon this of-the-thing public ship with-snatched-away
senatui gubernaculis fluitantem in alto tempestatibus
from-the-senate the-helm drifting on the-deep in-the-storms
seditionum ac discordiarum, armatae tot classes, nisi ego
of-seditions and of-discords armed so-many fleets unless I
essem unus deditus, incursurae viderentur, cum proscriptio,
were alone surrendered going-to-attack seemed when proscription
caedes, direptio denuntiaretur, cum alii me suspicione
slaughter plunder were-announced when some me from-suspicion
periculi sui non defenderent, alii vetere odio bonorum
of-danger their-own not defended others by-old hatred of-the-good
incitarentur, alii inviderent, alii obstare sibi me
were-incited others envied others to-stand-in-the-way to-themselves me
arbitrarentur, alii ulcisci dolorem aliquem suum vellent,
thought others to-avenge grief some their-own wished
alii rem ipsam publicam atque hunc bonorum statum
others the-thing itself public and this of-the-good state
otiumque odissent et ob hasce causas tot tamque
and-peace hated and on-account-of these reasons so-many and-so
varias me unum deposcerent, depugnarem potius cum
various me alone they-demanded should-I-have-fought-it-out rather with
summo non dicam exitio, sed periculo certe vestro
the-highest not I-shall-say destruction but danger certainly your
liberorumque vestrorum, quam id quod omnibus impendebat
and-of-children your than that which over-all was-hanging
unus pro omnibus susciperem ac subirem?
alone for all I-should-undertake and undergo

47 'Victi essent improbi.' At cives, at ab eo privato qui
conquered would-have-been the-wicked but citizens but by that private-man who
sine armis etiam consul rem publicam conservarat. Sin
without arms even as-consul the-thing public had-preserved but-if

victi essent boni, qui superessent? Nonne ad servos videtis
conquered had-been the-good who would-remain surely to the-slaves you-see
rem venturam fuisse? An mihi ipsi, ut quidam putant,
the-thing going-to-come to-have-been or by-me myself as certain-men think
fuit mors aequo animo oppetenda? Quid? Tum mortemne
was death with-even mind to-be-met what then death-whether
fugiebam? An erat res ulla quam mihi magis optandam
was-I-fleeing or was there-a-thing any which for-me more to-be-desired
putarem? Aut ego illas res tantas in tanta improborum
I-would-think or I those things so-great in so-great of-the-wicked
multitudine cum gerebam, non mihi mors, non exsilium ob
a-multitude when I-was-doing not to-me death not exile before
oculos versabatur? Non haec denique a me tum tamquam
the-eyes hovered not these-things finally by me then as-if
fata in ipsa re gerenda canebantur? An erat mihi in tanto
fates in the-very thing being-done were-sung or was for-me in such-great
luctu meorum, tanta diiunctione, tanta acerbitate, tanta
grief of-my-own-people such-great separation such-great bitterness such-great
spoliatione omnium rerum quas mihi aut natura aut fortuna
despoiling of-all things which to-me either nature or fortune
dederat, vita retinenda? Tam eram rudis, tam ignarus rerum,
had-given life to-be-retained so was-I unskilled so ignorant of-things
tam expers consili aut ingeni? Nihil audieram, nihil videram,
so without-share of-counsel or of-talent nothing had-I-heard nothing had-I-seen
nihil ipse legendo quaerendoque cognoveram? Nesciebam
nothing myself by-reading and-inquiring had-I-learned did-I-not-know
vitae brevem esse cursum, gloriae sempiternum? Cum esset
of-life short to-be the-course of-glory everlasting since there-was
omnibus definita mors, optandum esse ut vita, quae
for-all fixed death to-be-desired to-be that life which
necessitati deberetur, patriae potius donata quam reservata
to-necessity was-owed to-the-country rather given than reserved

naturae videretur? Nesciebam inter sapientissimos homines
for-nature should-seem did-I-not-know among the-wisest men
hanc contentionem fuisse, ut alii dicerent animos hominum
this contest to-have-been that some said the-minds of-men
sensusque morte restingui, alii autem tum maxime mentis
and-the-senses by-death to-be-extinguished others however then most the-minds
sapientium ac fortium virorum, cum e corpore excessissent,
of-wise and brave men when from the-body they-had-departed
sentire ac vigere? quorum alterum fugiendum non esse,
to-feel and to-flourish of-which the-one to-be-fled not to-be
carere sensu, alterum etiam optandum, meliore esse sensu.
to-lack sense the-other even to-be-desired with-better to-be sense

IX · THE EXAMPLE PRESERVED

Cicero might have faced death as Mucius, the Decii, and the father of Crassus did; but his death would have ended the example of defending the state, and his absence saved it a second time, from slaughter and fires. Marius in flight kept his life for revenge; Cicero kept his for the state. He warns the young not to shrink from defending the state for fear of his fate, since he was recalled by the voice of the republic.

48 Denique, cum omnia semper ad dignitatem rettulissem nec
finally since all-things always to dignity I-had-referred nor
sine ea quicquam expetendum esse homini in vita putassem,
without it anything to-be-sought to-be for-a-man in life had-thought
mortem, quam etiam virgines Athenis, regis, opinor,
death which even maidens at-Athens of-the-king I-think
Erechthei filiae, pro patria contempsisse dicuntur, ego
of-Erechtheus the-daughters for their-country to-have-despised are-said I
vir consularis tantis rebus gestis timerem? Praesertim
a-man consular with-so-great things done should-I-fear especially

cum eius essem civitatis ex qua C. Mucius solus in castra
since of-that I-was state from which Gaius Mucius alone into the-camp
Porsennae venisset eumque interficere proposita sibi morte
of-Porsenna had-come and-him to-kill with-set-before himself death
conatus esset; ex qua P. Decius primum pater, post
tried had from which Publius Decius first the-father after
aliquot annos patria virtute praeditus filius se ac vitam
some years with-his-father's virtue endowed the-son himself and life
suam instructa acie pro salute populi Romani victoriaque
his-own with-drawn-up battle-line for the-safety of-the-people Roman and-victory
devovisset; ex qua innumerabiles alii partim adipiscendae
had-devoted from which innumerable others partly of-gaining
laudis, partim vitandae turpitudinis causa mortem in variis
praise partly of-avoiding disgrace for-the-sake death in various
bellis aequissimis animis oppetissent; in qua civitate ipse
wars with-most-even minds had-met in which state I-myself
meminissem patrem huius M. Crassi, fortissimum virum,
remembered the-father of-this Marcus Crassus a-most-brave man
ne videret victorem vivus inimicum, eadem sibi manu
lest he-should-see the-victor alive his-enemy with-the-same on-himself hand
vitam exhausisse qua mortem saepe hostibus obtulisset.
life to-have-drained with-which death often to-enemies he-had-brought
Haec ego et multa alia cogitans hoc videbam, si causam 49
these-things I and many other-things thinking this I-saw if the-cause
publicam mea mors peremisset, neminem umquam fore
public my death had-destroyed no-one ever going-to-be
qui auderet suscipere contra improbos civis salutem rei
who would-dare to-undertake against wicked citizens the-safety of-the-thing
publicae; itaque non solum si vi interissem, sed etiam
public and-so not only if by-force I-had-perished but even
si morbo exstinctus essem, fore putabam ut exemplum
if by-disease extinguished I-had-been it-would-be I-thought that the-example

rei publicae conservandae mecum simul interiret. Quis
of-the-thing public being-preserved with-me together would-perish who
enim umquam me a senatu populoque Romano tanto
for ever with-me by the-senate and-the-people Roman with-so-great
omnium bonorum studio non restituto, — quod certe, si
of-all the-good zeal not restored which certainly if
essem interfectus, accidere non potuisset, — ullam rei
I-had-been killed to-happen not could-have any of-the-thing
publicae partem cum sua minima invidia auderet attingere?
public part with his-own least ill-will would-dare to-touch
Servavi igitur rem publicam discessu meo, iudices: caedem a
I-saved therefore the-thing public by-departure my judges slaughter from
vobis liberisque vestris, vastitatem, incendia, rapinas meo dolore
you and-children your devastation fires plunder by-my grief
luctuque depuli, et unus rem publicam bis servavi, semel
and-mourning I-drove-off and alone the-thing public twice I-saved once
gloria, iterum aerumna mea. Neque enim in hoc me hominem
by-glory again by-hardship my nor for in this me a-man
esse infitiabor umquam, ut me optimo fratre, carissimis liberis,
to-be shall-I-deny ever so-that me of-the-best brother of-dearest children
fidissima coniuge, vestro conspectu, patria, hoc honoris
of-a-most-faithful wife of-your sight of-my-country of-this of-office
gradu sine dolore caruisse glorier; quod si fecissem, quod
step without grief to-have-lacked I-should-boast for if I-had-done-so what
a me beneficium haberetis, cum pro vobis ea quae
from me kindness would-you-have since for you those-things which
mihi essent vilia reliquissem? Hoc meo quidem animo summi
to-me were cheap I-had-left this to-my indeed mind of-the-highest
in patriam amoris mei signum esse debet certissimum,
toward my-country love my the-sign to-be ought most-certain

quod, cum abesse ab ea sine summo dolore non possem,
that although to-be-absent from it without the-highest grief not I-could
hunc me perpeti quam illam labefactari ab improbis malui.
this me to-endure than it to-be-shaken by the-wicked I-preferred
Memineram, iudices, divinum illum virum atque ex 50
I-remembered judges divine that man and from
isdem quibus nos radicibus natum ad salutem huius
the-same from-which we roots born for the-safety of-this
imperi, C. Marium, summa senectute, cum vim prope
empire Gaius Marius in-extreme old-age when the-violence almost
iustorum armorum profugisset, primo senile corpus paludibus
of-just arms he-had-fled first his-aged body in-marshes
occultasse demersum, deinde ad infimorum ac tenuissimorum
to-have-hidden sunk then to of-the-lowest and humblest
hominum Minturnensium misericordiam confugisse, inde
men of-Minturnae the-pity to-have-fled thence
navigio perparvo, cum omnis portus terrasque fugeret, in
in-a-boat very-small when all harbors and-lands he-was-fleeing to
oras Africae desertissimas pervenisse. Atque ille vitam suam,
the-shores of-Africa most-deserted to-have-arrived and he life his-own
ne inultus esset, ad incertissimam spem et ad rei
lest unavenged he-should-be for a-most-uncertain hope and for of-the-thing
publicae interitum reservavit: ego qui, quem ad modum multi
public the-destruction reserved I who in-what to manner many
in senatu me absente dixerunt, periculo rei publicae
in the-senate with-me absent said at-the-danger of-the-thing public
vivebam, quique ob eam causam consularibus litteris
was-living and-who on-account-of that reason by-consular letters
de senatus sententia exteris nationibus commendabar, nonne,
by of-the-senate the-decision to-foreign nations was-commended surely
si meam vitam deseruissem, rem publicam prodidissem?
if my life I-had-abandoned the-thing public would-I-have-betrayed

In qua quidem nunc me restituto vivit mecum simul
in which indeed now with-me restored lives with-me together
exemplum fidei publicae; quod si immortale retinetur,
the-example of-good-faith public which if immortal is-retained
quis non intellegit immortalem hanc civitatem futuram?
who not understands immortal this state going-to-be
51 Nam externa bella regum, gentium, nationum iam pridem ita
for foreign wars of-kings of-peoples of-nations now long-since so
exstincta sunt ut praeclare cum iis agamus quos pacatos
extinguished have-been that splendidly with them we-deal whom pacified
esse patiamur; denique ex bellica victoria non fere quemquam
to-be we-allow finally from warlike victory not almost anyone
est invidia civium consecuta. Domesticis malis et audacium
has ill-will of-citizens followed domestic evils and of-audacious
civium consiliis saepe est resistendum, eorumque periculorum
citizens the-counsels often are to-be-resisted and-of-those dangers
est in re publica retinenda medicina; quam omnem, iudices,
is in the-thing public to-be-retained a-medicine which all judges
perdidissetis, si meo interitu senatui populoque Romano
you-would-have-lost if by-my death for-the-senate and-the-people Roman
doloris sui de me declarandi potestas esset erepta. Qua
of-grief its-own about me of-declaring the-power had-been snatched-away by-which
re moneo vos, adulescentes, atque hoc meo iure praecipio,
thing I-warn you young-men and this by-my right I-instruct
qui dignitatem, qui rem publicam, qui gloriam spectatis,
who dignity who the-thing public who glory look-to
ne, si quae vos aliquando necessitas ad rem publicam
lest if any you some-day necessity to the-thing public
contra improbos civis defendendam vocabit, segniores sitis
against wicked citizens to-be-defended will-call more-sluggish you-be
et recordatione mei casus a consiliis fortibus refugiatis.
and by-the-recollection of-my misfortune from counsels brave you-shrink-back

Primum non est periculum ne quis umquam incidat in eius 52
first not is there-danger lest anyone ever fall upon of-such
modi consules, praesertim si erit iis id quod debetur
kind consuls especially if will-be to-them that which is-owed
persolutum. Deinde numquam iam, ut spero, quisquam
paid-in-full then never now as I-hope any
improbus consilio et auxilio bonorum se oppugnare
wicked-man with-the-counsel and help of-the-good himself to-attack
rem publicam dicet illis tacentibus, nec armati exercitus
the-thing public will-say while-they are-silent nor of-an-armed army
terrorem opponet togatis; neque erit iusta causa ad
the-terror will-he-set-against men-in-togas nor will-there-be a-just cause at
portas sedenti imperatori qua re suum terrorem falso
the-gates sitting for-a-commander by-which thing his-own terror falsely
iactari opponique patiatur. Numquam autem erit tam
to-be-flaunted and-set-against-them he-should-allow never however will-be so
oppressus senatus ut ei ne supplicandi quidem ac lugendi
crushed the-senate that to-it not of-supplicating even and of-mourning
sit potestas, tam captus equester ordo ut equites Romani a
be the-power so captured the-equestrian order that knights Roman by
consule relegentur. Quae cum omnia atque etiam multo
a-consul be-banished which-things although all and even much
alia maiora, quae consulto praetereo, accidissent, videtis me
other greater which deliberately I-pass-over had-happened you-see me
tamen in meam pristinam dignitatem brevi tempore doloris
still into my former dignity with-a-short time of-grief
interiecto rei publicae voce esse revocatum.
having-intervened of-the-thing public by-the-voice to-have-been recalled

On the very day Cicero left, the consuls' provinces were voted, and the law against him was carried in a deserted forum by slaves and assassins. His house was burned and his family hunted while the consuls feasted. That year the censors' power was removed, the guilds restored, the grain given free, and Syria handed to Gabinius; abroad, the priest at Pessinus was expelled and his shrine sold to Brogitarus, and King Ptolemy, a friend, was put up for public sale.

53 Sed ut revertar ad illud quod mihi in hac omni est oratione
but that I-may-return to that which by-me in this whole is speech
propositum, omnibus malis illo anno scelere consulum
set-forth by-all evils in-that year by-the-crime of-the-consuls
rem publicam esse confectam, primum illo ipso die,
the-thing public to-have-been finished-off first on-that very day
qui mihi funestus fuit, omnibus bonis luctuosus, cum ego
which to-me deadly was for-all the-good mournful when I
me e complexu patriae conspectuque vestro eripuissem,
myself from the-embrace of-my-country and-sight your had-snatched
et metu vestri periculi, non mei, furori hominis, sceleri,
and from-fear of-your danger not of-mine to-the-fury of-the-man to-the-crime
perfidiae, telis minisque cessissem, patriamque, quae
to-the-treachery to-the-weapons and-threats had-yielded and-my-country which
mihi erat carissima, propter ipsius patriae caritatem
to-me was dearest on-account-of itself of-the-country love
reliquissem, cum meum illum casum tam horribilem, tam
I-had-left when my that misfortune so horrible so
gravem, tam repentinum non solum homines sed tecta
heavy so sudden not only men but the-houses
urbis ac templa lugerent, nemo vestrum forum, nemo
of-the-city and temples mourned no-one of-you the-forum no-one
curiam, nemo lucem aspicere vellet: illo, inquam, ipso
the-senate-house no-one the-light to-look-at wished on-that I-say very

die — die dico? immo hora atque etiam puncto temporis
day day do-I-say nay hour and even in-the-moment of-time
eodem mihi reique publicae pernicies, Gabinio et
same to-me and-to-the-thing public ruin to-Gabinius and
Pisoni provincia rogata est. Pro di immortales, custodes et
to-Piso a-province voted was O gods immortal guardians and
conservatores huius urbis atque imperi, quaenam illa in re
preservers of-this city and empire what those in the-thing
publica monstra, quae scelera vidistis! Civis erat expulsus
public monsters what crimes have-you-seen a-citizen had-been expelled
is qui rem publicam ex senatus auctoritate cum omnibus
he who the-thing public from of-the-senate the-authority with all
bonis defenderat, et expulsus non alio aliquo, sed eo
the-good had-defended and expelled not on-other any but on-that
ipso crimine; erat autem expulsus sine iudicio, vi,
very charge he-had-been however expelled without trial by-force
lapidibus, ferro, servitio denique concitato; lex erat lata
with-stones with-iron with-the-slaves finally roused a-law had-been carried
vastato ac relicto foro et sicariis servisque tradito, et
with-devastated and abandoned forum and to-assassins and-slaves handed-over and
ea lex quae ut ne ferretur senatus fuerat veste mutata.
that law which that not it-should-be-carried the-senate had with-dress changed
Hac tanta perturbatione civitatis ne noctem quidem consules 54
in-this so-great disturbance of-the-state not a-night even the-consuls
inter meum interitum et suam praedam interesse passi sunt:
between my destruction and their-own plunder to-intervene allowed have
statim me perculso ad meum sanguinem hauriendum,
immediately with-me struck-down for my blood being-drained
et spirante etiam re publica ad eius spolia detrahenda
and with-breathing still the-thing public for its spoils being-stripped-off
advolaverunt. Omitto gratulationes, epulas, partitionem
they-flew I-pass-over the-congratulations the-feasts the-division

aerari, beneficia, spem, promissa, praedam, laetitiam
of-the-treasury the-favors the-hope the-promises the-plunder the-joy
paucorum in luctu omnium. Vexabatur uxor mea, liberi
of-a-few in the-mourning of-all was-harassed wife my my-children
ad necem quaerebantur, gener, et Piso gener,
for death were-sought my-son-in-law and-that Piso my-son-in-law
a Pisonis consulis pedibus supplex reiciebatur, bona
from Piso's the-consul's feet as-suppliant was-repulsed my-goods
diripiebantur eaque ad consules deferebantur, domus ardebat
were-plundered and-they to the-consuls were-carried my-house was-burning
in Palatio: consules epulabantur. Quod si meis incommodis
on the-Palatine the-consuls were-feasting but if at-my misfortunes
laetabantur, urbis tamen periculo commoverentur.
they-rejoiced of-the-city still by-the-danger they-should-have-been-moved
55 Sed ut a mea causa iam recedam, reliquas illius anni
but that from my case now I-may-withdraw the-other of-that year
pestis recordamini — sic enim facillime perspicietis quantam
plagues recall so for most-easily you-will-perceive how-great
vim omnium remediorum a magistratibus proximis res
a-force of-all remedies from the-magistrates next the-thing
publica desiderarit — legum multitudinem, cum earum
public needed of-laws the-multitude both of-those
quae latae sunt, tum vero quae promulgatae fuerunt. Nam
which carried were and indeed which promulgated were for
latae quidem sunt consulibus illis — tacentibus dicam?
carried indeed were consuls with-those silent shall-I-say
immo vero etiam adprobantibus; ut censoria notio et
nay indeed even approving that the-censorial cognizance and
gravissimum iudicium sanctissimi magistratus de re
the-most-weighty judgment of-the-most-sacred magistracy from the-thing
publica tolleretur, ut conlegia non modo illa vetera contra
public might-be-removed that the-guilds not only those old against

senatus consultum restituerentur, sed ab uno gladiatore
of-the-senate the-decree might-be-restored but by one gladiator
innumerabilia alia nova conscriberentur, ut remissis senis
innumerable other new might-be-enrolled that with-remitted six-asses
et trientibus quinta prope pars vectigalium tolleretur, ut
and thirds a-fifth almost part of-the-revenues might-be-removed that
Gabinio pro illa sua Cilicia, quam sibi, si rem publicam
to-Gabinius for that his Cilicia which for-himself if the-thing public
prodidisset, pactus erat, Syria daretur, et uni helluoni
he-had-betrayed bargained he-had Syria might-be-given and to-one glutton
bis de eadem re deliberandi et rogata lege potestas
twice about the-same thing of-deliberating and with-carried law the-power
per novam legem fieret provinciae commutandae.
through a-new law might-be-made of-a-province to-be-changed
Mitto eam legem quae omnia iura religionum, auspiciorum, 56
I-pass-over that law which all the-rights of-religious-rites of-auspices
potestatum, omnis leges quae sunt de iure et de tempore
of-powers all laws which are about the-right and about the-time
legum rogandarum, una rogatione delevit; mitto omnem
of-laws being-proposed in-one bill destroyed I-pass-over all
domesticam labem: etiam exteras nationes illius anni furore
the-domestic stain even foreign nations of-that of-year by-the-fury
conquassatas videbamus. Lege tribunicia Matris magnae
shattered we-saw by-a-law tribunician of-the-Mother great
Pessinuntius ille sacerdos expulsus et spoliatus sacerdotio
the-Pessinuntian that priest expelled and stripped of-his-priesthood
est, fanumque sanctissimarum atque antiquissimarum
has-been and-the-shrine of-most-sacred and most-ancient
religionum venditum pecunia grandi Brogitaro, impuro
rites sold for-a-sum large to-Brogitarus a-foul
homini atque indigno illa religione, praesertim cum eam
man and unworthy of-that religion especially since it

sibi ille non colendi, sed violandi causa adpetisset;
for-himself he not of-worshiping but of-violating for-the-sake had-sought
appellati reges a populo qui id numquam ne a senatu
named kings by the-people who it never not of the-senate
quidem postulassent; reducti exsules Byzantium condemnati
even had-requested brought-back the-exiles to-Byzantium condemned
tum cum indemnati cives e civitate eiciebantur.
at-the-time when uncondemned citizens from the-state were-cast-out

57 Rex Ptolomaeus, qui, si nondum erat ipse a senatu socius
king Ptolemy who if not-yet he-was himself by the-senate an-ally
appellatus, erat tamen frater eius regis qui, cum esset in eadem
named was still brother of-that king who when he-was in the-same
causa, iam erat a senatu honorem istum consecutus, erat
case already had from the-senate honor that obtained was
eodem genere eisdemque maioribus, eadem vetustate societatis,
of-the-same race and-the-same ancestors the-same antiquity of-alliance
denique erat rex, si nondum socius, at non hostis; pacatus,
finally was a-king if not-yet an-ally but not an-enemy peaceful
quietus, fretus imperio populi Romani regno paterno atque
quiet relying on-the-empire of-the-people Roman kingdom paternal and
avito regali otio perfruebatur—: de hoc nihil cogitante,
ancestral in-royal leisure was-enjoying about him nothing thinking
nihil suspicante, eisdem operis suffragium ferentibus, est
nothing suspecting with-the-same gangs vote carrying it-was
rogatum ut sedens cum purpura et sceptro et illis insignibus
proposed that sitting with purple and scepter and those insignia
regiis praeconi publico subiceretur, et imperante
royal to-the-crier public he-should-be-put-up-for-sale and at-the-command
populo Romano, qui etiam bello victis regibus regna
of-the-people Roman which even in-war conquered to-kings kingdoms

reddere consuevit, rex amicus nulla iniuria commemorata,
to-restore is-accustomed a-king friendly with-no wrong mentioned
nullis rebus repetitis, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur.
with-no things demanded-back with goods all should-be-confiscated

XI · KINGS SOLD AND CATO REMOVED

The year's crimes extended abroad. Rome's ancestors and Pompey had left even beaten enemies such as Antiochus and Tigranes on their thrones, yet Ptolemy, king of Cyprus and always a friend and ally of Rome, was stripped alive of his kingdom and goods. Cato was sent to manage the confiscation, to stain his name and get him out of Rome; he obeyed, as he had sworn to other unjust laws, since refusing would have brought violence on him, and as tribune-elect and tribune he had already risked his life for the state.

Multa acerba, multa turpia, multa turbulenta habuit ille annus; 58
many bitter many shameful many turbulent had that year
tamen illi sceleri quod in me illorum immanitas edidit
still to-that crime which against me their monstrousness brought-forth
haud scio an recte hoc proximum esse dicamus. Antiochum
not I-know whether rightly this next to-be we-may-say Antiochus
Magnum illum maiores nostri magna belli contentione terra
Great that our ancestors with-great of-war struggle by-land
marique superatum intra montem Taurum regnare iusserunt:
and-sea overcome within the-mountain Taurus to-reign ordered
Asiam, qua illum multarunt, Attalo, ut is regnaret in ea,
Asia by-which him they-fined to-Attalus that he might-reign in it
condonaverunt. Cum Armeniorum rege Tigrane grave bellum
they-gave with of-the-Armenians the-king Tigranes a-grievous war
nuper ipsi diuturnumque gessimus, cum ille iniuriis in
lately we-ourselves and-long waged since he by-wrongs upon

socios nostros inferendis bello prope nos lacessisset. Hic et
allies our being-inflicted by-war almost us had-provoked this-man both
ipse per se vehemens fuit et acerrimum hostem huius imperi
himself by himself vehement was and the-fiercest enemy of-this empire
Mithridatem pulsum Ponto opibus suis regnoque defendit,
Mithridates driven from-Pontus with-resources his-own and-kingdom he-defended
et a L. Lucullo, summo viro atque imperatore, pulsus animo
and by Lucius Lucullus a-supreme man and commander driven-off in-spirit
tamen hostili cum reliquis suis copiis in pristina mente
still hostile with the-remaining his forces in his-former mind
mansit. Hunc Cn. Pompeius cum in suis castris supplicem
he-remained him Gnaeus Pompey when in his-own camp as-a-suppliant
abiectum vidisset erexit, atque insigne regium, quod ille de
cast-down he-had-seen raised-up and the-badge royal which he from
suo capite abiecerat, reposuit et certis rebus imperatis
his-own head had-cast-off replaced and certain things having-been-ordered
regnare iussit, nec minus et sibi et huic imperio gloriosum
to-reign ordered nor less both for-himself and for-this empire glorious
putavit constitutum a se regem quam constrictum videri.
he-thought established by himself a-king than constrained to-seem
59 Qui et ipse hostis fuit populi Romani et acerrimum
who both himself an-enemy was of-the-people Roman and the-fiercest
hostem in regnum recepit, qui conflixit, qui signa
enemy into his-kingdom received who clashed who standards
contulit, qui de imperio paene certavit, regnat hodie et
joined who for empire almost contended reigns today and
amicitiae nomen ac societatis, quod armis violarat, id
of-friendship the-name and of-alliance which by-arms he-had-violated that
precibus est consecutus: ille Cyprius miser, qui semper
by-prayers has obtained that Cyprian wretch who always
amicus, semper socius fuit, de quo nulla umquam suspicio
a-friend always an-ally was about whom no ever suspicion

durior aut ad senatum aut ad imperatores adlata nostros
harsher either to the-senate or to the-commanders brought our
est, vivus, ut aiunt, est et videns cum victu ac vestitu
was alive as they-say was and seeing with food and clothing
suo publicatus. Em cur ceteri reges stabilem esse suam
his-own confiscated lo why the-other kings stable to-be their-own
fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni prodito
fortune should-think when by-this of-that deadly year set-forth
exemplo videant per tribunum aliquem et sescentas operas
example they-see through tribune some and six-hundred hirelings
se fortunis spoliari et regno omni posse nudari!
themselves of-fortunes to-be-stripped and of-kingdom all to-be-able to-be-bared
At etiam eo negotio M. Catonis splendorem maculare 60
but even by-that business of-Marcus Cato the-splendor to-stain
voluerunt ignari quid gravitas, quid integritas, quid magnitudo
they-wished ignorant what gravity what integrity what greatness
animi, quid denique virtus valeret, quae in tempestate saeva
of-spirit what finally virtue could-avail which in a-storm savage
quieta est et lucet in tenebris et pulsa loco manet
calm is and shines in darkness and driven from-its-place remains
tamen atque haeret in patria splendetque per sese semper
still and clings in the-country and-shines by itself always
neque alienis umquam sordibus obsolescit. Non illi ornandum
nor by-others' ever filth grows-dull not they to-be-honored
M. Catonem sed relegandum, nec illi committendum
Marcus Cato but to-be-banished nor they to-be-entrusted
illud negotium sed imponendum putaverunt, qui in contione
that business but to-be-imposed thought who in the-assembly
palam dixerint linguam se evellisse M. Catoni,
openly said the-tongue themselves to-have-torn-out from-Marcus Cato
quae semper contra extraordinarias potestates libera fuisset.
which always against extraordinary powers free had-been

Sentient, ut spero, brevi tempore manere libertatem illam,
they-will-feel as I-hope in-a-short time to-remain liberty that
atque hoc etiam, si fieri potuerit, esse maiorem,
and this even if to-be-done it-will-have-been-able to-be greater
quod cum consulibus illis M. Cato, etiam cum iam
because with the-consuls those Marcus Cato even when already
desperasset aliquid auctoritate sua profici posse, tamen
he-had-despaired anything by-authority his-own to-be-achieved to-be-able still
voce ipsa ac dolore pugnavit, et post meum discessum
with-voice itself and grief fought and after my departure
iis Pisonem verbis flens meum et rei publicae
with-such Piso words weeping my and of-the-thing public
casum vexavit ut illum hominem perditissimum atque
fall he-harassed that that man most-abandoned and
impudentissimum paene iam provinciae paeniteret.
most-shameless almost now of-his-province repented

61 'Cur igitur rogationi paruit?' Quasi vero ille non in alias
why therefore to-the-bill did-he-submit as-if indeed he not to other
quoque leges, quas iniuste rogatas putaret, iam ante iurarit!
also laws which unjustly proposed he-thought already before had-sworn
Non offert se ille istis temeritatibus, ut, cum rei
not offers himself he to-those rashnesses that while to-the-thing
publicae nihil prosit, se civi rem publicam privet.
public nothing it-avails himself as-citizen the-thing public he-should-deprive-of
Consule me cum esset designatus tribunus plebis, obtulit
as-consul with-me when he-was designate tribune of-the-plebs he-exposed
in discrimen vitam suam; dixit eam sententiam cuius
to danger life his-own he-spoke that opinion whose
invidiam capitis periculo sibi praestandam videbat; dixit
odium of-life at-the-risk for-himself to-be-answered-for he-saw he-spoke
vehementer, egit acriter; ea quae sensit prae se tulit;
vehemently he-acted fiercely those-things which he-felt before himself he-bore

dux, auctor, actor rerum illarum fuit, non quo periculum
leader author doer of-things those he-was not because the-danger
suum non videret, sed in tanta rei publicae tempestate
his-own not he-saw but in so-great of-the-thing public a-storm
nihil sibi nisi de patriae periculis cogitandum putabat.
nothing for-himself except about of-the-country the-dangers to-be-thought he-thought
Consecutus est ipsius tribunatus. Quid ego de singulari 62
followed has his-own tribunate what I about the-singular
magnitudine animi eius ac de incredibili virtute dicam?
greatness of-spirit his and about incredible virtue I-shall-say
Meministis illum diem cum, templo a conlega occupato,
you-remember that day when with-the-temple by a-colleague occupied
nobis omnibus de vita eius viri et civis timentibus, ipse
with-us all for the-life of-that man and citizen fearing he-himself
animo firmissimo venit in templum, et clamorem hominum
with-spirit most-firm came into the-temple and the-clamor of-men
auctoritate impetum improborum virtute sedavit. Adiit tum
by-authority the-onset of-the-wicked by-virtue calmed he-faced then
periculum, sed adiit ob eam causam quae quanta fuerit
danger but he-faced-it on-account-of that reason which how-great it-was
iam mihi dicere non est necesse. At si isti Cypriae rogationi
now for-me to-say not is necessary but if to-that Cyprian bill
sceleratissimae non paruisset, haereret illa nihilo minus
most-criminal not he-had-submitted would-cling that nothing less
rei publicae turpitudo; regno enim iam publicato
to-the-thing public disgrace with-the-kingdom for already confiscated
de ipso Catone erat nominatim rogatum; quod ille si
about himself Cato it-had-been by-name proposed which he if
repudiasset, dubitatis quin ei vis esset adlata, cum
he-had-refused do-you-doubt but-that on-him violence would-have-been brought since
omnia acta illius anni per unum illum labefactari viderentur?
all the-acts of-that year by one-man that to-be-shaken seemed

Cato yielded as Cicero did, to the same fury and the same consuls. The consuls said nothing of the wrongs to allies and kings, or of a law exiling a citizen by name against the Twelve Tables, and under them everything was for sale. At last Pompey took up Cicero's cause; on the first of June the crowded senate decreed his return, and one Ligus, a hanger-on of Cicero's enemies, vetoed it, while every man who had touched Clodius' crime was condemned in the courts.

63 Atque etiam hoc videbat, quoniam illa in re publica
and even this he-saw since that on the-thing public
macula regni publicati maneret, quam nemo iam posset
stain of-a-kingdom confiscated would-remain which no-one now could
eluere, quod ex malis boni posset in rem publicam
wash-out that-which from evils good could into the-thing public
pervenire, id utilius esse per se conservari quam
come that more-useful to-be through himself to-be-preserved than
per alios dissipari. Atque ille etiam si alia quapiam
through others to-be-squandered and he even if by-other some
vi expelleretur illis temporibus ex hac urbe, facile
force he-were-being-expelled in-those times from this city easily
pateretur. Etenim qui superiore anno senatu caruisset,
would-endure-it for-indeed he-who in-the-former year the-senate had-lacked
quo si tum veniret me tamen socium suorum in re
to-which if then he-came me still the-partner of-his in the-thing
publica consiliorum videre posset, is aequo animo tum,
public counsels to-see he-could he with-even mind then
me expulso et meo nomine cum universo senatu tum
with-me expelled and with-my name both with-the-whole senate and
sententia sua condemnata, in hac urbe esse posset? Ille
with-opinion his-own condemned in this city to-be could he
vero eidem tempori cui nos, eiusdem furori, eisdem
indeed to-the-same time to-which we of-the-same-man to-the-fury to-the-same

consulibus, eisdem minis insidiis periculis cessit. Luctum
consuls to-the-same threats plots dangers yielded grief
nos hausimus maiorem, dolorem ille animi non minorem.
we drained greater pain he of-mind not less
His de tot tantisque iniuriis in socios, in reges, 64
these about so-many and-so-great wrongs against allies against kings
in civitates liberas consulum querela esse debuit: in eius
against states free of-the-consuls the-complaint to-be ought in of-that
magistratus tutela reges atque exterae nationes semper
magistracy the-guardianship kings and foreign nations always
fuerunt. Ecquae vox umquam est audita consulum? Quamquam
have-been any voice ever has been-heard of-the-consuls although
quis audiret, si maxime queri vellent? De Cyprio rege
who would-hear if most to-complain they-wished about the-Cyprian king
quererentur qui me civem, nullo meo crimine, patriae
would-they-complain who me a-citizen with-no my fault in-my-country's
nomine laborantem, non modo stantem non defenderunt sed
name suffering not only standing not defended but
ne iacentem quidem protexerunt? Cesseram, si alienam a me
not lying even protected I-had-yielded if estranged from me
plebem fuisse vultis, quae non fuit, invidiae; si commoveri
the-plebs to-have-been you-will which not was to-ill-will if to-be-stirred
omnia videbantur, tempori; si vis suberat, armis; si societas
all-things seemed to-the-time if violence lay-beneath to-arms if the-alliance
magistratuum, pactioni; si periculum civium, rei publicae.
of-the-magistrates to-a-bargain if the-danger of-the-citizens to-the-thing public
Cur, cum de capite civis — non disputo cuius modi civis — 65
why when about the-life of-a-citizen not I-argue of-what kind a-citizen
et de bonis proscriptio ferretur, cum et sacratis legibus et
and about his-goods a-proscription was-carried when both by-sacred laws and
duodecim tabulis sanctum esset ut ne cui privilegium
by-the-twelve tables ordained it-was that that-not on-anyone a-privilege

inrogari liceret neve de capite nisi comitiis centuriatis
to-be-imposed be-allowed nor about life except in-the-assemblies centuriate
rogari, nulla vox est audita consulum, constitutumque est
to-be-proposed no voice was heard of-the-consuls and-established it-was
illo anno, quantum in illis duabus huius imperi pestibus
in-that year as-far-as in those two of-this empire plagues
fuit, iure posse per operas concitatas quemvis civem
it-lay by-right to-be-able through gangs roused any citizen
nominatim tribuni plebis concilio ex civitate exturbari?
by-name of-a-tribune of-the-plebs by-the-council from the-state to-be-driven-out
66 Quae vero promulgata illo anno fuerint, quae promissa
what-things indeed promulgated in-that year were what promised
multis, quae conscripta, quae sperata, quae cogitata, quid
to-many what written-down what hoped-for what planned why
dicam? Qui locus orbi terrae iam non erat alicui
should-I-speak what place in-the-circle of-the-earth now not was to-someone
destinatus? Cuius negoti publici cogitari, optari, fingi
destined of-what business public to-be-planned to-be-desired to-be-feigned
curatio potuit quae non esset attributa atque discripta?
the-management could which not had-been assigned and distributed
Quod genus imperi aut quae provincia, quae ratio aut flandae
what kind of-command or what province what method either of-coining
aut conflandae pecuniae non reperiebatur? Quae regio orave
or of-raising money not was-found what region or-shore
terrarum erat latior in qua non regnum aliquod statueretur?
of-the-lands was wider in which not a-kingdom some was-set-up
Quis autem rex erat qui illo anno non aut emendum sibi
who however a-king was who in-that year not either to-be-bought for-himself
quod non habebat, aut redimendum quod habebat arbitraretur?
what not he-had or to-be-bought-back what he-had thought
Quis provinciam, quis pecuniam, quis legationem a senatu
who a-province who money who an-embassy from the-senate

petebat? Damnatis de vi restitutio, consulatus petitio ipsi
sought for-the-condemned for violence restoration of-the-consulship candidacy very
illi populari sacerdoti comparabatur. Haec gemebant boni,
for-that popular priest was-being-prepared these-things groaned-at the-good
sperabant improbi, agebat tribunus plebis, consules adiuvabant.
hoped the-wicked did the-tribune of-the-plebs the-consuls helped
Hic aliquando, serius quam ipse vellet, Cn. Pompeius 67
here at-last later than he-himself wished Gnaeus Pompey
invitissimis iis qui mentem optimi ac fortissimi viri
with-most-unwilling those who the-mind of-the-best and bravest man
suis consiliis fictisque terroribus a defensione meae
by-their-own counsels and-feigned terrors from the-defense of-my
salutis averterant, excitavit illam suam non sopitam, sed
safety had-turned-away roused that his-own not lulled-to-sleep but
suspicione aliqua retardatam consuetudinem rei publicae
by-suspicion some delayed habit of-the-thing public
bene gerendae. Non est passus ille vir, qui sceleratissimos
well being-conducted not has allowed that man who most-criminal
civis, qui acerrimos hostis, qui maximas nationes, qui reges,
citizens who fiercest enemies who very-great nations who kings
qui gentis feras atque inauditas, qui praedonum infinitam
who peoples savage and unheard-of who of-pirates an-infinite
manum, qui etiam servitia virtute victoriaque domuisset,
band who even slaves by-virtue and-victory had-tamed
qui omnibus bellis terra marique compressis imperium
who all wars on-land and-sea having-been-suppressed the-empire
populi Romani orbis terrarum terminis definisset, rem
of-the-people Roman of-the-circle of-the-lands by-the-bounds had-defined the-thing
publicam everti scelere paucorum, quam ipse non
public to-be-overturned by-the-crime of-a-few which he-himself not
solum consiliis sed etiam sanguine suo saepe servasset:
only by-counsels but even by-blood his-own often had-saved

accessit ad causam publicam, restitit auctoritate sua reliquis
he-came to the-cause public he-resisted by-authority his-own the-other
rebus, questus est de praeteritis.
things complained he-has about the-past-things
68 Fieri quaedam ad meliorem spem inclinatio visa est.
to-be-made a-certain toward better hope inclination seemed has
Decrevit senatus frequens de meo reditu Kalendis Iuniis,
decreed the-senate crowded about my return on-the-Kalends of-June
dissentiente nullo, referente L. Ninnio, cuius in mea causa
with-dissenting no-one with-referring Lucius Ninnius whose in my case
numquam fides virtusque contremuit. Intercessit Ligus iste
never good-faith and-virtue trembled vetoed Ligus that
nescio qui, additamentum inimicorum meorum. Res erat
I-know-not who an-appendage of-enemies my the-matter was
et causa nostra eo iam loci ut erigere oculos et vivere
and cause our to-that now of-place that to-raise its-eyes and to-live
videretur. Quisquis erat qui aliquam partem in meo luctu
it-seemed whoever was who some part in my grief
sceleris Clodiani attigisset, quocumque venerat, quod iudicium
of-the-crime Clodian had-touched wherever he-had-come what trial
cumque subierat, damnabatur: inveniebatur nemo qui se
soever he-had-undergone was-condemned was-found no-one who himself
suffragium de me tulisse confiteretur. Decesserat ex Asia
a-vote about me to-have-cast would-confess had-departed from Asia
frater meus magno squalore, sed multo etiam maiore maerore.
brother my in-great squalor but much even greater grief
Huic ad urbem venienti tota obviam civitas cum lacrimis
to-him to the-city coming the-whole to-meet-him state with tears
gemituque processerat. Loquebatur liberius senatus; concurrebant
and-groaning had-gone-forth spoke more-freely the-senate ran-together
equites Romani; Piso ille, gener meus, cui fructum pietatis
the-knights Roman Piso that son-in-law my to-whom the-fruit of-devotion

suae neque ex me neque a populo Romano ferre licuit,
his-own neither from me nor from the-people Roman to-bear it-was-allowed
a propinquo suo socerum suum flagitabat; omnia senatus
from relative his-own father-in-law his was-demanding all-things the-senate
reiciebat, nisi de me primum consules rettulissent.
was-rejecting unless about me first the-consuls had-referred

XIII · TOWARD CICERO'S RETURN

A plot against Pompey's life, once discovered, kept him at home for the rest of the tribune's year. Eight tribunes proposed Cicero's recall, and the consul-elect Lentulus took up the cause; Sestius, as tribune-elect, went to Caesar on Cicero's behalf. On the first of January Cotta argued that no law had expelled Cicero, and Pompey that the people should confirm the senate's decree; Atilius Gavianus asked a night to deliberate, and his price was doubled.

