LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 83

On His House

Cicero

De Domo Sua
De Lege Agraria
De Haruspicum Responso

On His House

With Eight More Speeches

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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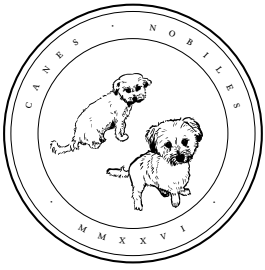

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CICERO

De Imperio Cn. Pompei

On the Command of Pompey

DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEI

I · THE WAR IN ASIA

Speaking from the rostra for the first time, Cicero takes up the cause of Pompey's command. Letters from Asia report that Mithridates and Tigranes threaten the province and its revenues. He sets out the order of his speech: the kind of war, its size, and the general to be chosen. The glory of Rome is at stake, since Mithridates still reigns twenty-three years after the massacre of Roman citizens in Asia, and so are the safety of allies, the surest revenues, and the fortunes of many citizens.

Quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multo 1
although to-me always the-crowded sight your by-far
iucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus,
most-pleasant this however place for acting most-ample
ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc
for speaking most-distinguished has seemed citizens still from-this
aditu laudis qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit
approach of-praise which always to-the-best each most has-lain-open
non mea me voluntas adhuc sed vitae meae rationes
not my me will so-far but of-life my the-plans
ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. Nam cum
from entering age undertaken have-kept for when
antea nondum huius auctoritatem loci attingere auderem
before not-yet of-this the-authority place to-touch I-dared
statueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum
and-I-decided nothing hither except perfected by-talent worked-out
industria adferri oportere, omne meum tempus amicorum
by-industry to-be-brought it-behooved all my time to-friends'
temporibus transmittendum putavi.
needs to-be-devoted I-thought

2 Ita neque hic locus vacuus fuit umquam ab eis qui vestram
so neither this place empty has-been ever of those who your
causam defenderent et meus labor in privatorum periculis caste
cause might-defend and my labor in of-private-men the-dangers chastely
integreque versatus ex vestro iudicio fructum est amplissimum
and-blamelessly engaged from your judgment the-fruit has most-ample
consecutus. Nam cum propter dilationem comitiorum
attained for when on-account-of the-postponement of-the-elections
ter praetor primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum,
three-times praetor first by-the-centuries all declared I-was
facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me iudicaretis et quid
easily I-understood citizens both what about me you-judged and what
aliis praescriberetis. Nunc cum et auctoritatis in me tantum
to-others you-prescribed now since both of-authority in me so-much
sit quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et
there-is as-much-as you by-honors being-entrusted to-be have-wished and
ad agendum facultatis tantum quantum homini vigilanti ex
for acting of-ability so-much as-much-as to-a-man vigilant from
forensi usu prope cotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit adferre,
forensic practice almost daily of-speaking exercise could bring
certe et, si quid auctoritatis in me est, apud eos utar
certainly both if any of-authority in me there-is with those I-shall-use(-it)
qui eam mihi dederunt et, si quid in dicendo consequi
who it to-me have-given and if anything in speaking attain
possum, eis ostendam potissimum qui ei quoque rei
I-can to-them I-shall-show especially who to-that also thing
fructum suo iudicio tribuendum esse duxerunt.
a-reward by-their-own judgment to-be-granted to-be have-thought

3 Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum iure esse video quod in
and that in first-things to-me to-be-rejoiced-at rightly to-be I-see that in
hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis oblata
this unaccustomed to-me from this place method of-speaking a-cause such offered

est in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum est enim
has-been in which speech to-be-lacking to-no-one can to-be-spoken it-is for
de Cn. Pompei singulari eximiaque virtute; huius autem
about of-Gnaeus Pompey singular and-exceptional courage of-this however
orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita
speech more-difficult it-is the-end than the-beginning to-find so
mihi non tam copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.
to-me not so-much abundance as measure in speaking to-be-sought is
Atque ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur unde haec omnis 4
and that thence speech my may-set-out whence this whole
causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus
cause is-drawn a-war grave and dangerous on-your revenues
atque sociis a duobus potentissimis adfertur regibus,
and allies by two most-powerful is-brought kings
Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus
Mithridates and Tigranes of-whom the-one left the-other provoked
occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse
an-opportunity to-himself for seizing Asia offered to-have-been
arbitratur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, adferuntur
thinks to-the-knights Roman most-honorable men are-brought
ex Asia cotidie litterae, quorum magnae res aguntur in
from Asia daily letters whose great affairs are-at-stake in
vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae; qui ad me pro
your revenues being-farmed engaged who to me for
necessitudine quae mihi est cum illo ordine causam rei
the-connection which to-me is with that order the-cause of-the-thing
publicae periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt,
public and-the-dangers of-affairs their-own have-reported
Bithyniae quae nunc vestra provincia est vicos exustos 5
of-Bithynia which now your province is the-villages burned
esse compluris, regnum Ariobarzanis quod finitimum
to-have-been several the-kingdom of-Ariobarzanes which neighboring

est vestris vectigalibus totum esse in hostium potestate;
is to-your revenues whole to-be in of-the-enemies the-power
L. Lucullum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere;
Lucius Lucullus with-great things done from that war to-be-departing
huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum
this-one who has-succeeded not enough to-be prepared for so-great
bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus
a-war being-administered one by all allies and citizens
ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti, eundem
for that war as-commander to-be-demanded and to-be-sought the-same
hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.
this one by the-enemies to-be-feared besides no-one
6 Causa quae sit videtis; nunc quid agendum sit ipsi
the-cause what it-is you-see now what to-be-done is yourselves
considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde
consider first to-me it-seems about the-kind of-the-war then
de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse
about its-greatness then about the-commander to-be-chosen to-be
dicendum. Genus est eius belli quod maxime vestros animos
to-be-spoken the-kind is of-that war which most your minds
excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat. In
to-rouse and to-inflame to of-pursuing zeal ought in
quo agitur populi Romani gloria quae vobis a maioribus
which is-at-stake of-the-people Roman the-glory which to-you by your-ancestors
cum magna in omnibus rebus tum summa in re militari
both great in all things and the-highest in the-thing military
tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum pro
handed-down has-been is-at-stake the-safety of-allies and friends for
qua multa maiores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt;
which many ancestors your great and grave wars have-waged
aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima
are-at-stake the-surest of-the-people Roman revenues and greatest

quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli
with-which lost both of-peace the-ornaments and the-supports of-war
requiretis; aguntur bona multorum civium quibus est a
you-will-miss are-at-stake the-goods of-many citizens for-whom is by
vobis et ipsorum causa et rei publicae consulendum.
you both of-themselves for-the-sake and of-the-thing public to-be-taken-thought
Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae praeter ceteras gentis 7
and since always eager for-glory beyond the-other peoples
atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda vobis est illa macula
and greedy of-praise you-have-been to-be-wiped-out by-you is that stain
Mithridatico bello superiore concepta quae penitus iam
in-the-Mithridatic war earlier contracted which deep already
insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani nomine,
has-settled and too-much has-grown-old in of-the-people Roman the-name
quod is qui uno die tota in Asia tot in civitatibus
that he who in-one day whole in Asia so-many in states
uno nuntio atque una significatione omnis civis Romanos
by-one message and one signal all citizens Roman
necandos trucidandosque curavit, non modo adhuc poenam
to-be-killed and-butchered caused not only so-far penalty
nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit sed ab illo tempore
no his-own worthy crime has-undergone but from that time
annum iam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat ut
the-year now third and twentieth reigns and so reigns that
se non Ponti neque Cappadociae latebris occultare
himself not of-Pontus nor of-Cappadocia in-the-hiding-places to-conceal
velit sed emergere ex patrio regno atque in vestris
he-wishes but to-emerge from his-ancestral kingdom and in your
vectigalibus, hoc est in Asiae luce, versari.
revenues that is in of-Asia the-light to-move-about

8 Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege contenderunt
for-indeed so-far so our with that king have-contended
imperatores ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victoriam
commanders that from him the-insignia of-victory not victory
reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena
they-brought-back triumphed Lucius Sulla triumphed Lucius Murena
de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores, sed
over Mithridates two most-brave men and very-great commanders but
ita triumpharunt ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verum
so they-triumphed that he beaten and-overcome reigned but
tamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda quod egerunt,
still to-those commanders praise is to-be-granted for-what they-did
venia danda quod reliquerunt, propterea quod ab eo bello
pardon to-be-given for-what they-left on-that-account because from that war
Sullam in Italiam res publica, Murenam Sulla revocavit.
Sulla into Italy the-thing public Murena Sulla recalled

9 Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem
Mithridates however all the-remaining time not to forgetting
veteris belli sed ad comparationem novi contulit. Qui postea,
of-the-old war but to the-preparation of-a-new devoted who afterward
cum maximas aedificasset ornassetque classis exercitusque
when very-great he-had-built and-equipped fleets and-armies
permagnos quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset comparasset
very-large whatever from peoples he-could had-raised
et se Bosphoranis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet,
and himself on-the-Bosporans neighbors his war to-make pretended
usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces
right-up into Spain envoys and letters he-sent to those leaders
quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, cum duobus in locis
with-whom then war we-were-waging that when two in places
disiunctissimis maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis
most-separated and-most different with-one plan by two

hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti
of-enemies forces war by-land and-sea might-be-waged you in-a-twofold
contentione districti de imperio dimicaretis.
struggle distracted about empire might-fight
Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque 10
but still of-the-one part the-danger the-Sertorian and
Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat,
Spanish which much more of-strength and of-power had
Cn. Pompei divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum
of-Gnaeus Pompey by-the-divine counsel and singular courage repelled
est; in altera parte ita res ab L. Lucullo, summo viro,
has-been in the-other part so the-affair by Lucius Lucullus a-very-great man
est administrata ut initia illa rerum gestarum magna
has-been administered that beginnings those of-the-things done great
atque praeclara non felicitati eius sed virtuti, haec
and splendid not to-the-good-fortune his but to-his-courage these
autem extrema quae nuper acciderunt non culpae sed fortunae
however last-things which lately happened not to-fault but to-fortune
tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio
to-be-attributed to-be may-seem but about Lucullus I-shall-speak in-another
loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei
place and so I-shall-speak citizens that neither true praise from-him
detracta oratione mea neque falsa adficta esse videatur;
taken-away by-speech my nor false added to-have-been may-seem
de vestri imperi dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is 11
about your empire's dignity and glory since this
est exorsus orationis meae, videte quem vobis animum
is the-beginning of-speech my see what by-you spirit
suscipiendum putetis. Maiores nostri saepe pro mercatoribus
to-be-taken-up you-think ancestors our often for merchants
aut navicularis nostris iniuriosius tractatis bella gesserunt;
or shipmasters our too-injuriously treated wars have-waged

vos tot milibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque
you so-many thousands of-citizens Roman by-one message and
uno tempore necatis quo tandem animo esse debetis?
at-one time killed with-what pray spirit to-be ought-you
Legati quod erant appellati superbius, Corinthum patres
the-envoys because they-had-been addressed rather-arrogantly Corinth fathers
vestri totius Graeciae lumen exstinctum esse voluerunt; vos
your of-all Greece the-light extinguished to-be wished you
eum regem inultum esse patiemini qui legatum populi
that king unavenged to-be will-allow who an-envoy of-the-people
Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni
Roman a-consular with-chains and blows and every
supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem imminutam
punishment tortured killed they the-liberty diminished
civium Romanorum non tulerunt; vos ereptam vitam
of-citizens Roman not endured you snatched-away life
neglegetis? Ius legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti
will-neglect the-right of-embassy in-word violated they pursued
sunt; vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis?
have you an-envoy by-every punishment killed will-leave-alone
12 Videte ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperi
see lest as for-them most-splendid it-was so-great to-you of-empire
gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum sit id quod
glory to-hand-down so for-you most-shameful it-be that which
accepistis tueri et conservare non posse. Quid? quod
you-have-received to-protect and to-preserve not to-be-able what that
salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur,
the-safety of-the-allies the-highest into danger and crisis is-called
quo id tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno est
with-what that pray spirit to-bear ought-you from-the-kingdom has-been
expulsus Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque
expelled Ariobarzanes king ally of-the-people Roman and