Quae cum res iam manibus teneretur, et cum consules 69
which when the-thing now in-hands was-held and when the-consuls
provinciarum pactione libertatem omnem perdidissent, — qui,
of-the-provinces by-the-bargain liberty all had-lost who
cum in senatu privati ut de me sententias dicerent
when in the-senate private-members that about me opinions they-should-state
flagitabant, legem illi se Clodiam timere dicebant: cum
demanded the-law they themselves Clodian to-fear said when
hoc non possent iam diutius sustinere, initur consilium de
this not they-could now longer to-sustain is-entered a-plan about
interitu Cn. Pompei. Quo patefacto ferroque deprenso,
the-death of-Gnaeus Pompey which disclosed and-the-steel caught
ille inclusus domi tam diu fuit quam diu inimicus meus in
he shut-up at-home so long was as long enemy my in
tribunatu. De meo reditu octo tribuni promulgaverunt; ex
the-tribunate about my return eight tribunes promulgated from

quo intellectum est non mihi absenti crevisse amicos, in
which understood it-was not to-me absent to-have-grown friends in
ea praesertim fortuna in qua non nulli etiam quos esse
that especially fortune in which not none even whom to-be-friends
putaveram non erant, sed eos voluntatem semper eandem,
I-had-thought not were but them the-will always the-same
libertatem non eandem semper habuisse; nam ex novem
the-liberty not the-same always to-have-had for of nine
tribunis quos tunc habueram unus me absente defluxit,
tribunes whom then I-had-had one with-me absent slipped-away
qui cognomen sibi ex Aeliorum imaginibus arripuit,
who a-surname for-himself from of-the-Aelii the-images snatched
quo magis nationis eius esse quam generis videretur.
by-which more of-the-nation of-that to-be than of-the-family he-might-seem
70 Hoc igitur anno magistratibus novis designatis, cum omnes
in-this therefore year with-magistrates new designated when all
boni omnem spem melioris status in eorum fidem
the-good all hope of-a-better state upon their good-faith
convertissent, princeps P. Lentulus auctoritate ac sententia
had-turned first Publius Lentulus by-authority and opinion
sua, Pisone et Gabinio repugnantibus, causam suscepit,
his-own with-Piso and Gabinius opposing the-cause undertook
tribunisque plebis octo referentibus praestantissimam de
and-with-the-tribunes of-the-plebs eight referring a-most-excellent about
me sententiam dixit. Qui cum ad gloriam suam atque ad
me opinion he-stated who although to glory his-own and to
amplissimi benefici gratiam magis pertinere videret causam
of-a-most-ample kindness the-gratitude more to-pertain he-saw the-cause
illam integram ad suum consulatum reservari, tamen rem talem
that whole for his-own consulship to-be-reserved still a-thing such
per alios citius quam per se tardius confici malebat.
through others sooner than through himself more-slowly to-be-accomplished preferred

Hoc interim tempore P. Sestius, iudices, designatus iter 71
at-this meanwhile time Publius Sestius judges designate a-journey
ad C. Caesarem pro mea salute suscepit; pertinere et ad
to Gaius Caesar for my safety undertook to-pertain both to
concordiam civium putavit et ad perficiundi facultatem
the-concord of-the-citizens he-thought and to of-accomplishing the-ease
animum Caesaris a causa non abhorrere. Quid egerit,
the-mind of-Caesar from the-cause not to-be-averse what he-did
quantum profecerit, nihil ad causam. Equidem existimo, si ille,
how-much he-achieved nothing to the-case for-my-part think if he
ut arbitror, aequus nobis fuerit, nihil ab hoc profectum,
as I-judge favorable to-us will-have-been nothing by this-man achieved
sin iratior, non multum; sed tamen sedulitatem atque
but-if more-angry not much but still the-diligence and
integritatem hominis videtis. Ingredior iam in Sesti tribunatum,
integrity of-the-man you-see I-enter now upon Sestius' tribunate
nam hoc primum iter designatus rei publicae causa
for this first journey as-designate of-the-thing public for-the-sake
suscepit; abiit ille annus; respirasse homines videbantur
he-undertook departed that year to-have-breathed-again men seemed
nondum re, sed spe rei publicae reciperandae. Exierunt
not-yet in-fact but in-hope of-the-thing public being-recovered went-out
malis ominibus atque exsecrationibus duo vulturii paludati.
with-evil omens and curses two vultures in-generals'-cloaks
Quibus utinam ipsis evenissent ea quae tum homines
on-whom would-that themselves had-befallen those-things which then men
precabantur! Neque nos provinciam Macedoniam cum exercitu
prayed nor we the-province Macedonia with its-army
neque equitatum in Syria et cohortis optimas perdidissemus.
nor the-cavalry in Syria and cohorts the-best would-have-lost

72 Ineunt magistratum tribuni plebis, qui omnes se de
enter-upon the-magistracy the-tribunes of-the-plebs who all themselves about
me promulgaturos confirmarant. Ex iis princeps emitur ab
me going-to-promulgate had-affirmed of them the-first is-bought by
inimicis meis is quem homines in luctu inridentes Gracchum
enemies my he whom men in mourning mocking Gracchus
vocabant, quoniam id etiam fatum civitatis fuit ut illa ex
called since that even the-fate of-the-state was that that from
vepreculis extracta nitedula rem publicam conaretur adrodere.
the-thorn-bushes dragged-out dormouse the-thing public should-try to-gnaw
Alter vero, non ille Serranus ab aratro, sed ex deserta
the-other indeed not that Serranus from the-plow but from the-deserted
Gavi Oleli area calatis Gaviis in Calatinos Atilios
of-Gavius Olelus threshing-floor with-proclaimed the-Gavii into Calatine Atilii
insitus, subito, nominibus in tabulas relatis, nomen suum de
grafted suddenly with-the-names into the-records entered name his-own from
tabula sustulit. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae. Vos haec melius
the-list removed come the-Kalends of-January you these-things better
scire potestis, equidem audita dico: quae tum frequentia
to-know can for-my-part heard-things speak what then the-crowding
senatus, quae exspectatio populi, qui concursus legatorum
of-the-senate what the-expectation of-the-people what the-concourse of-envoys
ex Italia cuncta, quae virtus, actio, gravitas P. Lentuli
from Italy all what the-virtue action gravity of-Publius Lentulus
consulis fuerit, quae etiam conlegae eius moderatio de me.
the-consul was what even of-colleague his the-moderation about me
Qui cum inimicitias sibi mecum ex rei publicae
who when enmities for-himself with-me from of-the-thing public
dissensione susceptas esse dixisset, eas se patribus
dissension undertaken to-have-been he-had-said them himself to-the-fathers
conscriptis dixit et temporibus rei publicae permissurum.
enrolled said and to-the-times of-the-thing public going-to-surrender

Tum princeps rogatus sententiam L. Cotta dixit id quod 73
then first asked his-opinion Lucius Cotta stated that which
dignissimum re publica fuit, nihil de me actum
most-worthy of-the-thing public was nothing about me done
esse iure, nihil more maiorum, nihil legibus; non
to-have-been by-right nothing by-the-custom of-the-ancestors nothing by-laws not
posse quemquam de civitate tolli sine iudicio; de
to-be-able anyone from the-state to-be-removed without trial about
capite non modo ferri, sed ne iudicari quidem posse nisi
life not only to-be-proposed but not to-be-judged even to-be-able except
comitiis centuriatis; vim fuisse illam, flammam quassatae
in-the-assemblies centuriate violence to-have-been that the-flame of-a-shaken
rei publicae perturbatorumque temporum; iure iudiciisque
thing public and-of-disturbed times with-right and-courts
sublatis, magna rerum permutatione impendente, declinasse
removed with-a-great of-things change impending to-have-turned-aside
me paulum et spe reliquae tranquillitatis praesentis fluctus
me a-little and in-hope of-the-remaining tranquility the-present waves
tempestatemque fugisse; qua re, cum absens rem publicam
and-storm to-have-fled by-which thing since absent the-thing public
non minus magnis periculis quam quodam tempore praesens
not less great from-dangers than at-a-certain time present
liberassem, non restitui me solum sed etiam ornari a
I-had-freed not to-be-restored me only but even to-be-honored by
senatu decere. Disputavit etiam multa prudenter, ita de
the-senate to-be-fitting be-argued also many-things wisely so about
me illum amentissimum et profligatissimum hostem pudoris
me that most-insane and most-profligate enemy of-modesty
et pudicitiae scripsisse quae scripsisset, iis verbis rebus
and of-chastity to-have-written what he-had-written in-such words matters
sententiis ut, etiam si iure esset rogatum, tamen vim
sentences that even if by-right it-had-been proposed still force

habere non posset; qua re me, qui nulla lege abessem, non
to-have not it-could by-which thing me who by-no law was-absent not
restitui lege, sed revocari senatus auctoritate oportere.
to-be-restored by-law but to-be-recalled by-the-senate's authority to-be-proper
74 Hunc nemo erat quin verissime sentire diceret. Sed post eum
him no-one there-was who-not most-truly to-judge said but after him
rogatus Cn. Pompeius, adprobata laudataque Cottae sententia,
asked Gnaeus Pompey with-approved and-praised Cotta's opinion
dixit sese oti mei causa, ut omni populari concitatione
said himself of-peace my for-the-sake that with-all popular agitation
defungerer, censere ut ad senatus auctoritatem populi
I-might-be-done to-vote that to of-the-senate the-authority of-the-people
quoque Romani beneficium erga me adiungeretur. Cum omnes
also Roman the-kindness toward me be-added when all
certatim aliusque alio gravius atque ornatius de
eagerly and-one than-another more-weightily and more-ornately about
mea salute dixisset fieretque sine ulla varietate discessio,
my safety had-spoken and-there-was-made without any variation a-division
surrexit, ut scitis, Atilius hic Gavianus; nec ausus est, cum
rose as you-know Atilius this Gavianus nor dared he-has since
esset emptus, intercedere; noctem sibi ad deliberandum
he-was bought to-veto a-night for-himself for deliberating
postulavit. Clamor senatus, querelae, preces, socer ad
he-demanded the-clamor of-the-senate complaints prayers his-father-in-law at
pedes abiectus. Ille se adfirmare postero die moram
his-feet thrown-down he himself to-affirm on-the-next day delay
nullam esse facturum. Creditum est; discessum est. Illi
none to-be going-to-make believed it-was departed it-was to-that
interea deliberatori merces longa interposita nocte duplicata
meanwhile deliberator the-pay with-a-long interposed night doubled

est. Consecuti dies pauci omnino Ianuario mense per quos
was followed days few altogether in-the-January month in which
senatum haberi liceret; sed tamen actum nihil nisi de me.
the-senate to-be-held it-was-allowed but still was-done nothing except about me

XIV · VIOLENCE IN THE FORUM

On the day set for the vote Fabricius occupied the rostra before dawn, while Sestius stayed quiet; Clodius' armed men seized the forum, killed and wounded many, and nearly killed Cicero's brother, who hid among the bodies. The Tiber filled with corpses. Later Sestius, announcing adverse omens to the consul in the temple of Castor, was attacked and left for dead. Yet Sestius, not those who did this, is the one charged with violence.

Cum omni mora, ludificatione, calumnia senatus auctoritas 75
when by-every delay trickery chicanery of-the-senate the-authority
impediretur, venit tandem concilio de me agendi dies, viii
was-hindered came at-last for-the-council about me of-dealing the-day eighth
Kal. Febr. Princeps rogationis, vir mihi amicissimus,
before-the-Kalends of-February the-mover of-the-bill a-man to-me most-friendly
Q. Fabricius, templum aliquanto ante lucem occupavit.
Quintus Fabricius the-temple some-time before light occupied
Quietus eo die Sestius, is qui est de vi reus; actor hic
quiet on-that day Sestius he who is for violence a-defendant the-doer this
defensorque causae meae nihil progreditur, consilia exspectat
and-defender of-cause my nothing advances the-counsels awaits
inimicorum meorum. Quid? Illi quorum consilio P. Sestius
of-enemies my what they whose by-counsel Publius Sestius
in iudicium vocatur, quo se pacto gerunt? Cum forum,
into court is-called in-what themselves manner conduct when the-forum
comitium, curiam multa de nocte armatis hominibus ac
the-comitium the-senate-house deep in the-night with-armed men and

servis plerisque occupavissent, impetum faciunt in Fabricium,
slaves mostly they-had-occupied an-attack they-make on Fabricius
manus adferunt, occidunt non nullos, vulnerant multos.
hands they-lay-on they-kill not none they-wound many
76 Venientem in forum virum optimum et constantissimum,
coming into the-forum a-man best and most-steadfast
M. Cispium, tribunum plebis, vi depellunt, caedem
Marcus Cispius tribune of-the-plebs by-force they-drive-off a-slaughter
in foro maximam faciunt, universique destrictis gladiis
in the-forum very-great they-make and-all with-drawn swords
et cruentis in omnibus fori partibus fratrem meum,
and bloody in all of-the-forum parts brother my
virum optimum, fortissimum meique amantissimum, oculis
a-man best bravest and-of-me most-loving with-their-eyes
quaerebant, voce poscebant. Quorum ille telis
sought with-their-voice demanded whose he to-weapons
libenter in tanto luctu ac desiderio mei non repugnandi,
gladly in so-great grief and longing for-me not of-resisting
sed moriendi causa corpus obtulisset suum, nisi suam
but of-dying for-the-sake body would-have-offered his-own unless his
vitam ad spem mei reditus reservasset. Subiit tamen
life for the-hope of-my return he-had-reserved he-underwent still
vim illam nefariam conscleratorum latronum et, cum ad
violence that wicked of-criminal brigands and when for
fratris salutem a populo Romano deprecandam venisset,
of-his-brother the-safety from the-people Roman to-be-begged he-had-come
pulsus e rostris in comitio iacuit, seque servorum et
driven from the-rostra in the-comitium he-lay and-himself of-slaves and
libertorum corporibus obtexit, vitamque tum suam noctis
freedmen with-the-bodies covered and-life then his-own of-night
et fugae praesidio non iuris iudiciorumque defendit.
and of-flight by-the-protection not of-law and-courts defended

Meministis tum, iudices, corporibus civium Tiberim compleri, 77
you-remember then judges with-the-bodies of-citizens the-Tiber to-be-filled
cloacas refarciri, e foro spongiis effingi sanguinem,
the-sewers to-be-stuffed from the-forum with-sponges to-be-wiped-up the-blood
ut omnes tantam illam copiam et tam magnificum
so-that all so-great that supply and so magnificent
apparatum non privatum aut plebeium, sed patricium et
apparatus not private or plebeian but patrician and
praetorium esse arbitrarentur.
praetorian to-be thought
Nihil neque ante hoc tempus neque hoc ipso turbulentissimo
nothing neither before this time nor on-this very most-turbulent
die criminamini Sestium. 'Atqui vis in foro versata est.'
day do-you-charge Sestius and-yet violence in the-forum been-at-work has
Certe; quando enim maior? Lapidationes persaepe vidimus,
certainly for when greater stonings very-often we-have-seen
non ita saepe, sed nimium tamen saepe gladios: caedem vero
not so often but too still often swords slaughter indeed
tantam, tantos acervos corporum exstructos, nisi forte illo
so-great such heaps of-bodies piled-up unless perhaps on-that
Cinnano atque Octaviano die, quis umquam in foro vidit?
Cinnan and Octavian day who ever in the-forum saw
Qua ex concitatione animorum? Nam ex pertinacia aut
what from stirring of-minds for from the-obstinacy or
constantia intercessoris oritur saepe seditio, culpa atque
steadfastness of-a-vetoer arises often sedition by-the-fault and
improbitate latoris commodo aliquo proposito imperitis
wickedness of-a-proposer with-advantage some offered to-the-ignorant
aut largitione, oritur ex concertatione magistratuum, oritur
or by-largess it-arises from the-contention of-magistrates it-arises
sensim ex clamore primum, deinde aliqua discessione
gradually from shouting first then some division

contionis, vix sero et raro ad manus pervenitur: nullo
of-the-assembly scarcely late and rarely to hands it-comes with-no
vero verbo facto, nulla contione advocata, nulla lata lege
indeed word made with-no assembly called with-no carried law
concitatam nocturnam seditionem quis audivit?
stirred-up a-nocturnal sedition who has-heard-of
78 An veri simile est ut civis Romanus aut homo liber
or of-the-truth like is-it that a-citizen Roman or a-man free
quisquam cum gladio in forum descenderit ante lucem, ne
any with a-sword into the-forum came-down before light lest
de me ferri pateretur, praeter eos qui ab illo pestifero
about me it-be-carried he-might-allow except those who by that pestilent
ac perdito civi iam pridem rei publicae sanguine
and abandoned citizen now long-since of-the-thing public on-the-blood
saginantur? Hic iam de ipso accusatore quaero, qui
are-fattened here now about himself the-accuser I-ask who
P. Sestium queritur cum multitudine in tribunatu et cum
Publius Sestius complains with a-multitude in the-tribunate and with
praesidio magno fuisse, num illo die fuerit? Certe
a-guard great to-have-been whether-at-all on-that day he-was certainly
non fuit. Victa igitur est causa rei publicae, et victa
not he-was conquered therefore was the-cause of-the-thing public and conquered
non auspiciis, non intercessione, non suffragiis, sed vi,
not by-auspices not by-veto not by-votes but by-violence
manu, ferro. Nam si obnuntiasset Fabricio is praetor qui
hand steel for if had-announced-ill-omens to-Fabricius that praetor who
se servasse de caelo dixerat, accepisset res publica
himself to-have-watched about the-sky had-said would-have-received the-thing public
plagam, sed eam quam acceptam gemere posset; si intercessisset
a-blow but that which received to-lament it-could if had-vetoed
conlega Fabricio, laesisset rem publicam, sed tribunicio
his-colleague Fabricius he-would-have-hurt the-thing public but by-tribunician

iure laesisset. Gladiatores tu novicios, pro exspectata
right he-would-have-hurt-it gladiators you new for the-awaited
aedilitate suppositos, cum sicariis e carcere emissis ante
aedileship got-ready with assassins from the-prison released before
lucem inmittas? magistratus templo deicias, caedem
light do-you-send-in magistrates from-the-temple do-you-throw-down slaughter
maximam facias, forum purges? et cum omnia vi et
very-great do-you-make the-forum do-you-clean and when all-things by-violence and
armis egeris, accuses eum qui se praesidio munierit, non
arms you-have-done do-you-accuse him who himself with-a-guard fortified not
ut te oppugnaret, sed ut vitam suam posset defendere?
that you he-might-attack but that life his-own he-might-be-able to-defend
Atqui ne ex eo quidem tempore id egit Sestius ut a 79
and-yet not from that even time that did Sestius that by
suis munitus tuto in foro magistratum gereret,
his-own-men fortified safely in the-forum the-magistracy he-might-hold
rem publicam administraret. Itaque fretus sanctitate
the-thing public he-might-administer and-so relying on-the-sanctity
tribunatus, cum se non modo contra vim et ferrum sed
of-the-tribunate since himself not only against violence and steel but
etiam contra verba atque interfationem legibus sacratis esse
also against words and interruption by-laws sacred to-be
armatum putaret, venit in templum Castoris, obnuntiavit
armed he-thought he-came into the-temple of-Castor he-announced-ill-omens
consuli: cum subito manus illa Clodiana, in caede civium
to-the-consul when suddenly band that Clodian in the-slaughter of-citizens
saepe iam victrix, exclamat, incitatur, invadit; inermem atque
often already victorious shouts is-roused rushes-upon the-unarmed and
imparatum tribunum alii gladiis adoriuntur, alii fragmentis
unprepared tribune some with-swords attack others with-fragments
saeptorum et fustibus; a quibus hic multis vulneribus
of-the-enclosures and with-clubs by whom this-man many wounds

acceptis ac debilitato corpore et contrucidato se
having-been-received and with-weakened body and butchered himself
abiecit exanimatus, neque ulla alia re ab se mortem
threw-down breathless nor by-any other means from himself death
nisi opinione mortis depulit. Quem cum iacentem et
except by-the-semblance of-death drove-off whom when lying and
concisum plurimis vulneribus extremo spiritu exsanguem
cut-up with-very-many wounds at-his-last breath bloodless
et confectum viderent, defetigatione magis et errore quam
and finished they-saw from-weariness rather and mistake than
misericordia et modo aliquando caedere destiterunt.
from-pity and limit at-last to-cut ceased

XV · ACCUSED FOR SURVIVING

Sestius is charged with violence because he lived; the gang even planned to kill one of their own to blame his death on the good men. Had he died, he would have had a statue in the forum. The accusers say he gathered men; Cicero asks what for, if not to protect his own life against the violence that had already nearly killed him.

80 Et causam dicit Sestius de vi? Quid ita? Quia vivit.
and his-case pleads Sestius for violence why so because he-lives
At id non sua culpa: plaga una illa extrema defuit,
but that not by-his-own fault a-blow one that last was-lacking
quae si accessisset reliquum spiritum exhausisset. Accusa
which if it-had-been-added the-remaining breath would-have-drained accuse
Lentidium; non percussit locum; male dic Titio, Sabino
Lentidius not he-struck the-place ill speak to-Titius Sabinus
homini Reatino, cur tam temere exclamarit occisum. Ipsum
a-man of-Reate why so rashly he-cried-out killed-him himself

vero quid accusas? Num defuit gladiis? num repugnavit?
indeed why do-you-accuse surely-not he-failed the-swords surely-not he-resisted
Num, ut gladiatoribus imperari solet, ferrum non recepit?
surely-not as to-gladiators to-be-ordered is-wont the-steel not he-received
An haec ipsa vis est, non posse emori? an illa, quod
or this itself violence is not to-be-able to-die-off or that that
tribunus plebis templum cruentavit? an quod, cum esset
a-tribune of-the-plebs the-temple bloodied or that when he-had-been
ablatus primumque resipisset, non se referri iussit?
carried-away and-first had-come-to not himself to-be-carried-back he-ordered
Ubi est crimen? Quid reprehenditis?
where is the-charge what do-you-censure
Hic quaero, iudices: si illo die gens ista Clodia quod facere 81
here I-ask judges if on-that day clan that Clodian what to-do
voluit effecisset, si P. Sestius, qui pro occiso relictus
it-wished had-accomplished if Publius Sestius who for killed left
est, occisus esset, fuistisne ad arma ituri? Fuistisne
was killed had-been were-you-whether to arms going-to-go were-you-whether
vos ad patrium illum animum maiorumque virtutem
you to ancestral that spirit and-of-the-ancestors the-virtue
excitaturi? Fuistisne aliquando rem publicam a funesto
going-to-rouse were-you-whether ever the-thing public from the-deadly
latrone repetituri? an etiam tum quiesceretis, cunctaremini,
brigand going-to-reclaim or even then would-you-keep-quiet would-you-delay
timeretis, cum rem publicam a facinerosissimis sicariis
would-you-fear when the-thing public by most-criminal assassins
et a servis esse oppressam atque conculcatam videretis?
and by slaves to-have-been crushed and trampled you-saw
Cuius igitur mortem ulcisceremini, si quidem liberi esse
whose therefore death would-you-avenge if indeed free to-be
et habere rem publicam cogitaretis, de eius virtute vivi
and to-have the-thing public you-were-thinking about his virtue living

quid vos loqui, quid sentire, quid cogitare, quid iudicare
what you to-say what to-feel what to-think what to-judge
oporteat, dubitandum putatis?
it-is-proper to-be-doubted do-you-think

82 At vero ipsi illi parricidae, quorum ecfrenatus furor alitur
but indeed themselves those parricides whose unbridled fury is-fed
impunitate diuturna, adeo vim facinoris sui perhorruerant
by-impunity long-lasting so the-force of-crime their-own had-shuddered-at
ut, si paulo longior opinio mortis Sesti fuisset, Gracchum
that if a-little longer the-belief of-the-death of-Sestius had-been Gracchus
illum suum transferendi in nos criminis causa occidere
that their-own of-transferring onto us the-charge for-the-sake to-kill
cogitarint. Sensit rusticulus non incautus — neque enim
they-planned felt-it the-little-rustic not incautious nor for
homines nequam tacere potuerunt — suum sanguinem
men worthless to-keep-silent could his-own blood
quaeri ad restinguendam invidiam facinoris Clodiani;
to-be-sought for quenching the-odium of-the-crime Clodian
mulioniam paenulam arripuit, cum qua primum Romam
a-muleteer's cloak he-snatched with which first to-Rome
ad comitia venerat; messoria se corbe contexit. Cum
for the-elections he-had-come with-a-reaper's himself basket he-covered while
quaererent alii Numerium, alii Quintium, gemini nominis
they-sought some Numerius others Quintius of-the-double name
errore servatus est. Atque hoc scitis omnes, usque adeo
by-the-confusion saved he-was and this you-know all to so-far
hominem in periculo fuisse quoad scitum est Sestium
the-man in danger to-have-been until known it-was Sestius
vivere; quod ni esset patefactum paulo citius quam
to-be-living which unless it-had-been disclosed a-little sooner than
vellem, non illi quidem morte mercennarii sui transferre
I-would-wish not they indeed by-the-death of-hireling their-own to-transfer

potuissent invidiam in quos putabant, sed acerbissimi sceleris
could-have the-odium onto whom they-thought but of-a-most-bitter crime
infamiam grato quodam scelere minuissent.
the-infamy by-a-welcome certain crime they-would-have-lessened
Ac si tum P. Sestius, iudices, in templo Castoris animam 83
and if then Publius Sestius judges in the-temple of-Castor the-life
quam vix retinuit edidisset, non dubito quin, si modo
which scarcely he-retained had-given-up not I-doubt but-that if only
esset in re publica senatus, si maiestas populi Romani
there-were in the-thing public a-senate if the-majesty of-the-people Roman
revixisset, aliquando statua huic ob rem publicam
had-revived some-day a-statue to-this-man on-account-of the-thing public
interfecto in foro statueretur. Nec vero illorum quisquam
killed in the-forum would-be-set-up nor indeed of-those any
quos a maioribus nostris morte obita positos in illo loco
whom by ancestors our with-death met placed in that place
atque in rostris conlocatos videtis esset P. Sestio
and on the-rostra set-up you-see would-be to-Publius Sestius
aut acerbitate mortis aut animo in rem publicam
either in-bitterness of-death or in-spirit toward the-thing public
praeponendus; qui cum causam civis calamitosi, causam
to-be-preferred who since the-cause of-a-citizen ruined the-cause
amici, causam bene de re publica meriti, causam
of-a-friend the-cause well of the-thing public having-deserved the-cause
senatus, causam Italiae, causam rei publicae suscepisset,
of-the-senate the-cause of-Italy the-cause of-the-thing public he-had-undertaken
cumque auspiciis religionique parens obnuntiaret quod
and-since to-the-auspices and-to-religion obeying he-announced-ill-omens what
senserat, luce palam a nefariis pestibus in deorum
he-had-perceived in-daylight openly by wicked plagues in of-gods
hominumque conspectu esset occisus sanctissimo in templo,
and-of-men the-sight had-been killed a-most-sacred in temple

sanctissima in causa, sanctissimo in magistratu. Eius igitur
a-most-sacred in cause a-most-sacred in magistracy his therefore
vitam quisquam spoliandam ornamentis esse dicet, cuius
life anyone to-be-stripped of-honors to-be will-say whose
mortem ornandam monumento sempiterno putaretis?
death to-be-honored with-a-monument everlasting you-would-think
84 'Homines,' inquit, 'emisti, coegisti, parasti.' Quid uti
men he-says you-bought you-assembled you-prepared what that
faceret? Senatum obsideret? Civis indemnatos expelleret?
he-might-do the-senate he-might-besiege citizens uncondemned he-might-expel
bona diriperet? Aedis incenderet? tecta disturbaret? Templa
goods he-might-plunder temples he-might-burn houses he-might-demolish the-temples
deorum immortalium inflammaret? tribunos plebis ferro
of-the-gods immortal he-might-set-on-fire the-tribunes of-the-plebs with-steel
e rostris expelleret? Provincias quas vellet quibus vellet
from the-rostra he-might-expel provinces which he-wished to-whom he-wished
venderet? reges appellaret? Rerum capitalium condemnatos
he-might-sell kings he-might-name of-crimes capital the-condemned
in liberas civitates per legatos nostros reduceret?
into free states through envoys our he-might-bring-back
Principem civitatis ferro obsessum teneret? Haec ut
the-leader of-the-state with-steel besieged he-might-hold these-things that
efficere posset, quae fieri nisi armis oppressa re
to-accomplish he-might-be-able which to-be-done except by-arms with-crushed thing
publica nullo modo poterant, idcirco, credo, manum
public in-no way could for-that-reason I-suppose a-band
sibi P. Sestius et copias comparavit. 'At nondum erat
for-himself Publius Sestius and forces got-together but not-yet it-was
maturum; nondum res ipsa ad eius modi praesidia viros
ripe not-yet the-thing itself to of-such kind defenses men

bonos compellebat.' Pulsi nos eramus, non omnino ista
good was-driving driven-out we had-been not altogether by-that
manu sola, sed tamen non sine ista: vos taciti maerebatis.
band alone but still not without that-one you silently were-grieving
Captum erat forum anno superiore, aede Castoris 85
captured was the-forum in-the-year former with-the-temple of-Castor
tamquam arce aliqua a fugitivis occupata: silebatur.
as-if a-citadel some by runaways occupied there-was-silence
Omnia hominum cum egestate tum audacia perditorum
all-things of-men both by-the-want and by-the-audacity of-abandoned
clamore, concursu, vi, manu gerebantur: perferebatis.
by-shouting crowding violence hand were-being-done you-bore-it
Magistratus templis pellebantur, alii omnino aditu ac
magistrates from-temples were-driven others altogether from-access and
foro prohibebantur: nemo resistebat. Gladiatores ex
from-the-forum were-kept no-one resisted gladiators from
praetoris comitatu comprensi, in senatum introducti, confessi,
of-a-praetor the-retinue seized into the-senate brought-in confessing
in vincla coniecti a Milone, emissi a Serrano: mentio nulla.
into chains thrown by Milo released by Serranus mention none
Forum corporibus civium Romanorum constratum caede
the-forum with-the-bodies of-citizens Roman strewn by-slaughter
nocturna: non modo nulla nova quaestio, sed etiam vetera
nocturnal not only no new inquiry but even the-old
iudicia sublata. Tribunum plebis plus viginti vulneribus
courts removed a-tribune of-the-plebs more-than twenty wounds
acceptis iacentem moribundumque vidistis: alterius tribuni
having-received lying and-dying you-saw of-the-other tribune
plebis divini hominis — dicam enim quod sentio et
of-the-plebs of-a-divine man I-shall-say for what I-feel and
quod mecum sentiunt omnes — divini, insigni quadam,
what with-me feel all divine with-a-signal certain

inaudita, nova magnitudine animi, gravitate, fide praediti,
unheard-of new greatness of-spirit gravity good-faith endowed
domus est oppugnata ferro, facibus, exercitu Clodiano.
the-house was attacked with-steel with-torches by-the-army Clodian

XVI · MILO AND SESTIUS

The accuser praises Milo, who taught that the reckless must be resisted by the laws and the courts, and, where these fail, by a guard and by force. As tribune he worked for Cicero's recall by authority and counsel; Clodius answered with arson and attacks on his house, and Milo, restrained, turned to prosecution until the courts were shut against him. Sestius gathered a guard for the same reason, to protect his life. Men once lived scattered without law until the wise gathered them into communities and cities.

86 Et tu hoc loco laudas Milonem et iure laudas. Quem
and you at-this point you-praise Milo and rightly you-praise whom
enim umquam virum tam immortali virtute vidimus? Qui
for ever a-man of-so immortal virtue have-we-seen who
nullo praemio proposito praeter hoc, quod iam contritum
with-no reward set-before-him except this which now worn-out
et contemptum putatur, iudicium bonorum, omnia pericula,
and despised is-thought the-judgment of-the-good all dangers
summos labores, gravissimas contentiones inimicitiasque
the-highest labors the-weightiest contests and-enmities
suscepit, qui mihi unus ex omnibus civibus videtur re
undertook who to-me alone of all citizens seems by-fact
docuisse, non verbis, et quid oporteret a praestantibus viris in
to-have-taught not by-words both what it-was-proper by outstanding men in
re publica fieri et quid necesse esset: oportere hominum
the-thing public to-be-done and what necessary it-was to-be-proper of-men

audacium, eversorum rei publicae, sceleri legibus et
audacious of-overturners of-the-thing public to-the-crime by-laws and
iudiciis resistere; si leges non valerent, iudicia non essent, si
courts to-resist if the-laws not availed courts not existed if
res publica vi consensuque audacium armis oppressa
the-thing public by-the-violence and-consensus of-the-audacious by-arms crushed
teneretur, praesidio et copiis defendi vitam et libertatem
was-held by-a-guard and forces to-be-defended life and liberty
necesse esse. Hoc sentire prudentiae est, facere fortitudinis;
necessary to-be this to-perceive of-good-sense is to-do of-courage
et sentire vero et facere perfectae cumulataeque virtutis.
and to-perceive indeed and to-do of-perfect and-heaped-up virtue
Adiit ad rem publicam tribunus plebis Milo — de 87
approached to the-thing public as-tribune of-the-plebs Milo about
cuius laude plura dicam, non quo aut ipse haec
whose praise more I-shall-say not because either he-himself these-things
dici quam existimari malit aut ego hunc laudis fructum
to-be-said than to-be-thought would-prefer or I this of-praise the-fruit
praesenti libenter impertiam, praesertim cum verbis consequi
to-him-present gladly would-impart especially since by-words to-attain
non possim, sed quod existimo, si Milonis causam accusatoris
not I-could but because I-think if of-Milo the-cause by-the-accuser's
voce conlaudatam probaro, vos in hoc crimine parem Sesti
voice praised I-shall-have-proved you in this charge equal Sestius'
causam existimaturos: adiit igitur T. Annius ad causam
cause going-to-think approached therefore Titus Annius to the-cause
rei publicae sic ut civem patriae reciperare vellet
of-the-thing public so that a-citizen for-his-country to-recover he-wished
ereptum. Simplex causa, constans ratio, plena consensionis
snatched-away simple the-cause consistent the-method full of-the-agreement
omnium, plena concordiae. Conlegas adiutores habebat; consulis
of-all full of-concord colleagues as-helpers he-had of-consul

alterius summum studium, alterius animus paene placatus, de
of-the-one the-highest zeal of-the-other the-mind almost appeased of
praetoribus unus alienus, senatus incredibilis voluntas, equitum
the-praetors one estranged the-senate's incredible goodwill of-the-knights
Romanorum animi ad causam excitati, erecta Italia. Duo soli
Roman the-minds to the-cause roused aroused Italy two alone
erant empti ad impediendum; qui si homines despecti et
were bought for hindering who if men despised and
contempti tantam rem sustinere non potuissent, se causam
contemptible so-great a-thing to-sustain not could himself the-cause
quam susceperat nullo labore peracturum videbat. Agebat
which he-had-undertaken with-no labor going-to-carry-through he-saw he-acted
auctoritate, agebat consilio, agebat per summum ordinem,
by-authority he-acted by-counsel he-acted through the-highest order
agebat exemplo bonorum ac fortium civium: quid re
he-acted by-the-example of-good and brave citizens what of-the-thing
publica, quid se dignum esset, quis ipse esset, quid sperare,
public what of-himself worthy was who himself was what to-hope
quid maioribus suis reddere deberet, diligentissime cogitabat.
what to-ancestors his-own to-render he-ought most-diligently he-considered
88 Huic gravitati hominis videbat ille gladiator se, si moribus
to-this gravity of-the-man saw that gladiator himself if by-morals
ageret, parem esse non posse; ad ferrum, faces, ad
he-acted equal to-be not to-be-able to steel torches to
cotidianam caedem, incendia, rapinas se cum exercitu
daily slaughter burnings plunder himself with army
suo contulit; domum oppugnare, itineribus occurrere, vi
his-own betook his-house to-attack on-his-journeys to-meet-him by-force
lacessere et terrere coepit. Non movit hominem summa
to-provoke and to-terrify he-began not he-moved the-man of-the-highest
gravitate summaque constantia; sed quamquam dolor animi,
gravity and-the-highest steadfastness but although the-grief of-mind

innata libertas, prompta excellensque virtus fortissimum
inborn liberty ready and-outstanding virtue the-bravest
virum hortabatur vi vim, oblatam praesertim saepius,
man urged by-force force offered especially rather-often
ut frangeret et refutaret, tanta moderatio fuit hominis,
that he-should-break and repel so-great the-moderation was of-the-man
tantum consilium, ut contineret dolorem neque eadem
so-great his-counsel that he-restrained his-grief nor by-the-same
se re ulcisceretur qua esset lacessitus, sed illum
himself means avenged by-which he-had-been provoked but him
tot iam in funeribus rei publicae exsultantem ac
so-many now in the-funerals of-the-thing public exulting and
tripudiantem legum, si posset, laqueis constringeret.
dancing of-the-laws if he-could in-the-nooses he-might-bind
Descendit ad accusandum. Quis umquam tam proprie rei 89
he-came-down to accusing who ever so properly of-the-thing
publicae causa, nullis inimicitiis, nullis praemiis, nulla
public for-the-sake with-no enmities with-no rewards with-no
hominum postulatione aut etiam opinione id eum umquam
of-men demand or even expectation that him ever
esse facturum? Fracti erant animi hominis; hoc enim
to-be going-to-do broken were the-spirits of-the-man with-this-man for
accusante pristini illius sui iudici turpitudinem desperabat.
accusing of-former that his-own trial the-disgrace he-despaired-of
Ecce tibi consul, praetor, tribunus plebis nova novi generis
behold for-you a-consul a-praetor a-tribune of-the-plebs new of-a-new kind
edicta proponunt; ne reus adsit, ne citetur,
edicts set-up that-not the-defendant be-present that-not he-be-summoned
ne quaeratur, ne mentionem omnino cuiquam iudicum
that-not he-be-sought that-not mention at-all to-anyone of-judges
aut iudiciorum facere liceat! Quid ageret vir ad virtutem,
or of-courts to-make be-allowed what should-he-do a-man for virtue

dignitatem, gloriam natus vi sceleratorum hominum
dignity glory born with-the-violence of-criminal men
conroborata, legibus iudiciisque sublatis? Cervices tribunus
strengthened with-laws and-courts removed his-neck a-tribune
plebis privato, praestantissimus vir profligatissimo
of-the-plebs to-a-private-man a-most-outstanding man to-a-most-profligate
homini daret? an causam susceptam adfligeret? an se
man should-he-give or the-cause undertaken should-he-ruin or himself
domi contineret? Et vinci turpe putavit et deterreri
at-home should-he-keep both to-be-conquered shameful he-thought and to-be-deterred
et clam eripi: id egit ut, quoniam sibi in
and secretly to-be-snatched-away that he-did that since for-himself against
illum legibus uti non liceret, illius vim neque in suo
him laws to-use not it-was-allowed his violence neither in his-own
neque in rei publicae periculo pertimesceret.
nor in of-the-thing public danger he-should-dread
90 Quo modo igitur hoc in genere praesidi comparati accusas
in-what manner therefore this in kind of-defense got-together do-you-accuse
Sestium, cum idem laudes Milonem? An qui sua tecta
Sestius when the-same you-praise Milo or he-who his-own houses
defendit, qui ab aris focis ferrum flammamque depellit,
defends who from altars and-hearths the-steel and-flame drives-off
qui sibi licere vult tuto esse in foro, in templo, in
who for-himself to-be-allowed wishes safely to-be in the-forum in the-temple in
curia, iure praesidium comparat: qui vulneribus, quae
the-senate-house by-right a-guard gets-together who by-the-wounds which
cernit cotidie toto corpore, monetur ut aliquo praesidio
he-sees daily on-the-whole body is-warned that by-some guard
caput et cervices et iugulum ac latera tutetur, hunc de
his-head and neck and throat and sides be-protected him for
vi accusandum putas?
violence to-be-accused do-you-think

Quis enim nostrum, iudices, ignorat ita naturam rerum 91
who for of-us judges is-ignorant so the-nature of-things
tulisse ut quodam tempore homines nondum neque
to-have-brought that at-a-certain time men not-yet either
naturali neque civili iure descripto fusi per agros ac dispersi
by-natural or by-civil law laid-down scattered through the-fields and dispersed
vagarentur, tantumque haberent quantum manu ac viribus
wandered and-so-much had as-much-as by-hand and strength
per caedem ac vulnera aut eripere aut retinere potuissent?
through slaughter and wounds either to-snatch or to-retain they-had-been-able
Qui igitur primi virtute et consilio praestanti exstiterunt,
those-who therefore first in-virtue and counsel outstanding stood-out
ii perspecto genere humanae docilitatis atque ingeni
they having-perceived the-kind of-human teachableness and of-talent
dissupatos unum in locum congregarunt eosque ex feritate
the-scattered one into place gathered and-them from savagery
illa ad iustitiam atque ad mansuetudinem transduxerunt. Tum
that to justice and to gentleness led-across then
res ad communem utilitatem, quas publicas appellamus,
the-things for the-common advantage which public we-call
tum conventicula hominum, quae postea civitates nominatae
then the-gatherings of-men which afterward states named
sunt, tum domicilia coniuncta, quas urbis dicimus, invento
were then dwellings joined which cities we-call with-invented
et divino iure et humano moenibus saepserunt.
both divine law and human with-walls they-enclosed

Between civilized life and savage life nothing differs so much as law and violence: where the courts fail, violence rules. Milo used the law first and force when he had to, and Sestius did the same in defending his life. While Gabinius plunders Syria and Piso Macedonia, and Clodius' followers walk free, Milo and Sestius are accused. The accuser asked what Cicero's 'breed of optimates' is. There have always been two kinds of men in public life, the popular and the optimates: the first seek to please the crowd, the second to win the approval of the best.