amicus; imminent duo reges toti Asiae non solum vobis
friend hang-over two kings whole Asia not only to-you
inimicissimi sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates
most-hostile but also to-your allies and friends the-states
autem omnes cuncta Asia atque Graecia vestrum auxilium
however all whole Asia and Greece your help
exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur;
to-await on-account-of of-the-danger the-greatness are-forced
imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, cum praesertim
a-commander from you particular to-demand since especially
vos alium miseritis, neque audent neque id se facere
you another have-sent neither they-dare nor that themselves to-do
sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur.
without the-highest danger to-be-able they-think
Vident enim et sentiunt hoc idem quod vos, unum virum 13
they-see for and feel this same-thing which you one man
esse in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propter esse, quo
to-be in whom the-highest be all-things and him near to-be by-which
etiam carent aegrius; cuius adventu ipso atque nomine,
also they-lack-him more-painfully at-whose arrival itself and name
tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus
although he to the-maritime war has-come still the-onsets
hostium repressos esse intellegunt ac retardatos. Hi
of-the-enemies checked to-have-been they-understand and slowed these
vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet, taciti rogant ut
you since freely to-speak not it-is-allowed silently ask that
se quoque dignos existimetis quorum salutem tali
themselves too worthy you-may-think whose safety to-such
viro commendetis, atque hoc etiam magis quod ceteras in
a-man you-may-entrust and this even more because the-other into
provincias eius modi homines cum imperio mittimus ut, etiam
provinces of-that kind men with command we-send that even

si ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbis
if from the-enemy they-defend(-them) still their arrivals into the-cities
sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant,
of-the-allies not much from hostile storming differ
hunc audiebant antea, nunc praesentem vident tanta
this-man they-used-to-hear-of before now present they-see of-such
temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate ut ei
temperance of-such gentleness of-such humanity that those
beatissimi esse videantur apud quos ille diutissime commoretur.
most-happy to-be seem with whom he longest stays
14 Qua re si propter socios nulla ipsi iniuria lacessiti
by-which thing if on-account-of allies by-no themselves injury provoked
maiores nostri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Aetolis,
ancestors our with Antiochus with Philip with the-Aetolians
cum Poenis bella gesserunt, quanto vos studiosius
with the-Carthaginians wars waged how-much you more-zealously
convenit iniuriis provocatos sociorum salutem una cum
it-befits by-injuries provoked of-the-allies the-safety together with
imperi vestri dignitate defendere, praesertim cum de
of-empire your the-dignity to-defend especially since about
maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum
very-great your revenues it-is-a-question for of-the-other
provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt ut eis ad
provinces the-revenues citizens such are that with-them for
ipsas provincias tuendas vix contenti esse possimus,
themselves the-provinces being-protected scarcely content to-be we-can
Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis ut et ubertate
Asia indeed so rich is and fertile that both in-the-fertility
agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et
of-its-fields and in-the-variety of-its-crops and in-the-extent of-its-pasture and
multitudine earum rerum quae exportentur facile omnibus
in-the-multitude of-those things which are-exported easily all

terris antecellat. Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si et
lands it-surpasses and-so this by-you province citizens if both
belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere voltis, non modo
of-war the-usefulness and of-peace the-dignity to-keep you-wish not only
a calamitate sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda.
from calamity but also from the-fear of-calamity is to-be-defended
Nam in ceteris rebus cum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum 15
for in other things when has-come calamity then loss
accipitur; at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali sed
is-suffered but in revenues not only the-arrival of-evil but
etiam metus ipse adfert calamitatem. Nam cum hostium
also fear itself brings calamity for when of-enemies
copiae non longe absunt, etiam si inruptio nulla facta
the-forces not far are-absent even if inroad none made
est, tamen pecua relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur,
has-been still the-herds are-abandoned of-the-fields the-tillage is-deserted
mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu
of-merchants the-sailing comes-to-rest so neither from the-harbor
neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari
nor from the-tithes nor from the-pasture-tax revenue to-be-kept
potest; qua re saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore
can by-which thing often of-a-whole year the-produce by-one rumor
periculi atque uno belli terrore amittitur.
of-danger and one of-war alarm is-lost

The tax-farmers and the many Romans with money in Asia must be protected, since credit at Rome falls with the fortunes of Asia. Cicero praises what Lucullus achieved against Mithridates, then tells of the reverses that followed, the king's recovery, and the army's discontent. A general is needed with knowledge of war, courage, authority, and good fortune, and Pompey learned war from boyhood.

16 Quo tandem igitur animo esse existimatis aut eos
with-what pray therefore spirit to-be do-you-think either those
qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos qui exercent atque
who the-revenues to-us pay or those who farm(-them) and
exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint,
collect(-them) when two kings with very-great forces nearby are-present
cum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore totius
when one raid of-cavalry in-a-very-short time of-a-whole
anni vectigal auferre possit, cum publicani familias
year the-revenue to-carry-off can when the-tax-farmers the-households
maximas quas in salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in
very-large which in the-salt-works they-have which in the-fields which in
portibus atque in custodiis magno periculo se habere
the-harbors and in the-guard-posts in-great danger themselves to-have
arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos
think do-you-think you those things to-enjoy to-be-able unless those
qui vobis fructui sunt conservaveritis non solum, ut ante
who to-you for-profit are you-shall-have-preserved not only as before
dixi, calamitate sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?
I-said from-calamity but also of-calamity from-the-dread freed

17 Ac ne illud quidem vobis neglegendum est quod mihi
and not that even by-you to-be-neglected is which to-myself
ego extremum proposueram, cum essem de belli genere
I last had-proposed when I-was about of-the-war the-kind

dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum
going-to-speak which to of-many the-goods citizens Roman
pertinet; quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites,
pertains of-whom by-you in-keeping-with your wisdom citizens
habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines
to-be-had is account diligently for both the-tax-farmers men
honestissimi atque ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in
most-honorable and most-distinguished their-own accounts and resources into
illam provinciam contulerunt, quorum ipsorum per se
that province have-brought of-whom of-themselves by themselves
res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent. Etenim, si
the-affairs and fortunes to-you a-care to-be ought for-indeed if
vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus,
the-revenues the-sinews to-be of-the-thing public always we-have-held
eum certe ordinem qui exercet illa firmamentum ceterorum
that certainly order which farms them the-support of-the-other
ordinum recte esse dicemus.
orders rightly to-be we-shall-say
Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines gnavi atque industrii 18
then from the-other orders men active and industrious
partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus
partly themselves in Asia do-business for-whom you absent
consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias
to-take-thought ought partly of-them in that province moneys
magnas conlocatas habent. Est igitur humanitatis vestrae
great invested have it-is therefore of-humanity your
magnum numerum civium calamitate prohibere, sapientiae
a-great number of-citizens from-calamity to-keep of-wisdom
videre multorum civium calamitatem a re publica
to-see of-many citizens the-calamity from the-thing public
seiunctam esse non posse. Etenim illud primum parvi refert,
separated to-be not to-be-able for-indeed that first of-little matters

vos publicanis amissa vectigalia postea victoria reciperare;
you for-the-tax-farmers lost revenues afterward by-victory to-recover
neque enim isdem redimendi facultas erit propter
nor for for-the-same of-buying the-means there-will-be on-account-of
calamitatem neque aliis voluntas propter timorem.
calamity nor for-others the-will on-account-of fear

19 Deinde quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates
then what us the-same Asia and the-same that Mithridates
initio belli Asiatici docuit, id quidem certe calamitate
at-the-beginning of-the-war Asiatic taught that indeed certainly by-calamity
docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam tum, cum in Asia magnas
taught in-memory to-keep we-ought for then when in Asia great
permulti res amiserunt, scimus Romae solutione impedita
very-many affairs lost we-know at-Rome with-payment hindered
fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi
credit to-have-collapsed not for can one in state many
rem ac fortunas amittere ut non pluris secum in
their-property and fortunes to-lose so-that not more with-themselves into
eandem trahant calamitatem: a quo periculo prohibete rem
the-same they-drag calamity from which danger keep the-thing
publicam. Etenim — mihi credite id quod ipsi videtis —
public for-indeed to-me believe that which yourselves you-see
haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum quae Romae, quae
this credit and this system of-money which at-Rome which
in foro versatur, implicata est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis
in the-forum moves interwoven is with those moneys Asiatic
et cohaeret; ruere illa non possunt ut haec non eodem
and coheres to-fall those not can so-that these not by-the-same
labefacta motu concidant. Qua re videte num dubitandum
shaken movement collapse by-which thing see whether to-be-doubted
vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere in quo gloria
by-you it-be with-every zeal to that war to-apply-yourselves in which the-glory

nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae
of-name your the-safety of-the-allies the-revenues greatest the-fortunes
plurimorum civium coniunctae cum re publica defendantur.
of-very-many citizens joined with the-thing public are-defended
Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine 20
since about the-kind of-war I-have-spoken now about its-greatness
pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici, belli genus esse
a-few-things I-shall-say can for this to-be-said of-war the-kind to-be
ita necessarium ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum
so necessary that it-be to-be-waged not to-be so great
ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime laborandum est
that it-be to-be-dreaded in which most to-be-labored is
ne forte ea vobis quae diligentissime providenda sunt
lest perhaps those-things to-you which most-diligently to-be-provided-for are
contemnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intellegant
to-be-despised to-be may-seem and that all may-understand
me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis quantum forti
me to-Lucius Lucullus as-much to-impart of-praise as-much-as to-a-brave
viro et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debeatur,
man and wise person and great commander is-owed
dico eius adventu maximas Mithridati copias omnibus rebus
I-say at-his arrival very-great for-Mithridates forces with-all things
ornatas atque instructas fuisse, urbemque Asiae clarissimam
equipped and provided to-have-been and-the-city of-Asia most-famous
nobisque amicissimam Cyzicenorum oppressam esse
and-to-us most-friendly of-the-Cyzicenes crushed to-have-been
ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam
by himself the-king with-a-very-great multitude and attacked
vehementissime; quam L. Lucullus virtute, adsiduitate,
most-violently which Lucius Lucullus by-courage persistence
consilio summis obsidionis periculis liberavit.
counsel from-the-greatest of-siege dangers freed

21 Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam quae ducibus
by the-same commander a-fleet great and equipped which by-leaders
Sertorianis ad Italiam studio atque odio inflammata raperetur
Sertorian to Italy with-zeal and hatred inflamed was-being-swept
superatam esse atque depressam; magnas hostium praeterea
overcome to-have-been and sunk great of-enemies besides
copias multis proeliis esse deletas patefactumque nostris
forces in-many battles to-have-been destroyed and-opened to-our
legionibus esse Pontum qui antea populo Romano ex
legions to-have-been Pontus which before to-the-people Roman from
omni aditu clausus fuisset; Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus
every approach closed had-been Sinope and Amisus which
in oppidis erant domicilia regis omnibus rebus ornata ac
in towns were the-residences of-the-king with-all things equipped and
referta, ceterasque urbis Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno
stuffed and-the-other cities of-Pontus and of-Cappadocia very-many by-one
aditu adventuque esse captas; regem spoliatum regno
approach and-arrival to-have-been taken the-king stripped of-the-kingdom
patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentis
paternal and ancestral to other himself kings and to other peoples
supplicem contulisse; atque haec omnia salvis populi
as-suppliant to-have-betaken and these-things all with-safe of-the-people
Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta.
Roman allies and unimpaired revenues to-have-been done
Satis opinor hoc esse laudis atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos
enough I-think this to-be of-praise and so citizens that this you
intellegatis, a nullo istorum qui huic obtrectant legi atque
may-understand by none of-those who this oppose law and
causae L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.
cause Lucius Lucullus likewise from this place to-have-been praised

Requiretur fortasse nunc quem ad modum, cum haec 22
it-will-be-asked perhaps now in-what to manner when these-things
ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite,
so be the-remainder can great to-be the-war learn
Quirites; non enim hoc sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum
citizens not for this without cause to-be-asked it-seems first
ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit ut ex eodem Ponto
from his-own kingdom so Mithridates fled as from the-same Pontus
Medea illa quondam fugisse dicitur, quam praedicant in fuga
Medea that once to-have-fled is-said whom they-relate in flight
fratris sui membra in eis locis qua se parens persequeretur
of-brother her-own the-limbs in those places where her parent was-pursuing
dissipavisse, ut eorum conlectio dispersa maerorque patrius
to-have-scattered so-that of-them the-gathering dispersed and-grief paternal
celeritatem consequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens
the-speed of-pursuing might-slow so Mithridates fleeing
maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum
the-greatest mass of-gold and silver and-of-the-most-beautiful things
omnium quas et a maioribus acceperat et ipse bello
all which both from ancestors he-had-received and himself in-the-war
superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat
earlier from whole Asia plundered into his-own kingdom had-heaped-up
in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri conligunt omnia
in Pontus all left these while our-men gather all-things
diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in
too-diligently the-king himself from their-hands escaped so him in
persequendi studio maeror, hos laetitia tardavit.
of-pursuing the-zeal grief these-men joy slowed
Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, 23
this-man in that fear and flight Tigranes king Armenian
excepit diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et adflictum
received and-distrusting fortunes his-own encouraged and the-stricken