92 Atque inter hanc vitam perpolitam humanitate et illam
and between this life polished by-humanity and that
immanem nihil tam interest quam ius atque vis. Horum
monstrous-one nothing so differs as law and violence of-these
utro uti nolumus, altero est utendum. Vim
which-of-the-two to-use we-are-unwilling the-other is to-be-used violence
volumus exstingui, ius valeat necesse est, id est iudicia,
we-wish to-be-extinguished law prevail necessary it-is that is the-courts
quibus omne ius continetur; iudicia displicent aut nulla sunt,
in-which all law is-contained the-courts displease or none are
vis dominetur necesse est. Hoc vident omnes: Milo et
violence prevail necessary it-is this see all Milo both
vidit et fecit, ut ius experiretur, vim depelleret. Altero uti
saw and did that law he-might-try violence drive-off the-one to-use
voluit, ut virtus audaciam vinceret; altero usus necessario
he-wished that virtue audacity might-conquer the-other he-used necessarily
est, ne virtus ab audacia vinceretur. Eademque ratio fuit
has lest virtue by audacity be-conquered and-the-same the-reasoning was
Sesti, si minus in accusando — neque enim per omnis fuit
of-Sestius if less in accusing nor for through all-men was-it

idem fieri necesse — at certe in necessitate defendendae
the-same to-be-done necessary but certainly in the-necessity of-defending
salutis suae praesidioque contra vim et manum comparando.
safety his-own and-a-guard against violence and hand getting-together
O di immortales! Quemnam ostenditis exitum nobis? quam 93
O gods immortal what do-you-show the-end to-us what
spem rei publicae datis? Quotus quisque invenietur
hope to-the-thing public do-you-give how-few each will-be-found
tanta virtute vir qui optimam quamque causam rei
of-so-great virtue a-man who best every cause of-the-thing
publicae amplectatur, qui bonis viris deserviat, qui solidam
public may-embrace who to-good men may-be-devoted who solid
laudem veramque quaerat? Cum sciat duo illa rei
praise and-true may-seek when he-knows two those of-the-thing
publicae paene fata, Gabinium et Pisonem, alterum haurire
public almost fates Gabinius and Piso the-one to-drain
cotidie ex pacatissimis atque opulentissimis Syriae gazis
daily from the-most-peaceful and most-opulent of-Syria treasures
innumerabile pondus auri, bellum inferre quiescentibus,
an-innumerable weight of-gold war to-bring on-those-at-peace
ut eorum veteres inlibatasque divitias in profundissimum
so-that their old and-untouched riches into the-deepest
libidinum suarum gurgitem profundat, villam aedificare in
of-lusts his-own whirlpool he-may-pour a-villa to-build in
oculis omnium tantam tugurium ut iam videatur esse
the-eyes of-all so-great a-hovel that now it-seems to-be
illa villa quam ipse tribunus plebis pictam olim in
that villa which he-himself as-tribune of-the-plebs painted once in
contionibus explicabat, quo fortissimum ac summum civem
assemblies unfolded by-which the-bravest and highest citizen
in invidiam homo castus ac non cupidus vocaret;
into odium the-man chaste and not greedy might-call

94 alterum Thracibus ac Dardanis primum pacem maxima
the-other to-the-Thracians and Dardanians first peace for-very-great
pecunia vendidisse, deinde, ut illi pecuniam conficere possent,
money to-have-sold then that they the-money to-raise might-be-able
vexandam iis Macedoniam et spoliandam tradidisse,
to-be-harassed to-them Macedonia and to-be-plundered to-have-handed-over
eundemque bona creditorum, civium Romanorum, cum
and-the-same the-goods of-creditors citizens Roman with
debitoribus Graecis divisisse, cogere pecunias maximas a
debtors Greek to-have-divided to-extort sums very-great from
Dyrrachinis, spoliare Thessalos, certam Achaeis in annos
the-Dyrrachians to-plunder the-Thessalians a-fixed-amount on-the-Achaeans for years
singulos pecuniam imperavisse neque tamen ullo in publico
single money to-have-imposed nor still any in public
aut religioso loco signum aut tabulam aut ornamentum
or sacred place a-statue or a-painting or ornament
reliquisse; illos sic inludere quibus omne supplicium atque
to-have-left these so to-mock to-whom every punishment and
omnis iure optimo poena debetur, reos esse hos duos
every by-right best penalty is-owed defendants to-be these two
quos videtis. Omitto iam Numerium, Serranum, Aelium,
whom you-see I-pass-over now Numerius Serranus Aelius
quisquilias seditionis Clodianae; sed tamen hi quoque etiam
the-sweepings of-the-sedition Clodian but still these also even
nunc volitant, ut videtis, nec, dum vos de vobis aliquid
now flit-about as you-see nor while you about yourselves anything
timebitis, illi umquam de se pertimescent.
will-fear they ever about themselves will-dread
95 Nam quid ego de aedili ipso loquar, qui etiam diem dixit
for why I about the-aedile himself should-speak who even a-day named
et accusavit de vi Milonem? Neque hic tamen ulla
and accused for violence Milo nor this-man still by-any

umquam iniuria adducetur ut eum tali virtute tantaque
ever injury will-be-brought that him with-such virtue and-so-great
firmitate animi se in rem publicam fuisse paeniteat;
firmness of-mind himself toward the-thing public to-have-been should-repent
sed qui haec vident adulescentes quonam suas mentis
but those-who these-things see young-men whither their minds
conferent? Ille qui monumenta publica, qui aedis sacras, qui
will-direct he who the-monuments public who the-temples sacred who
domos inimicorum suorum oppugnavit excidit incendit, qui
the-houses of-enemies his-own attacked razed burned who
stipatus semper sicariis, saeptus armatis, munitus indicibus
escorted always by-assassins hedged by-armed-men fortified by-informers
fuit, quorum hodie copia redundat, qui et peregrinam manum
was of-whom today the-supply overflows who both a-foreign band
facinerosorum concitavit et servos ad caedem idoneos emit et
of-criminals stirred-up and slaves for slaughter suitable bought and
in tribunatu carcerem totum in forum effudit, volitat aedilis,
in the-tribunate the-prison whole into the-forum poured-out flits-about as-aedile
accusat eum qui aliqua ex parte eius furorem exsultantem
accuses him who in-some from part his fury exulting
repressit: hic qui se est tutatus sic ut in privata re
checked this-man who himself has protected so that in private affairs
deos penatis suos, in re publica iura tribunatus atque
the-gods household his-own in the-thing public the-rights of-the-tribunate and
auspicia defenderet, accusare eum moderate a quo ipse
auspices he-defended to-accuse him moderately by whom himself
nefarie accusatur per senatus auctoritatem non est situs.
wickedly he-is-accused through the-senate's authority not has been-allowed
Nimirum hoc illud est quod de me potissimum tu in 96
no-doubt this that is which about me above-all you in
accusatione quaesisti, quae esset nostra 'natio optimatium';
the-accusation asked what was our breed of-the-optimates

sic enim dixisti. Rem quaeris praeclaram iuventuti ad
so for you-said a-thing you-ask splendid for-the-youth for
discendum nec mihi difficilem ad perdocendum; de qua
learning nor to-me difficult for teaching-thoroughly about which
pauca, iudices, dicam, et, ut arbitror, nec ab utilitate
a-few-words judges I-shall-say and as I-think neither from the-advantage
eorum qui audient, nec ab officio vestro, nec ab ipsa
of-those who will-hear nor from duty your nor from the-very
causa P. Sesti abhorrebit oratio mea.
case of-Publius Sestius will-be-out-of-keeping speech my
Duo genera semper in hac civitate fuerunt eorum qui versari
two kinds always in this state have-been of-those who to-be-engaged
in re publica atque in ea se excellentius gerere
in the-thing public and in it themselves more-excellently to-conduct
studuerunt; quibus ex generibus alteri se popularis,
have-striven of-which from kinds the-ones themselves popular-men
alteri optimates et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea
the-others optimates both to-be-held and to-be wished those-who the-things
quae faciebant quaeque dicebant multitudini iucunda volebant
which they-did and-which they-said to-the-multitude pleasing wished
esse, populares, qui autem ita se gerebant ut sua
to-be were-popular-men those-who however so themselves conducted that their
consilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates habebantur.
counsels to-best everyone they-commended optimates were-held

The optimates are countless: all who are neither guilty, nor mad, nor ruined at home, of whatever order, freedmen included. Their aim is leisure with dignity, founded on religion, the auspices, the magistrates' powers, the senate's authority, the laws, the courts, credit, the provinces, the allies, and the treasury. Their defenders face many enemies, but Scaurus, Metellus, and Catulus held firm, and Cicero urges the young to take the hard road a poet describes.

Quis ergo iste optimus quisque? Numero, si quaeris, 97
who therefore that best each by-number if you-ask
innumerabiles, neque enim aliter stare possemus; sunt
innumerable nor for otherwise to-stand could-we they-are
principes consili publici, sunt qui eorum sectam
the-leaders of-the-counsel public they-are those-who their school
sequuntur, sunt maximorum ordinum homines, quibus patet
follow they-are of-the-greatest orders men to-whom lies-open
curia, sunt municipales rusticique Romani, sunt
the-senate-house they-are townsmen and-countrymen Roman they-are
negoti gerentes, sunt etiam libertini optimates. Numerus,
of-business conducting they-are even freedmen optimates the-number
ut dixi, huius generis late et varie diffusus est; sed genus
as I-said of-this kind widely and variously spread is but the-kind
universum, ut tollatur error, brevi circumscribi et definiri
whole that be-removed error briefly to-be-circumscribed and to-be-defined
potest. Omnes optimates sunt qui neque nocentes sunt nec
can all optimates are who neither guilty are nor
natura improbi nec furiosi nec malis domesticis impediti. Esto
by-nature wicked nor mad nor by-evils domestic hampered let-it-be
igitur ut ii sint, quam tu 'nationem' appellasti, qui et integri
therefore that they are which you a-breed called who both upright
sunt et sani et bene de rebus domesticis constituti. Horum
are and sane and well in affairs domestic set of-these

qui voluntati, commodis, opinionibus in gubernanda re
those-who to-the-will the-interests the-opinions in steering the-thing
publica serviunt, defensores optimatium ipsique optimates
public are-devoted the-defenders of-the-optimates and-themselves optimates
gravissimi et clarissimi cives numerantur et principes civitatis.
most-weighty and most-famous citizens are-counted and leaders of-the-state
98 Quid est igitur propositum his rei publicae gubernatoribus
what is therefore set-before these of-the-thing public helmsmen
quod intueri et quo cursum suum derigere debeant? Id
which to-look-at and to-which course their-own to-direct they-ought that
quod est praestantissimum maximeque optabile omnibus sanis
which is most-excellent and-most desirable for-all sane
et bonis et beatis, cum dignitate otium. Hoc qui volunt,
and good and happy-men with dignity leisure this who wish
omnes optimates, qui efficiunt, summi viri et conservatores
all are-optimates who achieve-it the-highest men and preservers
civitatis putantur; neque enim rerum gerendarum dignitate
of-the-state are-thought nor for of-things to-be-done by-the-dignity
homines ecferri ita convenit ut otio non prospiciant,
men to-be-carried-away so is-it-fitting that for-leisure not they-provide
neque ullum amplexari otium quod abhorreat a dignitate.
nor any to-embrace leisure which is-out-of-keeping with dignity
Huius autem otiosae dignitatis haec fundamenta sunt, haec
of-this however leisured dignity these the-foundations are these
membra, quae tuenda principibus et vel capitis periculo
the-members which to-be-protected by-the-leaders and even at-the-life's risk
defendenda sunt: religiones, auspicia, potestates magistratuum,
to-be-defended are religious-rites auspices the-powers of-the-magistrates
senatus auctoritas, leges, mos maiorum, iudicia, iuris
the-senate's authority the-laws the-custom of-the-ancestors the-courts of-justice

dictio, fides, provinciae, socii, imperi laus, res
the-administration credit the-provinces the-allies of-the-empire the-praise affairs
militaris, aerarium.
the-military the-treasury
Harum rerum tot atque tantarum esse defensorem 99
of-these things so-many and so-great to-be the-defender
et patronum magni animi est, magni ingeni magnaeque
and patron of-great spirit is of-great talent and-of-great
constantiae. Etenim in tanto civium numero magna multitudo
steadfastness for-indeed in so-great of-citizens number a-great multitude
est eorum qui aut propter metum poenae, peccatorum
is of-those who either on-account-of fear of-punishment of-crimes
suorum conscii, novos motus conversionesque rei
their-own conscious new commotions and-overturnings of-the-thing
publicae quaerant, aut qui propter insitum quendam animi
public seek or who on-account-of implanted a-certain of-mind
furorem discordiis civium ac seditione pascantur, aut qui
fury on-the-discords of-citizens and sedition feed or who
propter implicationem rei familiaris communi incendio
on-account-of the-entanglement of-property domestic in-the-common fire
malint quam suo deflagrare. Qui cum tutores sunt
prefer than in-their-own to-burn-up who when guardians they-have
et duces suorum studiorum vitiorumque nacti, in re
and leaders of-their-own pursuits and-vices obtained in the-thing
publica fluctus excitantur, ut vigilandum sit iis qui
public waves are-raised so-that to-be-watchful it-is for-those who
sibi gubernacula patriae depoposcerunt, enitendumque
for-themselves the-helm of-the-country have-demanded and-to-be-striven
omni scientia ac diligentia ut, conservatis iis quae ego
with-all knowledge and diligence that preserved those-things which I

paulo ante fundamenta ac membra esse dixi, tenere cursum
a-little before foundations and members to-be said to-hold course
possint et capere oti illum portum et dignitatis.
they-may-be-able and to-reach of-leisure that harbor and of-dignity
100 Hanc ego viam, iudices, si aut asperam atque arduam aut
this I road judges if either rough and steep or
plenam esse periculorum aut insidiarum negem, mentiar,
full to-be of-dangers or of-plots I-should-deny I-would-lie
praesertim cum id non modo intellexerim semper, sed etiam
especially since it not only I-have-understood always but also
praeter ceteros senserim.
beyond the-others have-felt
Maioribus praesidiis et copiis oppugnatur res publica
with-greater forces and resources is-attacked the-thing public
quam defenditur, propterea quod audaces homines et
than it-is-defended for-this-reason that audacious men and
perditi nutu impelluntur et ipsi etiam sponte sua
abandoned at-a-nod are-driven and themselves even of-their-own accord
contra rem publicam incitantur, boni nescio quo modo
against the-thing public are-roused the-good I-know-not in-what manner
tardiores sunt et principiis rerum neglectis ad extremum
slower are and with-the-beginnings of-things neglected at the-last
ipsa denique necessitate excitantur, ita ut non numquam
by-the-very finally necessity are-roused so that not never
cunctatione ac tarditate, dum otium volunt etiam sine
by-hesitation and slowness while leisure they-wish even without
dignitate retinere, ipsi utrumque amittant.
dignity to-retain themselves both lose
101 Propugnatores autem rei publicae qui esse voluerunt, si
the-champions however of-the-thing public who to-be have-wished if
leviores sunt, desciscunt, si timidiores, desunt: permanent
more-fickle they-are revolt if more-timid fail-to-appear remain

illi soli atque omnia rei publicae causa perferunt
those alone and all-things of-the-thing public for-the-sake endure
qui sunt tales qualis pater tuus, M. Scaure, fuit, qui
who are such as father your Marcus Scaurus was who
a C. Graccho usque ad Q. Varium seditiosis omnibus
from Gaius Gracchus up to Quintus Varius the-seditious all
restitit, quem numquam ulla vis, ullae minae, ulla invidia
resisted whom never any force any threats any odium
labefecit; aut qualis Q. Metellus, patruus matris tuae, qui
shook or such-as Quintus Metellus uncle of-mother your who
cum florentem hominem in populari ratione, L. Saturninum,
when a-flourishing man in the-popular course Lucius Saturninus
censor notasset, cumque insitivum Gracchum contra vim
as-censor had-marked and-when the-grafted Gracchus against the-violence
multitudinis incitatae censu prohibuisset, cumque in
of-the-multitude roused from-the-census had-kept and-when to
eam legem quam non iure rogatam iudicarat iurare unus
that law which not by-right proposed he-had-judged to-swear alone
noluisset, de civitate maluit quam de sententia demoveri;
he-had-refused from the-state he-preferred than from his-opinion to-be-moved
aut, ut vetera exempla, quorum est copia digna huius
or that the-old examples of-which there-is an-abundance worthy of-this
imperi gloria, relinquam, neve eorum aliquem qui vivunt
empire's glory I-may-leave nor of-them anyone who live
nominem, qualis nuper Q. Catulus fuit, quem neque
I-may-name such-as lately Quintus Catulus was whom neither
periculi tempestas neque honoris aura potuit umquam de
of-danger the-storm nor of-honor the-breeze could ever from
suo cursu aut spe aut metu demovere.
his-own course either by-hope or by-fear to-move

102 Haec imitamini, per deos immortalis, qui dignitatem,
these imitate by the-gods immortal you-who dignity
qui laudem, qui gloriam quaeritis! Haec ampla sunt, haec
who praise who glory seek these ample are these
divina, haec immortalia; haec fama celebrantur, monumentis
divine these immortal these by-fame are-celebrated to-the-records
annalium mandantur, posteritati propagantur. Est labor,
of-the-annals are-entrusted to-posterity are-propagated there-is labor
non nego; pericula magna, fateor;
not I-deny dangers great I-confess

multae insidiae sunt bonis
many plots there-are for-the-good

verissime dictum est; sed te
most-truly said it-has-been but you

id quod multi invideant multique expetant inscitiast,
that which many may-envy and-many may-seek it-is-folly

inquit,
he-says

postulare, nisi laborem summa cum cura ecferas.
to-demand unless the-labor the-highest with care you-bring-forth

Nollem idem alio loco dixisset, quod exciperent
I-would-wish-not the-same in-another place he-had-said which might-catch-up
improbi cives,
the-wicked citizens

oderint, dum metuant;
let-them-hate provided they-fear

praeclara enim illa praecepta dederat iuventuti.
splendid for those precepts he-had-given to-the-youth
Sed tamen haec via ac ratio rei publicae capessendae olim 103
but still this road and method of-the-thing public to-be-taken-up once
erat magis pertimescenda, cum multis in rebus multitudinis
was more to-be-dreaded when many in things the-multitude's
studium aut populi commodum ab utilitate rei publicae
zeal or the-people's advantage from the-benefit of-the-thing public
discrepabat. Tabellaria lex ab L. Cassio ferebatur: populus
differed the-ballot law by Lucius Cassius was-being-carried the-people
libertatem agi putabat suam; dissentiebant principes et
liberty to-be-at-stake thought its-own dissented the-leaders and
in salute optimatium temeritatem multitudinis et tabellae
in the-safety of-the-optimates the-rashness of-the-multitude and of-the-ballot
licentiam pertimescebant. Agrariam Ti. Gracchus legem
the-license dreaded the-agrarian Tiberius Gracchus law
ferebat: grata erat populo; fortunae constitui tenuiorum
was-carrying welcome it-was to-the-people the-fortunes to-be-established of-the-poorer
videbantur; nitebantur contra optimates, quod et discordiam
seemed strove against-it the-optimates because both discord
excitari videbant et, cum locupletes possessionibus diuturnis
to-be-roused they-saw and since the-wealthy from-possessions long-held
moverentur, spoliari rem publicam propugnatoribus
were-moved to-be-stripped the-thing public of-champions

arbitrabantur. Frumentariam legem C. Gracchus ferebat:
they-thought the-grain law Gaius Gracchus was-carrying
iucunda res plebei, victus enim suppeditabatur large sine
a-pleasant thing for-the-plebs food for was-supplied abundantly without
labore; repugnabant boni, quod et ab industria plebem ad
labor resisted the-good because both from industry the-plebs to
desidiam avocari putabant et aerarium exhauriri videbant.
idleness to-be-called-away they-thought and the-treasury to-be-drained they-saw

XIX · THE PEOPLE AND ITS ASSEMBLIES

Once the people's wishes often differed from the leaders' counsel, and the Gracchi and Saturninus drew crowds without paying them; now the people is at one with the good, so seditious men hire their assemblies. The Roman people's true judgment shows itself in the assembly, the elections, and the games. Clodius' assemblies were hired; the assembly Lentulus called, where Pompey spoke, heard Cicero's cause in silence and approval; and when the law for his recall went to the centuries, every citizen claimed to have voted.

104 Multa etiam nostra memoria, quae consulto praetereo,
many-things also in-our memory which deliberately I-pass-over
fuerunt in ea contentione ut popularis cupiditas a consilio
were in that contest so-that popular desire from the-counsel
principum dissideret. Nunc iam nihil est quod populus
of-the-leaders differed now already nothing is in-which the-people
a delectis principibusque dissentiat: nec flagitat rem
from the-chosen and-leading-men should-dissent nor does-it-demand thing
ullam neque novarum rerum est cupidus et otio suo et
any nor of-new things is-it desirous and in-leisure its-own and
dignitate optimi cuiusque et universae rei publicae gloria
in-the-dignity of-best everyone and of-the-whole thing public in-the-glory

delectatur. Itaque homines seditiosi ac turbulenti, quia nulla
is-delighted and-so men seditious and turbulent because by-no
iam largitione populum Romanum concitare possunt, quod
now largess the-people Roman to-stir-up they-can since
plebes perfuncta gravissimis seditionibus ac discordiis
the-plebs having-come-through most-grievous seditions and discords
otium amplexatur, conductas habent contiones, neque id
leisure embraces hired they-have assemblies nor that
agunt ut ea dicant aut ferant quae illi velint audire
do-they-do that those-things they-may-say or propose which they wish to-hear
qui in contione sunt, sed pretio ac mercede perficiunt
who in the-assembly are but by-price and pay they-bring-it-about
ut, quicquid dicant, id illi velle audire videantur.
that whatever they-say that they to-wish to-hear may-seem
Num vos existimatis Gracchos aut Saturninum aut quemquam 105
surely-not you think the-Gracchi or Saturninus or anyone
illorum veterum qui populares habebantur ullum umquam
of-those old who popular-men were-held any ever
in contione habuisse conductum? Nemo habuit; ipsa enim
in an-assembly to-have-had hired no-one had-one the-very for
largitio et spes commodi propositi sine mercede ulla
largess and the-hope of-advantage set-forth without pay any
multitudinem concitabat. Itaque temporibus illis, qui populares
the-multitude roused and-so in-times those who popular-men
erant, offendebant illi quidem apud gravis et honestos homines,
were gave-offense they indeed among weighty and honorable men
sed populi iudiciis atque omni significatione florebant.
but in-the-people's judgments and every sign flourished
His in theatro plaudebatur, hi suffragiis quod contenderant
to-these in the-theater it-was-applauded these by-votes what they-had-striven-for
consequebantur, horum homines nomen, orationem, vultum,
attained of-these men the-name the-speech the-face

incessum amabant. Qui autem adversabantur ei generi,
the-gait loved those-who however opposed that kind
graves et magni homines habebantur; sed valebant in senatu
weighty and great men were-held but they-availed in the-senate
multum, apud bonos viros plurimum, multitudini iucundi non
much with good men most to-the-multitude pleasing not
erant; suffragiis offendebatur saepe eorum voluntas; plausum
they-were by-votes was-thwarted often their will applause
vero etiam si quis eorum aliquando acceperat, ne quid
indeed even if any of-them ever had-received lest anything
peccasset pertimescebat. Ac tamen, si quae res erat maior,
he-had-done-wrong he-feared and still if any matter was greater
idem ille populus horum auctoritate maxime commovebatur.
same that people by-their authority most was-moved
106 Nunc, nisi me fallit, in eo statu civitas est ut, si
now unless me it-deceives in that condition the-state is that if
operas conductorum removeris, omnes idem de re
the-gangs of-hirelings you-will-have-removed all the-same about the-thing
publica sensuri esse videantur. Etenim tribus locis significari
public going-to-feel to-be would-seem for-indeed in-three places to-be-shown
maxime de re publica populi Romani iudicium ac
most about the-thing public of-the-people Roman the-judgment and
voluntas potest, contione, comitiis, ludorum gladiatorumque
will can in-the-assembly in-the-elections of-games and-of-gladiators
consessu. Quae contio fuit per hos annos, quae quidem
in-the-seated-crowd what assembly was through these years which indeed
esset non conducta sed vera, in qua populi Romani
was not hired but true in which of-the-people Roman
consensus non perspici posset? Habitae sunt multae de me
the-consensus not to-be-seen could held were many about me
a gladiatore sceleratissimo, ad quas nemo adibat incorruptus,
by a-gladiator most-criminal to which no-one went uncorrupted

nemo integer; nemo illum foedum vultum aspicere, nemo
no-one upright no-one that foul face to-look-at no-one
furialem vocem bonus audire poterat. Erant illae contiones
the-fury-like voice good to-hear could were those assemblies
perditorum hominum necessario turbulentae.
of-abandoned men necessarily turbulent
Habuit de eodem me P. Lentulus consul contionem: 107
held about the-same me Publius Lentulus the-consul an-assembly
concursus est populi Romani factus; omnes ordines, tota
a-concourse was of-the-people Roman made all orders all
in illa contione Italia constitit. Egit causam summa
in that assembly Italy stood he-pleaded the-cause the-highest
cum gravitate copiaque dicendi tanto silentio, tanta
with gravity and-abundance of-speaking with-so-great silence with-so-great
adprobatione omnium, nihil ut umquam videretur tam
approval of-all nothing that ever seemed so
populare ad populi Romani auris accidisse. Productus
popular to of-the-people Roman the-ears to-have-fallen brought-forward
est ab eo Cn. Pompeius, qui se non solum auctorem
was by him Gnaeus Pompey who himself not only the-author
meae salutis, sed etiam supplicem populo Romano praebuit.
of-my safety but also a-suppliant to-the-people Roman showed
Huius oratio ut semper gravis et grata in contionibus
of-this-man the-speech as always weighty and welcome in assemblies
fuit, sic contendo numquam neque sententiam eius auctoritate
was so I-maintain never either opinion his in-authority
neque eloquentiam iucunditate fuisse maiore.
or eloquence in-pleasantness to-have-been greater
Quo silentio sunt auditi de me ceteri principes civitatis! 108
in-what silence were heard about me the-other leaders of-the-state
Quos idcirco non appello hoc loco ne mea oratio, si minus
whom for-this-reason not I-name in-this place lest my speech if less

de aliquo dixero, ingrata, si satis de omnibus, infinita
about anyone I-shall-have-said ungrateful if enough about all endless
esse videatur. Cedo nunc eiusdem illius inimici mei de me
to-be may-seem give-me now of-the-same that enemy my about me
eodem ad verum populum in campo Martio contionem!
the-same to the-true people in the-Campus Martius the-assembly
Quis non modo adprobavit, sed non indignissimum facinus
who not only approved but not a-most-shameful deed
putavit illum non dicam loqui, sed vivere ac spirare? Quis
thought him not I-shall-say to-speak but to-live and to-breathe who
fuit qui non eius voce maculari rem publicam, seque
was-there who not by-his voice to-be-stained the-thing public and-himself
si eum audiret scelere adstringi arbitraretur?
if him he-heard by-crime to-be-bound thought

109 Venio ad comitia, sive magistratuum placet sive legum. Leges
I-come to the-elections whether of-magistrates it-pleases or of-laws laws
videmus saepe ferri multas. Omitto eas quae feruntur ita
we-see often to-be-carried many I-pass-over those which are-carried so
vix ut quini, et ii ex aliena tribu, qui suffragium ferant
scarcely that five-each and they from another's tribe who a-vote may-cast
reperiantur. De me, quem tyrannum atque ereptorem libertatis
are-found about me whom a-tyrant and snatcher of-liberty
esse dicebat illa ruina rei publicae, dicit se legem
to-be said that ruin of-the-thing public he-says himself a-law
tulisse. Quis est qui se, cum contra me ferebatur,
to-have-carried who is-there who himself when against me it-was-carried
inisse suffragium confiteatur? Cum autem de me eodem
to-have-gone-in to-vote would-confess when however about me the-same
ex senatus consulto comitiis centuriatis ferebatur, quis
from of-the-senate a-decree in-the-assembly centuriate it-was-carried who
est qui non profiteatur se adfuisse et suffragium
is-there who not would-declare himself to-have-been-present and a-vote

de salute mea tulisse? Utra igitur causa popularis
for the-safety my to-have-cast which-of-the-two therefore cause popular
debet videri: in qua omnes honestates civitatis, omnes
ought to-seem in which all the-honorable-men of-the-state all
aetates, omnes ordines una consentiunt, an in qua furiae
ages all orders together agree or in which furies
concitatae tamquam ad funus rei publicae convolant?
roused as-if to the-funeral of-the-thing public fly-together

XX · GELLIUS AND THE ELECTIONS

If Gellius, a glutton who squandered his inheritance and married a freedwoman to seem a friend of the plebs, stands somewhere in an assembly, does that make it popular? He voted against Cicero and feasted with the parricides. At the elections the people made praetors of two tribunes not thought popular, Domitius and Ancharius, and turned away the two popular ones: the people itself, Cicero says, is no longer popular.

An sicubi aderit Gellius, homo et fratre indignus, 110
or if-anywhere will-be-present Gellius a-man both of-his-brother unworthy
viro clarissimo atque optimo consule, et ordine equestri,
a-man most-famous and best consul and of-the-order equestrian
cuius ille ordinis nomen retinet, ornamenta confecit,
of-which he order the-name retains the-ornaments he-has-consumed
id erit populare? 'Est enim homo iste populo Romano
that will-be popular is for man that to-the-people Roman
deditus.' Nihil vidi magis; qui, cum eius adulescentia in
devoted nothing have-I-seen more who although his youth in
amplissimis honoribus summi viri, L. Philippi vitrici,
the-most-ample honors of-the-highest man Lucius Philippus his-stepfather
florere potuisset, usque eo non fuit popularis ut bona solus
to-flourish could-have so far not he-was popular that his-goods alone

comesset; deinde ex impuro adulescente et petulante, postea
he-ate-up then from a-foul youth and insolent afterward
quam rem paternam ab idiotarum divitiis ad philosophorum
that his-property paternal from of-laymen the-riches to of-the-philosophers
reculam perduxit, Graeculum se atque otiosum putari
the-little-store he-brought a-Greekling himself and leisured to-be-thought
voluit, studio litterarum se subito dedidit. Nihil sane
he-wished to-the-pursuit of-letters himself suddenly he-gave nothing indeed
Actaei iuvabant anagnostae, libelli pro vino etiam saepe
the-Attic helped readers his-little-books for wine even often
oppignerabantur; manebat insaturabile abdomen, copiae
were-pawned remained the-insatiable belly the-supplies
deficiebant. Itaque semper versabatur in spe rerum novarum,
failed and-so always he-was-engaged in the-hope of-things new
otio et tranquillitate rei publicae consenescebat.
in-the-leisure and tranquility of-the-thing public he-was-growing-old
Ecquae seditio umquam fuit in qua non ille princeps? Ecqui
any sedition ever was in which not he the-leader any
seditiosus cui ille non familiaris? ecquae turbulenta contio
seditious-man to-whom he not intimate any turbulent assembly
cuius ille non concitator? Cui bene dixit umquam
of-which he not the-instigator to-whom well did-he-speak ever
bono? bene dixit? Immo quem fortem et bonum
to-a-good-man well did-he-speak nay whom brave and good
civem non petulantissime est insectatus? qui, ut credo, non
citizen not most-insolently he-has pursued who as I-believe not
libidinis causa, sed ut plebicola videretur, libertinam
of-lust for-the-sake but that a-friend-of-the-plebs he-might-seem a-freedwoman
duxit uxorem.
married as-wife

Is de me suffragium tulit, is adfuit, is interfuit epulis 111
he about me a-vote cast he was-present he took-part in-the-feasts
et gratulationibus parricidarum; in quo tamen est me
and congratulations of-the-parricides in which still has me
ultus, cum illo ore inimicos est meos saviatus. Qui
avenged when with-that mouth enemies he-has my kissed who
quasi mea culpa bona perdiderit, ita ob eam ipsam
as-if by-my fault his-goods he-had-lost so on-account-of that very
causam est mihi inimicus, quia nihil habet. Utrum ego
reason is to-me hostile because nothing he-has whether I
tibi patrimonium eripui, Gelli, an tu comedisti? Quid?
from-you your-patrimony snatched Gellius or you ate-it-up what
Tu meo periculo, gurges ac vorago patrimoni, helluabare,
you at-my danger whirlpool and abyss of-patrimony were-gorging
ut, si ego consul rem publicam contra te et gregalis
that if I as-consul the-thing public against you and fellows
tuos defendissem, in civitate esse me nolles? Te nemo
your had-defended in the-state to-be me you-would-not-wish you no-one
tuorum videre vult, omnes aditum, sermonem, congressum
of-your-own to-see wishes all the-approach the-talk the-meeting
tuum fugiunt: te sororis filius Postumius, adulescens
your flee you of-your-sister the-son Postumius a-young-man
gravis, senili iudicio, notavit, cum in magno numero
weighty with-an-old-man's judgment branded when in a-great number
tutorem liberis non instituit. Sed elatus odio et
as-guardian for-his-children not he-appointed-you but carried-away by-hatred both
meo et rei publicae nomine, quorum ille utri
in-my and of-the-thing public name of-which he to-which-of-the-two
sit inimicior nescio, plura dixi quam dicendum fuit
is more-hostile I-know-not more-things I-have-said than to-be-said was
in furiosissimum atque egentissimum ganeonem.
against a-most-furious and most-needy glutton

112 Illuc revertor: contra me cum sit actum, capta urbe
thither I-return against me when it-was done with-captured city
atque oppressa, Gellium, Firmidium, Titium, eiusdem modi
and crushed Gellius Firmidius Titius of-the-same kind
furias illis mercennariis gregibus duces et auctores fuisse,
furies for-those hired herds leaders and backers to-have-been
cum ipse lator nihil ab horum turpitudine, audacia,
when himself the-proposer nothing from their disgrace audacity
sordibus abhorreret. At cum de dignitate mea ferebatur,
squalor shrank but when about dignity my it-was-carried
nemo sibi nec valetudinis excusationem nec senectutis
no-one for-himself neither of-health the-excuse nor of-old-age
satis iustam putavit; nemo fuit qui se non rem
enough just thought no-one there-was who himself not the-thing
publicam mecum simul revocare in suas sedis arbitraretur.
public with-me together to-recall to its-own seats thought
113 Videamus nunc comitia magistratuum. Fuit conlegium
let-us-see now the-elections of-magistrates there-was a-college
nuper tribunicium, in quo tres minime, vehementer
lately tribunician in which three least vehemently
duo populares existimabantur. Ex iis qui populares non
two popular-men were-thought of those who popular-men not
habebantur, quibus in illo genere conductarum contionum
were-held to-whom in that kind of-hired assemblies
consistendi potestas non erat, duo a populo Romano
of-standing the-power not was two by the-people Roman
praetores video esse factos; et, quantum sermonibus
praetors I-see to-have-been made and as-far-as from-the-talk
vulgi et suffragiis intellegere potui, prae se populus
of-the-crowd and from-the-votes to-understand I-could before itself the-people
Romanus ferebat sibi illum in tribunatu Cn. Domiti
Roman bore to-itself that in the-tribunate of-Gnaeus Domitius

animum constantem et egregium et Q. Anchari
spirit steadfast and outstanding and of-Quintus Ancharius
fidem ac fortitudinem, etiam si nihil agere potuissent,
the-good-faith and courage even if nothing to-do they-could-have
tamen voluntate ipsa gratum fuisse. Iam de C. Fannio
still by-the-will itself welcome to-have-been now about Gaius Fannius
quae sit existimatio videmus: quod iudicium populi Romani
what is the-estimation we-see what the-judgment of-the-people Roman
in honoribus eius futurum sit, nemini dubium esse debet.
in the-offices his going-to-be is to-no-one doubtful to-be ought
Quid? Populares illi duo quid egerunt? Alter, qui tamen 114
what popular-men those two what did-they-do the-one who still
se continuerat, tulerat nihil, senserat tantum de re
himself had-restrained had-carried nothing had-felt only about the-thing
publica aliud atque homines exspectabant, vir et bonus
public otherwise than men expected a-man both good
et innocens et bonis viris semper probatus, quod parum
and innocent and to-good men always approved because too-little
videlicet intellexit in tribunatu quid vero populo probaretur,
evidently he-understood in the-tribunate what indeed to-the-people was-approved
et quod illum esse populum Romanum qui in contione erat
and because that to-be the-people Roman which in the-assembly was
arbitrabatur, non tenuit eum locum in quem, nisi popularis
he-thought not he-held that place into which unless popular
esse voluisset, facillime pervenisset. Alter, qui ita se in
to-be he-had-wished most-easily he-would-have-arrived the-other who so himself in
populari ratione iactarat ut auspicia, legem Aeliam, senatus
the-popular course had-flaunted that the-auspices the-law Aelian the-senate's
auctoritatem, consulem, conlegas, bonorum iudicium nihili
authority the-consul his-colleagues of-the-good the-judgment worth-nothing
putaret, aedilitatem petivit cum bonis viris et hominibus
he-thought the-aedileship sought with good men and men

primis sed non praestantissimis opibus et gratia: tribum suam
leading but not most-outstanding in-resources and influence tribe his-own
non tulit, Palatinam denique, per quam omnes illae pestes
not he-carried the-Palatine finally through which all those plagues
vexare rem publicam dicebantur, perdidit, nec quicquam illis
to-harass the-thing public were-said he-lost nor anything at-those
comitiis quod boni viri vellent nisi repulsam tulit. Videtis
elections which good men wished except repulse he-carried you-see
igitur populum ipsum, ut ita dicam, iam non esse popularem,
therefore the-people itself so as I-may-say now not to-be popular
qui ita vehementer eos qui populares habentur respuat, eos
since so vehemently those who popular-men are-held it-spits-out those
autem qui ei generi adversantur honore dignissimos iudicet.
however who to-that kind are-opposed of-office most-worthy it-judges

XXI · THE GAMES AND THE THEATER

At the games the people's feeling is plain. When the senate's decree for Cicero was announced in the theater, the crowd applauded the senate and the consul; Clodius, coming in, was nearly torn apart. The actors themselves turned the plays against him, and the poet's lines were sung as if written of Cicero.

115 Veniamus ad ludos; facit enim, iudices, vester iste in me
let-us-come to the-games makes for judges your that upon me
animorum oculorumque coniectus ut mihi iam licere putem
of-minds and-of-eyes casting that to-me now to-be-allowed I-think
remissiore uti genere dicendi. Comitiorum et contionum
a-more-relaxed to-use kind of-speaking of-the-elections and of-the-assemblies
significationes sunt interdum verae, sunt non numquam vitiatae
the-signs are sometimes true are not never vitiated
atque corruptae; theatrales gladiatoriique consessus dicuntur
and corrupted the-theatrical and-gladiatorial seated-crowds are-said

omnino solere levitate non nullorum emptos plausus exilis
altogether to-be-wont by-the-levity not of-none bought applause thin
et raros excitare; ac tamen facile est, cum id fit, quem
and scattered to-raise and still easy it-is when that happens in-what
ad modum et a quibus fiat, et quid integra multitudo
to manner and by whom it-is-done and what an-uncorrupted multitude
faciat videre. Quid ego nunc dicam quibus viris aut cui
does to-see why I now should-say to-which men or to-what
generi civium maxime plaudatur? Neminem vestrum fallit.
kind of-citizens most applause-is-given no-one of-you it-escapes
Sit hoc sane leve, quod non ita est, quoniam optimo
let-be this certainly light which not so is since to-best
cuique impertitur; sed, si est leve, homini gravi leve est,
everyone it-is-given but if it-is light to-a-man weighty light it-is
ei vero qui pendet rebus levissimis, qui rumore et, ut
to-him indeed who hangs on-things most-light who by-rumor and as
ipsi loquuntur, favore populi tenetur et ducitur,
they-themselves say by-favor of-the-people is-held and is-led
plausum immortalitatem, sibilum mortem videri necesse est.
applause immortality hissing death to-seem necessary it-is
Ex te igitur, Scaure, potissimum quaero, qui ludos 116
from you therefore Scaurus above-all I-ask who games
apparatissimos magnificentissimosque fecisti, ecquis istorum
most-lavish and-most-magnificent made whether-any of-those
popularium tuos ludos aspexerit, ecquis se theatro
popular-men your games looked-at whether-any himself to-the-theater
populoque Romano commiserit. Ipse ille maxime ludius,
and-the-people Roman entrusted he-himself that most-of-all a-player
non solum spectator sed actor et acroama, qui omnia sororis
not only a-spectator but an-actor and a-musician who all of-his-sister
embolia novit, qui in coetum mulierum pro psaltria
the-interludes knows who into the-gathering of-women as a-harp-girl

adducitur, nec tuos ludos aspexit in illo ardenti tribunatu suo
is-brought nor your games looked-at in that blazing tribunate his-own
nec ullos alios nisi eos a quibus vix vivus effugit. Semel,
nor any others except those from which scarcely alive he-escaped once
inquam, se ludis homo popularis commisit omnino, cum
I-say himself to-the-games the-man popular entrusted at-all when
in templo virtutis honos habitus esset virtuti, Gaique Mari,
in the-temple of-Virtue honor paid had-been to-virtue and-of-Gaius Marius
conservatoris huius imperi, monumentum municipi eius et
the-preserver of-this empire the-monument for-a-townsman of-his and
rei publicae defensori sedem ad salutem praebuisset.
of-the-thing public for-the-defender a-seat for safety had-provided
117 Quo quidem tempore quid populus Romanus sentire se
at-which indeed time what the-people Roman to-feel itself
ostenderet utroque in genere declaratum est: primum cum
showed in-each in kind declared it-was first when
audito senatus consulto rei ipsi atque absenti senatui
with-heard of-the-senate the-decree to-the-thing itself and to-the-absent senate
plausus est ab universis datus, deinde cum senatoribus singulis
applause was by all given then when to-the-senators single
spectatum e senatu redeuntibus: cum vero ipse qui ludos
to-the-show from the-senate returning when indeed himself who the-games
faciebat consul adsedit, stantes ei manibus passis gratias
was-giving the-consul sat-down standing to-him with-hands outstretched thanks
agentes et lacrimantes gaudio suam erga me benivolentiam
giving and weeping for-joy their-own toward me goodwill
ac misericordiam declararunt. At cum ille furibundus incitata
and pity declared but when he furious with-roused
illa sua vaecordi mente venisset, vix se populus Romanus
that his-own frenzied mind had-come scarcely itself the-people Roman
tenuit, vix homines odium suum a corpore eius impuro
restrained scarcely men hatred their-own from body his foul

atque infando represserunt; voces quidem et palmarum
and unspeakable held-back voices indeed and of-palms
intentus et maledictorum clamorem omnes profuderunt.
the-threatening and of-curses the-clamor all poured-out
Sed quid ego populi Romani animum virtutemque 118
but why I of-the-people Roman the-spirit and-virtue
commemoro, libertatem iam ex diuturna servitute dispicientis,
recall liberty now out-of long slavery discerning
in eo homine cui tum petenti iam aedilitatem ne histriones
in that man whom then seeking already the-aedileship not the-actors
quidem coram sedenti pepercerunt? Nam cum ageretur
even in-his-presence sitting spared for when was-being-acted
togata Simulans, ut opinor, caterva tota clarissima
a-Roman-comedy the-Pretender as I-think the-troupe whole in-most-famous
concentione in ore impuri hominis imminens contionata est:
unison in the-face of-the-foul man leaning-over harangued has

huic, Tite,
to-this-man Titus
tua post principia atque exitus vitiosae vitae—!
your after beginnings and ends of-vicious life

Sedebat exanimatus, et is qui antea cantorum convicio
he-sat breathless and he who before with-the-singers' abuse
contiones celebrare suas solebat cantorum ipsorum vocibus
assemblies to-crowd his-own was-wont by-the-singers' themselves voices
eiciebatur. Et quoniam facta mentio est ludorum, ne
was-thrown-out and since made mention has-been of-the-games not
illud quidem praetermittam, in magna varietate sententiarum
that even shall-I-pass-over in great variety of-sentiments
numquam ullum fuisse locum, in quo aliquid a poeta
never any to-have-been passage in which something by the-poet

dictum cadere in tempus nostrum videretur, quod aut
said to-fall into time our might-seem which either
populum universum fugeret aut non exprimeret ipse actor.
the-people whole escaped or not brought-out himself the-actor
119 Et quaeso hoc loco, iudices, ne qua levitate me ductum
and I-pray in-this place judges lest by-any levity me led
ad insolitum genus dicendi labi putetis, si de poetis,
into an-unaccustomed kind of-speaking to-slip you-think if about poets
de histrionibus, de ludis in iudicio loquar.
about actors about games in court I-speak
Non sum tam ignarus, iudices, causarum, non tam insolens
not am-I so ignorant judges of-cases not so unaccustomed
in dicendo, ut omni ex genere orationem aucuper et omnis
in speaking that every from kind speech I-should-hunt and all
undique flosculos carpam atque delibem. Scio quid gravitas
from-everywhere little-flowers pluck and sip I-know what gravity
vestra, quid haec advocatio, quid ille conventus, quid
your what this assembly-of-supporters what that gathering what
dignitas P. Sesti, quid periculi magnitudo, quid aetas, quid
the-dignity of-Publius Sestius what of-the-danger the-magnitude what age what
honos meus postulet. Sed mihi sumpsi hoc loco doctrinam
office my demands but for-myself I-took in-this place teaching
quandam iuventuti, qui essent optimates. In ea explicanda
a-certain for-the-youth who were optimates in it being-unfolded
demonstrandum est non esse popularis omnis eos qui putentur.
to-be-shown it-is not to-be popular-men all those who are-thought
Id facillime consequar, si universi populi iudicium verum
that most-easily I-shall-achieve if of-the-whole people the-judgment true
et incorruptum et si intimos sensus civitatis expressero.
and uncorrupted and if the-inmost feelings of-the-state I-shall-have-expressed

Quid fuit illud quod, recenti nuntio de illo senatus consulto 120
what was that that with-fresh news about that of-the-senate decree
quod factum est in templo virtutis ad ludos scaenamque
which made was in the-temple of-Virtue to the-games and-stage
perlato, consessu maximo summus artifex et me
brought with-the-seated-crowd very-great the-highest artist and so-help-me
hercule semper partium in re publica tam quam in
Hercules always of-the-parties in the-thing public as-much as on
scaena optimarum, flens et recenti laetitia et mixto
the-stage the-best weeping both with-fresh joy and with-mingled
dolore ac desiderio mei, egit apud populum Romanum
grief and longing for-me pleaded before the-people Roman
multo gravioribus verbis meam causam quam egomet de me
much weightier words my case than I-myself about myself
agere potuissem? Summi enim poetae ingenium non solum
to-plead could-have of-the-highest for poet the-genius not only
arte sua, sed etiam dolore exprimebat. Qua enim vi:
by-art his-own but also by-grief he-expressed with-what for force

qui rem publicam certo animo adiuverit,
who the-thing public with-sure mind helped
statuerit, steterit cum Achivis —
established stood-firm with the-Achaeans

vobiscum me stetisse dicebat, vestros ordines demonstrabat!
with-you me to-have-stood-firm he-said your ranks he-pointed-out
Revocabatur ab universis —
he-was-called-back by all

re dubia
in-a-thing doubtful
haut dubitarit vitam offerre nec capiti pepercerit.
not hesitated life to-offer nor head spared

XXII · AESOPUS AND ACCIUS

The great actor Aesopus, weeping, pleaded Cicero's cause through Accius' verses, pointing out the senate, the knights, and the people as those who let a friend be exiled, and the line on Tullius who established liberty was encored a thousand times. At Scipio's gladiatorial show Sestius was applauded from every stand, while the praetor who had asked hired crowds whether Cicero should return crept in under the seats, and the hissing frightened even the gladiators' horses.

121 Haec quantis ab illo clamoribus agebantur! Cum iam
these with-how-great by him shouts were-acted when now
omisso gestu verbis poetae et studio actoris et
with-omitted gesture the-words of-the-poet and the-zeal of-the-actor and
exspectationi nostrae plauderetur:
the-expectation our were-applauded

summum amicum summo in bello —
the-highest friend the-highest in war

nam illud ipse actor adiungebat amico animo et fortasse
for that himself the-actor added with-friendly mind and perhaps
homines propter aliquod desiderium adprobabant:
men on-account-of some longing approved

summo ingenio praeditum.
with-the-highest talent endowed

Iam illa quanto cum gemitu populi Romani ab eodem
now those-lines how-great with groaning of-the-people Roman by the-same
paulo post in eadem fabula sunt acta!
a-little after in the-same play were acted

O pater —
O father

me, me ille absentem ut patrem deplorandum putabat,
me me he absent as a-father to-be-lamented thought
quem Q. Catulus, quem multi alii saepe in senatu
whom Quintus Catulus whom many others often in the-senate
patrem patriae nominarant. Quanto cum fletu de illis
father of-the-country had-named how-great with weeping about those
nostris incendiis ac ruinis, cum patrem pulsum, patriam
our burnings and ruins when the-father driven-out the-country
adflictam deploraret, domum incensam eversamque, sic egit
afflicted he-lamented the-house burned and-overturned so he-acted
ut, demonstrata pristina fortuna, cum se convertisset,
that with-shown former fortune when himself he-had-turned

haec omnia vidi inflammari
these all I-saw to-be-set-on-fire

fletum etiam inimicis atque invidis excitaret!
weeping even in-enemies and the-envious he-roused

122 Pro di immortales! Quid? Illa quem ad modum dixit idem!
O gods immortal what those in-what to manner said the-same-man

Quae mihi quidem ita et acta et scripta videntur esse ut
which to-me indeed so both acted and written seem to-be that

vel a Q. Catulo, si revixisset, praeclare posse dici
even by Quintus Catulus if he-had-revived splendidly to-be-able to-be-said

viderentur; is enim libere reprehendere et accusare populi
they-would-seem he for freely to-censure and to-accuse of-the-people

non numquam temeritatem solebat aut errorem senatus:
not never the-rashness was-wont or the-error of-the-senate

O ingratifici Argivi, immunes Graii, immemores benefici!
O ungrateful Argives thankless Greeks unmindful of-kindness

Non erat illud quidem verum; non enim ingrati, sed miseri,
not was that indeed true not for ungrateful but wretched

quibus reddere salutem a quo acceperant non
to-whom to-render safety to-him-from whom they-had-received-it not

liceret, nec unus in quemquam umquam gratior
it-was-allowed nor one-man toward anyone ever more-grateful

quam in me universi; sed tamen illud scripsit disertissimus
than toward me all but still that wrote the-most-eloquent

poeta pro me, egit fortissimus actor, non solum optimus,
poet for me pleaded the-bravest actor not only the-best

de me, cum omnis ordines demonstraret, senatum, equites
about me when all orders he-pointed-out the-senate the-knights
Romanos, universum populum Romanum accusaret:
Roman the-whole people Roman he-accused

exsulare sinitis, sistis pelli, pulsum patimini!
to-be-in-exile you-allow you-let-him to-be-driven-out driven-out you-suffer-him

Quae tum significatio fuerit omnium, quae declaratio voluntatis
what then the-sign was of-all what the-declaration of-goodwill
ab universo populo Romano in causa hominis non popularis,
from the-whole people Roman in the-case of-a-man not popular
equidem audiebam: existimare facilius possunt qui adfuerunt.
for-my-part I-heard to-judge more-easily can those-who were-present
Et quoniam huc me provexit oratio, histrio casum 123
and since hither me has-carried-forward speech the-actor misfortune
meum totiens conlacrimavit, cum ita dolenter ageret causam
my so-often wept-over when so grievingly he-pleaded the-cause
meam ut vox eius illa praeclara lacrimis impediretur;
my that voice his that splendid by-tears was-hindered
neque poetae, quorum ego semper ingenia dilexi, tempori
nor the-poets whose I always talents loved the-time
meo defuerunt; eaque populus Romanus non solum
my failed and-those-things the-people Roman not only
plausu sed etiam gemitu suo comprobavit. Utrum
with-applause but also with-groaning its-own approved whether
igitur haec Aesopum potius pro me aut Accium dicere
therefore these-things Aesopus rather for me or Accius to-say

oportuit, si populus Romanus liber esset, an principes
ought if the-people Roman free were or the-leaders
civitatis? Nominatim sum appellatus in Bruto:
of-the-state by-name I-was called in the-Brutus

Tullius, qui libertatem civibus stabiliverat.
Tullius who liberty for-the-citizens had-established

Miliens revocatum est. Parumne videbatur populus
a-thousand-times encored it-was too-little-whether seemed the-people
Romanus iudicare id a me et a senatu esse constitutum
Roman to-judge that by me and by the-senate to-have-been established
quod perditi cives sublatum per nos criminabantur?
which abandoned citizens abolished by us charged
124 Maximum vero populi Romani iudicium universi consessu
the-greatest indeed of-the-people Roman judgment of-the-whole in-the-seated-crowd
gladiatorio declaratum est; erat enim munus Scipionis,
gladiatorial declared was there-was for a-show of-Scipio
dignum et eo ipso et illo Metello cui dabatur. Id
worthy both of-him himself and of-that Metellus to-whom it-was-given that
autem spectaculi genus erat quod omni frequentia atque
however of-spectacle kind was which by-every crowd and
omni genere hominum celebratur, quo multitudo maxime
by-every kind of-men is-thronged in-which the-multitude most
delectatur. In hunc consessum P. Sestius tribunus plebis,
is-delighted into this seated-crowd Publius Sestius tribune of-the-plebs
cum ageret nihil aliud in eo magistratu nisi meam causam,
since he-was-doing nothing else in that magistracy except my cause
venit et se populo dedit non plausus cupiditate, sed
came and himself to-the-people gave not of-applause from-desire but
ut ipsi inimici nostri voluntatem universi populi viderent:
that themselves enemies our the-will of-the-whole people might-see

venit, ut scitis, a columna Maenia: tantus est ex omnibus
he-came as you-know from the-column Maenian so-great was from all
spectaculis usque a Capitolio, tantus ex fori cancellis
the-stands right from the-Capitol so-great from of-the-forum the-railings
plausus excitatus, ut numquam maior consensio aut apertior
applause raised that never greater agreement or more-open
populi Romani universi fuisse ulla in causa diceretur.
of-the-people Roman whole to-have-been any in cause it-was-said
Ubi erant tum illi contionum moderatores, legum domini, 125
where were then those of-assemblies controllers of-laws masters
civium expulsores? Aliusne est aliquis improbis civibus
of-citizens expellers other-whether is some for-wicked citizens
peculiaris populus, cui nos offensi invisique fuerimus?
peculiar people to-whom we offensive and-hateful have-been
Equidem existimo nullum tempus esse frequentioris populi
for-my-part I-think no time to-be of-a-more-crowded people
quam illud gladiatorium, neque contionis ullius neque vero
than that gladiatorial nor of-assembly any nor indeed
ullorum comitiorum. Haec igitur innumerabilis hominum
of-any elections this therefore innumerable of-men
multitudo, haec populi Romani tanta significatio sine ulla
multitude this of-the-people Roman so-great sign without any
varietate universi, cum illis ipsis diebus de me actum
variation of-the-whole when on-those very days about me dealt
iri putaretur, quid declaravit nisi optimorum civium
to-be-going it-was-thought what did-it-declare except of-the-best citizens
salutem et dignitatem populo Romano caram esse universo?
the-safety and dignity to-the-people Roman dear to-be whole
At vero ille praetor, qui de me non patris, avi, 126
but indeed that praetor who about me not of-his-father of-his-grandfather
proavi, maiorum denique suorum omnium, sed
of-his-great-grandfather of-ancestors finally his-own all but

Graeculorum instituto contionem interrogare solebat,
of-Greeklings by-the-practice the-assembly to-ask was-wont
'velletne me redire,' et, cum erat reclamatum semivivis
whether-it-wished me to-return and when it-was shouted-back by-half-dead
mercennariorum vocibus, populum Romanum negare dicebat,
of-hirelings voices the-people Roman to-refuse he-said
is, cum cotidie gladiatores spectaret, numquam est conspectus
he although daily gladiators he-watched never was seen
cum veniret. Emergebat subito, cum sub tabulas subrepserat, ut
when he-came he-emerged suddenly when under the-boards he-had-crept that

Mater, te appello
mother you I-call

dicturus videretur; itaque illa via latebrosior, qua spectatum
going-to-say he-might-seem and-so that road more-hidden by-which to-the-show
ille veniebat, Appia iam vocabatur; qui tamen quoquo
he came Appian already was-called who still at-whatever
tempore conspectus erat, non modo gladiatores sed equi
time seen he-was not only the-gladiators but the-horses
ipsi gladiatorum repentinis sibilis extimescebant.
themselves of-the-gladiators with-sudden hisses took-fright

The people honor those the hired assemblies shut out, and Cicero, taunted with Regulus, never wanted a return won by force. He does not regret a return so splendid: the senate commended him to foreign nations, summoned all Italy to defend him, and recorded on Pompey's motion that he alone had saved his country; the next day it decreed that no one should obstruct his recall. Metellus, once his enemy, was moved by Servilius to support it. Italy greeted him from Brundisium, on his daughter's birthday, to the Capitol.

Videtisne igitur quantum intersit inter populum 127
do-you-see-whether therefore how-much there-is-a-difference between the-people
Romanum et contionem? dominos contionum omni odio
Roman and the-assembly the-masters of-assemblies with-every hatred
populi notari, quibus autem consistere in operarum
of-the-people to-be-branded to-whom however to-stand in of-gangs
contionibus non liceat, eos omni populi Romani
the-assemblies not it-is-allowed them with-every of-the-people Roman
significatione decorari?
sign to-be-honored
Tu mihi etiam M. Atilium Regulum commemoras, qui
you to-me even Marcus Atilius Regulus mention who
redire ipse Carthaginem sua voluntate ad supplicium
to-return himself to-Carthage of-his-own will to punishment
quam sine iis captivis a quibus ad senatum missus erat
than without those captives by whom to the-senate sent he-had-been
Romae manere maluerit, et mihi negas optandum reditum
at-Rome to-remain preferred and to-me you-deny to-be-desired return
fuisse per familias comparatas et homines armatos? Vim
to-have-been through troops procured and men armed violence

scilicet ego desideravi, qui, dum vis fuit, nihil egi, et
evidently I desired who while violence there-was nothing did and
quem, si vis non fuisset, nulla res labefactare potuisset.
whom if violence not there-had-been no thing to-shake could-have
128 Hunc ego reditum repudiarem, qui ita florens fuit ut verear
this I return should-I-reject which so flourishing was that I-fear
ne quis me studio gloriae putet idcirco exisse ut
lest anyone me from-zeal for-glory may-think for-this-reason to-have-gone-out that
ita redirem? Quem enim umquam senatus civem nisi me
so I-might-return whom for ever the-senate citizen except me
nationibus exteris commendavit? Cuius umquam propter
to-nations foreign commended whose ever on-account-of
salutem nisi meam senatus publice sociis populi Romani
safety except mine the-senate publicly to-the-allies of-the-people Roman
gratias egit? De me uno patres conscripti decreverunt
thanks gave about me alone the-fathers enrolled decreed
ut, qui provincias cum imperio obtinerent, qui quaestores
that those-who provinces with command held who quaestors
legatique essent, salutem et vitam custodirent: in una
and-legates were my-safety and life should-guard in one
mea causa post Romam conditam factum est ut litteris
my case after Rome founded it-was-done it-was that by-letters
consularibus ex senatus consulto cuncta ex Italia omnes
consular from of-the-senate the-decree all from Italy all
qui rem publicam salvam vellent convocarentur. Quod
who the-thing public safe wished were-called-together what
numquam senatus in universae rei publicae periculo decrevit,
never the-senate in of-the-whole thing public danger decreed
id in unius mea salute conservanda decernendum putavit.
that in of-one my safety being-preserved to-be-decreed it-thought
Quem curia magis requisivit, quem forum luxit? Quem
whom the-senate-house more missed whom the-forum mourned whom

aeque ipsa tribunalia desideraverunt? Omnia discessu meo
equally the-very tribunals longed-for all-things by-the-departure my
deserta, horrida, muta, plena luctus et maeroris fuerunt.
deserted rough mute full of-mourning and of-grief were
Quis est Italiae locus in quo non fixum sit in publicis
what is of-Italy the-place in which not fixed is in public
monumentis studium salutis meae, testimonium dignitatis?
monuments zeal for-safety my the-testimony of-dignity
Nam quid ego illa de me divina senatus consulta 129
for why I those about me divine of-the-senate decrees
commemorem? Vel quod in templo Iovis optimi maximi
should-recall either what in the-temple of-Jupiter best greatest
factum est, cum vir is qui tripertitas orbis terrarum oras
made was when the-man he who the-threefold of-the-world of-lands shores
atque regiones tribus triumphis adiunctas huic imperio notavit,
and regions by-three triumphs added to-this empire marked
de scripto sententia dicta, mihi uni testimonium patriae
from a-script opinion stated to-me alone the-testimony of-the-country
conservatae dedit; cuius sententiam ita frequentissimus
preserved gave whose opinion so the-most-crowded
senatus secutus est ut unus dissentiret hostis, idque ipsum
senate followed has that one dissented an-enemy and-that itself
tabulis publicis mandaretur ad memoriam posteri temporis
to-the-records public was-entrusted for the-memory of-later time
sempiternam: vel quod est postridie decretum in curia
everlasting or what was the-next-day decreed in the-senate-house
populi ipsius Romani, et eorum qui ex municipiis
of-the-people itself Roman and of-those who from the-towns
convenerant admonitu, ne quis de caelo servaret, ne
had-gathered at-the-prompting that-not anyone about the-sky should-watch that-not
quis moram ullam adferret; si quis aliter fecisset, eum plane
anyone delay any should-bring if anyone otherwise had-done he plainly

eversorem rei publicae fore idque senatum gravissime
an-overturner of-the-thing public would-be and-that the-senate most-gravely
laturum, et ut statim de eius facto referretur. Qua
going-to-take-it and that at-once about his deed it-should-be-referred by-which
gravitate sua cum frequens senatus non nullorum scelus
gravity its-own when the-crowded senate not of-none the-crime
audaciamque tardasset, tamen illud addidit, ut, si diebus
and-audacity had-checked still this it-added that if in-days
quinque quibus agi de me potuisset non esset
five on-which to-be-dealt about me it-could-have not it-had-been
actum, redirem in patriam dignitate omni reciperata.
dealt I-should-return into my-country with-dignity all recovered
Decrevit eodem tempore senatus ut iis qui ex tota Italia
decreed at-the-same time the-senate that to-those who from all Italy
salutis meae causa convenerant agerentur gratiae, atque
of-safety my for-the-sake had-gathered should-be-given thanks and
ut idem ad res redeuntes ut venirent rogarentur.
that the-same to their-affairs returning that they-should-come be-asked
130 Haec erat studiorum in mea salute contentio ut ii qui a
this was of-zeal in my safety the-contest that those who by
senatu de me rogabantur eidem senatui pro me supplicarent.
the-senate about me were-asked the-same senate for me supplicated
Atque ita in his rebus unus est solus inventus qui ab hac
and so in these things one has alone been-found who from this
tam impensa voluntate bonorum palam dissideret, ut etiam
so lavish will of-the-good openly dissented so-that even
Q. Metellus consul, qui mihi vel maxime ex magnis
Quintus Metellus the-consul who to-me even most from great
contentionibus rei publicae fuisset inimicus, de mea salute
contests of-the-thing public had-been hostile about my safety
rettulerit: qui excitatus cum summa auctoritate P. Servili
referred who roused both by-the-highest authority of-Publius Servilius

tum incredibili quadam gravitate dicendi, cum ille omnis
and by-an-incredible certain gravity of-speaking when he all
prope ab inferis evocasset Metellos et ad illius generis, quod
almost from the-dead had-called-up the-Metelli and to of-that race which
sibi cum eo commune esset, dignitatem propinqui sui
to-himself with him common was the-dignity of-relative his
mentem a Clodianis latrociniis reflexisset, cumque eum ad
the-mind from the-Clodian brigandages had-turned-back and-when him to
domestici exempli memoriam et ad Numidici illius Metelli
of-domestic example the-memory and to of-Numidicus that Metellus
casum vel gloriosum vel gravem convertisset, conlacrimavit
the-fall either glorious or grievous had-turned wept
vir egregius ac vere Metellus totumque se P. Servilio
the-man outstanding and truly a-Metellus and-wholly himself to-Publius Servilius
dicenti etiam tum tradidit, nec illam divinam gravitatem
speaking even then surrendered nor that divine gravity
plenam antiquitatis diutius homo eiusdem sanguinis potuit
full of-antiquity longer a-man of-the-same blood could
sustinere et mecum absens beneficio suo rediit in gratiam.
to-withstand and with-me absent by-a-kindness his-own returned into favor
Quod certe, si est aliqui sensus in morte praeclarorum 131
which surely if there-is some feeling in death of-illustrious
virorum, cum omnibus Metellis tum vero uni viro
men both to-all the-Metelli and indeed to-one a-man
fortissimo et praestantissimo civi gratissimum, fratri suo,
most-brave and most-outstanding citizen most-welcome to-brother his
fecit, socio laborum, periculorum, consiliorum meorum.
he-did the-partner of-labors dangers counsels my
Reditus vero meus qui fuerit quis ignorat? quem ad
the-return indeed my what it-was who is-ignorant in-what to
modum mihi advenienti tamquam totius Italiae atque ipsius
manner to-me arriving as-if of-all Italy and itself

patriae dextram porrexerint Brundisini, cum ipsis
of-the-country the-right-hand held-out the-Brundisians when on-the-very
Nonis Sextilibus idem dies adventus mei fuisset reditusque
Nones of-August the-same day of-arrival my had-been and-of-return
natalis, idem carissimae filiae, quam ex gravissimo tum
the-birthday the-same of-dearest daughter whom from the-heaviest then
primum desiderio luctuque conspexi, idem etiam ipsius
for-the-first-time longing and-grief I-saw the-same also itself
coloniae Brundisinae, idem salutis, cumque me domus
of-the-colony Brundisian the-same of-Salus and-when me the-house
eadem optimorum et doctissimorum virorum, M. Laeni
same of-the-best and most-learned men of-Marcus Laenius
Flacci et patris et fratris eius, laetissima accepisset,
Flaccus both of-the-father and of-brother his most-joyful had-received
quae proximo anno maerens receperat et suo praesidio
which the-previous year grieving had-received-me and by-its-own protection
periculoque defenderat. Cunctae itinere toto urbes Italiae
and-danger had-defended all on-the-journey whole the-cities of-Italy
festos dies agere adventus mei videbantur, viae multitudine
festive days to-hold of-the-arrival my seemed the-roads with-the-multitude
legatorum undique missorum celebrabantur, ad urbem
of-envoys from-everywhere sent were-thronged to the-city
accessus incredibili hominum multitudine et gratulatione
the-approach with-an-incredible of-men multitude and congratulation
florebat, iter a porta, in Capitolium adscensus, domum
flourished the-way from the-gate to the-Capitol the-ascent home
reditus erat eius modi ut summa in laetitia illud dolerem,
the-return was of-such kind that the-highest in joy this I-grieved-at
civitatem tam gratam tam miseram atque oppressam fuisse.
the-state so grateful so wretched and crushed to-have-been

The man who mocked the optimates as a breed is Vatinius, who hated the good, told lies about Cicero to Pompey, exulted at his exile, and now despises Cicero's law on gladiators while giving shows himself. He boasts that Caesar was armed by his own law, yet ignores Caesar's law on extortion; and when the accuser urged the judges to be severe, Cicero answers that severity belongs against those who harm the state.

Habes igitur quod ex me quaesisti, qui essent optimates. 132
you-have therefore what from me you-asked who were optimates
Non est 'natio,' ut dixisti; quod ego verbum agnovi; est enim
not it-is a-breed as you-said which I word recognized it-is for
illius a quo uno maxime P. Sestius se oppugnari videt,
of-that-man by whom alone most Publius Sestius himself to-be-attacked sees
hominis eius qui hanc 'nationem' deleri et concidi cupivit,
of-man that who this breed to-be-destroyed and cut-down desired
qui C. Caesarem, mitem hominem et a caede abhorrentem,
who Gaius Caesar a-mild man and from slaughter averse
saepe increpuit, saepe accusavit, cum adfirmaret illum numquam,
often chided often accused when he-affirmed him never
dum haec natio viveret, sine cura futurum. Nihil profecit de
while this breed lived without care going-to-be nothing he-achieved about
universis: de me agere non destitit; me oppugnavit, primum
all about me to-deal not he-ceased me he-attacked first
per indicem Vettium, quem in contione de me et de
through the-informer Vettius whom in the-assembly about me and about
clarissimis viris interrogavit, — in quo tamen eos civis coniunxit
most-famous men he-questioned in which still those citizens he-joined
eodem periculo et crimine, ut a me inierit gratiam
in-the-same danger and charge that from me he-entered-into favor
quod me cum amplissimis et fortissimis viris congregavit.
because me with the-most-ample and bravest men he-grouped

133 Sed postea mihi nullo meo merito, nisi quod bonis
but afterward against-me by-no my desert except that the-good
placere cupiebam, omnis est insidias sceleratissime machinatus.
to-please I-desired all has plots most-criminally contrived
Ille ad eos a quibus audiebatur cotidie aliquid de me ficti
he to those by whom he-was-heard daily something about me feigned
adferebat; ille hominem mihi amicissimum, Cn. Pompeium,
brought he the-man to-me most-friendly Gnaeus Pompey
monebat ut meam domum metueret atque a me ipso
warned that my house he-should-fear and of me myself
caveret; ille se sic cum inimico meo copularat ut
he-should-beware he himself so with enemy my had-coupled that
illum meae proscriptionis, quam adiuvabat, Sex. Clodius,
him of-my proscription which was-helping Sextus Clodius
homo iis dignissimus quibuscum vivit, tabulam esse, se
a-man of-those most-worthy with-whom he-lives the-tablet to-be himself
scriptorem esse diceret; ille unus ordinis nostri discessu
the-writer to-be he-said he alone of-order our at-the-departure
meo, luctu vestro palam exsultavit. De quo ego, cum
my at-the-grief your openly exulted about whom I although
cotidie rueret, verbum feci, iudices, numquam; neque
daily he-was-rushing a-word made judges never nor
putavi, cum omnibus machinis ac tormentis, vi, exercitu,
did-I-think when with-all engines and siege-weapons by-force by-army
copiis oppugnarer, de uno sagittario me queri convenire.
by-forces I-was-attacked about one archer myself to-complain to-befit
Acta mea sibi ait displicere. Quis nescit? qui legem
acts my to-himself he-says to-displease who does-not-know who law
meam contemnat, quae dilucide vetat gladiatores biennio
my despises which clearly forbids gladiators in-the-two-years
quo quis petierit aut petiturus sit dare.
in-which anyone has-sought or going-to-seek may-be to-give

In quo eius temeritatem satis mirari, iudices, non queo. 134
in which his rashness enough to-wonder-at judges not I-can
Facit apertissime contra legem; facit is qui neque elabi
he-does-it most-openly against the-law he-does-it he who neither to-slip-out
ex iudicio iucunditate sua neque emitti gratia potest,
from court by-pleasantness his-own nor to-be-let-off by-favor can
neque opibus et potentia leges ac iudicia perfringere.
nor by-resources and power the-laws and courts to-break-through
Quae res hominem impellit ut sit tam intemperans
what thing the-man drives that he-is so intemperate
iste nimia gloriae cupiditate? Familiam gladiatoriam,
he from-excessive of-glory desire a-troop of-gladiators
credo, nactus est speciosam, nobilem, gloriosam; norat
I-suppose got he-has handsome noble glorious he-knew
studia populi, videbat clamores et concursus futuros. Hac
the-zeal of-the-people he-saw the-shouts and crowds going-to-be by-this
exspectatione elatus homo flagrans cupiditate gloriae tenere
expectation carried-away the-man burning with-desire for-glory to-hold
se non potuit quin eos gladiatores induceret, quorum
himself not could but-that those gladiators he-should-bring-in of-whom
esset ipse pulcherrimus. Si ob eam causam peccaret,
was himself the-most-handsome if on-account-of that reason he-erred
pro recenti populi Romani in se beneficio populari
for the-recent of-the-people Roman toward himself kindness by-popular
studio elatus, tamen ignosceret nemo: cum vero ne de
zeal carried-away still would-pardon no-one when indeed not from
venalibus quidem homines electos, sed ex ergastulis emptos
the-salable even men chosen but from the-workhouses bought
nominibus gladiatoriis ornarit, et sortito alios Samnitis
with-names gladiatorial he-has-adorned and by-lot some Samnites

alios provocatores fecerit, tanta licentia, tanta legum
others challengers has-made with-so-great license so-great of-the-laws
contemptio nonne quem habitura sit exitum pertimescit?
contempt surely what going-to-have it-is end he-dreads
135 Sed habet defensiones duas: primum 'do,' inquit, 'bestiarios:
but he-has defenses two first I-give he-says beast-fighters
lex scripta de gladiatoribus.' Festive! Accipite aliquid etiam
the-law written about gladiators wittily take something even
acutius. Dicet se non gladiatores, sed unum gladiatorem
sharper he-will-say himself not gladiators but one gladiator
dare et totam aedilitatem in munus hoc transtulisse.
to-give and the-whole aedileship into show this to-have-transferred
Praeclara aedilitas! Unus leo, ducenti bestiarii. Verum utatur
splendid aedileship one lion two-hundred beast-fighters but let-him-use
hac defensione: cupio eum suae causae confidere; solet
this defense I-desire him in-his-own case to-trust he-is-wont
enim tribunos plebis appellare et vi iudicium disturbare,
for the-tribunes of-the-plebs to-appeal-to and by-force the-trial to-disrupt
cum diffidit. Quem non tam admiror, quod meam legem
when he-distrusts whom not so-much I-wonder-at because my law
contemnit hominis inimici, quam quod sic statuit, omnino
he-despises of-a-man hostile as because so he-has-decided at-all
consularem legem nullam putare. Caeciliam Didiam, Liciniam
a-consular law none to-think the-Caecilian Didian Licinian
Iuniam contempsit. Etiamne eius quem sua lege et
Junian he-despised even-whether of-him whom by-his-own law and
suo beneficio ornatum, munitum, armatum solet gloriari,
by-his-own kindness adorned fortified armed he-is-wont to-boast
C. Caesaris, legem de pecuniis repetundis non putat esse
of-Gaius Caesar the-law about moneys to-be-recovered not he-thinks to-be
legem? Et aiunt alios esse qui acta Caesaris rescindant, cum
a-law and they-say others to-be who the-acts of-Caesar would-rescind when

haec optima lex et ab illo socero eius et ab hoc adsecula
this best law both by that father-in-law his and by this hanger-on
neglegatur! Et cohortari ausus est accusator in hac causa vos,
is-neglected and to-exhort dared has the-accuser in this case you
iudices, ut aliquando essetis severi, aliquando medicinam
judges that at-last you-should-be severe at-last a-medicine
adhiberetis rei publicae. Non ea est medicina, cum
you-should-apply to-the-thing public not that is a-medicine when
sanae parti corporis scalpellum adhibetur atque integrae,
to-a-healthy part of-the-body the-scalpel is-applied and to-a-sound
carnificina est ista et crudelitas: ei medentur rei publicae
butchery is that and cruelty they heal the-thing public
qui exsecant pestem aliquam tamquam strumam civitatis.
who cut-out a-plague some as-if a-tumor of-the-state
Sed ut extremum habeat aliquid oratio mea, et ut ego ante 136
but that an-end may-have something speech my and that I before
dicendi finem faciam quam vos me tam attente audiendi,
of-speaking an-end may-make than you of-me so attentively of-hearing
concludam illud de optimatibus eorumque principibus ac
I-shall-conclude this about the-optimates and-their leaders and
rei publicae defensoribus, vosque, adulescentes, et qui
of-the-thing public defenders and-you young-men both who
nobiles estis, ad maiorum vestrorum imitationem excitabo,
noble are to of-ancestors your the-imitation I-shall-rouse
et qui ingenio ac virtute nobilitatem potestis consequi, ad
and who by-talent and virtue nobility can to-attain to
eam rationem in qua multi homines novi et honore et
that course in which many men new both in-office and
gloria floruerunt cohortabor.
in-glory have-flourished I-shall-exhort

Cicero closes with an exhortation to the young. The ancestors set the senate over the state as its guardian and the magistrates as its ministers. Those who defend this order are optimates, and they must expect dangers and enmities, as Opimius met them; yet most were restored or lived unharmed, while those who courted the crowd paid the penalty. The Athenians banished their best men, yet the state still found defenders.