erexit perditumque recreavit. Cuius in regnum postea quam
raised-up and-the-ruined revived whose into kingdom after that
L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes
Lucius Lucullus with his-army came more even peoples
contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim
against commander our roused were there-was for
metus iniectus eis nationibus quas numquam populus
fear cast into-those nations which never the-people
Romanus neque lacessendas bello neque temptandas putavit;
Roman either to-be-provoked by-war or to-be-tried thought
erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio quae per
there-was also another grave and vehement opinion which through
animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi
the-minds of-the-peoples barbarian had-spread of-a-shrine most-wealthy
et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum
and most-sacred to-be-plundered for-the-sake to those shores our
esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes multae atque
to-have-been army brought so nations many and
magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur.
great by-a-new certain terror and fear were-roused
Noster autem exercitus, tametsi urbem ex Tigrani regno
our however army although a-city from of-Tigranes kingdom
ceperat et proeliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia
it-had-taken and battles used had successful still by-the-excessive
longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur.
remoteness of-the-places and longing for-its-own was-shaken
24 Hic iam plura non dicam; fuit enim illud extremum ut
here now more not I-shall-say it-was for that the-end that
ex eis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus
from those places by soldiers our a-return rather speedy
quam progressio longior quaereretur. Mithridates autem se
than an-advance longer was-sought Mithridates however himself

et suam manum iam confirmarat eorum opera qui ad eum
and his-own band now had-strengthened by-their help who to him
ex ipsius regno concesserant et magnis adventiciis auxiliis
from his-own kingdom had-gone-over and by-great foreign auxiliaries
multorum regum et nationum iuvabatur. Iam hoc fere sic
of-many kings and nations was-helped now this nearly so
fieri solere accepimus ut regum adflictae fortunae facile
to-happen to-be-wont we-have-heard that of-kings the-stricken fortunes easily
multorum opes adliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque
of-many the-resources attract to pity and-especially
eorum qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno, ut eis
of-those who either kings are or live in a-kingdom so-that to-them
nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur.
the-name royal great and sacred to-be seems
Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit quantum incolumis 25
and-so as-much defeated to-accomplish he-could as-much-as unharmed
numquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum suum
never has dared to-wish for when himself into kingdom his-own
recepisset, non fuit eo contentus quod ei praeter
he-had-withdrawn not he-was with-this content that to-him beyond
spem acciderat, ut illam postea quam pulsus erat terram
hope had-happened that that after that beaten he-was land
umquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clarum
ever he-should-touch but upon army our famous
atque victorem impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites,
and victorious an-attack he-made allow at-this place citizens
sicut poetae solent qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire
as poets are-wont who affairs Roman write to-pass-over
me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit ut eam ad auris
me our disaster which so-great was that it to the-ears

imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius sed ex sermone rumor
of-the-commander not from the-battle a-messenger but from talk a-rumor
adferret. Hic in illo ipso malo gravissimaque belli offensione
brought here in that very misfortune and-most-grievous of-war setback
26 L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte eis incommodis
Lucius Lucullus who still some from part those troubles
mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro iussu coactus qui imperi
to-heal perhaps could-have by-your order compelled who of-command
diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis,
to-the-length a-limit to-be-set by-old precedent you-thought
partim militum qui iam stipendiis confectis erant
part of-the-soldiers who now with-their-service-terms completed were
dimisit, partim M'. Glabrioni tradidit. Multa praetereo
dismissed part to-Manius Glabrio handed-over many-things I-pass-over
consulto; sed ea vos coniectura perspicite quantum illud
deliberately but them you by-conjecture perceive how-great that
bellum factum putetis quod coniungant reges potentissimi,
war become you-may-think which join kings most-powerful
renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, novus
renew stirred-up nations undertake unimpaired peoples a-new
imperator noster accipiat vetere exercitu pulso.
commander our receives with-the-old army routed
27 Satis multa mihi verba fecisse videor qua re esset hoc
enough many words to-me to-have-made I-seem by-which thing were this
bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum.
war in-kind itself necessary in-greatness dangerous
Restat ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac
it-remains that about the-commander for that war to-be-chosen and
tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur. Utinam,
over-such-great affairs to-be-placed to-be-spoken to-be may-seem would-that
Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam
citizens of-men brave and blameless a-supply so-great

haberetis ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset quemnam
you-had that this for-you deliberation difficult were whom-pray
potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum
especially over-such-great affairs and so-great a-war to-be-placed
putaretis! Nunc vero cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius qui
you-should-think now indeed since there-is one Gnaeus Pompey who
non modo eorum hominum qui nunc sunt gloriam sed
not only of-those men who now are the-glory but
etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit, quae res est
also of-antiquity the-memory in-courage has-surpassed what thing is-there
quae cuiusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit?
which of-anyone the-mind in this cause doubtful to-make could
Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has 28
I for so think in a-supreme commander four these
res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem,
things to-be-present it-behooves knowledge of-the-thing military courage
auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior
authority good-fortune who therefore than-this man more-skilled
umquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque e
ever either was or to-be ought who from school and from
pueritiae disciplinis bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus
of-boyhood the-studies in-a-war very-great and with-most-fierce enemies
ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam
to his-father's army and into of-military-service the-discipline
profectus est, qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu summi
set-out has who at-the-end-of boyhood a-soldier in the-army of-a-supreme
fuit imperatoris, ineunte adulescentia maximi ipse
was commander at-the-beginning-of youth of-a-very-great himself
exercitus imperator, qui saepius cum hoste conflixit quam
army the-commander who more-often with an-enemy has-clashed than
quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit
anyone with a-personal-enemy has-disputed more wars has-waged

quam ceteri legerunt, pluris provincias confecit quam alii
than others have-read more provinces has-subdued than others
concupiverunt, cuius adulescentia ad scientiam rei militaris
have-coveted whose youth to knowledge of-the-thing military
non alienis praeceptis sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus
not by-others' precepts but by-his-own commands not by-setbacks
belli sed victoriis, non stipendiis sed triumphis est
of-war but by-victories not by-campaigns but by-triumphs has-been
erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest in quo illum
taught what finally kind to-be of-war can in which him
non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae? Civile, Africanum,
not has-exercised the-fortune of-the-thing public civil African
Transalpinum, Hispaniense mixtum ex civibus atque ex
Transalpine Spanish mixed from citizens and from
bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum, varia et
most-warlike nations servile naval war varied and
diversa genera et bellorum et hostium non solum gesta ab
different kinds both of-wars and of-enemies not only waged by
hoc uno sed etiam confecta nullam rem esse declarant in
this one-man but also finished no thing to-be declare in
usu positam militari quae huius viri scientiam fugere possit.
use placed military which of-this man the-knowledge to-escape could