137 Haec est una via, mihi credite, et laudis et dignitatis
this is the-one road to-me believe both of-praise and of-dignity
et honoris, a bonis viris sapientibus et bene natura
and of-office by good men wise and well by-nature
constitutis laudari et diligi; nosse discriptionem civitatis a
constituted to-be-praised and to-be-loved to-know the-arrangement of-the-state by
maioribus nostris sapientissime constitutam; qui cum regum
ancestors our most-wisely established who when of-kings
potestatem non tulissent, ita magistratus annuos creaverunt
the-power not they-had-borne so magistrates annual created
ut consilium senatus rei publicae praeponerent
that the-council of-the-senate over-the-thing public they-set
sempiternum, deligerentur autem in id consilium ab universo
everlasting should-be-chosen however into that council by the-whole
populo aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium
people and-the-access into that highest order of-all
civium industriae ac virtuti pateret. Senatum rei
citizens to-industry and to-virtue should-lie-open the-senate of-the-thing
publicae custodem, praesidem, propugnatorem conlocaverunt;
public as-guardian protector champion they-established
huius ordinis auctoritate uti magistratus et quasi ministros
of-this order the-authority to-use the-magistrates and as-if the-ministers
gravissimi consili esse voluerunt; senatum autem ipsum
of-the-most-weighty council to-be they-wished the-senate however itself

proximorum ordinum splendorem confirmare, plebis libertatem
of-the-nearest orders the-splendor to-confirm of-the-plebs the-liberty
et commoda tueri atque augere voluerunt.
and interests to-protect and to-increase they-wished
Haec qui pro virili parte defendunt optimates sunt, 138
these-things who for a-man's part defend optimates are
cuiuscumque sunt ordinis; qui autem praecipue suis
of-whatever they-are order those-who however especially on-their-own
cervicibus tanta munia atque rem publicam sustinent,
necks such-great duties and the-thing public sustain
hi semper habiti sunt optimatium principes, auctores
these always held have-been of-the-optimates the-leaders backers
et conservatores civitatis. Huic hominum generi fateor, ut
and preservers of-the-state to-this of-men kind I-confess as
ante dixi, multos adversarios, inimicos, invidos esse, multa
before I-said many adversaries enemies envious-men to-be many
proponi pericula, multas inferri iniurias, magnos esse
to-be-set-before-them dangers many to-be-inflicted wrongs great to-be
experiundos et subeundos labores; sed mihi omnis oratio est
to-be-experienced and to-be-undergone labors but for-me all speech is
cum virtute non cum desidia, cum dignitate non cum voluptate,
with virtue not with idleness with dignity not with pleasure
cum iis qui se patriae, qui suis civibus, qui
with those who themselves for-their-country who for-their-own citizens who
laudi, qui gloriae, non qui somno et conviviis et delectationi
for-praise who for-glory not who for-sleep and for-banquets and for-delight
natos arbitrantur. Nam si qui voluptatibus ducuntur et se
born think for if any by-pleasures are-led and themselves
vitiorum inlecebris et cupiditatium lenociniis dediderunt,
of-vices to-the-allurements and of-desires to-the-blandishments have-surrendered

missos faciant honores, ne attingant rem publicam,
dismissed let-them-make offices let-them-not touch the-thing public
patiantur virorum fortium labore se otio suo perfrui.
let-them-allow of-men brave by-the-labor themselves leisure their-own to-enjoy
139 Qui autem bonam famam bonorum, quae sola vere gloria
those-who however good fame of-the-good which alone truly glory
nominari potest, expetunt, aliis otium quaerere debent et
to-be-named can seek for-others leisure to-seek ought and
voluptates, non sibi. Sudandum est iis pro communibus
pleasures not for-themselves to-be-sweated it-is for-them for common
commodis, adeundae inimicitiae, subeundae saepe pro re
interests to-be-faced enmities to-be-undergone often for the-thing
publica tempestates: cum multis audacibus, improbis, non
public storms with many audacious wicked-men not
numquam etiam potentibus dimicandum. Haec audivimus
never even powerful-men to-be-fought these-things we-have-heard
de clarissimorum virorum consiliis et factis, haec accepimus,
about of-most-famous men the-counsels and deeds these we-have-received
haec legimus. Neque eos in laude positos videmus qui
these we-have-read nor those in praise set do-we-see who
incitarunt aliquando populi animos ad seditionem, aut qui
roused ever of-the-people the-minds to sedition or who
largitione caecarunt mentis imperitorum, aut qui fortis et
by-largess blinded the-minds of-the-ignorant or who brave and
claros viros et bene de re publica meritos in invidiam
famous men and well of the-thing public having-deserved into odium
aliquam vocaverunt. Levis hos semper nostri homines et
some called fickle these always our men and
audacis et malos et perniciosos civis putaverunt. At vero
audacious and bad and destructive citizens thought but indeed
qui horum impetus et conatus represserunt, qui auctoritate,
those-who their onsets and attempts checked who by-authority

qui fide, qui constantia, qui magnitudine animi consiliis
who by-good-faith who by-steadfastness who by-greatness of-spirit to-the-counsels
audacium restiterunt, hi graves, hi principes, hi duces,
of-the-audacious resisted these weighty-men these leaders these guides
hi auctores huius dignitatis atque imperi semper habiti sunt.
these backers of-this dignity and empire always held have-been
Ac ne quis ex nostro aut aliquorum praeterea casu hanc 140
and lest anyone from our or of-some-others besides misfortune this
vitae viam pertimescat, unus in hac civitate, quem quidem
of-life road should-dread one in this state whom indeed
ego possum dicere, praeclare vir de re publica meritus,
I can to-say splendidly a-man of the-thing public deserving
L. Opimius, indignissime concidit; cuius monumentum
Lucius Opimius most-undeservedly fell whose monument
celeberrimum in foro, sepulcrum desertissimum in litore
most-thronged in the-forum tomb most-deserted on the-shore
Dyrrachino relictum est. Atque hunc tamen flagrantem
of-Dyrrachium left is and him still blazing
invidia propter interitum C. Gracchi ipse populus
with-odium on-account-of the-death of-Gaius Gracchus himself the-people
Romanus periculo liberavit: alia quaedam civem egregium
Roman from-danger freed some-other certain citizen outstanding
iniqui iudici procella pervertit. Ceteri vero aut, repentina
of-an-unfair trial the-storm overturned the-others indeed either by-sudden
vi perculsi ac tempestate populari, per populum tamen
violence struck and by-a-storm popular through the-people still
ipsum recreati sunt atque revocati, aut omnino invulnerati
itself restored were and recalled or altogether unwounded
inviolatique vixerunt. At vero ii qui senatus consilium, qui
and-inviolate lived but indeed those who of-the-senate the-counsel who
auctoritatem bonorum, qui instituta maiorum neglexerunt
the-authority of-the-good who the-institutions of-the-ancestors neglected

et imperitae aut concitatae multitudini iucundi esse
and to-the-ignorant or roused multitude pleasing to-be
voluerunt, omnes fere rei publicae poenas aut praesenti
wished all almost to-the-thing public penalties either by-immediate
morte aut turpi exsilio dependerunt.
death or by-shameful exile paid

141 Quod si apud Atheniensis, homines Graecos, longe a
but if among the-Athenians men Greek far from
nostrorum hominum gravitate diiunctos, non deerant qui
of-our men the-gravity removed not were-lacking those-who
rem publicam contra populi temeritatem defenderent, cum
the-thing public against of-the-people the-rashness defended when
omnes qui ita fecerant e civitate eicerentur; si Themistoclem
all who so had-done from the-state were-cast-out if Themistocles
illum, conservatorem patriae, non deterruit a re publica
that preserver of-his-country not deterred from the-thing public
defendenda nec Miltiadi calamitas, qui illam civitatem paulo
being-defended nor of-Miltiades the-calamity who that state a-little
ante servarat, nec Aristidi fuga, qui unus omnium iustissimus
before had-saved nor of-Aristides the-flight who alone of-all most-just
fuisse traditur; si postea summi eiusdem civitatis viri, quos
to-have-been is-handed-down if afterward the-highest of-the-same state men whom
nominatim appellari non est necesse, propositis tot exemplis
by-name to-be-named not is necessary with-set-forth so-many examples
iracundiae levitatisque popularis tamen suam rem publicam
of-anger and-of-fickleness popular still their-own thing public
illam defenderunt, — quid nos tandem facere debemus, primum
that defended what we pray to-do ought first
in ea civitate nati unde orta mihi gravitas et magnitudo
in that state born whence sprung to-me gravity and greatness
animi videtur, tum in tanta gloria insistentes ut omnia humana
of-spirit seems then on so-great glory standing that all-things human

leviora videri debeant, deinde ad eam rem publicam tuendam
lighter to-seem ought then to that thing public to-be-protected
adgressi quae tanta dignitate est ut eam defendentem
having-set-about which of-so-great dignity is that it defending
occidere optatius sit quam oppugnantem rerum potiri?
to-fall more-desirable is than attacking of-things to-become-master

XXVI · THE APPEAL

The banished Greeks and Hannibal are honored for their service despite their exile; the Romans should imitate the Bruti, Camilli, Decii, and Scipios, seeking glory, not present reward. Cicero sees Sestius, his son, Milo, and Lentulus in mourning for his sake; he would rather fall back into exile than see his defenders driven out, and he begs the judges, if they wished him saved, to save those through whom they recovered him.

Homines Graeci quos antea nominavi, inique a suis 142
men Greek whom before I-named unjustly by their-own
civibus damnati atque expulsi, tamen, quia bene sunt de
citizens condemned and expelled still because well they-have of
suis civitatibus meriti, tanta hodie gloria sunt non in
their-own states deserved of-so-great today glory are not in
Graecia solum sed etiam apud nos atque in ceteris terris,
Greece only but also among us and in the-other lands
ut eos a quibus illi oppressi sint nemo nominet, horum
that those by whom they crushed were no-one names their
calamitatem dominationi illorum omnes anteponant. Quis
calamity to-the-domination of-those all prefer who
Carthaginiensium pluris fuit Hannibale consilio, virtute,
of-the-Carthaginians of-more-worth was than-Hannibal in-counsel in-virtue
rebus gestis, qui unus cum tot imperatoribus nostris
in-deeds done who alone with so-many commanders our

per tot annos de imperio et de gloria decertavit? Hunc
through so-many years for empire and for glory fought-it-out him
sui cives e civitate eiecerunt: nos etiam hostem litteris
his-own citizens from the-state cast-out we even an-enemy in-letters
nostris et memoria videmus esse celebratum.
our and memory we-see to-be celebrated
143 Qua re imitemur nostros Brutos, Camillos, Ahalas, Decios,
by-which thing let-us-imitate our Bruti Camilli Ahalae Decii
Curios, Fabricios, Maximos, Scipiones, Lentulos, Aemilios,
Curii Fabricii Maximi Scipios Lentuli Aemilii
innumerabilis alios qui hanc rem publicam stabiliverunt; quos
innumerable others who this thing public established whom
equidem in deorum immortalium coetu ac numero repono.
for-my-part in of-the-gods immortal the-company and number I-place
Amemus patriam, pareamus senatui, consulamus bonis;
let-us-love our-country let-us-obey the-senate let-us-consult for-the-good
praesentis fructus neglegamus, posteritatis gloriae serviamus;
present fruits let-us-neglect of-posterity to-the-glory let-us-be-devoted
id esse optimum putemus quod erit rectissimum; speremus
that to-be best let-us-think which will-be most-right let-us-hope-for
quae volumus, sed quod acciderit feramus; cogitemus
what we-wish but what will-have-happened let-us-bear let-us-consider
denique corpus virorum fortium magnorum hominum
finally the-body of-men brave of-great men
esse mortale, animi vero motus et virtutis gloriam
to-be mortal of-the-mind indeed the-motions and of-virtue the-glory
sempiternam; neque hanc opinionem si in illo sanctissimo
everlasting nor this belief if in that most-holy
Hercule consecratam videmus, cuius corpore ambusto vitam
Hercules consecrated we-see whose with-body burned life
eius et virtutem immortalitas excepisse dicatur, minus
his and virtue immortality to-have-received is-said less

existimemus eos qui hanc tantam rem publicam suis
let-us-hold those who this so-great thing public by-their-own
consiliis aut laboribus aut auxerint aut defenderint aut
counsels or labors either have-increased or defended or
servarint esse immortalem gloriam consecutos.
preserved to-have immortal glory attained
Sed me repente, iudices, de fortissimorum et clarissimorum 144
but me suddenly judges about of-the-bravest and most-famous
civium dignitate et gloria dicentem et plura etiam dicere
citizens the-dignity and glory speaking and more even to-say
parantem horum aspectus in ipso cursu orationis repressit.
preparing their sight in the-very course of-my-speech checked
Video P. Sestium, meae salutis, vestrae auctoritatis,
I-see Publius Sestius of-my safety of-your authority
publicae causae defensorem, propugnatorem, actorem, reum;
of-the-public cause the-defender champion advocate a-defendant
video hunc praetextatum eius filium oculis lacrimantibus
I-see this boy-in-the-toga-praetexta his son with-eyes weeping
me intuentem; video Milonem, vindicem vestrae libertatis,
me gazing-at I-see Milo the-avenger of-your liberty
custodem salutis meae, subsidium adflictae rei publicae,
the-guardian of-safety my the-support of-the-afflicted thing public
exstinctorem domestici latrocini, repressorem caedis cotidianae,
the-extinguisher of-domestic brigandage the-checker of-slaughter daily
defensorem templorum atque tectorum, praesidium curiae,
the-defender of-temples and houses the-guard of-the-senate-house
sordidatum et reum; video P. Lentulum, cuius ego
in-mourning and a-defendant I-see Publius Lentulus whose I
patrem deum ac parentem statuo fortunae ac nominis mei,
father a-god and parent I-regard of-fortune and of-name my
fratris liberorumque nostrorum, in hoc misero squalore et
of-brother and-of-children our in this wretched squalor and

sordibus; cui superior annus idem et virilem patris et
mourning to-whom the-former year the-same both the-manly of-his-father and
praetextam populi iudicio togam dederit, hunc hoc anno
the-praetexta by-the-people's judgment toga gave this-one in-this year
in hac toga rogationis iniustissimae subitam acerbitatem pro
in this toga of-a-bill most-unjust the-sudden harshness for
patre fortissimo et clarissimo civi deprecantem.
his-father most-brave and most-famous citizen begging-off
145 Atque hic tot et talium civium squalor, hic luctus, hae
and this of-so-many and of-such citizens squalor this mourning these
sordes susceptae sunt propter unum me, quia me
mourning-clothes taken-on have-been on-account-of one me because me
defenderunt, quia meum casum luctumque doluerunt, quia
they-defended because my misfortune and-grief they-grieved-at because
me lugenti patriae, flagitanti senatui, poscenti Italiae,
me to-my-mourning country to-the-demanding senate to-asking Italy
vobis omnibus orantibus reddiderunt. Quod tantum est in me
to-you all begging they-restored what so-great is in me
scelus? Quid tanto opere deliqui illo die cum ad vos
crime what in-so-great measure have-I-done-wrong on-that day when to you
indicia, litteras, confessiones communis exiti detuli, cum
the-evidence letters confessions of-common destruction I-brought when
parui vobis? Ac si scelestum est amare patriam, pertuli
I-obeyed you and if wicked it-is to-love one's-country I-have-endured
poenarum satis: eversa domus est, fortunae vexatae,
of-penalties enough overturned the-house has-been my-fortunes harassed
dissipati liberi, raptata coniunx, frater optimus, incredibili
scattered my-children dragged-off my-wife my-brother best of-incredible
pietate, amore inaudito, maximo in squalore volutatus est ad
devotion of-love unheard-of the-greatest in squalor rolled has at
pedes inimicissimorum; ego pulsus aris focis deis
the-feet of-the-most-hostile I driven from-altars hearths from-the-gods

penatibus, distractus a meis, carui patria, quam, ut
household torn-away from my-own lacked my-country which that
levissime dicam, certe protexeram; pertuli crudelitatem
most-lightly I-may-say certainly I-had-protected I-endured the-cruelty
inimicorum, scelus infidelium, fraudem invidorum.
of-enemies the-crime of-the-faithless the-fraud of-the-envious
Si hoc non est satis, quod haec omnia deleta videntur 146
if this not is enough that these all-things wiped-out seem
reditu meo, multo mihi, multo, inquam, iudices, praestat
by-return my much for-me much I-say judges it-is-better
in eandem illam recidere fortunam quam tantam importare
into the-same that to-fall-back fortune than so-great to-bring-upon
meis defensoribus et conservatoribus calamitatem. An ego
my defenders and preservers a-calamity or I
in hac urbe esse possim, his pulsis qui me huius urbis
in this city to-be could with-these driven-out who me of-this city
compotem fecerunt? Non ero, non potero esse, iudices;
possessed made not I-shall-be not I-shall-be-able to-be judges
neque hic umquam puer, qui his lacrimis qua sit
nor this ever boy who by-these tears of-what he-is
pietate declarat, amisso patre suo propter me, me ipsum
devotion declares with-lost father his-own on-account-of me me myself
incolumem videbit, nec, quotienscumque me viderit,
unharmed will-see nor as-often-as me he-will-have-seen
ingemescet ac pestem suam ac patris sui se dicet videre.
will-be-groan and the-plague his-own and of-father his himself will-say to-see
Ego vero hos in omni fortuna, quaecumque erit oblata,
I indeed these in every fortune whatever will-be offered
complectar, nec me ab iis quos meo nomine sordidatos
I-shall-embrace nor me from those whom in-my name in-mourning
videtis umquam ulla fortuna divellet; neque eae nationes
you-see ever any fortune will-tear-away nor those nations

quibus me senatus commendavit, quibus de me gratias
to-which me the-senate commended to-which about me thanks
egit, hunc exsulem propter me sine me videbunt.
it-gave this-man an-exile on-account-of me without me will-see
147 Sed haec di immortales, qui me suis templis
but these-things the-gods immortal who me into-their temples
advenientem receperunt stipatum ab his viris et P. Lentulo
arriving received escorted by these men and Publius Lentulus
consule, atque ipsa res publica, qua nihil est sanctius,
the-consul and the-very thing public than-which nothing is more-sacred
vestrae potestati, iudices, commiserunt. Vos hoc iudicio omnium
to-your power judges have-entrusted you by-this verdict of-all
bonorum mentis confirmare, improborum reprimere potestis,
the-good the-minds to-confirm of-the-wicked to-check can
vos his civibus uti optimis, vos me reficere et renovare rem
you these citizens to-use as-best you me to-restore and to-renew the-thing
publicam. Qua re vos obtestor atque obsecro ut, si me salvum
public by-which thing you I-adjure and beseech that if me safe
esse voluistis, eos conservetis per quos me reciperavistis.
to-be you-wished those you-preserve through whom me you-recovered

CICERO

Pro Marcello

For Marcellus

PRO MARCELLO

I · THANKS FOR MARCELLUS

Cicero ends a long silence, kept from grief and shame rather than fear, to praise Caesar's clemency in restoring Marcus Marcellus to the senate and the state. With Marcellus his own voice is restored. Caesar's wars and victories surpass all others, yet in them soldiers, allies, and Fortune claim a share; in this act of mercy no one shares his glory, for to conquer one's own anger and raise a fallen adversary is the work of a god.

Diuturni silenti, patres conscripti, quo eram his temporibus 1
of-long silence fathers enrolled which I-had in-these times
usus, non timore aliquo, sed partim dolore, partim verecundia,
used not from-fear some but partly from-grief partly from-shame
finem hodiernus dies attulit, idemque initium quae vellem
the-end today's day has-brought and-the-same the-beginning what I-wished
quaeque sentirem meo pristino more dicendi. Tantam enim
and-what I-felt in-my former manner of-speaking such for
mansuetudinem, tam inusitatam inauditamque clementiam,
gentleness so unusual and-unheard-of clemency
tantum in summa potestate rerum omnium modum, tam
such in the-highest power of-things all moderation so
denique incredibilem sapientiam ac paene divinam tacitus
finally incredible wisdom and almost divine silent
praeterire nullo modo possum.
to-pass-over in-no way I-can
M. enim Marcello vobis, patres conscripti, reique 2
Marcus for Marcellus to-you fathers enrolled and-to-the-thing
publicae reddito non illius solum sed etiam meam vocem
public restored not his only but also my voice
et auctoritatem vobis et rei publicae conservatam
and authority to-you and to-the-thing public preserved

ac restitutam puto. Dolebam enim, patres conscripti, et
and restored I-think I-grieved for fathers enrolled and
vehementer angebar, cum viderem virum talem, cum in
vehemently was-tormented when I-saw a-man such although in
eadem causa in qua ego fuisset, non in eadem esse fortuna, nec
the-same cause in which I he-had-been not in the-same to-be fortune nor
mihi persuadere poteram nec fas esse ducebam versari me in
myself to-persuade could-I nor right to-be did-I-consider to-move me in
nostro vetere curriculo illo aemulo atque imitatore studiorum
our old course with-that rival and imitator of-the-pursuits
ac laborum meorum quasi quodam socio a me et comite
and labors my as-if a-certain partner from me and companion
distracto. Ergo et mihi meae pristinae vitae consuetudinem,
torn-away therefore both to-me of-my former life the-habit
C. Caesar, interclusam aperuisti et his omnibus ad bene
Gaius Caesar shut-off you-have-opened and to-these all for well
de re publica sperandum quasi signum aliquod sustulisti.
of the-thing public hoping as-if a-signal some you-have-raised
3 Intellectum est enim mihi quidem in multis et
understood it-has-been for by-me indeed in many-cases and
maxime in me ipso, sed paulo ante omnibus, cum
most in me myself but a-little before by-all when
M. Marcellum senatui reique publicae concessisti,
Marcus Marcellus to-the-senate and-to-the-thing public you-granted
commemoratis praesertim offensionibus, te auctoritatem huius
with-mentioned especially offenses you the-authority of-this
ordinis dignitatemque rei publicae tuis vel doloribus
order and-the-dignity of-the-thing public to-your either griefs
vel suspicionibus anteferre. Ille quidem fructum omnis ante
or suspicions to-prefer he indeed the-fruit of-all before
actae vitae hodierno die maximum cepit, cum summo
led life on-today's day the-greatest has-reaped both by-the-highest

consensu senatus tum iudicio tuo gravissimo et maximo.
consensus of-the-senate and by-judgment your most-weighty and greatest
Ex quo profecto intellegis quanta in dato beneficio sit
from which surely you-understand how-great in conferred kindness is
laus, cum in accepto sit tanta gloria.
the-praise when in received is so-great glory
Est vero fortunatus cuius ex salute non minor paene ad 4
is indeed fortunate he-whose from safety not less almost to
omnis quam ad illum ventura sit laetitia pervenerit: quod
all than to him going-to-come is joy has-come which
quidem merito atque optimo iure contigit. Quis enim est
indeed deservedly and by-best right has-befallen who for is
illo aut nobilitate aut probitate aut optimarum artium
than-him either in-nobility or in-probity or of-the-best of-arts
studio aut innocentia aut ullo in laudis genere praestantior?
in-pursuit or in-innocence or any in of-praise kind more-outstanding
Nullius tantum flumen est ingeni, nulla dicendi aut scribendi
of-no so-great a-river is of-talent no of-speaking or of-writing
tanta vis, tantaque copia quae non dicam exornare, sed
so-great force and-so-great abundance which not I-shall-say to-adorn but
enarrare, C. Caesar, res tuas gestas possit. Tamen hoc
to-recount Gaius Caesar the-things your done could still this
adfirmo et pace dicam tua, nullam in his esse laudem
I-affirm and with-leave I-shall-say your no in these to-be praise
ampliorem quam eam quam hodierno die consecutus es.
more-ample than that which on-today's day attained you-have
Soleo saepe ante oculos ponere idque libenter crebris 5
I-am-wont often before eyes to-set and-that gladly in-frequent
usurpare sermonibus, omnis nostrorum imperatorum,
to-use talks all of-our commanders
omnis exterarum gentium potentissimorumque populorum,
all of-foreign peoples and-of-the-most-powerful nations

omnis regum clarissimorum res gestas cum tuis nec
all of-kings most-famous the-deeds done with yours neither
contentionum magnitudine nec numero proeliorum nec
of-the-contests in-greatness nor in-number of-battles nor
varietate regionum nec celeritate conficiendi nec dissimilitudine
in-variety of-regions nor in-speed of-finishing nor in-unlikeness
bellorum posse conferri, nec vero disiunctissimas terras
of-wars to-be-able to-be-compared nor indeed the-most-separated lands
citius passibus cuiusquam potuisse peragrari quam
more-quickly by-the-paces of-anyone to-have-been-able to-be-traversed than
tuis non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis lustratae sunt.
by-your not I-shall-say runs but victories traversed they-have-been
6 Quae quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear ut ea vix
which indeed I unless so great to-be I-should-confess that them scarcely
cuiusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim; sed
of-anyone the-mind or thought to-grasp could mad I-should-be but
tamen sunt alia maiora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam
still there-are other greater-things for warlike praises are-wont certain-men
extenuare verbis easque detrahere ducibus, communicare
to-diminish with-words and-them to-take-away from-the-leaders to-share
cum multis, ne propriae sint imperatorum. Et certe
with many lest their-own they-be of-the-commanders and certainly
in armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia
in arms of-the-soldiers the-virtue of-places the-advantage the-auxiliaries
sociorum, classes, commeatus multum iuvant, maximam
of-the-allies fleets supplies much help the-greatest
vero partem quasi suo iure Fortuna sibi vindicat et,
indeed part as-if by-her-own right Fortune for-herself claims and
quicquid est prospere gestum, id paene omne ducit suum.
whatever is successfully done that almost all she-considers her-own

At vero huius gloriae, C. Caesar, quam es paulo ante 7
but indeed of-this glory Gaius Caesar which you-have a-little before
adeptus socium habes neminem: totum hoc quantumcumque
attained a-partner you-have none whole this however-great
est, quod certe maximum est, totum est, inquam, tuum.
it-is which certainly greatest is whole is I-say yours
Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil praefectus, nihil
nothing for-himself from that praise the-centurion nothing the-prefect nothing
cohors, nihil turma decerpit; quin etiam illa ipsa rerum
the-cohort nothing the-squadron plucks-off nay even that very of-things
humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem
human mistress Fortune into of-that herself the-partnership
gloriae non offert: tibi cedit, tuam esse totam et propriam
of-glory not offers to-you she-yields yours to-be whole and your-own
fatetur. Numquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur
she-confesses never for rashness with wisdom is-mingled
nec ad consilium casus admittitur.
nor to counsel chance is-admitted
Domuisti gentis immanitate barbaras, multitudine 8
you-have-tamed peoples in-monstrousness barbarous in-multitude
innumerabilis, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere
innumerable in-places infinite in-every of-resources kind
abundantis: ea tamen vicisti quae et naturam et
abounding those still you-conquered which both the-nature and
condicionem ut vinci possent habebant. Nulla est enim
condition that to-be-conquered they-could had none is for
tanta vis quae non ferro et viribus debilitari frangique
so-great force which not by-steel and strength to-be-weakened and-to-be-broken
possit. Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victo
can the-mind to-conquer anger to-restrain toward-the-conquered
temperare, adversarium nobilitate, ingenio, virtute praestantem
to-show-restraint an-adversary in-nobility in-talent in-virtue outstanding

non modo extollere iacentem sed etiam amplificare eius
not only to-raise lying-down but even to-enlarge his
pristinam dignitatem, haec qui faciat, non ego eum
former dignity these-things whoever does not I him
cum summis viris comparo, sed simillimum deo iudico.
with the-highest men compare but most-like to-a-god I-judge
9 Itaque, C. Caesar, bellicae tuae laudes celebrabuntur illae
and-so Gaius Caesar warlike your praises will-be-celebrated they
quidem non solum nostris sed paene omnium gentium
indeed not only in-our but almost of-all peoples
litteris atque linguis, neque ulla umquam aetas de tuis
letters and tongues nor any ever age about your
laudibus conticescet; sed tamen eius modi res nescio quo
praises will-fall-silent but still of-such kind things I-know-not in-what
modo, etiam cum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum
way even when they-are-read to-be-drowned by-the-shouting of-soldiers
videntur et tubarum sono. At vero cum aliquid clementer,
seem and of-trumpets by-the-sound but indeed when something mercifully
mansuete, iuste, moderate, sapienter factum, in iracundia
gently justly moderately wisely done in anger
praesertim quae est inimica consilio, et in victoria quae
especially which is hostile to-counsel and in victory which
natura insolens et superba est, audimus aut legimus, quo
by-nature insolent and proud is we-hear or read with-what
studio incendimur, non modo in gestis rebus sed etiam in
zeal are-we-inflamed not only in done things but also in
fictis ut eos saepe quos numquam vidimus diligamus!
feigned so-that those often whom never we-have-seen we-love

Cicero asks how the senate can praise a man who wishes whatever fortune has left of the state to be safe; the very walls of the senate house thank Caesar, who has restored the Marcelli's dignity and saved their family. This act is Caesar's alone, and its glory will outlast his monuments: today he has conquered victory itself by restoring to the conquered what it took from them. His judgment frees from the charge of crime all who followed the other side from error or fear. Cicero himself always urged peace, followed Pompey from private duty, and shared Marcellus' dread of the victors' harshness on that side; Caesar's victory spared all but those who fell in arms.

Te vero quem praesentem intuemur, cuius mentem sensusque 10
you indeed whom present we-behold whose mind and-feelings
et os cernimus, ut, quicquid belli fortuna reliquum rei
and face we-see that whatever of-war fortune remaining for-the-thing
publicae fecerit, id esse salvum velis, quibus laudibus
public has-made that to-be safe you-wish with-what praises
efferemus, quibus studiis prosequemur, qua benevolentia
shall-we-extol with-what zeal shall-we-attend with-what goodwill
complectemur? Parietes, me dius fidius, ut mihi videtur,
shall-we-embrace the-walls so-help-me the-god of-faith as to-me it-seems
huius curiae tibi gratias agere gestiunt, quod brevi
of-this senate-house to-you thanks to-give are-eager because in-a-short
tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his maiorum suorum
time going-to-be is that authority in these of-ancestors his-own
et suis sedibus. Equidem cum C. Marcelli, viri optimi
and his-own seats for-my-part when of-Gaius Marcellus a-man best
et commemorabili pietate praediti lacrimas modo vobiscum
and with-memorable devotion endowed the-tears just-now with-you
viderem, omnium Marcellorum meum pectus memoria offudit,
I-saw of-all the-Marcelli my breast the-memory overspread
quibus tu etiam mortuis M. Marcello conservato
to-whom you even dead with-Marcus Marcellus preserved

dignitatem suam reddidisti nobilissimamque familiam iam
dignity their-own have-restored and-the-most-noble family now
ad paucos redactam paene ab interitu vindicasti.
to a-few reduced almost from destruction have-rescued
11 Hunc tu diem tuis maximis et innumerabilibus
this you day to-your greatest and innumerable
gratulationibus iure anteponis. Haec enim res unius est
congratulations rightly prefer this for thing of-one-man is
propria C. Caesaris; ceterae duce te gestae magnae
the-own of-Gaius Caesar the-others as-leader with-you done great
illae quidem, sed tamen multo magnoque comitatu. Huius
they indeed but still with-a-large and-great retinue of-this
autem rei tu idem dux es et comes: quae quidem tanta
however thing you the-same leader are and companion which indeed so-great
est ut tropaeis et monumentis tuis adlatura finem sit
is that to-trophies and monuments your going-to-bring an-end be
aetas — nihil est enim opere et manu factum quod non
age nothing is for by-work and hand made which not
conficiat et consumat vetustas —
may-finish and consume long-time
12 at haec tua iustitia et lenitas florescet cotidie magis. Ita
but this your justice and mildness will-flourish daily more so
quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet, tantum adferet
as-much-as from-works your length-of-time will-take-away so-much it-will-bring
laudibus. Et ceteros quidem omnis victores bellorum civilium
to-your-praises and the-other indeed all victors of-wars civil
iam antea aequitate et misericordia viceras: hodierno
already before by-fairness and pity you-had-conquered on-today's
vero die te ipse vicisti. Vereor ut hoc quod
indeed day yourself you-yourself you-have-conquered I-fear that-not this which
dicam perinde intellegi possit auditu atque ipse cogitans
I-shall-say equally to-be-understood can by-hearing as I-myself thinking

sentio: ipsam victoriam vicisse videris, cum ea quae
feel the-very victory to-have-conquered you-seem when those-things which
erant adempta victis remisisti. Nam cum ipsius
had-been taken-away from-the-conquered you-gave-back for when of-the-very
victoriae iure omnes victi occidissemus, clementiae tuae
victory by-the-right all conquered we-should-have-fallen of-clemency your
iudicio conservati sumus. Recte igitur unus invictus es
by-the-judgment preserved we-have-been rightly therefore alone unconquered you-are
a quo etiam ipsius victoriae condicio visque devicta est.
by whom even itself of-victory the-condition and-force conquered has-been
Atque hoc C. Caesaris iudicium, patres conscripti, quam 13
and this of-Gaius Caesar judgment fathers enrolled how
late pateat attendite. Omnes enim qui ad illa arma fato
widely it-extends attend-to all for who to those arms by-fate
sumus nescio quo rei publicae misero funestoque
we-were I-know-not which of-the-thing public wretched and-deadly
compulsi, etsi aliqua culpa tenemur erroris humani, ab
driven although by-some fault we-are-held of-error human from
scelere certe liberati sumus. Nam cum M. Marcellum
crime certainly freed we-have-been for when Marcus Marcellus
deprecantibus vobis rei publicae conservavit, me et
begging-for-him with-you to-the-thing public be-preserved me both
mihi et item rei publicae, nullo deprecante, reliquos
to-myself and likewise to-the-thing public with-no-one begging-for-me the-other
amplissimos viros et sibi ipsos et patriae reddidit,
most-ample men both to-themselves themselves and to-the-country he-restored
quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in consessu
whose both crowd and dignity in-this very in assembly
videtis, non ille hostis induxit in curiam, sed iudicavit
you-see not he enemies has-brought into the-senate-house but he-has-judged

a plerisque ignoratione potius et falso atque inani metu
by most through-ignorance rather and false and empty fear
quam cupiditate aut crudelitate bellum esse susceptum.
than by-desire or cruelty the-war to-have-been undertaken
14 Quo quidem in bello semper de pace audiendum putavi
in-which indeed in war always about peace to-be-heard I-thought
semperque dolui non modo pacem sed etiam orationem
and-always I-grieved not only peace but even the-speech
civium pacem flagitantium repudiari. Neque enim ego illa
of-citizens peace demanding to-be-rejected nor for I those
nec ulla umquam secutus sum arma civilia semperque mea
nor any ever followed have arms civil and-always my
consilia pacis et togae socia, non belli atque armorum
counsels of-peace and of-the-toga partners not of-war and arms
fuerunt. Hominem sum secutus privato officio, non publico,
were the-man I-have followed from-private duty not public
tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit
and-so-much with me of-a-grateful mind faithful memory availed
ut nulla non modo cupiditate sed ne spe quidem prudens
that by-no not only desire but not hope even knowing
et sciens tamquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium.
and aware as-if to destruction I-rushed voluntary
15 Quod quidem meum consilium minime obscurum fuit. Nam
which indeed my counsel least obscure was for
et in hoc ordine integra re multa de pace dixi et in
both in this order with-whole matter many-things about peace I-said and in
ipso bello eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo sensi. Ex
the-very the-war the-same even at the-risk of-my life I-felt from
quo nemo erit tam iniustus rerum existimator qui dubitet
which no-one will-be so unjust of-things a-judge who doubts
quae Caesaris de bello voluntas fuerit, cum pacis auctores
what of-Caesar about the-war the-will was when of-peace the-advocates

conservandos statim censuerit, ceteris fuerit iratior. Atque
to-be-preserved at-once he-voted to-the-others he-was more-angry and
id minus mirum fortasse tum cum esset incertus exitus et
that less surprising perhaps then when was uncertain the-outcome and
anceps fortuna belli: qui vero victor pacis auctores diligit, is
doubtful the-fortune of-war he-who indeed as-victor of-peace the-advocates loves he
profecto declarat maluisse se non dimicare quam vincere.
surely declares to-have-preferred himself not to-fight than to-conquer
Atque huius quidem rei M. Marcello sum testis. Nostri 16
and of-this indeed thing for-Marcus Marcellus I-am a-witness our
enim sensus ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello
for feelings as in peace always so then also in war
congruebant. Quotiens ego eum et quanto cum dolore vidi,
agreed how-often I him and how-great with grief saw
cum insolentiam certorum hominum tum etiam ipsius victoriae
both the-insolence of-certain men and also of-the-very victory
ferocitatem extimescentem! Quo gratior tua liberalitas,
the-ferocity fearing by-which more-welcome your generosity
C. Caesar, nobis qui illa vidimus debet esse. Non enim
Gaius Caesar to-us who those-things saw ought to-be not for
iam causae sunt inter se, sed victoriae comparandae.
now the-causes are with each-other but the-victories to-be-compared
Vidimus tuam victoriam proeliorum exitu terminatam: 17
we-saw your victory of-battles by-the-outcome bounded
gladium vagina vacuum in urbe non vidimus. Quos
a-sword from-the-sheath empty in the-city not we-saw those-whom
amisimus civis, eos vis Martis perculit, non ira victoriae,
we-lost citizens them the-force of-Mars struck-down not the-anger of-victory
ut dubitare debeat nemo quin multos, si posset, C. Caesar
so-that to-doubt ought no-one but-that many if he-could Gaius Caesar
ab inferis excitaret, quoniam ex eadem acie conservat quos
from the-dead would-rouse since from the-same battle-line he-preserves whom

potest. Alterius vero partis nihil amplius dico quam id quod
he-can of-the-other indeed side nothing more I-say than that which
omnes verebamur, nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam.
all feared too angry going-to-be to-have-been the-victory
18 Quidam enim non modo armatis sed interdum etiam otiosis
certain-men for not only the-armed but sometimes even the-idle
minabantur, nec quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset
threatened nor what each had-thought but where he-had-been
cogitandum esse dicebant; ut mihi quidem videantur di
to-be-considered to-be they-said so-that to-me indeed they-seem the-gods
immortales, etiam si poenas a populo Romano ob
immortal even if penalties from the-people Roman on-account-of
aliquod delictum expetiverunt, qui civile bellum tantum
some offense they-sought who civil war so-great
et tam luctuosum excitaverunt, vel placati iam vel satiati
and so mournful roused either appeased now or sated
aliquando omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et
at-last all hope of-safety to the-clemency of-the-victor and
sapientiam contulisse.
wisdom to-have-brought

Caesar should rejoice in a good owed to his nature rather than to fortune, and not tire of saving men who erred from a mistaken sense of duty. Whoever plots against him, his safety is everyone's, and the state rests on one mortal life; the courts, credit, and morals overthrown by the war must be restored by him. Cicero cannot accept his saying that he has lived long enough for nature and for glory: he has not lived enough for his country, and the glory he seeks is not yet complete.

Qua re gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono et fruere 19
by-which thing rejoice in-your that so excellent good and enjoy
cum fortuna et gloria tum etiam natura et moribus
both fortune and glory and also nature and character
tuis; ex quo quidem maximus est fructus iucunditasque
your from which indeed the-greatest is fruit and-pleasure
sapienti. Cetera cum tua recordabere, etsi persaepe
for-the-wise-man the-rest when your you-will-recall although very-often
virtuti, tamen plerumque felicitati tuae gratulabere: de
to-virtue still mostly to-good-fortune your you-will-give-thanks about
nobis quos in re publica tecum simul esse voluisti
us whom in the-thing public with-you together to-be you-wished
quotiens cogitabis, totiens de maximis tuis beneficiis, totiens
as-often-as you-will-think so-often about the-greatest your kindnesses so-often
de incredibili liberalitate, totiens de singulari sapientia
about your-incredible generosity so-often about your-singular wisdom
cogitabis: quae non modo summa bona sed nimirum audebo
you-will-think which not only the-highest goods but surely I-shall-dare
vel sola dicere. Tantus est enim splendor in laude vera,
even the-only to-call so-great is for the-splendor in praise true
tanta in magnitudine animi et consili dignitas ut haec a
so-great in greatness of-mind and of-counsel the-dignity that these by
virtute donata, cetera a fortuna commodata esse videantur.
virtue given the-rest by fortune lent to-be seem

20 Noli igitur in conservandis viris bonis defetigari, non
do-not therefore in preserving men good grow-weary not
cupiditate praesertim aliqua aut pravitate lapsis, sed
by-desire especially some or by-depravity having-slipped but
opinione offici stulta fortasse, certe non improba, et
by-a-notion of-duty foolish perhaps certainly not wicked and
specie quadam rei publicae. Non enim tua ulla
by-the-appearance a-certain of-the-thing public not for your any
culpa est, si te aliqui timuerunt, contraque summa laus,
fault is if you some feared and-on-the-contrary the-highest praise
quod minime timendum fuisse senserunt.
that least to-be-feared you-to-have-been they-perceived

21 Nunc venio ad gravissimam querelam et atrocissimam
now I-come to the-gravest complaint and most-atrocious
suspicionem tuam, quae non tibi ipsi magis quam cum
suspicion your which not for-you yourself more than both
omnibus civibus, tum maxime nobis qui a te conservati
for-all citizens and most for-us who by you preserved
sumus providenda est: quam etsi spero falsam esse,
have-been to-be-guarded-against is which although I-hope false to-be
numquam tamen extenuabo, tua enim cautio nostra cautio est.
never still shall-I-diminish your for caution our caution is
Quod si in alterutro peccandum sit, malim videri nimis
but if in one-or-other one-must-err it-be I-would-prefer to-seem too
timidus quam parum prudens. Sed quisnam est iste tam
timid than too-little prudent but who is he so
demens? De tuisne? — Tametsi qui magis sunt tui quam
mad from of-yours-whether although who more are yours than
quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti? — Anne ex
those-to-whom you safety not-hoping restored or-whether from
eo numero qui una tecum fuerunt? Non est credibilis
that number who together with-you were not is credible

tantus in ullo furor ut quo duce omnia summa sit
such in any-man fury that by-whom as-leader all-things highest he-has
adeptus, huius vitam non anteponat suae. An si nihil
attained of-him the-life not he-should-prefer to-his-own or if nothing
tui cogitant sceleris, cavendum est ne quid inimici?
against-you they-plan of-crime to-be-guarded it-is lest anything enemies
Qui? Omnes enim qui fuerunt aut sua pertinacia vitam
who all for who were either by-their-own obstinacy life
amiserunt aut tua misericordia retinuerunt, ut aut nulli
lost or by-your pity retained so-that either none
supersint de inimicis aut qui fuerunt sint amicissimi.
survive of the-enemies or those-who were are most-friendly
Sed tamen cum in animis hominum tantae latebrae sint 22
but still since in the-minds of-men such hiding-places are
et tanti recessus, augeamus sane suspicionem tuam:
and such recesses let-us-increase by-all-means suspicion your
simul enim augebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est
at-the-same-time for we-shall-increase diligence for who is
omnium tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in re publica,
of-all so ignorant of-things so unskilled in the-thing public
tam nihil umquam nec de sua nec de communi salute
so nothing ever either about his-own or about the-common safety
cogitans, qui non intellegat tua salute contineri suam et
thinking who not understands in-your safety to-be-contained his-own and
ex unius tua vita pendere omnium? Equidem de te dies
on of-one-man your life to-hang of-all for-my-part about you days
noctesque, ut debeo, cogitans casus dumtaxat humanos et
and-nights as I-ought thinking the-chances only human and
incertos eventus valetudinis et naturae communis fragilitatem
the-uncertain outcomes of-health and of-nature common the-frailty

extimesco, doleoque, cum res publica immortalis esse
fear and-grieve when the-thing public immortal to-be
debeat, eam in unius mortalis anima consistere.
ought it in of-one mortal the-breath to-rest

23 Si vero ad humanos casus incertosque motus valetudinis
if indeed to human chances and-uncertain motions of-health
sceleris etiam accedit insidiarumque consensio, quem deum,
of-crime also is-added and-of-plots a-conspiracy what god
si cupiat, posse opitulari rei publicae credimus?
if he-desire to-be-able to-help the-thing public do-we-believe
Omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Caesar, uni quae iacere
all-things are to-be-raised-up by-you Gaius Caesar alone which to-lie
sentis belli ipsius impetu, quod necesse fuit, perculsa atque
you-perceive of-war itself by-the-onset as necessary it-was struck and
prostrata: constituenda iudicia, revocanda fides, comprimendae
laid-low to-be-established the-courts to-be-recalled credit to-be-checked
libidines, propaganda suboles, omnia quae dilapsa iam
the-lusts to-be-propagated offspring all-things which having-fallen-apart already
diffluxerunt severis legibus vincienda sunt.
have-melted-away by-severe laws to-be-bound are

24 Non fuit recusandum in tanto civili bello, tanto animorum
not it-was to-be-refused in so-great a-civil war so-great of-minds
ardore et armorum quin quassata res publica, quicumque
an-ardor and of-arms but-that the-shaken thing public whatever
belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet et ornamenta
of-the-war the-outcome had-been many-things should-lose both the-ornaments
dignitatis et praesidia stabilitatis suae, multaque uterque
of-its-dignity and the-defenses of-stability its-own and-many-things each
dux faceret armatus quae idem togatus fieri prohibuisset.
leader should-do armed which the-same in-the-toga to-be-done would-have-forbidden

Quae quidem tibi nunc omnia belli volnera sananda sunt,
which indeed by-you now all of-war the-wounds to-be-healed are
quibus praeter te mederi nemo potest.
which except you to-heal no-one can
Itaque illam tuam praeclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem 25
and-so that your most-splendid and most-wise saying
invitus audivi: 'satis diu vel naturae vixi vel gloriae.' Satis,
unwillingly I-heard enough long either for-nature I-have-lived or for-glory enough
si ita vis, fortasse naturae, addam etiam, si placet, gloriae:
if so you-wish perhaps for-nature I-shall-add even if it-pleases for-glory
at, quod maximum est, patriae certe parum. Qua re
but what greatest is for-your-country certainly too-little by-which thing
omitte, quaeso, istam doctorum hominum in contemnenda
put-aside I-pray that of-learned men in despising
morte prudentiam: noli nostro periculo esse sapiens. Saepe enim
death wisdom do-not at-our risk be wise often for
venit ad meas auris te idem istud nimis crebro dicere, satis
has-come to my ears you the-same that too often to-say enough
te tibi vixisse. Credo, sed tum id audirem, si tibi
you for-yourself to-have-lived I-believe-it but then that I-would-hear if for-yourself
soli viveres aut si tibi etiam soli natus esses. Omnium
alone you-lived or if for-yourself even alone born you-had-been of-all
salutem civium cunctamque rem publicam res tuae gestae
the-safety of-citizens and-the-whole thing public things your done
complexae sunt; tantum abes a perfectione maximorum
embraced have so-far you-are-away from the-completion of-the-greatest
operum ut fundamenta nondum quae cogitas ieceris. Hic tu
works that the-foundations not-yet which you-plan you-have-laid here you
modum vitae tuae non salute rei publicae, sed aequitate
the-limit of-life your not by-the-safety of-the-thing public but by-the-calmness

animi definies? Quid, si istud ne gloriae quidem satis est?
of-mind will-you-define what if that not for-glory even enough is
Cuius te esse avidissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis.
of-which you to-be most-greedy although you-are wise not you-will-deny
26 Parumne, inquies, magna relinquemus? Immo vero aliis
too-little-whether you-will-say great-things shall-we-leave nay indeed for-others
quamvis multis satis, tibi uni parum. Quicquid est enim,
although many enough for-you alone too-little whatever is for
quamvis amplum sit, id est parum tum cum est aliquid
however ample it-be that is too-little then when there-is something
amplius. Quod si rerum tuarum immortalium, C. Caesar,
more-ample but if of-deeds your immortal Gaius Caesar
hic exitus futurus fuit ut devictis adversariis rem
this end going-to-be was that with-conquered adversaries the-thing
publicam in eo statu relinqueres in quo nunc est, vide,
public in that state you-should-leave in which now it-is see
quaeso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura
I-pray lest your divine virtue of-admiration more is going-to-have
quam gloriae; si quidem gloria est inlustris et pervagata
than of-glory if indeed glory is the-illustrious and widespread
magnorum vel in suos civis vel in patriam vel
of-great either toward their-own citizens or toward their-country or
in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.
toward every race of-men fame of-services

The part that remains is to set the state in order, and then to enjoy its peace. Caesar's true life is the one posterity will judge, without favor or hatred, and it will ask whether he put out the fire of civil war. That war divided good men who saw the right differently; now that arms are laid down, all who have any sense wish Caesar safe and promise to guard him with their bodies. Cicero thanks him for Marcellus, as he thanks him for himself.

Haec igitur tibi reliqua pars est; hic restat actus, in 27
this therefore for-you the-remaining part is this remains act in
hoc elaborandum est ut rem publicam constituas, eaque
this one-must-labor is that the-thing public you-establish and-it
tu in primis summa tranquillitate et otio perfruare: tum
you in the-first with-highest tranquility and leisure may-enjoy then
te, si voles, cum et patriae quod debes solveris
you if you-will-wish when both to-your-country what you-owe you-will-have-paid
et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu
and nature itself you-will-have-filled with-satiety of-living enough long
vixisse dicito. Quid enim est omnino hoc ipsum diu
to-have-lived say what for is at-all this very long
in quo est aliquid extremum? Quod cum venit, omnis
in which is something final which when it-has-come all
voluptas praeterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla est
pleasure past for nothing is because afterward none is
futura. Quamquam iste tuus animus numquam his
going-to-be although that your mind never with-these
angustiis quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit contentus
narrow-limits which nature to-us for living gave content
fuit, semper immortalitatis amore flagravit.
was always of-immortality with-love it-has-burned

28 Nec vero haec tua vita ducenda est quae corpore et spiritu
nor indeed this your life to-be-reckoned is which by-body and breath
continetur: illa, inquam, illa vita est tua quae vigebit
is-contained that I-say that life is yours which will-flourish
memoria saeculorum omnium, quam posteritas alet, quam
in-the-memory of-ages all which posterity will-nourish which
ipsa aeternitas semper tuebitur. Huic tu inservias, huic
itself eternity always will-protect to-this you should-be-devoted to-this
te ostentes oportet, quae quidem quae miretur iam
yourself show it-is-proper which indeed things-which it-may-wonder-at now
pridem multa habet; nunc etiam quae laudet exspectat.
long-since many it-has now also things-which it-may-praise it-awaits
Obstupescent posteri certe imperia, provincias, Rhenum,
will-be-astounded posterity certainly the-commands the-provinces the-Rhine
Oceanum, Nilum, pugnas innumerabilis, incredibilis victorias,
the-Ocean the-Nile the-battles innumerable the-incredible victories
monumenta, munera, triumphos audientes et legentes tuos.
the-monuments the-shows the-triumphs hearing and reading-of yours
29 Sed nisi haec urbs stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis erit,
but unless this city made-stable by-your counsels and institutions will-be
vagabitur modo tuum nomen longe atque late, sedem stabilem
will-wander only your name far and wide a-seat stable
et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit inter eos etiam
and home fixed not it-will-have there-will-be among those also
qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, magna dissensio, cum alii
who will-be-born as among us there-was great dissension when some
laudibus ad caelum res tuas gestas efferent, alii fortasse
with-praises to heaven the-things your done will-extol others perhaps
aliquid requirent, idque vel maximum, nisi belli civilis
something will-miss and-that even the-greatest unless of-war civil
incendium salute patriae restinxeris, ut illud fati
the-fire by-the-safety of-the-country you-will-have-put-out so-that that of-fate

fuisse videatur, hoc consili. Servi igitur eis iudicibus qui
to-have-been may-seem this of-counsel serve therefore those judges who
multis post saeculis de te iudicabunt et quidem haud scio
many after ages about you will-judge and indeed not I-know
an incorruptius quam nos; nam et sine amore et sine
whether more-incorruptly than we for both without love and without
cupiditate et rursus sine odio et sine invidia iudicabunt.
desire and again without hatred and without envy they-will-judge
Id autem etiam si tum ad te, ut quidam falso putant, 30
that however even if then to you as certain-men falsely think
non pertinebit, nunc certe pertinet esse te talem ut tuas
not will-pertain now certainly it-pertains to-be you such that your
laudes obscuratura nulla umquam sit oblivio.
praises going-to-obscure no ever be oblivion
Diversae voluntates civium fuerunt distractaeque sententiae.
divergent the-wills of-the-citizens were and-divided the-opinions
Non enim consiliis solum et studiis sed armis etiam
not for in-counsels only and pursuits but in-arms also
et castris dissidebamus. Erat obscuritas quaedam, erat
and camps did-we-disagree there-was an-obscurity certain there-was
certamen inter clarissimos duces; multi dubitabant quid
a-contest between most-famous leaders many doubted what
optimum esset, multi quid sibi expediret, multi quid
best was many what for-themselves was-expedient many what
deceret, non nulli etiam quid liceret.
was-fitting not none even what was-allowed
Perfuncta res publica est hoc misero fatalique bello: vicit is 31
come-through the-thing public has this wretched and-fated war conquered he
qui non fortuna inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret;
who not by-fortune would-inflame hatred his-own but by-goodness would-soften
neque omnis quibus iratus esset eosdem etiam exsilio aut morte
nor all with-whom angry he-was the-same also of-exile or of-death

dignos iudicaret. Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt.
worthy would-judge arms by some laid-down by others snatched-away have-been
Ingratus est iniustusque civis qui armorum periculo liberatus
ungrateful is and-unjust the-citizen who of-arms from-danger freed
animum tamen retinet armatum, ut etiam ille melior sit qui
a-mind still keeps armed so-that even he better is who
in acie cecidit, qui in causa animam profudit. Quae enim
in the-battle-line fell who in the-cause his-life poured-out what for
pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia videri potest.
obstinacy to-some the-same to-others steadfastness to-seem can
32 Sed iam omnis fracta dissensio est armis, exstincta aequitate
but now all broken the-dissension is by-arms extinguished by-the-fairness
victoris: restat ut omnes unum velint qui habent aliquid
of-the-victor it-remains that all one-thing wish who have anything
non sapientiae modo sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te,
not of-wisdom only but also of-sanity unless with-you
C. Caesar, salvo et in ista sententia qua cum antea
Gaius Caesar safe and in that opinion which both before
tum hodie maxime usus es manente salvi esse non
and today most used you-have remaining safe to-be not
possumus. Qua re omnes te qui haec salva esse
we-can by-which thing all you who these-things safe to-be
volumus et hortamur et obsecramus ut vitae, ut saluti
wish both exhort and beseech that for-life that for-safety
tuae consulas, omnesque tibi, ut pro aliis etiam loquar
your you-take-thought and-all to-you that for others also I-may-speak
quod de me ipso sentio, quoniam subesse aliquid putas
what about me myself I-feel since to-lie-beneath something you-think
quod cavendum sit, non modo excubias et custodias sed
which to-be-guarded-against is not only watches and guards but
etiam laterum nostrorum oppositus et corporum pollicemur.
even of-sides our the-interposing and of-bodies we-promise

Sed ut, unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur oratio, 33
but that whence it-has begun in the-same-place may-end speech
maximas tibi omnes gratias agimus, C. Caesar, maiores
the-greatest to-you all thanks we-give Gaius Caesar greater
etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt, quod ex
even we-feel for all the-same feel which from
omnium precibus et lacrimis sentire potuisti. Sed
of-all the-prayers and tears to-perceive you-could but
quia non est omnibus stantibus necesse dicere, a
because not it-is for-all standing necessary to-speak by
me certe dici volunt, cui necesse est quodam
me certainly to-be-said they-wish to-whom necessary it-is in-a-certain
modo, et quod fieri decet M. Marcello a te
way and what to-be-done is-fitting with-Marcus Marcellus by you
huic ordini populoque Romano et rei publicae
to-this order and-to-the-people Roman and to-the-thing public
reddito, fieri id intellego. Nam laetari omnis non
restored to-be-done that I-understand for to-rejoice all not
ut de unius solum sed ut de omnium salute
as about of-one only but as about of-all the-safety
sentio.
I-perceive
Quod autem summae benevolentiae est, quae mea erga 34
what however of-the-highest goodwill is which my toward
illum omnibus nota semper fuit, ut vix C. Marcello,
him to-all known always was that scarcely to-Gaius Marcellus
optimo et amantissimo fratri, praeter eum quidem
best and most-loving brother except him indeed
cederem nemini, cum id sollicitudine, cura, labore
I-would-yield to-no-one since that by-anxiety care labor
tam diu praestiterim quam diu est de illius salute
so long I-showed as long it-was about his safety

dubitatum, certe hoc tempore magnis curis, molestiis,
doubted certainly at-this time from-great cares annoyances
doloribus liberatus praestare debeo. Itaque, C. Caesar,
griefs freed to-show I-ought and-so Gaius Caesar
sic tibi gratias ago ut me omnibus rebus a te
so to-you thanks I-give that me in-all things by you
non conservato solum sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua
not preserved only but also honored still to your
in me unum innumerabilia merita, quod fieri iam
toward me alone innumerable services which to-be-done now
posse non arbitrabar, magnus hoc tuo facto cumulus
to-be-able not I-thought great by-this your deed a-heap
accesserit.
has-been-added

CICERO

Pro Ligario

In Defense of Ligarius

PRO LIGARIO

I · A NEW CHARGE

Tubero has brought a charge never heard before: that Quintus Ligarius was in Africa, which Pansa has already admitted. With nothing left to deny, Cicero turns to Caesar's mercy. Ligarius went to Africa as legate in peacetime, governed the province with integrity, and was forced to stay when Varus seized the command; if his remaining there is a fault, it is one of necessity. Cicero, who went freely to arms against Caesar and was restored by him, defends another without fear.

Novum crimen, C. Caesar, et ante hunc diem non 1
a-new charge Gaius Caesar and before this day not
auditum propinquus meus ad te Q. Tubero detulit,
heard relative my to you Quintus Tubero has-reported
Q. Ligarium in Africa fuisse, idque C. Pansa,
Quintus Ligarius in Africa to-have-been and-that Gaius Pansa
praestanti vir ingenio, fretus fortasse familiaritate ea quae
of-outstanding man in-talent relying perhaps on-the-intimacy that which
est ei tecum ausus est confiteri. Itaque quo me vertam
is to-him with-you dared has to-confess and-so whither myself I-may-turn
nescio. Paratus enim veneram, cum tu id neque per te
I-know-not prepared for I-had-come since you it neither by yourself
scires neque audire aliunde potuisses, ut ignoratione tua
knew nor to-hear from-elsewhere could-have that ignorance your
ad hominis miseri salutem abuterer. Sed quoniam diligentia
for of-the-man wretched the-safety I-might-misuse but since by-the-diligence
inimici investigatum est quod latebat, confitendum est,
of-an-enemy tracked-down it-has-been what lay-hidden to-be-confessed it-is
opinor, praesertim cum meus necessarius Pansa fecerit
I-think especially since my connection Pansa has-brought-it-about
ut id integrum iam non esset, omissaque controversia
that it open now not might-be and-with-dropped controversy

omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est, qua
all speech to pity your to-be-directed is by-which
plurimi sunt conservati, cum a te non liberationem
very-many have-been preserved when from you not acquittal
culpae, sed errati veniam impetravissent.
of-fault but of-error pardon they-had-obtained

2 Habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maxime optandum,
you-have therefore Tubero what is for-an-accuser most to-be-wished
confitentem reum, sed tamen hoc confitentem, se in ea
a-confessing defendant but still this confessing himself on that
parte fuisse qua te, qua virum omni laude dignum,
side to-have-been on-which you on-which a-man of-all praise worthy
patrem tuum. Itaque prius de vestro delicto confiteamini
father your and-so first about your-own offense you-confess
necesse est quam Ligari ullam culpam reprehendatis.
necessary it-is than of-Ligarius any fault you-censure
Q. enim Ligarius, cum esset nulla belli suspicio,
Quintus for Ligarius when there-was no of-war suspicion
legatus in Africam C. Considio profectus est, qua
as-legate into Africa with-Gaius Considius set-out has which
in legatione et civibus et sociis ita se probavit ut
in legation both to-citizens and to-allies so himself he-commended that
decedens Considius provincia satis facere hominibus non
departing Considius from-the-province satisfaction to-make to-men not
posset, si quemquam alium provinciae praefecisset. Itaque
could if anyone other over-the-province he-had-put and-so
Ligarius, cum diu recusans nihil profecisset, provinciam
Ligarius when long refusing nothing he-had-achieved the-province
accepit invitus; cui sic praefuit in pace ut et civibus
accepted unwilling over-which so he-presided in peace that both to-citizens
et sociis gratissima esset eius integritas et fides.
and to-allies most-welcome was his integrity and good-faith

Bellum subito exarsit, quod qui erant in Africa ante 3
war suddenly blazed-up which those-who were in Africa before
audierunt geri quam parari. Quo audito partim
heard to-be-waged than to-be-prepared which having-been-heard partly
cupiditate inconsiderata, partim caeco quodam timore primo
by-desire inconsiderate partly by-blind a-certain fear first
salutis, post etiam studi sui quaerebant aliquem ducem,
of-safety then also of-zeal their-own they-sought some leader
cum Ligarius domum spectans, ad suos redire cupiens,
while Ligarius home looking to his-own to-return desiring
nullo se implicari negotio passus est. Interim P. Attius
by-no himself to-be-entangled business allowed has meanwhile Publius Attius
Varus, qui tum praetor Africam obtinuerat, Uticam venit.
Varus who then as-praetor Africa had-held to-Utica came
Ad eum statim concursum est. Atque ille non mediocri
to him at-once a-rush was and he not with-moderate
cupiditate adripuit imperium, si illud imperium esse potuit
desire seized the-command if that command to-be could
quod ad privatum clamore multitudinis imperitae, nullo
which to a-private-man by-the-shouting of-a-multitude ignorant by-no
publico consilio deferebatur.
public counsel was-conferred
Itaque Ligarius, qui omne tale negotium fugeret, paulum 4
and-so Ligarius who all such business fled a-little
adventu Vari conquievit. Adhuc, C. Caesar, Q. Ligarius
at-the-arrival of-Varus rested so-far Gaius Caesar Quintus Ligarius
omni culpa vacat. Domo est egressus non modo nullum
of-all fault is-free from-home he-has departed not only no
ad bellum sed ne ad minimam quidem suspicionem belli;
for war but not to the-least even suspicion of-war
legatus in pace profectus in provincia pacatissima ita se
a-legate in peace having-set-out in a-province most-peaceful so himself

gessit ut ei pacem esse expediret. Profectio certe
he-conducted that to-him peace to-be was-expedient the-departure certainly
animum tuum non debet offendere: num igitur remansio?
mind your not ought to-offend surely-not therefore the-remaining
Multo minus. Nam profectio voluntatem habuit non turpem,
much less for the-departure an-intent had not shameful
remansio necessitatem etiam honestam. Ergo haec duo
the-remaining a-necessity even honorable therefore these two
tempora carent crimine: unum cum est legatus profectus,
times lack a-charge one when he-has as-legate set-out
alterum cum efflagitatus a provincia praepositus Africae est.
the-other when demanded by the-province put-in-charge over-Africa he-was
5 Tertium tempus quod post adventum Vari in Africa restitit,
the-third time that after the-arrival of-Varus in Africa he-remained
si est criminosum, necessitatis crimen est, non voluntatis. An
if it-is criminal of-necessity the-charge is not of-will or
ille, si potuisset illinc ullo modo evadere, Uticae quam
he if he-could-have from-there in-any way escape at-Utica than
Romae, cum P. Attio quam cum concordissimis fratribus,
at-Rome with Publius Attius than with most-harmonious brothers
cum alienis esse quam cum suis maluisset? Cum
with strangers to-be than with his-own would-he-have-preferred when
ipsa legatio plena desideri ac sollicitudinis fuisset propter
itself the-legation full of-longing and anxiety had-been on-account-of
incredibilem quendam fratrum amorem, hic aequo animo
an-incredible certain of-brothers love this-man with-even mind
esse potuit belli discidio distractus a fratribus?
to-be could of-war by-the-split torn-away from his-brothers
6 Nullum igitur habes, Caesar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum
no therefore you-have Caesar so-far in Quintus Ligarius sign
alienae a te voluntatis; cuius ego causam animadverte,
estranged from you of-a-will whose I cause notice

quaeso, qua fide defendam: prodo meam. O clementiam
I-pray with-what good-faith I-defend I-betray my-own O clemency
admirabilem atque omnium laude, praedicatione, litteris
admirable and of-all with-praise proclamation letters
monumentisque decorandam! M. Cicero apud te defendit
and-monuments to-be-adorned Marcus Cicero before you defends
alium in ea voluntate non fuisse in qua se ipsum
another in that will not to-have-been in which himself very-self
confitetur fuisse, nec tuas tacitas cogitationes extimescit nec
he-confesses to-have-been nor your silent thoughts does-he-fear nor
quid tibi de alio audienti de se occurrat reformidat.
what to-you about another hearing about himself may-occur does-he-dread
Vide quam non reformidem; vide quanta lux liberalitatis
see how not I-dread see how-great a-light of-generosity
et sapientiae tuae mihi apud te dicenti oboriatur: quantum
and of-wisdom your to-me before you speaking rises as-much-as
potero voce contendam ut hoc populus Romanus exaudiat.
I-shall-be-able with-voice I-shall-strain that this the-people Roman may-hear
Suscepto bello, Caesar, gesto etiam ex parte magna, nulla 7
with-undertaken war Caesar waged even in part great by-no
vi coactus, iudicio ac voluntate ad ea arma profectus sum
force compelled by-judgment and will to those arms I-set-out have
quae erant sumpta contra te. Apud quem igitur hoc dico?
which had-been taken-up against you before whom therefore this do-I-say
Nempe apud eum qui, cum hoc sciret, tamen me, ante quam
surely before him who although this he-knew still me before than
vidit, rei publicae reddidit; qui ad me ex Aegypto
he-saw-me to-the-thing public restored who to me from Egypt
litteras misit ut essem idem qui fuissem; qui me, cum
a-letter sent that I-should-be the-same who I-had-been who me when
ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus
he-himself commander in the-whole empire of-the-people Roman alone

esset, esse alterum passus est; a quo hoc ipso C. Pansa
was to-be the-second allowed has by whom by-this very Gaius Pansa
mihi hunc nuntium perferente concessos fascis laureatos tenui
to-me this message bearing granted the-fasces laureled I-held
quoad tenendos putavi; qui mihi tum denique salutem se
as-long-as to-be-held I-thought who to-me then at-last safety himself
putavit dare, si eam nullis spoliatam ornamentis dedisset.
thought to-give if it by-no stripped distinctions he-had-given
8 Vide, quaeso, Tubero, ut, qui de meo facto non dubitem,
see I-pray Tubero how I-who about my-own deed not doubt
de Ligari audeam dicere. Atque haec propterea de
about Ligarius' dare to-speak and these-things for-this-reason about
me dixi ut mihi Tubero, cum de se eadem dicerem,
me I-said that me Tubero when about himself the-same I-was-saying
ignosceret; cuius ego industriae gloriaeque faveo vel propter
should-pardon whose I industry and-glory favor either on-account-of
propinquam cognationem, vel quod eius ingenio studiisque
near kinship or because in-his talent and-pursuits
delector, vel quod laudem adulescentis propinqui existimo
I-delight or because the-praise of-a-young-man related I-think
etiam ad meum aliquem fructum redundare.
even to my some fruit to-overflow

Cicero, who was in the same camp himself, asks who calls it a crime to have been in Africa: Tubero, who wanted that province too and drew his sword against Caesar at Pharsalus. His accusation tends not to exile, which Ligarius already suffers, but to death, and it would forbid Caesar's mercy. No one asked such a thing even of Sulla, who killed whom he pleased; Cicero knows Tubero's family and believes he does not seek blood, but he does not see where his accusation leads.

Sed hoc quaero: quis putat esse crimen fuisse in Africa? 9
but this I-ask who thinks to-be a-charge to-have-been in Africa
Nempe is qui et ipse in eadem provincia esse voluit et
surely he who both himself in the-same province to-be wished and
prohibitum se a Ligario queritur, et certe contra ipsum
kept himself by Ligarius complains and certainly against himself
Caesarem est congressus armatus. Quid enim, Tubero, tuus
Caesar has engaged armed what for Tubero your
ille destrictus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat? Cuius
that drawn in the-battle-line Pharsalian sword was-doing whose
latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum?
side that point sought what meaning was of-arms your
quae tua mens, oculi, manus, ardor animi? quid cupiebas,
what your mind eyes hands ardor of-spirit what did-you-desire
quid optabas? Nimis urgeo; commoveri videtur adulescens.
what did-you-wish too-much I-press to-be-moved seems the-young-man
Ad me revertar. Isdem in armis fui. Quid autem aliud 10
to myself I-shall-return the-same in arms I-was what however else
egimus, Tubero, nisi ut quod hic potest nos possemus?
did-we-do Tubero except that what this-man can we might-be-able
Quorum igitur impunitas, Caesar, tuae clementiae laus
of-whom therefore the-impunity Caesar of-your clemency the-praise
est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem te acuet oratio?
is of-those very-men to cruelty you will-sharpen the-speech

Atque in hac causa non nihil equidem, Tubero, etiam tuam,
and in this case not nothing for-my-part Tubero even your
sed multo magis patris tui prudentiam desidero, quod homo
but much more of-father your the-good-sense miss because a-man
cum ingenio tum etiam doctrina excellens genus hoc causae
both in-talent and also in-learning excelling the-kind this of-case
quod esset non viderit. Nam si vidisset, quovis profecto
what it-was not saw for if he-had-seen in-any-way surely
quam isto modo a te agi maluisset. Arguis
than in-that way by you to-be-pleaded he-would-have-preferred you-accuse
fatentem. Non est satis: accusas eum qui causam habet aut,
one-confessing not it-is enough you-accuse him who a-cause has either
ut ego dico, meliorem quam tu aut, ut tu vis, parem.
as I say better than you or as you wish equal
11 Haec admirabilia, sed prodigi simile est quod dicam. Non
these-things are-admirable but to-a-portent like is what I-shall-say not
habet eam vim ista accusatio ut Q. Ligarius condemnetur,
has that force that accusation that Quintus Ligarius be-condemned
sed ut necetur. Hoc egit civis Romanus ante te nemo:
but that he-be-killed this has-done citizen Roman before you no-one
externi sunt isti mores aut levium Graecorum aut immanium
foreign are those ways either of-fickle Greeks or of-monstrous
barbarorum. Nam quid agis aliud? Ut Romae ne sit, ut domo
barbarians for what do-you-do else that at-Rome not he-be that home
careat, ne cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc T. Broccho
he-lack that-not with best brothers that-not with this Titus Brocchus
avunculo, ne cum eius filio consobrino suo, ne nobiscum
his-uncle that-not with his son cousin his-own that-not with-us
vivat, ne sit in patria? Num est, num potest magis
he-live that-not he-be in his-country surely-not is surely-not can more

carere his omnibus quam caret? Italia prohibetur, exsulat.
to-lack these all-things than he-lacks from-Italy he-is-kept is-in-exile
Non tu hunc ergo patria privare, qua caret, sed vita vis.
not you him therefore of-country to-deprive which he-lacks but of-life you-wish
At istud ne apud eum quidem dictatorem qui omnis quos 12
but that not before that even dictator who all whom
oderat morte multabat quisquam egit isto modo. Ipse
he-hated with-death punished anyone did in-that way he-himself
iubebat occidi nullo postulante, praemiis invitabat; quae
ordered to-be-killed with-no-one demanding with-rewards he-invited which
tamen crudelitas ab hoc eodem aliquot annis post quem tu
still cruelty by this same-man some years later whom you
nunc crudelem esse vis vindicata est. 'Ego vero istud non
now cruel to-be wish avenged has-been I indeed that not
postulo' inquies. Ita me hercule existimo, Tubero. Novi
demand you-will-say so so-help-me Hercules I-think Tubero I-know
enim te, novi patrem, novi domum nomenque vestrum;
for you I-know your-father I-know your-house and-name your
studia generis ac familiae vestrae virtutis, humanitatis,
the-pursuits of-race and of-family your of-virtue of-humanity
doctrinae, plurimarum artium atque optimarum nota mihi sunt.
of-learning of-very-many arts and the-best known to-me are
Itaque certo scio vos non petere sanguinem, sed parum 13
and-so for-certain I-know you not to-seek blood but too-little
attenditis. Res enim eo spectat ut ea poena in
you-attend the-thing for to-that looks that with-that penalty in
qua adhuc Q. Ligarius sit non videamini esse contenti.
which so-far Quintus Ligarius is not you-seem to-be content
Quae est igitur alia praeter mortem? Si enim est in exsilio,
what is therefore other besides death if for he-is in exile
sicuti est, quid amplius postulatis? an, ne ignoscatur?
as he-is what more do-you-demand or-whether that-not he-be-pardoned

Hoc vero multo acerbius multoque durius. Quodne nos
this indeed much more-bitter and-much harsher what-whether we
petimus precibus ac lacrimis, strati ad pedes, non tam
seek with-prayers and tears prostrate at your-feet not so-much
nostrae causae fidentes quam huius humanitati, id ne
in-our-own cause trusting as in-this-man's humanity that lest
impetremus pugnabis, et in nostrum fletum inrumpes, et
we-obtain will-you-fight and upon our weeping will-you-burst and
nos iacentis ad pedes supplicum voce prohibebis?
us lying at his-feet of-suppliants with-the-voice will-you-forbid
14 Si, cum hoc domi faceremus, quod et fecimus et, ut
if when this at-home we-were-doing which both we-did and as
spero, non frustra fecimus, tu repente inruisses et clamare
I-hope not in-vain we-did you suddenly had-burst-in and to-shout
coepisses 'C. Caesar, cave credas, cave ignoscas, cave
had-begun Gaius Caesar beware-of believing beware-of pardoning beware-of
te fratrum pro fratris salute obsecrantium misereat,' nonne
yourself of-brothers for a-brother's safety beseeching taking-pity surely
omnem humanitatem exuisses? Quanto hoc durius,
all humanity you-would-have-put-off how-much this harsher
quod nos domi petimus, id a te in foro oppugnari et
that-what we at-home seek that by you in the-forum to-be-attacked and
in tali miseria multorum perfugium misericordiae tolli?
in such misery of-many the-refuge of-pity to-be-removed
Dicam plane, Caesar, quod sentio.
I-shall-say plainly Caesar what I-feel
15 Si in tanta tua fortuna lenitas tanta non esset, quam tu per
if in so-great your fortune mildness so-great not were which you by
te, per te, inquam, obtines — intellego quid loquar—,
yourself by yourself I-say hold I-understand what I-say
acerbissimo luctu redundaret ista victoria. Quam multi enim
with-most-bitter grief would-overflow that victory how many for

essent de victoribus qui te crudelem esse vellent, cum etiam
would-be of the-victors who you cruel to-be would-wish when even
de victis reperiantur! Quam multi qui cum a te ignosci
of the-conquered they-are-found how many who since by you to-be-pardoned
nemini vellent, impedirent clementiam tuam, cum hi quibus
to-no-one they-wished would-hinder clemency your when these whom
ipsis ignovisti nolint te esse in alios misericordem!
themselves you-have-pardoned are-unwilling you to-be toward others merciful
Quod si probare Caesari possemus in Africa Ligarium 16
but if to-prove to-Caesar we-could in Africa Ligarius
omnino non fuisse, si honesto et misericordi mendacio
at-all not to-have-been if by-an-honorable and merciful lie
saluti civi calamitoso esse vellemus, tamen hominis non
for-safety to-a-citizen ruined to-be we-wished still of-a-man not
esset in tanto discrimine et periculo civis refellere
it-would-be in so-great crisis and danger of-a-citizen to-refute
et coarguere nostrum mendacium, et, si esset alicuius, eius
and to-expose our lie and if it-were of-anyone of-him
certe non esset qui in eadem causa et fortuna fuisset.
certainly not it-would-be who in the-same cause and fortune had-been
Sed tamen aliud est errare Caesarem nolle, aliud est
but still one-thing it-is to-err Caesar to-be-unwilling another it-is
nolle misereri. Tum diceres: 'Caesar, cave credas:
to-be-unwilling to-pity then you-would-say Caesar beware-of believing
fuit in Africa, tulit arma contra te.' Nunc quid dicis?
he-was in Africa he-bore arms against you now what do-you-say
'Cave ignoscas.' Haec nec hominis nec ad hominem vox
beware-of pardoning this neither of-a-man nor to a-man the-voice
est. Qua qui apud te, C. Caesar, utetur, suam citius
is which who before you Gaius Caesar will-use his-own sooner
abiciet humanitatem quam extorquebit tuam.
will-throw-away humanity than he-will-wrest-away yours

Tubero calls Ligarius' fault a crime; others have called it error, fear, or obstinacy, and Cicero calls it a fated calamity. Caesar himself judged it a secession, not a war, and in his victory no one died but those under arms. Tubero was sent to Africa by the senate's lot and went unwillingly; he arrived late and found the province held, so his complaint against Ligarius is that he was refused a share in a war against Caesar.