No speech can match Pompey's courage, shown in Italy, Africa, Spain, and against the pirates, whom he cleared from every sea at a speed no one believed. His other virtues are as great: integrity, restraint, good faith, ease of access, and humanity. Unlike other commanders, he does not plunder allies, and his army winters in their cities without burdening them.

Iam vero virtuti Cn. Pompei quae potest oratio par 29
now indeed to-the-courage of-Gnaeus Pompey what can speech equal
inveniri? Quid est quod quisquam aut illo dignum
be-found what is-there that anyone either of-him worthy
aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit adferre?
or to-you new or to-anyone unheard-of could bring
Neque enim solae sunt virtutes imperatoriae quae volgo
nor for alone are the-virtues of-a-commander which commonly
existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria
are-thought labor in business bravery in dangers industry
in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo,
in acting speed in completing counsel in foreseeing
quae tanta sunt in hoc uno quanta in omnibus reliquis
which so-great are in this one-man as-great-as in all the-remaining
imperatoribus quos aut vidimus aut audivimus non fuerunt.
commanders whom either we-have-seen or heard-of not have-been
Testis est Italia quam ille ipse victor
witness is Italy which he himself victor
L. Sulla huius virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam; 30
Lucius Sulla by-his courage and support confessed has freed
testis Sicilia quam multis undique cinctam periculis
witness Sicily which by-many from-everywhere surrounded dangers
non terrore belli sed consili celeritate explicavit; testis
not by-the-terror of-war but of-counsel by-speed he-disentangled witness

Africa quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum
Africa which by-great overwhelmed of-enemies forces with-their very
sanguine redundavit; testis Gallia per quam legionibus
blood overflowed witness Gaul through which for-legions
nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internicione patefactum
our a-road into Spain by-the-Gauls' slaughter opened
est; testis Hispania quae saepissime plurimos hostis ab
was witness Spain which very-often very-many enemies by
hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit; testis iterum et
this-man overcome and-laid-low has-seen witness again and
saepius Italia quae, cum servili bello taetro periculosoque
more-often Italy which when by-the-servile war foul and-dangerous
premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit, quod
it-was-pressed from this-man help absent sought which
bellum exspectatione eius attenuatum atque imminutum est,
war by-expectation of-him lessened and diminished was
adventu sublatum ac sepultum.
by-his-arrival removed and buried

31 Testes nunc vero iam omnes orae atque omnes terrae gentes
witnesses now indeed already all coasts and all lands peoples
nationes, maria denique omnia cum universa tum in singulis
nations seas finally all both as-a-whole and on single
oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus
coasts all bays and harbors what for in-the-whole sea place
per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium ut tutus
through these years either so firm had a-garrison that safe
esset, aut tam fuit abditus ut lateret? Quis navigavit qui non
it-was or so was hidden that it-lay-concealed who sailed who not
se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut
himself either of-death or of-slavery to-the-danger committed when either
hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum
in-winter or on-a-crowded with-pirates sea he-sailed this so-great

bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum
war so shameful so old so widely divided and scattered
quis umquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno
who ever would-have-thought either by all commanders in-one
anno aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse?
year or in-all years by one commander to-be-finished to-be-able
Quam provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus liberam per hosce 32
what province did-you-hold from pirates free through these
annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis?
years what revenue to-you safe was what ally did-you-defend
cui praesidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis
to-whom as-protection with-fleets your were-you how many do-you-think
insulas esse desertas, quam multas aut metu relictas
islands to-have-been deserted how many either through-fear abandoned
aut a praedonibus captas urbis esse sociorum? Sed quid
or by pirates taken cities to-have-been of-the-allies but why
ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium
I distant-things recount it-was this once it-was proper
populi Romani longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis
of-the-people Roman far from home to-make-war and by-the-bulwarks
imperi sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis
of-empire of-the-allies the-fortunes not their-own roofs to-defend to-the-allies
ego vestris mare per hosce annos clausum fuisse dicam,
I your the-sea through these years closed to-have-been shall-I-say
cum exercitus vestri numquam Brundisio nisi hieme
when armies your never from-Brundisium except in-winter
summa transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus
the-depth-of crossed those-who to you from foreign nations
venirent, captos querar, cum legati populi Romani
came captured shall-I-complain when the-envoys of-the-people Roman

redempti sint? Mercatoribus mare tutum non fuisse dicam,
ransomed have-been to-merchants the-sea safe not to-have-been shall-I-say
cum duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint?
when twelve axes into of-pirates the-power came
33 Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbis,
Cnidus or Colophon or Samos most-noble cities
innumerabilisque alias captas esse commemorem, cum
and-countless others captured to-have-been shall-I-recount when
vestros portus atque eos portus quibus vitam ac spiritum ducitis
your harbors and those harbors by-which life and breath you-draw
in praedonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An vero ignoratis
in of-pirates to-have-been the-power you-know or indeed are-you-unaware-that
portum Caietae celeberrimum et plenissimum navium
the-harbor of-Caieta most-frequented and fullest of-ships
inspectante praetore a praedonibus esse direptum, ex
looking-on with-the-praetor by pirates to-have-been plundered from
Miseno autem eius ipsius liberos qui cum praedonibus antea
Misenum however of-him himself the-children who with pirates before
bellum gesserat a praedonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego
war had-waged by pirates to-have-been carried-off for why I
Ostiense incommodum atque illam labem atque ignominiam
the-Ostian mishap and that stain and disgrace
rei publicae querar, cum prope inspectantibus vobis
of-the-thing public shall-complain-of when almost looking-on with-you
classis ea cui consul populi Romani praepositus esset
the-fleet that over-which a-consul of-the-people Roman placed had-been
a praedonibus capta atque depressa est? Pro di immortales!
by pirates captured and sunk was O gods immortal
tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi
so-much of-one man the-incredible and divine courage in-so short
tempore lucem adferre rei publicae potuit ut vos, qui modo
a-time light to-bring to-the-thing public could that you who just-now

ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, ei nunc
before the-mouth Tiber's a-fleet of-the-enemies saw those now
nullam intra Oceani ostium praedonum navem esse audiatis?
none within the-Ocean's mouth of-pirates a-ship to-be hear
Atque haec qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam 34
and these-things with-what speed done they-were although
videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt.
you-see still by me in speaking to-be-passed-over not are
Quis enim umquam aut obeundi negoti aut consequendi
who for ever either of-undertaking business or of-acquiring
quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos
gain from-zeal in-so short a-time so-many places to-visit so-great
cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio
voyages to-complete could as quickly-as with-Gnaeus Pompey
duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? qui nondum tempestivo
as-leader of-so-great a-war the-onset sailed who with-not-yet seasonable
ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit, inde
for sailing sea Sicily approached Africa explored thence
Sardiniam cum classe venit atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia
to-Sardinia with his-fleet came and these three grain supports
rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit.
of-the-thing public with-strongest garrisons and-fleets he-fortified
Inde cum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis 35
thence when himself into Italy he-had-withdrawn with-the-two Spains
et Gallia Transalpina praesidiis ac navibus confirmata,
and Gaul Transalpine with-garrisons and ships secured
missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam
having-sent likewise to the-coast of-the-Illyrian sea and into Achaea
omnemque Graeciam navibus Italiae duo maria maximis
and-all Greece ships of-Italy the-two seas with-very-great
classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit, ipse autem
fleets and-strongest garrisons he-equipped he-himself however

ut Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam
as from-Brundisium set-out has on-the-forty-ninth day the-whole
ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adiunxit; omnes qui
to the-empire of-the-people Roman Cilicia added all who
ubique praedones fuerunt partim capti interfectique sunt,
anywhere pirates were partly captured and-killed were
partim unius huius se imperio ac potestati dediderunt.
partly of-one this-man themselves to-the-command and power surrendered
Idem Cretensibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam
the-same-man to-the-Cretans when to him even into Pamphylia
legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit
envoys and-intercessors they-had-sent hope of-surrender not took-away
obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam
and-hostages he-demanded so so-great a-war so long-lasting so
longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes
far and-widely scattered by-which war all peoples and nations
premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit,
were-oppressed Gnaeus Pompey at-the-end-of winter prepared
ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.
at-the-beginning-of spring undertook in-the-middle-of summer finished

36 Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid?
is this divine and incredible courage of-a-commander what
ceterae quas paulo ante commemorare coeperam quantae atque
the-other which a-little before to-recount I-had-begun how-great and
quam multae sunt! Non enim bellandi virtus solum in
how many they-are not for of-making-war the-courage alone in
summo ac perfecto imperatore quaerenda est sed multae
a-supreme and perfect commander to-be-sought is but many
sunt artes eximiae huius administrae comitesque virtutis.
are arts outstanding of-this the-handmaids and-companions courage
Ac primum quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores,
and first with-how-great integrity ought to-be commanders

quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia, quanta
with-how-great then in all things self-control with-how-great
fide, quanta facilitate, quanto ingenio, quanta
faithfulness with-how-great affability with-how-great intellect with-how-great
humanitate! quae breviter qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio
humanity which briefly of-what-kind they-are in Gnaeus Pompey
consideremus. Summa enim sunt omnia, Quirites, sed ea
let-us-consider the-highest for are all citizens but they
magis ex aliorum contentione quam ipsa per sese
more from others' comparison than themselves by themselves
cognosci atque intellegi possunt.
to-be-known and to-be-understood can
Quem enim possumus imperatorem ullo in numero putare 37
whom for can-we as-commander any in number to-reckon
cuius in exercitu centuriatus veneant atque venierint?
whose in army centurionships are-sold and have-been-sold
Quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re
what this man great or ample about the-thing
publica cogitare qui pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad
public to-think who money from the-treasury drawn for
bellum administrandum aut propter cupiditatem provinciae
war being-administered either on-account-of desire for-a-province
magistratibus diviserit aut propter avaritiam Romae in
to-the-magistrates has-divided or on-account-of avarice at-Rome at
quaestu reliquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut
interest has-left your murmuring makes citizens that
agnoscere videamini qui haec fecerint; ego autem nomino
to-recognize you-seem who these-things did I however name
neminem; qua re irasci mihi nemo poterit nisi
no-one by-which thing to-be-angry with-me no-one will-be-able except
qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter
who before about himself shall-have-wished to-confess and-so on-account-of

hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocumque
this avarice of-commanders what-great calamities wherever
ventum sit, nostri exercitus adferant quis ignorat?
come it-be our armies bring who does-not-know
38 Itinera quae per hosce annos in Italia per agros
the-marches which through these years in Italy through the-fields
atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerint
and towns of-citizens Roman our commanders have-made
recordamini; tum facilius statuetis quid apud exteras
recall then more-easily you-will-decide what among foreign
nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum pluris arbitramini per
nations to-happen you-think whether more do-you-think through
hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbis an
these years of-soldiers your by-the-arms of-enemies cities or
hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim
by-winter-quarters of-the-allies states to-have-been destroyed nor for
potest exercitum is continere imperator qui se ipse non
can an-army he restrain as-commander who himself himself not
continet, neque severus esse in iudicando qui alios in se
restrains nor severe to-be in judging who others upon himself
severos esse iudices non volt. Hic miramur hunc hominem
severe to-be as-judges not wishes here we-wonder this man
tantum excellere ceteris,
so-much to-excel the-others
39 cuius legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint ut non modo
whose legions so into Asia arrived that not only
manus tanti exercitus sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam
the-hand of-so-great an-army but not a-footprint even to-anyone
pacato nocuisse dicatur? Iam vero quem ad modum
peaceful to-have-harmed is-said now indeed in-what to manner
milites hibernent cotidie sermones ac litterae perferuntur;
the-soldiers winter daily conversations and letters are-brought