17 Ac primus aditus et postulatio Tuberonis haec, ut opinor,
and the-first approach and demand of-Tubero this as I-think
fuit, velle se de Q. Ligari scelere dicere. Non dubito
was to-wish himself about Quintus Ligarius' crime to-speak not I-doubt
quin admiratus sis, vel quod nullo de alio quisquam,
but-that wondered you-have either because no about other anyone
vel quod is qui in eadem causa fuisset, vel quidnam novi
or because he who in the-same cause had-been or what new
sceleris adferret. 'Scelus' tu illud vocas, Tubero? Cur? Isto
crime he-was-bringing a-crime you that call Tubero why by-that
enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant,
for name that so-far cause has-lacked others an-error call-it
alii timorem; qui durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium,
others fear those-who more-harshly hope desire hatred
pertinaciam; qui gravissime, temeritatem: scelus praeter te
obstinacy those-who most-gravely rashness crime besides you
adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen
so-far no-one and to-me indeed if the-proper and true name
nostri mali quaeritur, fatalis quaedam calamitas incidisse videtur
of-our evil is-sought a-fated certain calamity to-have-fallen seems
et improvidas hominum mentis occupavisse, ut nemo mirari
and the-improvident of-men minds to-have-seized so-that no-one to-wonder
debeat humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata.
ought human counsels by-divine necessity to-have-been overcome

Liceat esse miseros — quamquam hoc victore 18
let-it-be-allowed to-be wretched although with-this-man as-victor
esse non possumus; sed non loquor de nobis, de illis
to-be not we-can but not I-speak about us about those
loquor qui occiderunt — fuerint cupidi, fuerint
I-speak who fell let-them-have-been desirous let-them-have-been
irati, fuerint pertinaces: sceleris vero crimine, furoris,
angry let-them-have-been obstinate of-crime indeed from-the-charge of-fury
parricidi liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo, liceat
of-parricide may-it-be-allowed for-Gnaeus Pompey dead may-it-be-allowed
multis aliis carere. Quando hoc ex te quisquam, Caesar,
for-many others to-be-free when this from you anyone Caesar
audivit, aut tua quid aliud arma voluerunt nisi a te
heard or your what else arms wished except from you
contumeliam propulsare? Quid egit tuus invictus exercitus
insult to-drive-off what did your unconquered army
nisi uti suum ius tueretur et dignitatem tuam? Quid?
except that its-own right it-might-protect and dignity your what
Tu, cum pacem esse cupiebas, idne agebas ut tibi
you when peace to-be you-desired that-whether were-you-doing that for-you
cum sceleratis an ut cum bonis civibus conveniret?
with criminals or that with good citizens agreement-should-be
Mihi vero, Caesar, tua in me maxima merita tanta certe 19
to-me indeed Caesar your toward me greatest services so-great certainly
non viderentur, si me ut sceleratum a te conservatum
not would-seem if me as a-criminal by you preserved
putarem. Quo modo autem tu de re publica bene meritus
I-thought in-what way however you of the-thing public well deserved
esses, cum tot sceleratos incolumi dignitate esse
would-you-have-been when so-many criminals with-unharmed dignity to-be
voluisses? Secessionem tu illam existimavisti, Caesar, initio,
you-had-wished a-secession you that thought Caesar at-the-beginning

non bellum, nec hostile odium, sed civile discidium, utrisque
not a-war nor hostile hatred but a-civil split with-both
cupientibus rem publicam salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim
desiring the-thing public safe but partly in-counsels partly
studiis a communi utilitate aberrantibus. Principum dignitas
in-zeal from the-common advantage straying of-the-leaders the-dignity
erat paene par, non par fortasse eorum qui sequebantur;
was almost equal not equal perhaps of-those who followed
causa tum dubia, quod erat aliquid in utraque parte quod
the-cause then doubtful because there-was something in each side which
probari posset; nunc melior ea iudicanda est quam etiam
to-be-approved could now better that to-be-judged is which even
di adiuverunt. Cognita vero clementia tua quis non eam
the-gods helped known indeed clemency your who not that
victoriam probet in qua occiderit nemo nisi armatus?
victory would-approve in which fell no-one unless armed
20 Sed, ut omittam communem causam, veniamus ad nostram.
but that I-may-pass-over the-common cause let-us-come to ours
Utrum tandem existimas facilius fuisse, Tubero, Ligario
which-of-the-two pray do-you-think easier to-have-been Tubero for-Ligarius
ex Africa exire an vobis in Africam non venire? 'Poteramusne,'
from Africa to-go-out or for-you into Africa not to-come could-we-whether
inquies, 'cum senatus censuisset?' Si me consulis, nullo modo;
you-will-say when the-senate had-decreed if me you-consult in-no way
sed tamen Ligarium senatus idem legaverat. Atque ille
but still Ligarius the-senate the-same had-appointed-as-legate and he
eo tempore paruit cum parere senatui necesse erat; vos tum
at-that time obeyed when to-obey the-senate necessary it-was you then
paruistis cum paruit nemo qui noluit. Reprehendo igitur?
obeyed when obeyed no-one who did-not-wish do-I-censure therefore
Minime vero. Neque enim licuit aliter vestro generi,
least indeed nor for it-was-allowed otherwise to-your race

nomini, familiae, disciplinae. Sed hoc non concedo ut, quibus
name family training but this not I-concede that in-what
rebus gloriemini in vobis, easdem in aliis reprehendatis.
things you-glory in yourselves the-same in others you-censure
Tuberonis sors coniecta est ex senatus consulto, cum ipse 21
of-Tubero the-lot cast was by of-the-senate decree when he-himself
non adesset, morbo etiam impediretur: statuerat excusari.
not was-present by-illness also was-hindered he-had-decided to-be-excused
Haec ego novi propter omnis necessitudines quae mihi sunt
these-things I know on-account-of all the-bonds which to-me are
cum L. Tuberone: domi una eruditi, militiae contubernales,
with Lucius Tubero at-home together educated in-the-field tent-companions
post adfines, in omni vita familiares; magnum etiam vinculum
afterward relatives in all life intimates great also the-bond
quod isdem studiis semper usi sumus. Scio Tuberonem
that the-same pursuits always used we-have I-know Tubero
domi manere voluisse: sed ita quidam agebant, ita rei
at-home to-remain to-have-wished but so certain-men were-acting so of-the-thing
publicae sanctissimum nomen opponebant ut, etiam si aliter
public the-most-sacred name they-set-against-him that even if otherwise
sentiret, virorum tamen ipsorum pondus sustinere non posset.
he-felt of-the-men still themselves the-weight to-withstand not he-could
Cessit auctoritati amplissimi viri vel potius paruit: una 22
he-yielded to-the-authority of-a-most-ample man or rather obeyed together
est profectus cum eis quorum erat una causa. Tardius
he-has set-out with those whose was one cause more-slowly
iter fecit; itaque in Africam venit iam occupatam.
the-journey he-made and-so into Africa he-came already occupied
Hinc in Ligarium crimen oritur vel ira potius. Nam si
hence against Ligarius a-charge arises or anger rather for if
crimen est voluisse, non minus magnum est vos Africam,
a-charge it-is to-have-wished not less great it-is you Africa

arcem omnium provinciarum, natam ad bellum contra hanc
the-citadel of-all provinces born for war against this
urbem gerendum, obtinere voluisse quam aliquem se
city to-be-waged to-hold to-have-wished than someone himself
maluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis Ligarius non fuit: Varus
to-have-preferred and he still someone Ligarius not was Varus
imperium se habere dicebat; fascis certe habebat.
command himself to-have said the-fasces certainly he-had

23 Sed quoquo modo se illud habet, haec querela, Tubero,
but in-whatever way itself that has this complaint Tubero
vestra quid valet? 'Recepti in provinciam non sumus.'
your what is-it-worth received into the-province not we-were
Quid, si essetis? Caesarine eam traditurі fuistis an
what if you-had-been to-Caesar-whether it going-to-hand-over were-you or
contra Caesarem retenturi? Vide quid licentiae, Caesar,
against Caesar going-to-hold see how-much of-license Caesar
nobis tua liberalitas det vel potius audaciae. Si responderit
to-us your generosity gives or rather of-audacity if will-have-answered
Tubero, Africam, quo senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi
Tubero Africa whither the-senate him and-the-lot had-sent to-you
patrem suum traditurum fuisse, non dubitabo apud
father his going-to-hand-over to-have-been not I-shall-hesitate before
ipsum te cuius id eum facere interfuit gravissimis
you yourself for-whom that him to-do it-was-important in-most-weighty
verbis eius consilium reprehendere. Non enim, si tibi ea
words his counsel to-censure not for if to-you that
res grata fuisset, esset etiam approbata.
thing welcome had-been it-would-be also approved

Tubero, kept out of his province, took his complaint to Pompey, under whom he went on to make war on Caesar; what complaint can he now bring to Caesar? Cicero praises the steadfastness of a man who returned to the very side that had shut him out. Cicero does not plead the case as before judges, with denials and excuses, but as before a parent: he erred, he repents, he asks pardon. He has seen Caesar moved by the reasons of the petitioners rather than their influence, and by the justice of their grief.

Sed iam hoc totum omitto, non ultra offendam tuas 24
but now this whole I-pass-over not further I-shall-offend your
patientissimas auris quam ne Tubero quod numquam cogitavit
most-patient ears than lest Tubero what never he-planned
facturus fuisse videatur. Veniebatis igitur in provinciam,
going-to-do to-have-been may-seem you-were-coming therefore into a-province
unam ex omnibus huic victoriae maxime infensam, in qua
the-one of all to-this victory most hostile in which
rex potentissimus inimicus huic causae, aliena voluntas
a-king most-powerful hostile to-this cause estranged the-will
conventus firmi atque magni. Quaero: quid facturi fuistis?
of-the-associations strong and great I-ask what going-to-do you-were
quamquam quid facturi fueritis dubitem, cum videam
although what going-to-do you-may-have-been I-should-doubt when I-see
quid feceritis? Prohibiti estis in provincia vestra pedem
what you-did kept you-were in province your a-foot
ponere et prohibiti summa cum iniuria.
to-set and kept the-highest with injustice
Quo modo id tulistis? acceptae iniuriae querelam ad quem 25
in-what manner that did-you-bear of-received injury the-complaint to whom
detulistis? Nempe ad eum cuius auctoritatem secuti in
did-you-carry surely to him whose authority having-followed into

societatem belli veneratis. Quod si Caesaris causa in
the-fellowship of-war you-had-come but if of-Caesar for-the-sake into
provinciam veniebatis, ad eum profecto exclusi provincia
the-province you-were-coming to him surely shut-out from-the-province
venissetis. Venistis ad Pompeium. Quae est ergo apud
you-would-have-come you-came to Pompey what is therefore before
Caesarem querela, cum eum accusetis a quo queramini
Caesar the-complaint when him you-accuse by whom you-complain
prohibitos vos contra Caesarem gerere bellum? Atque in hoc
kept you against Caesar to-wage war and in this
quidem vel cum mendacio, si voltis, gloriemini per me licet,
indeed even with a-lie if you-wish you-may-glory by me it-is-allowed
vos provinciam fuisse Caesari tradituros. Etiam si a Varo
you the-province to-have-been to-Caesar going-to-hand-over even if by Varus
et a quibusdam aliis prohibiti estis, ego tamen confitebor
and by certain others kept you-were I still will-confess
culpam esse Ligari qui vos tantae laudis occasione privarit.
the-fault to-be of-Ligarius who you of-so-great praise of-the-occasion deprived
26 Sed vide, quaeso, Caesar, constantiam ornatissimi viri
but see I-pray Caesar the-steadfastness of-a-most-distinguished man
L. Tuberonis, quam ego, quamvis ipse probarem, ut probo,
Lucius Tubero which I although myself I-approved as I-approve
tamen non commemorarem, nisi a te cognovissem in primis
still not would-recall unless from you I-had-learned in the-first
eam virtutem solere laudari. Quae fuit igitur umquam in
that virtue to-be-wont to-be-praised what was therefore ever in
ullo homine tanta constantia? Constantiam dico; nescio an
any man so-great steadfastness steadfastness I-say I-know-not whether
melius patientiam possim dicere. Quotus enim istud quisque
better patience I-could to-say how-few for that each
fecisset ut, a quibus partibus in dissensione civili non
would-have-done that by which party in dissension civil not

esset receptus, essetque etiam cum crudelitate reiectus,
he-had-been received and-had-been even with cruelty rejected
ad eas ipsas partis rediret? Magni cuiusdam animi atque
to those very parties he-should-return of-great a-certain spirit and
eius viri quem de suscepta causa propositaque sententia
of-that man whom from undertaken cause and-set-forth opinion
nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum posset depellere.
no insult no force no danger could to-dislodge
Ut enim cetera paria Tuberoni cum Varo fuissent, 27
granted-that for the-other-things equal to-Tubero with Varus had-been
honos, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quae nequaquam fuerunt,
office nobility splendor talent which by-no-means were
hoc certe praecipuum Tuberonis quod iusto cum imperio ex
this certainly special of-Tubero that lawful with command by
senatus consulto in provinciam suam venerat. Hinc prohibitus
of-the-senate decree into province his-own he-had-come hence kept
non ad Caesarem ne iratus, non domum ne iners, non aliquam
not to Caesar lest angry not home lest inert not some
in regionem ne condemnare causam illam quam secutus
into region lest to-condemn the-cause that which followed
esset videretur: in Macedoniam ad Cn. Pompei castra
he-had he-might-seem into Macedonia to of-Gnaeus Pompey the-camp
venit, in eam ipsam causam a qua erat reiectus iniuria.
he-came into that very cause by which he-had-been rejected wrongfully
Quid? cum ista res nihil commovisset eius animum ad 28
what when that thing nothing had-moved his mind to
quem veneratis, languidiore, credo, studio in causa fuistis;
whom you-had-come with-more-languid I-suppose zeal in the-cause you-were
tantum modo in praesidiis eratis, animi vero a causa
so-much only in the-garrisons you-were the-minds indeed from the-cause
abhorrebant: an, ut fit in civilibus bellis — nec in
were-averse or as happens in civil wars nor in

vobis magis quam in reliquis; omnes enim vincendi studio
you more than in the-rest all for of-conquering by-zeal
tenebamur. Pacis equidem semper auctor fui, sed tum sero;
we-were-held of-peace for-my-part always the-advocate was but then late
erat enim amentis, cum aciem videres, pacem cogitare.
it-was for of-a-madman when the-battle-line you-saw peace to-think-of
Omnes, inquam, vincere volebamus; tu certe praecipue, qui
all I-say to-conquer wished you certainly especially who
in eum locum venisses ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi
into that place had-come where for-you it-was to-be-perished unless
vicisses. Quamquam, ut nunc se res habet, non dubito
you-conquered although as now itself the-thing has not I-doubt
quin hanc salutem anteponas illi victoriae.
but-that this safety you-prefer to-that victory

29 Haec ego non dicerem, Tubero, si aut vos constantiae
these-things I not would-say Tubero if either you of-steadfastness
vestrae aut Caesarem beneficii sui paeniteret. Nunc quaero
your or Caesar of-kindness his repented now I-ask
utrum vestras iniurias an rei publicae persequamini. Si
whether your wrongs or of-the-thing public you-pursue if
rei publicae, quid de vestra in illa causa perseverantia
of-the-thing public what about your in that cause perseverance
respondebitis? Si vestras, videte ne erretis qui Caesarem
will-you-answer if yours see lest you-err who Caesar
vestris inimicis iratum fore putetis, cum ignoverit suis.
with-your enemies angry going-to-be think when he-has-pardoned his-own
Itaque num tibi videor in causa Ligari esse occupatus,
and-so surely-not to-you do-I-seem in the-case of-Ligarius to-be busied
num de eius facto dicere? Quicquid dixi, ad unam
surely-not about his deed to-speak whatever I-have-said to one

summam referri volo vel humanitatis vel clementiae vel
sum to-be-referred I-wish either of-humanity or of-clemency or
misericordiae.
of-pity
Causas, Caesar, egi multas equidem tecum, dum te in foro 30
cases Caesar I-pleaded many for-my-part with-you while you in the-forum
tenuit ratio honorum tuorum, certe numquam hoc modo:
held the-course of-offices your certainly never in-this way
'ignoscite, iudices; erravit, lapsus est, non putavit; si umquam
pardon judges he-erred slipped he-has not he-thought if ever
posthac.' Ad parentem sic agi solet, ad iudices: 'non fecit,
hereafter to a-parent so to-be-pleaded is-wont to judges not he-did
non cogitavit; falsi testes, fictum crimen.' Dic te, Caesar, de
not he-planned false witnesses a-feigned charge say you Caesar about
facto Ligari iudicem esse; quibus in praesidiis fuerit quaere:
the-deed of-Ligarius judge to-be what in garrisons he-was ask
taceo, ne haec quidem conligo, quae fortasse valerent etiam
I-am-silent not these-things even do-I-collect which perhaps would-avail even
apud iudicem: 'legatus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace,
before a-judge as-legate before the-war set-out left-behind in peace
bello oppressus, in eo ipso non acerbus, totus animo et studio
by-war overwhelmed in it itself not bitter wholly in-mind and zeal
tuus.' Ad iudicem sic, sed ego apud parentem loquor: 'erravi,
yours to a-judge so but I before a-parent speak I-have-erred
temere feci, paenitet; ad clementiam tuam confugio,
rashly I-have-done I-repent to clemency your I-flee
delicti veniam peto, ut ignoscatur oro.' Si nemo impetravit,
of-the-offense pardon I-seek that it-be-pardoned I-beg if no-one has-obtained-it
adroganter: si plurimi, tu idem fer opem qui spem dedisti.
arrogantly if very-many you the-same bring help who hope gave

31 An sperandi de Ligario causa non erit, cum mihi apud
or of-hoping about Ligarius a-reason not will-there-be when for-me before
te locus sit etiam pro altero deprecandi? Quamquam nec
you place is even for another of-interceding although neither
in hac oratione spes est posita causae nec in eorum studiis
in this speech hope is placed of-the-case nor in their zeal
qui a te pro Ligario petunt tui necessarii. Vidi enim
who from you for Ligarius ask your connections I-saw for
et cognovi quid maxime spectares, cum pro alicuius salute
and learned what most you-regarded when for of-someone the-safety
multi laborarent: causas apud te rogantium gratiosiores esse
many labored the-reasons with you of-those-asking more-influential to-be
quam voltus, neque te spectare quam tuus esset necessarius
than the-faces nor you to-regard how your was connection
is qui te oraret, sed quam illius pro quo laboraret. Itaque
he who you begged but how of-that-man for whom he-labored and-so
tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa ut mihi beatiores illi
you-grant you indeed to-your-own so many-things that to-me happier they
videantur interdum qui tua liberalitate fruantur quam tu ipse
seem sometimes who your generosity enjoy than you yourself
qui illis tam multa concedas; sed video tamen apud te,
who to-them so many-things grant but I-see still with you
ut dixi, causas valere plus quam preces, ab eisque te moveri
as I-said reasons to-avail more than prayers by and-those you to-be-moved
maxime quorum iustissimum videas dolorem in petendo.
most whose most-just you-see grief in asking

Caesar will please many friends by saving Ligarius: the Sabines, Titus Brocchus, the Roman knights in mourning, and above all the two brothers, for whom any exile is better than home without him. Cicero reminds Caesar of his saying that all who were not against him were his. Titus Ligarius served Caesar loyally as urban quaestor. Nothing brings men nearer to the gods than saving men; if Caesar pardons the absent Ligarius, he gives safety to all of them.

In Q. Ligario conservando multis tu quidem gratum facies 32
in Quintus Ligarius being-preserved to-many you indeed a-favor will-do
necessariis tuis, sed hoc, quaeso, considera, quod soles.
connections your but this I-pray consider which you-are-wont
Possum fortissimos viros, Sabinos, tibi probatissimos, totumque
I-can the-bravest men the-Sabines to-you most-approved and-the-whole
agrum Sabinum, florem Italiae ac robur rei publicae,
district Sabine the-flower of-Italy and the-strength of-the-thing public
proponere. Nosti optime homines. Animadverte horum omnium
set-before-you you-know best the-men notice of-these all
maestitiam et dolorem; huius T. Brocchi de quo non dubito
the-sorrow and grief of-this Titus Brocchus about whom not I-doubt
quid existimes lacrimas squaloremque ipsius et fili vides.
what you-think the-tears and-squalor of-himself and of-his-son you-see
Quid de fratribus dicam? Noli, Caesar, putare de unius 33
what about the-brothers shall-I-say do-not Caesar think about of-one-man
capite nos agere: aut tres Ligarii retinendi in civitate sunt
the-life us to-plead either three Ligarii to-be-retained in the-state are
aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Quodvis exsilium his est
or three from the-state to-be-banished any exile to-them is
optatius quam patria, quam domus, quam di penates,
more-desirable than their-country than their-home than the-gods household
illo uno exsulante. Si fraterne, si pie, si cum dolore faciunt,
with-that one being-in-exile if brotherly if dutifully if with grief they-act

moveant te horum lacrimae, moveat pietas, moveat
may-move you their tears may-move-you devotion may-move-you
germanitas; valeat tua vox illa quae vicit. Te enim
brotherhood may-prevail your saying that which conquered you for
dicere audiebamus nos omnis adversarios putare, nisi qui
to-say we-heard we all adversaries to-think except those-who
nobiscum essent; te omnis qui contra te non essent tuos.
with-us were you all who against you not were yours
Videsne igitur hunc splendorem omnem, hanc Brocchorum
do-you-see-whether therefore this splendor all this of-the-Brocchi
domum, hunc L. Marcium, C. Caesetium, L. Corfidium,
house this Lucius Marcius Gaius Caesetius Lucius Corfidius
hos omnis equites Romanos qui adsunt veste mutata, non
these all knights Roman who are-present with-dress changed not
solum notos tibi verum etiam probatos viros. Atque his
only known to-you but also approved men and with-these
irascebamur, hos requirebamus, his non nulli etiam minabantur.
we-were-angry these we-missed these not none even threatened
Conserva igitur tuis suos ut, quem ad modum
preserve therefore for-your-own their-own so-that in-what to manner
cetera quae dicta sunt a te, sic hoc verissimum reperiatur.
the-other-things which said were by you so this most-true may-be-found
34 Quod si penitus perspicere posses concordiam Ligariorum,
but if deeply to-see-through you-could the-concord of-the-Ligarii
omnis fratres tecum iudicares fuisse. An potest
all the-brothers with-you you-would-judge to-have-been or can
quisquam dubitare quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italia esse
anyone to-doubt but-that if Quintus Ligarius in Italy to-be
potuisset, in eadem sententia futurus fuerit in
had-been-able in the-same opinion going-to-be he-would-have-been in
qua fratres fuerunt? Quis est qui horum consensum
which his-brothers were who is-there who their agreement

conspirantem et paene conflatum in hac prope aequalitate
breathing-together and almost fused in this nearly equality
fraterna noverit qui hoc non sentiat, quidvis prius futurum
brotherly has-known who this not feels anything sooner going-to-be
fuisse quam ut hi fratres diversas sententias fortunasque
to-have-been than that these brothers different opinions and-fortunes
sequerentur? Voluntate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt: tempestate
should-follow in-will therefore all with-you were by-the-storm
abreptus est unus qui, si consilio id fecisset, esset
carried-off has-been one who if by-design that he-had-done would-be
eorum similis quos tu tamen salvos esse voluisti.
to-them like whom you still safe to-be wished
Sed ierit ad bellum, dissenserit non a te solum 35
but suppose-he-went to war suppose-he-dissented not from you only
verum etiam a fratribus: hi te orant tui. Equidem, cum
but also from his-brothers these you beg your-own for-my-part since
tuis omnibus negotiis interessem, memoria teneo qualis
in-your all affairs I-took-part in-memory hold what-kind
T. Ligarius quaestor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem
Titus Ligarius as-quaestor urban was toward you and dignity
tuam. Sed parum est me hoc meminisse: spero etiam te qui
your but too-little it-is me this to-remember I-hope also you who
oblivisci nihil soles nisi iniurias — cum hoc est animi, tum
to-forget nothing are-wont except injuries both this is of-your-mind and
etiam ingeni tui — te aliquid de huius illo quaestorio officio,
also of-talent your you something about of-this-man that quaestorial duty
etiam de aliis quibusdam quaestoribus reminiscentem recordari.
also about other certain quaestors recalling to-remember
Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil egit aliud — neque 36
this therefore Titus Ligarius who then nothing did else nor
enim haec divinabat — nisi ut tui se studiosum et
for these-things did-he-divine except that of-you him devoted and

bonum virum iudicares, nunc a te supplex fratris
a-good man you-should-judge now from you as-suppliant of-his-brother
salutem petit. Quam huius admonitus officio cum utrisque
the-safety seeks which by-this-man's reminded duty when to-both
his dederis, tris fratres optimos et integerrimos non
these you-will-have-given three brothers best and most-upright not
solum sibi ipsos neque his tot talibus viris neque
only to-themselves themselves nor to-these so-many such men nor
nobis necessariis tuis sed etiam rei publicae condonaveris.
to-us connections your but also to-the-thing public you-will-have-granted

37 Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo fecisti
do therefore what about a-man most-noble and most-famous you-did
nuper in curia, nunc idem in foro de optimis et huic
lately in the-senate-house now the-same in the-forum about the-best and to-this
omni frequentiae probatissimis fratribus. Ut concessisti illum
whole crowd most-approved brothers as you-granted him
senatui, sic da hunc populo, cuius voluntatem carissimam
to-the-senate so give this-man to-the-people whose will dearest
semper habuisti, et, si ille dies tibi gloriosissimus, populo
always you-have-held and if that day for-you most-glorious for-the-people
Romano gratissimus fuit, noli, obsecro, dubitare, C. Caesar,
Roman most-welcome was do-not I-beseech hesitate Gaius Caesar
similem illi gloriae laudem quam saepissime quaerere. Nihil
like to-that glory praise as often-as-possible to-seek nothing
est tam populare quam bonitas, nulla de virtutibus tuis
is so popular as goodness none of virtues your
plurimis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordia est.
very-many either more-admirable or more-welcome pity is

38 Homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam
men for to the-gods by-no thing nearer approach than
salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua maius
safety to-men by-giving nothing has either fortune your greater

quam ut possis, nec natura melius quam ut velis servare
than that you-can nor nature better than that you-wish to-save
quam plurimos. Longiorem orationem causa forsitan postulet,
as many-as-possible a-longer speech the-case perhaps may-demand
tua certe natura breviorem. Qua re cum utilius esse
your certainly nature a-shorter by-which thing since more-useful to-be
arbitrer te ipsum quam aut me aut quemquam loqui tecum,
I-judge you yourself than either me or anyone to-speak with-you
finem iam faciam: tantum te admonebo, si illi absenti
an-end now I-shall-make only you I-shall-remind if to-him absent
salutem dederis, praesentibus te his daturum.
safety you-will-have-given to-present you to-these to-be-going-to-give

---

CICERO

Pro Rege Deiotaro

In Defense of King Deiotarus

PRO REGE DEIOTARO

I · DEFENDING A KING IN CAESAR'S HOUSE

Cicero is moved by the strangeness of the case: a king on trial for his life, before Caesar, whom the king is charged with plotting to kill, and in a private house rather than the forum. The accusers are the king's own grandson Castor and his grandfather's slave, bribed to accuse his master. Cicero fears less Caesar's verdict on Deiotarus than what Caesar wants others to think of Caesar. The accusers hope Caesar's old anger will make a false charge stick; Cicero begs him by the hand he gave his host to set it aside.

Cum in omnibus causis gravioribus, C. Caesar, initio 1
although in all cases weightier Gaius Caesar at-the-beginning
dicendi commoveri soleam vehementius quam videtur vel
of-speaking to-be-moved I-am-wont more-vehemently than seems either
usus vel aetas mea postulare, tum in hac causa ita multa
experience or age my to-demand still in this case so many-things
me perturbant ut, quantum mea fides studi mihi adferat ad
me disturb that as-much-as my good-faith of-zeal to-me brings for
salutem regis Deiotari defendendam, tantum facultatis timor
the-safety of-king Deiotarus to-be-defended so-much of-ability fear
detrahat. Primum dico pro capite fortunisque regis, quod
takes-away first I-speak for the-life and-fortunes of-a-king which
ipsum, etsi non iniquum est in tuo dumtaxat periculo,
itself although not unjust is in your at-least danger
tamen est ita inusitatum, regem reum capitis esse,
still it-is so unusual a-king a-defendant on-a-capital-charge to-be
ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum.
that before this time not it-has-been heard

2 Deinde eum regem quem ornare antea cuncto cum senatu
then that king whom to-honor before all with the-senate
solebam pro perpetuis eius in nostram rem publicam meritis,
I-was-wont for perpetual his toward our thing public services
nunc contra atrocissimum crimen cogor defendere.
now against a-most-atrocious charge I-am-compelled to-defend
Accedit ut accusatorum alterius crudelitate, alterius
it-is-added that of-the-accusers by-the-one's cruelty by-the-other's
indignitate conturber. Crudelis Castor, ne dicam sceleratum
unworthiness I-am-confounded cruel Castor not to-say criminal
et impium, qui nepos avum in capitis discrimen
and impious who a-grandson his-grandfather into of-life peril
adduxerit adulescentiaeque suae terrorem intulerit ei cuius
has-brought and-of-youth his-own terror has-brought-upon him whose
senectutem tueri et tegere debebat, commendationemque
old-age to-protect and to-shelter he-ought and-the-commendation
ineuntis aetatis ab impietate et ab scelere duxerit;
of-entering age from impiety and from crime has-drawn
avi servum corruptum praemiis ad accusandum
his-grandfather's slave corrupted by-rewards to accusing
dominum impulerit, a legatorum pedibus abduxerit.
his-master has-driven from the-envoys' feet has-led-away
3 Fugitivi autem dominum accusantis et dominum absentem et
of-the-runaway however his-master accusing and his-master absent and
dominum amicissimum nostrae rei publicae cum os videbam,
his-master most-friendly to-our thing public when the-face I-saw
cum verba audiebam, non tam adflictam regiam condicionem
when the-words I-heard not so-much the-afflicted royal condition
dolebam quam de fortunis communibus extimescebam. Nam
I-grieved-at as about the-fortunes common I-feared for
cum more maiorum de servo in dominum ne tormentis
since by-the-custom of-the-ancestors about a-slave against his-master not by-tortures

quidem quaeri liceat, in qua quaestione dolor elicere veram
even to-inquire is-allowed in which inquiry pain to-draw-out a-true
vocem possit etiam ab invito, exortus est servus qui,
voice could even from an-unwilling-one arisen has a-slave who
quem in eculeo appellare non posset, eum accuset solutus.
whom on the-rack to-name not he-could him should-accuse unbound
Perturbat me, C. Caesar, etiam illud interdum quod 4
disturbs me Gaius Caesar also that sometimes which
tamen, cum te penitus recognovi, timere desino: re
still when you deeply I-have-recognized to-fear I-cease in-fact
enim iniquum est, sed tua sapientia fit aequissimum.
for unjust it-is but by-your wisdom it-becomes most-just
Nam dicere apud eum de facinore contra cuius vitam
for to-speak before him about a-crime against whose life
consilium facinoris inisse arguare, cum per se ipsum
a-plan of-crime to-have-entered you-are-charged when by himself very-self
consideres, grave est; nemo enim fere est qui sui periculi
you-consider grievous it-is no-one for almost is who of-his-own danger
iudex non sibi se aequiorem quam reo praebeat.
judge not to-himself himself fairer than to-the-defendant would-show
Sed tua, Caesar, praestans singularisque natura hunc mihi
but your Caesar outstanding and-singular nature this for-me
metum minuit. Non enim tam timeo quid tu de rege
fear lessens not for so-much I-fear what you about king
Deiotaro, quam intellego quid de te ceteros velis iudicare.
Deiotarus as I-understand what about you the-others you-wish to-judge
Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentia, quod tantam 5
I-am-moved also of-the-place itself by-the-strangeness that so-great
causam quanta nulla umquam in disceptatione versata est
a-case as-great-as no ever in debate engaged has
dico intra domesticos parietes, dico extra conventum et eam
I-plead within domestic walls I-plead outside the-gathering and that

frequentiam in qua oratorum studia niti solent: in tuis
crowd on which of-orators the-efforts to-lean are-wont in your
oculis, in tuo ore voltuque acquiesco, te unum intueor,
eyes in your face and-countenance I-rest you alone I-gaze-at
ad te unum omnis spectat oratio: quae mihi ad spem
to you alone all looks the-speech which-things to-me for the-hope
obtinendae veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi et
of-obtaining truth most-weighty are for the-motion of-the-mind and
ad omnem impetum dicendi contentionemque leviora.
for every impulse of-speaking and-effort lighter

6 Hanc enim, C. Caesar, causam si in foro dicerem
this for Gaius Caesar case if in the-forum I-were-pleading
eodem audiente et disceptante te, quantam mihi
with-the-same hearing and judging you how-much to-me
alacritatem populi Romani concursus adferret! Quis enim
eagerness of-the-people Roman the-concourse would-bring who for
civis ei regi non faveret cuius omnem aetatem in
citizen that king not would-favor whose whole life in
populi Romani bellis consumptam esse meminisset?
of-the-people Roman wars spent to-have-been he-remembered
Spectarem curiam, intuerer forum, caelum denique
I-would-look-at the-senate-house I-would-gaze-at the-forum the-sky finally
testarer ipsum. Sic, cum et deorum immortalium
I-would-call-to-witness itself so when both of-the-gods immortal
et populi Romani et senatus beneficia in regem
and of-the-people Roman and of-the-senate the-kindnesses toward king
Deiotarum recordarer, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio.
Deiotarus I-recalled in-no way to-me be-lacking could speech

7 Quae quoniam angustiora parietes faciunt actioque
which since narrower the-walls make and-the-pleading
maximae causae debilitatur loco, tuum est, Caesar, qui
of-a-very-great case is-weakened by-the-place yours it-is Caesar who

pro multis saepe dixisti, quid mihi nunc animi sit ad te
for many often have-spoken what to-me now of-mind is to you
ipsum referre, quo facilius cum aequitas tua tum audiendi
yourself to-refer so-that more-easily both fairness your and of-hearing
diligentia minuat hanc perturbationem meam.
diligence may-lessen this disturbance my
Sed ante quam de accusatione ipsa dico, de accusatorum
but before than about the-accusation itself I-speak about of-the-accusers
spe pauca dicam; qui cum videantur neque ingenio
the-hope a-few-things I-shall-say who although they-seem neither in-talent
neque usu atque exercitatione rerum valere, tamen ad
nor in-experience and practice of-affairs to-be-strong still to
hanc causam non sine aliqua spe et cogitatione venerunt.
this case not without some hope and thought they-have-come
Iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisse non erant nescii; 8
angry you with-king Deiotarus to-have-been not they-were unaware
adfectum illum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis propter
afflicted him by-certain inconveniences and losses on-account-of
offensionem animi tui meminerant, teque cum huic
the-offense of-mind your they-remembered and-you both with-this-man
iratum, tum sibi amicum esse cognoverant, quodque
angry and to-themselves friendly to-be they-had-learned and-because
apud ipsum te de tuo periculo dicerent, fore putabant
before yourself you about your danger they-would-speak it-would-be they-thought
ut in exulcerato animo facile fictum crimen insideret. Quam
that in an-ulcerated mind easily a-feigned charge might-settle which
ob rem hoc nos primum metu, Caesar, per fidem
on-account-of thing this us first from-fear Caesar by the-good-faith
et constantiam et clementiam tuam libera, ne residere in te
and steadfastness and clemency your free lest to-remain in you
ullam partem iracundiae suspicemur. Per dexteram istam te oro
any part of-anger we-suspect by right-hand that you I-beg

quam regi Deiotaro hospes hospiti porrexisti, istam, inquam,
which to-king Deiotarus guest to-guest you-held-out that I-say
dexteram non tam in bellis neque in proeliis quam in
right-hand not so-much in wars nor in battles as in
promissis et fide firmiorem. Tu illius domum inire, tu vetus
promises and good-faith firmer you his house to-enter you old
hospitium renovare voluisti; te eius di penates acceperunt, te
guest-friendship to-renew wished you his gods household received you
amicum et placatum Deiotari regis arae focique viderunt.
friendly and appeased of-Deiotarus the-king the-altars and-hearths saw
9 Cum facile orari, Caesar, tum semel exorari soles.
as easily to-be-entreated Caesar so once to-be-won-over you-are-wont
Nemo umquam te placavit inimicus qui ullas resedisse
no-one ever you appeased as-an-enemy who any to-have-remained
in te simultatis reliquias senserit. Quamquam cui sunt
in you of-rivalry remnants felt although to-whom are
inauditae cum Deiotaro querelae tuae? Numquam tu
unheard with Deiotarus the-complaints your never you
illum accusavisti ut hostem, sed ut amicum officio parum
him accused as an-enemy but as a-friend in-duty too-little
functum, quod propensior in Cn. Pompei amicitiam
having-performed because more-inclined toward of-Gnaeus Pompey the-friendship
fuisset quam in tuam: cui tamen ipsi rei veniam
he-had-been than toward yours to-which still very thing pardon
te daturum fuisse dicebas, si tum auxilia Pompeio vel
you going-to-give to-have-been you-said if then auxiliaries to-Pompey or
si etiam filium misisset, ipse aetatis excusatione usus esset.
if even his-son he-had-sent himself of-age the-excuse used he-had

Caesar pardoned Deiotarus and left him king. A foreign king misled by the reports from Rome, he followed Pompey, as the whole senate did, from the common error, and left him after Pharsalus. He then supplied Domitius' army, sent money to Caesar's man at Ephesus, and fought at Caesar's side against Pharnaces, and Caesar confirmed his royal title. Such a man, prudent and upright, is charged with planning to murder his guest.

Ita cum maximis eum rebus liberares, perparvam culpam 10
so while from-the-greatest him charges you-freed a-very-small fault
relinquebas. Itaque non solum in eum non animadvertisti
you-left and-so not only on him not you-punished
sed omni metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem
but from-all fear you-freed as-guest you-acknowledged as-king
reliquisti. Neque enim ille odio tui progressus, sed errore
you-left-him nor for he from-hatred of-you advanced but by-error
communi lapsus est. Is rex quem senatus hoc nomine saepe
common slipped has that king whom the-senate by-this name often
honorificentissimis decretis appellavisset, quique illum ordinem
in-most-honorable decrees had-called and-who that order
ab adulescentia gravissimum sanctissimumque duxisset,
from youth most-weighty and-most-sacred had-considered
isdem rebus est perturbatus homo longinquus et alienigena
by-the-same things was disturbed a-man distant and foreign
quibus nos in media re publica nati semperque versati.
by-which we in the-middle-of the-thing public born and-always engaged
Cum audiret senatus consentientis auctoritate arma sumpta, 11
when he-heard of-the-senate agreeing by-the-authority arms taken-up
consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis, nobis imperatoribus
to-the-consuls to-the-praetors to-the-tribunes of-the-plebs to-us commanders
rem publicam defendendam datam, movebatur animo et
the-thing public to-be-defended given he-was-moved in-mind and

vir huic imperio amicissimus de salute populi Romani
a-man to-this empire most-friendly about the-safety of-the-people Roman
extimescebat, in qua etiam suam esse inclusam videbat.
was-afraid in which also his-own to-be enclosed he-saw
In summo tamen timore quiescendum esse arbitrabatur.
in highest still fear to-keep-quiet to-be he-thought
Maxime vero perturbatus est, ut audivit consules ex Italia
most indeed disturbed was when he-heard the-consuls from Italy
profugisse, omnis consularis — sic enim ei nuntiabatur —
to-have-fled all the-consulars so for to-him it-was-reported
cunctum senatum, totam Italiam effusam. Talibus enim
the-whole senate all Italy poured-out by-such for
nuntiis et rumoribus patebat ad orientem via nec ulli
messages and rumors lay-open to the-east the-road nor any
veri subsequebantur. Nihil ille de condicionibus tuis,
true-ones followed nothing he about the-terms your
nihil de studio concordiae et pacis, nihil de conspiratione
nothing about the-zeal of-concord and peace nothing about the-conspiracy
audiebat certorum hominum contra dignitatem tuam. Quae
heard of-certain men against dignity your which-things
cum ita essent, tamen usque eo se tenuit quoad
although so they-were still up-to that-point himself he-held until
a Cn. Pompeio legati ad eum litteraeque venerunt.
from Gnaeus Pompey envoys to him and-letters came

12 Ignosce, ignosce, Caesar, si eius viri auctoritati rex Deiotarus
pardon pardon Caesar if of-that man to-the-authority king Deiotarus
cessit quem nos omnes secuti sumus; ad quem cum di
yielded whom we all followed have to whom although the-gods
atque homines omnia ornamenta congessissent, tum tu ipse
and men all distinctions had-heaped yet you yourself
plurima et maxima. Nec enim, si tuae res gestae ceterorum
the-most and greatest nor for if your deeds done on-the-others'

laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, idcirco Cn. Pompei
praises obscurity brought for-that-reason of-Gnaeus Pompey
memoriam amisimus. Quantum nomen illius fuerit, quantae
the-memory have-we-lost how-great the-name of-him was how-great
opes, quanta in omni genere bellorum gloria, quanti
his-resources how-great in every kind of-wars the-glory how-great
honores populi Romani, quanti senatus, quanti tui,
the-honors of-the-people Roman how-great of-the-senate how-great of-yours
quis ignorat? Tanto ille superiores vicerat gloria quanto
who is-ignorant by-as-much he his-predecessors had-surpassed in-glory as
tu omnibus praestitisti. Itaque Cn. Pompei bella,
you all have-excelled and-so of-Gnaeus Pompey the-wars
victorias, triumphos, consulatus admirantes numerabamus:
victories triumphs consulships admiring we-counted
tuos enumerare non possumus.
yours to-enumerate not we-can

Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit hoc misero fatalique bello 13
to him therefore king Deiotarus came in-this wretched and-fated war
quem antea iustis hostilibusque bellis adiuverat, quocum erat
whom before in-just and-foreign wars he-had-helped with-whom he-was
non hospitio solum verum etiam familiaritate coniunctus,
not by-guest-friendship only but also by-intimacy joined
et venit vel rogatus ut amicus, vel arcessitus ut socius, vel
and he-came either asked as a-friend or summoned as an-ally or
evocatus ut is qui senatui parere didicisset: postremo venit
called-out as he who the-senate to-obey had-learned finally he-came
ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est ad periculi,
as to one-fleeing not as to one-pursuing that is to of-danger
non ad victoriae societatem. Itaque Pharsalico proelio facto
not to of-victory the-fellowship and-so with-the-Pharsalian battle fought
a Pompeio discessit; spem infinitam persequi noluit; vel
from Pompey he-departed hope infinite to-pursue was-unwilling either

officio si quid debuerat, vel errori si quid nescierat, satis
to-duty if anything he-had-owed or to-error if anything he-had-not-known enough
factum esse duxit; domum se contulit, teque
done to-have-been he-considered home himself he-betook and-with-you
Alexandrinum bellum gerente utilitatibus tuis paruit.
the-Alexandrian war waging to-interests your he-submitted
14 Ille exercitum Cn. Domiti, amplissimi viri, suis
he the-army of-Gnaeus Domitius a-most-ample man with-his-own
tectis et copiis sustentavit; ille Ephesum ad eum quem
houses and resources sustained he to-Ephesus to him whom
tu ex tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum omnibus
you from your-own most-faithful and most-approved of-all
delegisti pecuniam misit; ille iterum, ille tertio auctionibus
chose money sent he again he a-third-time with-auctions
factis pecuniam dedit qua ad bellum uterere; ille
held money gave with-which for the-war you-might-use he
corpus suum periculo obiecit, tecumque in acie contra
body his-own to-danger exposed and-with-you in the-battle-line against
Pharnacem fuit tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. Quae
Pharnaces was and-your enemy to-be he-considered his-own which
quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, Caesar, ut eum
indeed by you in that part received were Caesar that him
amplissimo regis honore et nomine adfeceris.
with-the-most-ample of-a-king honor and name you-endowed
15 Is igitur non modo a te periculo liberatus sed etiam
he therefore not only by you from-danger freed but also
honore amplissimo ornatus, arguitur domi te suae interficere
with-honor most-ample adorned is-charged at-home you his-own to-kill
voluisse: quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum iudicas, suspicari
to-have-wished which you unless him most-furious you-judge to-suspect
profecto non potes. Ut enim omittam cuius tanti sceleris
surely not can that for I-may-pass-over of-what so-great crime

fuerit in conspectu deorum penatium necare hospitem,
it-would-have-been in the-sight of-the-gods household to-kill a-guest
cuius tantae importunitatis omnium gentium atque omnis
of-what such ruthlessness of-all peoples and of-all
memoriae clarissimum lumen exstinguere, cuius ferocitatis
memory the-brightest light to-extinguish of-what ferocity
victorem orbis terrae non extimescere, cuius tam inhumani
the-conqueror of-the-circle of-the-earth not to-fear of-what so inhuman
et ingrati animi, a quo rex appellatus esset, in eo tyrannum
and ungrateful mind by whom king named he-had-been in him a-tyrant
inveniri — ut haec omittam, cuius tanti furoris fuit omnis
to-be-found that these-things I-may-pass-over of-what so-great madness it-was all
reges, quorum multi erant finitimi, omnis liberos populos, omnis
kings of-whom many were neighbors all free peoples all
socios, omnis provincias, omnia denique omnium arma contra
allies all provinces all finally of-all the-arms against
se unum excitare? Quonam ille modo cum regno, cum
himself alone to-rouse in-what-possible he way with his-kingdom with
domo, cum coniuge, cum carissimo filio distractus esset,
his-house with his-wife with his-dearest son torn-apart would-have-been
tanto scelere non modo perfecto sed etiam cogitato?
with-so-great a-crime not only accomplished but even planned
At, credo, haec homo inconsultus et temerarius non 16
but I-suppose these-things the-man thoughtless and rash not
videbat. Quis consideratior illo, quis tectior, quis prudentior?
saw who more-considered than-he who more-guarded who more-prudent
quamquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et
although in-this place Deiotarus not so-much by-talent and
prudentia quam fide et religione vitae defendendum puto.
prudence as by-good-faith and scrupulousness of-life to-be-defended I-think
Nota tibi est hominis probitas, C. Caesar, noti mores, nota
known to-you is of-the-man the-probity Gaius Caesar known his-character known

constantia. Cui porro qui modo populi Romani nomen
his-steadfastness to-whom moreover who only of-the-people Roman the-name
audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non audita
has-heard of-Deiotarus the-integrity gravity virtue good-faith not heard
est? Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem
has-been what therefore crime neither upon a-man imprudent
caderet propter metum praesentis exiti, nec in facinerosum,
would-fall on-account-of fear of-present destruction nor upon a-criminal
nisi esset idem amentissimus, id vos et a viro optimo
unless he-were the-same most-insane that you both by a-man best
et ab homine minime stulto cogitatum esse confingitis?
and by a-man least foolish planned to-have-been fabricate

III · THE PLOT AT BLUCIUM

The charge is that at the fortress of Blucium armed men were placed in the room where the king's gifts were laid out, to kill Caesar after his bath; Caesar declined to inspect them, then dined and went to bed, and the king put off the deed. Cicero shows how absurd the story is: a king who planned murder would use poison, not arms, and would not send the slave who knew the plot to Rome, where Castor was. Nor did Deiotarus ever raise an army against Rome, only enough to guard his borders.

17 At quam non modo non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciose quidem!
but how not only not credibly but not suspiciously even
'Cum' inquit 'Blucium venisses et domum regis hospitis tui
when he-says to-Blucium you-had-come and at-the-house of-the-king guest your
devertisses, locus erat quidam in quo erant ea composita
had-lodged a-place there-was certain in which were those-things arranged
quibus te rex munerari constituerat. Huc te e balneo,
with-which you the-king to-present had-decided hither you from the-bath

prius quam accumberes, ducere volebat. Erant enim armati
before than you-reclined-at-table to-lead he-wished there-were for armed-men
ut te interficerent in eo ipso loco conlocati.' En crimen,
that you they-might-kill in that very place stationed behold the-charge
en causa, cur regem fugitivus, dominum servus accuset. Ego
behold the-reason why the-king a-runaway the-master a-slave accuses I
mehercules, Caesar, initio, cum est ad me ita causa delata,
so-help-me-Hercules Caesar at-first when was to me so the-case brought
Phidippum medicum, servum regium, qui cum legatis missus
Phidippus the-physician a-slave royal who with the-envoys sent
esset, ab isto adulescente esse corruptum, hac sum
had-been by that young-man to-have-been corrupted by-this I-was
suspicione percussus: 'medicum indicem subornavit; finget
suspicion struck the-physician as-informer he-has-suborned he-will-invent
videlicet aliquod crimen veneni.' Etsi a veritate longe, tamen
evidently some charge of-poison although from the-truth far still
a consuetudine criminandi non multum res abhorrebat.
from the-habit of-accusing not much the-thing was-remote
Quid ait medicus? Nihil de veneno. At id fieri 18
what says the-physician nothing about poison but that to-be-done
potuit primum occultius in potione, in cibo; deinde etiam
could first more-secretly in a-drink in food then also
impunius fit quod, cum est factum, negari potest.
with-more-impunity it-is-done which when it-has been-done to-be-denied can
Si palam te interemisset, omnium in se gentium non
if openly you he-had-killed of-all upon himself the-peoples not
solum odia sed etiam arma convertisset: si veneno,
only the-hatreds but also the-arms he-would-have-turned if by-poison
Iovis illius hospitalis numen numquam celare potuisset,
of-Jupiter that hospitable the-divinity never to-conceal could-he
homines fortasse celasset. Quod igitur et conari
men perhaps he-would-have-concealed-it what therefore both to-try

occultius et efficere cautius potuit, id tibi et medico
more-secretly and to-accomplish more-cautiously he-could that to-you both a-physician
callido et servo, ut putabat, fideli non credidit: de armis,
skillful and a-slave as he-thought faithful not did-he-entrust about arms
de ferro, de insidiis celare te noluit?
about steel about plots to-hide-it-from you he-did-not-wish

19 At quam festive crimen contexitur! 'Tua te' inquit 'eadem quae
but how wittily the-charge is-woven your you he-says same which
saepe fortuna servavit: negavisti tum te inspicere velle.' Quid
often fortune saved you-refused then you to-inspect to-wish what
postea? an Deiotarus, re illo tempore non perfecta,
afterward or Deiotarus with-the-thing at-that time not accomplished
continuo dimisit exercitum? nullus erat alius insidiandi locus?
at-once dismissed his-army no was-there other of-ambushing place
At eodem te, cum cenavisses, rediturum dixeras, itaque
but to-the-same-place you when you-had-dined going-to-return you-had-said and-so
fecisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco armatos, ut conlocati
you-did an-hour one or two in-the-same place armed-men as stationed
fuerant, retineri magnum fuit? Cum in convivio comiter et
they-had-been to-be-kept a-great-matter was-it when at the-banquet courteously and
iucunde fuisses, tum illuc isti, ut dixeras: quo in loco
pleasantly you-had-been then thither you-went as you-had-said which in place
Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti qualis rex Attalus in
Deiotarus such toward you you-found as king Attalus toward
P. Africanum fuit, cui magnificentissima dona, ut scriptum
Publius Africanus was to-whom most-magnificent gifts as written
legimus, usque ad Numantiam misit ex Asia, quae Africanus
we-read right to Numantia he-sent from Asia which Africanus
inspectante exercitu accepit. Quod cum praesens Deiotarus
with-looking-on army accepted which when present Deiotarus
regio animo et more fecisset, tu in cubiculum discessisti.
with-royal mind and manner had-done you into the-bedroom withdrew

Obsecro, Caesar, repete illius temporis memoriam, pone ante 20
I-beseech Caesar recall of-that time the-memory set before
oculos illum diem, voltus hominum te intuentium atque
the-eyes that day the-faces of-men you gazing-at and
admirantium recordare. Num quae trepidatio, num qui
admiring recall surely-not any alarm surely-not any
tumultus, num quid nisi modeste, nisi quiete, nisi ex
uproar surely-not anything except modestly except quietly except from
hominis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplina? Quid igitur
of-a-man most-weighty and most-upright the-discipline what therefore
causae excogitari potest cur te lautum voluerit, cenatum
of-reason to-be-devised can why you bathed he-wished dined
noluerit occidere?
he-did-not-wish to-kill
'In posterum' inquit 'diem distulit ut, cum in castellum 21
to the-next he-says day he-put-off-it that when to the-fort
ventum esset, ibi cogitata perficeret.' Non video causam
come it-had-been there the-plans he-might-accomplish not I-see the-reason
loci mutandi, sed tamen acta res criminose est.
of-the-place being-changed but still conducted the-affair incriminatingly was
'Cum' inquit 'vomere post cenam te velle dixisses, in
when he-says to-vomit after dinner you to-wish you-had-said into
balneum te ducere coeperunt: ibi enim erant insidiae. At te
the-bath you to-lead they-began there for were the-ambushes but you
eadem tua fortuna servavit: in cubiculo malle dixisti.' Di te
the-same your fortune saved in the-bedroom to-prefer you-said the-gods you
perduint, fugitive! Ita non modo nihili et improbus, sed fatuus
destroy runaway so not only worthless and wicked but stupid
et amens es. Quid? ille signa aenea in balneo posuerat,
and mad you-are what he statues bronze in the-bath had-placed
quae e balneo in cubiculum transire non possent? Habes
which from the-bath into the-bedroom to-pass not could you-have

crimina insidiarum: nihil enim dixit amplius. 'Horum' inquit
the-charges of-ambush nothing for he-said more of-these he-says
'eram conscius.' Quid tum? ita ille demens erat ut eum quem
I-was aware what then so he mad was that him whom
conscium tanti sceleris habebat ab se dimitteret, Romam
aware of-so-great a-crime he-held from himself he-should-dismiss to-Rome
etiam mitteret ubi et inimicissimum sciret esse nepotem
even should-send where both most-hostile he-knew to-be grandson
suum et C. Caesarem cui fecisset insidias, praesertim
his and Gaius Caesar against-whom he-had-made plots especially
cum is unus esset qui posset de absente se indicare?
since he alone was who could about absent himself inform
22 'Et fratres meos,' inquit, 'quod erant conscii, in vincla coniecit.'
and brothers my he-says because they-were aware into chains he-threw
Cum igitur eos vinciret quos secum habebat, te solutum
when therefore them he-was-binding whom with-himself he-had you unbound
Romam mittebat qui eadem scires quae illos scire dicis?
to-Rome was-he-sending who the-same-things knew which them to-know you-say
Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: una regem in
the-remaining part of-the-accusation twofold was one the-king on
speculis semper fuisse, cum a te animo esset alieno,
watchtowers always to-have-been when from you in-mind he-was estranged
altera exercitum eum contra te magnum comparasse.
the-other an-army him against you great to-have-got-together
De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cetera. Numquam eas
about the-army I-shall-speak briefly as the-rest never those
copias rex Deiotarus habuit quibus inferre bellum populo
forces king Deiotarus had with-which to-bring war on-the-people
Romano posset, sed quibus finis suos ab excursionibus
Roman he-could but with-which borders his-own from raids
et latrociniis tueretur et imperatoribus nostris auxilia
and brigandage he-might-protect and to-commanders our auxiliaries

mitteret. Atque antea quidem maiores copias alere poterat;
might-send and before indeed greater forces to-maintain he-could
nunc exiguas vix tueri potest.
now small-ones scarcely to-maintain he-can

IV · CASTOR'S OTHER CHARGES

Deiotarus sent men to one Caecilius, the accusers say, though he chained them when they refused to go; but that rebel could hardly be thought worth joining. The horsemen he sent Caesar were said only to be not his best, and at Alexandria he kept Caesar's army in money. Told of Domitius' death at sea, he is said to have quoted a Greek verse, which no gentle king would say. The charge that he danced drunk is absurd in a king famous for frugality; Castor, who served Pompey zealously, should imitate his grandfather.

At misit ad nescio quem Caecilium: sed eos quos misit, 23
but he-sent to I-know-not what Caecilius but those whom he-sent
quod ire noluerunt, in vincla coniecit. Non quaero quam
because to-go they-refused into chains he-threw not I-ask how
veri simile sit aut non habuisse regem quos mitteret aut
of-the-truth like it-is either not to-have-had the-king whom to-send or
eos qui missi essent non paruisse, aut, qui dicto audientes
those who sent had-been not to-have-obeyed or who to-the-word obedient
in tanta re non fuissent, eos vinctos potius quam necatos.
in so-great a-matter not had-been them bound rather than killed
Sed tamen cum ad Caecilium mittebat, utrum causam illam
but still when to Caecilius he-was-sending whether cause that
victam esse nesciebat an Caecilium istum magnum hominem
conquered to-be he-did-not-know or Caecilius that a-great man

putabat? quem profecto is qui optime nostros homines novit
he-thought whom surely he who best our men knows
vel quia non nosset vel si nosset, contemneret.
either because not he-knew-him or if he-knew-him would-despise
24 Addit etiam illud, equites non optimos misisse. Credo,
he-adds also this cavalry not the-best to-have-sent I-suppose
Caesar, nihil ad tuum equitatum, sed misit ex eis quos
Caesar nothing to your cavalry but he-sent from those whom
habuit electos, ait nescio quem ex eo numero servum
he-had picked he-says I-know-not whom from that number a-slave
iudicatum. Non arbitror, non audivi: sed in eo, etiam
to-have-been-judged not I-think not I-heard but in that even
si accidisset, culpam regis nullam fuisse arbitrarer.
if it-had-happened the-fault of-the-king none to-have-been I-would-think
Alieno autem a te animo quo modo? Speravit, credo,
estranged however from you with-mind in-what way he-hoped I-suppose
difficilis tibi Alexandreae fore exitus propter regionum
difficult for-you at-Alexandria going-to-be the-way-out on-account-of of-the-regions
naturam et fluminis. At eo tempore ipso pecuniam
the-nature and of-the-river but at-that time very money
dedit, exercitum aluit, ei quem Asiae praefeceras nulla
he-gave the-army he-fed to-him whom over-Asia you-had-put no
in re defuit; tibi victori non solum ad hospitium sed
in thing he-failed to-you as-victor not only for hospitality but
ad periculum etiam atque ad aciem praesto fuit.
for danger also and for the-battle-line ready he-was
25 Secutum bellum est Africanum. Graves de te rumores, qui
followed the-war has African grave about you rumors which
etiam furiosum illum Caecilium excitaverunt. Quo tum
even mad that Caecilius roused with-what then
rex animo, qui auctionatus sit seseque spoliare maluerit
the-king mind who held-an-auction has and-himself to-strip preferred

quam tibi pecuniam non subministrare. ‘At eo’ inquit
than to-you money not to-supply but at-that he-says
‘tempore ipso Nicaeam Ephesumque mittebat qui rumores
time very to-Nicaea and-Ephesus he-was-sending men-who the-rumors
Africanos exciperent et celeriter ad se referrent. Itaque cum
African might-catch and quickly to himself report and-so when
esset ei nuntiatum Domitium naufragio perisse, te
had-been to-him reported Domitius by-shipwreck to-have-perished you
in castello circumsederi, de Domitio dixit versum Graecum
in the-fort to-be-besieged about Domitius he-spoke a-verse Greek
eadem sententia qua etiam nos habemus Latinum:
with-the-same meaning as also we have Latin

Pereant amici, dum inimici una intercidant.’
let-perish friends provided enemies together fall

Quod ille, si tibi esset inimicissimus, numquam tamen
which he if to-you he-were most-hostile never still
dixisset: ipse enim mansuetus, versus immanis. Qui
would-have-said himself for gentle the-verse monstrous how
autem Domitio poterat esse amicus, qui tibi esset inimicus?
however to-Domitius could-be be a-friend who to-you was hostile
Tibi porro inimicus cur esset a quo, cum vel interfici
to-you moreover hostile why should-he-be by whom although even to-be-killed
belli lege potuisset, regem et se et filium suum
of-war by-the-law he-could-have a-king both himself and son his
constitutos esse meminisset?
established to-have-been he-remembered
Quid deinde? furcifer quo progreditur? Ait hac laetitia 26
what then the-gallows-bird whither does-he-advance he-says by-this joy
Deiotarum elatum vino se obruisse in convivioque
Deiotarus carried-away with-wine himself to-have-overwhelmed at and-the-banquet

nudum saltavisse. Quae crux huic fugitivo potest satis
naked to-have-danced what cross to-this runaway can enough
supplici adferre? Deiotarum saltantem quisquam aut ebrium
of-punishment to-bring Deiotarus dancing anyone or drunk
vidit umquam? Omnes sunt in illo rege virtutes, quod te,
saw ever all are in that king virtues which you
Caesar, ignorare non arbitror, sed praecipue singularis et
Caesar to-be-ignorant-of not I-think but especially a-singular and
admiranda frugalitas: etsi hoc verbo scio laudari reges non
admirable frugality although by-this word I-know to-be-praised kings not
solere. Frugi hominem dici non multum habet laudis in
to-be-wont thrifty a-man to-be-called not much has of-praise in
rege: fortem, iustum, severum, gravem, magni animi, largum,
a-king brave just severe weighty of-great spirit generous
beneficum, liberalem: hae sunt regiae laudes, illa privata
beneficent liberal these are royal praises that private
est. Ut volet quisque, accipiat: ego tamen frugalitatem, id
is as will each let-him-take-it I still frugality that
est modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem maximam iudico.
is moderation and temperance a-virtue the-greatest I-judge
Haec in illo est ab ineunte aetate cum a cuncta Asia,
this in him has-been from entering age both by all Asia
cum a magistratibus legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus
both by the-magistrates and-legates our and by the-knights
Romanis qui in Asia negotiati sunt perspecta et cognita.
Roman who in Asia done-business have seen-through and known
27 Multis ille quidem gradibus officiorum erga rem publicam
by-many he indeed steps of-services toward the-thing public
nostram ad hoc regium nomen ascendit; sed tamen quicquid
our to this royal name ascended but still whatever
a bellis populi Romani vacabat, cum hominibus nostris
from the-wars of-the-people Roman was-free with men our

consuetudines, amicitias, res rationesque iungebat, ut non
customs friendships affairs and-accounts he-joined so-that not
solum tetrarches nobilis sed etiam optimus pater familias et
only a-tetrarch noble but also the-best father of-family and
diligentissimus agricola et pecuarius haberetur. Qui igitur
most-diligent farmer and stock-breeder he-was-held he-who therefore
adulescens nondum tanta gloria praeditus nihil umquam
as-a-young-man not-yet with-such glory endowed nothing ever
nisi severissime et gravissime fecerit, is ea existimatione
except most-severely and most-weightily did he with-that reputation
eaque aetate saltavit?
and-that age danced
Imitari, Castor, potius avi mores disciplinamque 28
to-imitate Castor rather your-grandfather's character and-discipline
debebas quam optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi
you-ought than to-a-most-excellent and most-famous man of-a-runaway
ore male dicere. Quod si saltatorem avum habuisses
with-the-mouth ill to-speak but if a-dancer as-grandfather you-had-had
neque eum virum unde pudoris pudicitiaeque exempla
and-not that man whence of-modesty and-of-chastity examples
peterentur, tamen hoc maledictum minime in illam aetatem
might-be-sought still this abuse least to that age
conveniret. Quibus ille studiis ab ineunte aetate se imbuerat,
would-apply with-which he pursuits from entering age himself had-steeped
non saltandi, sed bene ut armis, optime ut equis uteretur,
not of-dancing but well how arms best how horses to-use
ea tamen illum cuncta iam aetate defecerant. Itaque
those-things still him all already his-age had-failed and-so
Deiotarum cum plures in equum sustulissent, quod haerere in
Deiotarus when several onto his-horse had-lifted because to-cling on
eo senex posset, admirari solebamus: hic vero adulescens
it an-old-man could to-wonder we-were-wont this-one indeed young-man

qui meus in Cilicia miles, in Graecia commilito fuit, cum
who my in Cilicia soldier in Greece fellow-soldier was when
in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delectis equitibus
in that our army he-rode with his-own picked horsemen
quos una cum eo ad Pompeium pater miserat, quos
whom together with him to Pompey his-father had-sent what
concursus facere solebat, quam se iactare, quam ostentare,
charges to-make was-be-wont how himself to-display how to-show-off
quam nemini in illa causa studio et cupiditate concedere!
how to-no-one in that cause in-zeal and desire to-yield

29 Tum vero exercitu amisso ego, qui pacis semper auctor,
then indeed with-the-army lost I who of-peace always the-advocate
post Pharsalicum autem proelium suasor fuissem armorum
after the-Pharsalian however battle the-urger had-been of-arms
non ponendorum, sed abiciendorum, hunc ad meam
not to-be-laid-down but to-be-thrown-away him to my
auctoritatem non potui adducere, quod et ipse ardebat
authority not could to-bring because both he-himself burned
studio illius belli et patri satis faciendum arbitrabatur.
with-zeal of-that war and for-his-father enough to-be-done he-thought
Felix ista domus quae non impunitatem solum adepta sit
fortunate that house which not impunity only obtained has
sed etiam accusandi licentiam: calamitosus Deiotarus qui et
but also of-accusing the-license ruined Deiotarus who both
ab eo qui in isdem castris fuerit, et non modo apud te sed
by him who in the-same camp has-been and not only before you but
etiam a suis accusetur! Vos vestra secunda fortuna, Castor,
also by his-own is-accused you in-your favorable fortune Castor
non potestis sine propinquorum calamitate esse contenti?
not can without of-relatives the-calamity be content

Castor has broken every bond of kinship and humanity by seducing his grandfather's slave and arming him against his master; if this is allowed, no household is safe. Domitius once sent back to Scaurus a slave who offered to accuse him. Blesamius' letters, they say, called Caesar a tyrant; but Caesar is the one victor in whose victory no one fell but in arms. Deiotarus remembers what Caesar left him, not what he took.

Sint sane inimicitiae, quae esse non debebant — rex 30
let-there-be by-all-means enmities which to-be not ought the-king
enim Deiotarus vestram familiam abiectam et obscuram e
for Deiotarus your family cast-down and obscure from
tenebris in lucem evocavit: quis tuum patrem ante quis esset
darkness into light called-out who your father before who he-was
quam cuius gener esset audivit? — Sed quamvis ingrate
than whose son-in-law he-was heard but however ungratefully
et impie necessitudinis nomen repudiaretis, tamen inimicitias
and impiously of-the-bond the-name you-repudiated still enmities
hominum more gerere poteratis, non ficto crimine
of-men in-the-manner to-conduct you-could not with-a-feigned charge
insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere.
to-pursue not to-seek his-life not on-a-capital-charge to-summon
Esto: concedatur haec quoque acerbitatis et odi magnitudo:
let-it-be let-it-be-granted this also of-harshness and of-hatred greatness
adeone ut omnia vitae salutisque communis atque etiam
so-whether that all of-life and-of-safety common and even
humanitatis iura violentur? Servum sollicitare verbis, spe
of-humanity the-rights be-violated a-slave to-tempt with-words with-hope
promissisque corrumpere, abducere domum, contra dominum
and-promises to-corrupt to-lead-away home against his-master
armare, hoc est non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis
to-arm this is not against-one relative but against-all families

nefarium bellum indicere. Nam ista corruptela servi si
an-impious war to-declare for that corruption of-a-slave if
non modo impunita fuerit sed etiam a tanta auctoritate
not only unpunished will-have-been but even by so-great authority
approbata, nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullae leges, nulla
approved no walls our safety no laws no
iura custodient. Ubi enim id quod intus est atque nostrum
rights will-guard where for that which within is and ours
impune evolare potest contraque nos pugnare, fit
with-impunity to-fly-out can and-against us to-fight there-becomes
in dominatu servitus, in servitute dominatus.
in mastery slavery in slavery mastery

31 O tempora, o mores! Cn. Domitius ille quem nos pueri
O times O morals Gnaeus Domitius that whom we as-boys
consulem, censorem, pontificem maximum vidimus, cum
consul censor pontiff supreme saw when
tribunus plebis M. Scaurum principem civitatis in iudicium
a-tribune of-the-plebs Marcus Scaurus the-leader of-the-state into the-court
populi vocavisset Scaurique servus ad eum clam domum
of-the-people had-summoned and-Scaurus' slave to him secretly home
venisset et crimina in dominum delaturum se esse
had-come and charges against his-master going-to-bring himself to-be
dixisset, prendi hominem iussit ad Scaurumque deduci. Vide
had-said to-be-seized the-man he-ordered to and-Scaurus to-be-led see
quid intersit, etsi inique Castorem cum Domitio comparo:
how-much it-differs although unfairly Castor with Domitius I-compare
sed tamen ille inimico servum remisit, tu ab avo
but still he to-his-enemy the-slave sent-back you from your-grandfather
abduxisti; ille incorruptum audire noluit, tu corrupisti; ille
led-away he uncorrupted to-hear refused you corrupted he

adiutorem servum contra dominum repudiavit, tu etiam
as-helper a-slave against his-master rejected you even
accusatorem adhibuisti. At semel iste est corruptus a vobis.
as-accuser employed but once that-man was corrupted by you
Nonne, cum esset perductus et cum tecum fuisset, 32
surely when he-had-been brought-over and when with-you he-had-been
refugit ad legatos? nonne ad hunc Cn. Domitium venit?
he-fled-back to the-envoys surely to this Gnaeus Domitius he-came
nonne audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, qui tum
surely with-hearing this Servius Sulpicius a-most-famous man who then
casu apud Domitium cenabat, et hoc T. Torquato,
by-chance at Domitius' was-dining and this Titus Torquatus
optimo adulescente, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis
an-excellent young-man himself by you corrupted by-your promises
in fraudem impulsum esse confessus est? Quae est ista
into fraud driven to-have-been confessed has what is that
tam impotens, tam crudelis, tam immoderata inhumanitas?
so uncontrolled so cruel so immoderate inhumanity
Idcirco in hanc urbem venisti ut huius urbis iura
for-this-reason into this city did-you-come that of-this city the-laws
et exempla corrumperes domesticaque immanitate nostrae
and examples you-might-corrupt and-by-domestic monstrousness of-our
civitatis humanitatem inquinares?
state the-humanity you-might-stain
At quam acute conlecta crimina! 'Blesamius' inquit, — eius 33
but how sharply collected the-charges Blesamius he-says of-him
enim nomine, optimi viri nec tibi ignoti, male dicebat tibi —
for in-the-name of-a-best man nor to-you unknown ill he-spoke to-you
'ad regem' inquit 'scribere solebat te in invidia esse, tyrannum
to the-king he-says to-write was-wont you in ill-will to-be a-tyrant
existimari, statua inter reges posita animos hominum
to-be-thought with-your-statue among the-kings placed the-minds of-men

vehementer offensos, plaudi tibi non solere.' Nonne
vehemently offended to-be-applauded you not to-be-wont surely
intellegis, Caesar, ex urbanis malevolorum sermunculis haec
you-understand Caesar from the-urban of-the-malevolent little-talks these-things
ab istis esse conlecta? Blesamius tyrannum Caesarem
by those to-have-been collected Blesamius a-tyrant Caesar
scriberet? Multorum enim capita civium viderat, multos iussu
would-write of-many for the-heads of-citizens he-had-seen many by-order
Caesaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos, multas adflictas et eversas
of-Caesar harassed flogged killed many afflicted and overturned
domos, armatis militibus refertum forum! Quae semper
houses with-armed soldiers crammed the-forum which-things always
in civili victoria sensimus, ea te victore non vidimus.
in civil victory we-have-felt those with-you as-victor not we-have-seen
34 Solus, inquam, es, C. Caesar, cuius in victoria ceciderit
alone I-say you-are Gaius Caesar of-whom in victory has-fallen
nemo nisi armatus. Et quem nos liberi in summa populi
no-one unless armed and whom we free-men in the-highest of-the-people
Romani libertate nati non modo non tyrannum sed etiam
Roman liberty born not only not a-tyrant but even
clementissimum in victoria ducimus, is Blesamio qui vivit
most-merciful in victory consider he to-Blesamius who lives
in regno tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statua quis
in a-kingdom a-tyrant to-seem can for about the-statue who
queritur, una praesertim, cum tam multas videat? Valde enim
complains one especially when so many he-sees greatly for
invidendum est eius statuis cuius tropaeis non invidemus.
to-be-envied is his statues whose trophies not we-envy
Nam si locus adfert invidiam, nullus est ad statuam quidem
for if the-place brings ill-will none is for a-statue indeed
rostris clarior. De plausu autem quid respondeam?
than-the-rostra more-famous about the-applause however what should-I-answer

qui nec desideratus umquam in te est et non numquam
which neither missed ever in you has-been and not never
obstupefactis hominibus ipsa admiratione compressus est
with-astounded men itself by-admiration checked has-been
et fortasse eo praetermissus quia nihil volgare te
and perhaps for-that-reason passed-over because nothing common of-you
dignum videri potest.
worthy to-seem can
Nihil a me arbitror praeteritum, sed aliquid ad extremam 35
nothing by me I-think has-been-passed-over but something for the-final
partem causae reservatum. Id autem aliquid quid est? Te ut
part of-the-case reserved that however something what is you that
plane Deiotaro reconciliet oratio mea. Non enim iam metuo
completely to-Deiotarus may-reconcile speech my not for now I-fear
ne illi tu suscenseas; illud vereor ne tibi illum suscensere
lest with-him you be-angry this I-fear lest with-you him to-be-angry
aliquid suspicere: quod abest longissime, mihi crede, Caesar.
something suspect which is-distant very-far to-me believe Caesar
Quid enim retineat per te meminit, non quid amiserit;
what for he-retains through you he-remembers not what he-has-lost
neque se a te multatum arbitratur, sed, cum existimares
nor himself by you punished he-thinks but since you-judged
multis tibi multa esse tribuenda, quo minus a se
to-many by-you many-things to-be to-be-granted by-which less from himself
qui in altera parte fuisset ea sumeres non recusavit.
who on the-other side had-been those-things you-should-take not he-refused
Etenim si Antiochus Magnus ille, rex Asiae, cum, postea quam 36
for-indeed if Antiochus Great that king of-Asia when afterward that
a L. Scipione devictus Tauro tenus regnare iussus est,
by Lucius Scipio conquered at-the-Taurus as-far-as to-reign ordered he-was
omnem hanc Asiam quae est nunc nostra provincia amisisset,
all this Asia which is now our province he-had-lost

dicere est solitus benigne sibi a populo Romano esse
to-say was wont kindly to-himself by the-people Roman to-have-been
factum, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus modicis
done because from-too great a-stewardship freed with-modest
regni terminis uteretur, potest multo facilius hoc se
of-a-kingdom bounds he-made-do can much more-easily with-this himself
Deiotarus consolari. Ille enim furoris multam sustulerat, hic
Deiotarus to-console he for of-madness a-fine had-borne this-one
erroris. Omnia tu Deiotaro, Caesar, tribuisti, cum et ipsi et
of-error all-things you to-Deiotarus Caesar granted when both to-himself and
filio nomen regium concessisti. Hoc nomine retento atque
to-his-son the-name royal you-conceded with-this name retained and
servato nullum beneficium populi Romani, nullum iudicium
preserved no kindness of-the-people Roman no judgment
de se senatus imminutum putat. Magno animo et erecto
about himself of-the-senate diminished he-thinks of-great spirit and lofty
est, nec umquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunae quidem.
he-is nor ever will-he-succumb to-enemies not to-fortune even

Deiotarus holds the decrees of every Roman commander who fought in Asia and the senate's honors, and his virtue, which no fortune can take; Caesar's letter bidding him hope has lifted his care. Cicero labors for the king and for all whom Caesar has pardoned, that they may not fear him. He asks Caesar to set before himself the two kings and grant to mercy what he denied to anger; their envoys offer their own lives, and Hieras says he never left Caesar's side in the tetrarchy. Today's verdict brings the kings ruin or safety.

Multa se arbitratur et peperisse ante factis et habere 37
many-things himself he-thinks both to-have-gained earlier by-deeds and to-have
in animo atque virtute, quae nullo modo possit amittere.
in mind and virtue which in-no way he-could to-lose
Quae enim fortuna aut quis casus aut quae tanta possit
what for fortune or what chance or what so-great could
iniuria omnium imperatorum de Deiotaro decreta delere?
injury of-all commanders about Deiotarus the-decrees to-blot-out
Ab omnibus est enim is ornatus qui, postea quam in castris
by all is for he honored who after that in the-camp
esse potuit per aetatem, in Asia, Cappadocia, Ponto, Cilicia,
to-be he-could through age in Asia Cappadocia Pontus Cilicia
Syria bella gesserunt: senatus vero iudicia de illo tam
Syria wars waged of-the-senate indeed the-judgments about him so
multa tamque honorifica, quae publicis populi Romani
many and-so honorable which in-public of-the-people Roman
litteris monumentisque consignata sunt, quae umquam vetustas
records and-monuments sealed are which ever old-age
obruet aut quae tanta delebit oblivio? Quid de virtute
will-overwhelm or what so-great will-blot-out oblivion what about the-virtue
eius dicam, de magnitudine animi, gravitate, constantia?
his shall-I-say about his-greatness of-spirit gravity steadfastness

quae omnes docti atque sapientes summa, quidam etiam
which all the-learned and wise the-highest certain even
bona sola esse dixerunt, eisque non modo ad bene
goods the-only to-be have-said and-with-these not only for well
sed etiam ad beate vivendum contentam esse virtutem.
but also for happily living content to-be virtue
38 Haec ille reputans et dies noctesque cogitans non modo
these-things he reflecting-on and days and-nights thinking not only
tibi non suscenset — esset enim non solum ingratus
with-you not is-angry he-would-be for not only ungrateful
sed etiam amens—, verum omnem tranquillitatem et
but also mad but all tranquility and
quietem senectutis refert acceptam clementiae tuae. Quo
quiet of-old-age he-credits received to-clemency your in-which
quidem animo cum antea fuit, tum non dubito quin tuis
indeed mind as before he-was so not I-doubt but-that by-your
litteris, quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarracone huic
letter of-which the-copy I-read which for him at-Tarraco to-this
Blesamio dedisti, se magis etiam erexerit ab omnique
Blesamius you-gave himself more even he-has-raised from and-all
sollicitudine abstraxerit. Iubes enim eum bene sperare et
anxiety withdrawn you-bid for him well to-hope and
bono esse animo, quod scio te non frustra scribere solere.
of-good to-be spirit which I-know you not in-vain to-write to-be-wont
Memini enim isdem fere verbis ad me te scribere meque
I-remember for in-the-same nearly words to me you to-write and-me
tuis litteris bene sperare non frustra esse iussum.
by-your letter well to-hope not in-vain to-have-been bidden
39 Laboro equidem regis Deiotari causa quocum mihi amicitiam
I-labor for-my-part of-king Deiotarus for-the-sake with-whom to-me friendship
res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque
the-thing public won guest-friendship the-will of-each

coniunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam vero
joined intimacy habit brought the-highest indeed
necessitudinem magna eius officia in me et in exercitum
bond great his services toward me and toward army
meum effecerunt: sed cum de illo laboro, tum de multis
my effected but both about him I-labor and about many
amplissimis viris quibus semel ignotum a te esse oportet,
most-ample men to-whom once pardoned by you to-have-been it-is-proper
nec tuum beneficium in dubium vocari, nec haerere in animis
nor your kindness into doubt to-be-called nor to-cling in the-minds
hominum sollicitudinem sempiternam, nec accidere ut quisquam
of-men anxiety everlasting nor to-happen that anyone
te timere incipiat eorum qui sint semel a te liberati timore.
you to-fear begin of-those who have-been once by you freed from-fear
Non debeo, Caesar, quod fieri solet in tantis periculis, 40
not I-ought Caesar what to-be-done is-wont in so-great dangers
temptare ecquonam modo dicendo misericordiam tuam
to-try whether-in-any way by-speaking pity your
commovere possim. Nihil opus est. Occurrere solet ipsa
to-move I-can nothing need is to-come-to-meet is-wont itself
supplicibus et calamitosis, nullius oratione evocata. Propone
the-suppliants and the-ruined by-no-one's speech called-forth set-before
tibi duos reges et id animo contemplare quod oculis non
yourself two kings and that in-mind contemplate which with-eyes not
potes: dabis profecto id misericordiae quod iracundiae
you-can you-will-give surely that to-pity which to-anger
denegasti. Multa sunt monumenta clementiae tuae, sed
you-denied many are monuments of-clemency your but
maxime eorum incolumitates quibus salutem dedisti. Quae
most of-those the-safety to-whom safety you-gave which
si in privatis gloriosa sunt, multo magis commemorabuntur
if in private-men glorious are much more they-will-be-recalled

in regibus. Semper regium nomen in hac civitate sanctum
in kings always the-royal name in this state sacred
fuit, sociorum vero regum et amicorum sanctissimum.
has-been of-allied indeed kings and of-friends most-sacred
41 Quod nomen hi reges ne amitterent te victore timuerunt,
which name these kings lest they-should-lose with-you as-victor feared
retentum vero et a te confirmatum posteris etiam suis
retained indeed and by you confirmed to-descendants even their-own
traditurosse esse confidunt. Corpora sua pro
going-to-hand-down themselves to-be they-trust bodies their-own for
salute regum suorum hi legati regii tradunt, Hieras et
the-safety of-kings their-own these envoys royal hand-over Hieras and
Blesamius et Antigonus, tibi nobisque omnibus iam diu
Blesamius and Antigonus to-you and-to-us all now long
noti, eademque fide et virtute praeditus Dorylaus, qui
known and-with-the-same good-faith and virtue endowed Dorylaus who
nuper cum Hiera legatus est ad te missus, cum regum
lately with Hieras as-envoy was to you sent both of-the-kings
amicissimi, tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati.
most-friendly and to-you also as I-hope approved
42 Exquire de Blesamio num quid ad regem contra
inquire of Blesamius whether-at-all anything to the-king against
dignitatem tuam scripserit. Hieras quidem causam omnem
dignity your he-wrote Hieras indeed the-cause whole
suscipit et criminibus illis pro rege se supponit reum.
takes-up and for-the-charges those for the-king himself substitutes as-defendant
Memoriam tuam implorat, qua vales plurimum;
memory your he-implores in-which you-are-strong very-much
negat umquam se a te in Deiotari tetrarchia pedem
he-denies ever himself from you in Deiotarus' tetrarchy a-foot
discessisse; in primis finibus tibi praesto se fuisse dicit,
to-have-departed at the-first borders to-you ready himself to-have-been he-says

usque ad ultimos prosecutum; cum e balneo exisses,
up to the-last to-have-escorted-you when from the-bath you-had-come-out
tecum se fuisse, cum illa munera inspexisses cenatus,
with-you himself to-have-been when those gifts you-had-inspected having-dined
cum in cubiculo recubuisses; eandemque adsiduitatem tibi
when in the-bedroom you-had-lain-down and-the-same attendance to-you
se praebuisse postridie.
himself to-have-shown the-next-day

Quam ob rem si quid eorum quae obiecta sunt 43
which on-account-of thing if anything of-those-things which charged have-been
cogitatum sit, non recusat quin id suum facinus iudices.
planned has-been not he-refuses but-that it his-own crime you-judge
Quocirca, C. Caesar, velim existimes hodierno die
wherefore Gaius Caesar I-should-wish you-consider on-today's day
sententiam tuam aut cum summo dedecore miserrimam
verdict your either with the-highest disgrace a-most-wretched
pestem importaturam esse regibus aut incolumem famam
plague going-to-bring to-be on-the-kings or unharmed reputation
cum salute: quorum alterum optare illorum crudelitatis est,
with safety of-which the-one to-wish of-their cruelty is
alterum conservare clementiae tuae.
the-other to-preserve of-clemency your