non modo ut sumptum faciat in militem nemini vis
not only that expense he-make upon a-soldier to-no-one force
adfertur sed ne cupienti quidem quicquam permittitur.
is-applied but not to-one-desiring even anything is-permitted
Hiemis enim non avaritiae perfugium maiores nostri in
of-winter for not of-avarice a-refuge ancestors our in
sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.
of-allies and friends the-houses to-be wished
Age vero, ceteris in rebus quae sit temperantia considerate. 40
come indeed the-other in things what is the-self-control consider
Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum
whence that so-great speed and so incredible course
inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum
found do-you-think not for him outstanding strength of-rowers
aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi
or a-skill unheard-of certain of-steering or winds some new
tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt, sed eae res quae
so quickly to the-farthest lands carried but those things which
ceteros remorari solent non retardarunt. Non avaritia ab
the-others to-delay are-wont not held-back not avarice from
instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad
the-intended course to plunder some called-aside not lust to
voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas
pleasure not charm to delight not the-fame
urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem;
of-a-city to sightseeing not finally labor itself to rest
postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum
finally the-statues and paintings and-the-other ornaments of-Greek
oppidorum quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea
towns which the-others to-be-carried-off to-be think those
sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit.
for-himself he not to-be-looked-at even thought

41 Itaque omnes nunc in eis locis Cn. Pompeium sicut
and-so all now in those places Gnaeus Pompey as
aliquem non ex hac urbe missum sed de caelo delapsum
someone not from this city sent but from heaven fallen
intuentur; nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines
look-upon now at-last they-begin to-believe to-have-been men
Romanos hac quondam continentia, quod iam nationibus
Roman with-this once restraint which now to-nations
exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae proditum videbatur;
foreign incredible and falsely to-memory handed-down seemed
nunc imperi vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem adferre
now of-empire your the-splendor to-those peoples light to-bring
coepit; nunc intellegunt non sine causa maiores suos tum
has-begun now they-understand not without cause ancestors their-own then
cum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus servire populo
when of-such restraint magistrates we-had to-be-slave to-the-people
Romano quam imperare aliis maluisse. Iam vero ita faciles
Roman than to-rule others to-have-preferred now indeed so easy
aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberae querimoniae de
the-approaches to him of-private-men so free the-complaints about
aliorum iniuriis esse dicuntur, ut is qui dignitate principibus
others' wrongs to-be are-said that he who in-dignity the-leading-men
excellit facilitate infimis par esse videatur.
excels in-affability to-the-lowest equal to-be seems

42 Iam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia
now how-much in-counsel how-much of-speaking in-gravity and copiousness
valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, vos,
he-is-strong in which itself is-present a-certain dignity of-a-commander you
Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco saepe cognostis. Fidem vero
citizens this very from place often have-learned the-faithfulness indeed
eius quantam inter socios existimari putatis quam hostes
his how-great among the-allies to-be-thought do-you-think which the-enemies

omnes omnium generum sanctissimam iudicarint? Humanitate
all of-all kinds most-sacred have-judged of-humanity
iam tanta est ut difficile dictu sit utrum hostes magis
now so-great be-is that difficult to-say it-be whether the-enemies more
virtutem eius pugnantes timuerint an mansuetudinem victi
courage his fighting feared or his-gentleness conquered
dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit quin huic hoc tantum
loved and anyone will-doubt that to-this-man this so-great
bellum permittendum sit qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella
war to-be-entrusted is who for all of-our memory wars
conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?
to-be-finished by-divine a-certain counsel born to-have-been seems
Et quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis 43
and since authority also in wars being-administered
multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium
much and in command military avails certainly to-no-one doubtful
est quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit.
it-is that in-that thing the-same that commander very-much is-able
Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda quid
vehemently however to-pertain to wars being-administered what
hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment quis
the-enemies what the-allies about commanders our think who
ignorat, cum sciamus homines in tantis rebus ut aut
does-not-know since we-know men in such-great matters so-that either
metuant aut contemnant aut oderint aut ament opinione non
they-fear or despise or hate or love by-opinion not
minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri? Quod
less and by-report than by-some reasoning certain to-be-moved what
igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit, cuius
therefore name ever in the-circle of-the-earth more-famous was whose

res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime
things done equal about which man you that which most
facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam praeclara iudicia fecistis?
makes authority such and so splendid judgments have-made

IV · AUTHORITY, FORTUNE, AND THE OBJECTIONS

Pompey's authority is proved by the fall in grain prices on the day he was appointed, by Asia saved through his mere arrival, and by the Cretans' surrender. His fortune, given by the gods, has always attended him. Against Catulus and Hortensius, Cicero first answers Hortensius, recalling how wrong he was about the Gabinian law, and insists that Gabinius be made Pompey's legate.

44 An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis
or indeed any anywhere to-be coast so deserted you-think
quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, cum universus
whither not of-that day the-report has-spread when the-whole
populus Romanus referto foro completisque omnibus
people Roman with-a-crowded forum and-filled all
templis ex quibus hic locus conspici potest unum sibi
temples from which this place to-be-seen can one for-itself
ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium
for the-common of-all peoples war Gnaeus Pompey
imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque ut plura non dicam neque
as-commander demanded and-so that more not I-may-say nor
aliorum exemplis confirmem quantum auctoritas valeat in
by-others' examples confirm how-much authority avails in
bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum
war from the-same Gnaeus Pompey of-all things outstanding
exempla sumantur. Qui quo die a vobis maritimo
the-examples let-be-taken who on-what day by you over-the-maritime

bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas ex
war placed was as-commander such suddenly cheapness after
summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta
the-greatest scarcity and dearness of-the-thing of-grain followed
est unius hominis spe ac nomine quantam vix in
has of-one man by-the-hope and name as-great-as scarcely in
summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset.
the-greatest fertility of-the-fields long peace to-bring-about could-have
Iam accepta in Ponto calamitate ex eo proelio de quo 45
now with-received in Pontus disaster from that battle of which
vos paulo ante invitus admonui, cum socii pertimuissent,
you a-little before unwilling I-reminded when the-allies had-taken-fright
hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum
of-the-enemies the-resources and-spirits had-grown enough firm
praesidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam,
a-garrison the-province not had you-would-have-lost Asia
Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen eius temporis divinitus
citizens unless at the-very crisis of-that time divinely
Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones Fortuna populi Romani
Gnaeus Pompey to those regions the-Fortune of-the-people Roman
attulisset. Huius adventus et Mithridatem insolita
had-brought his arrival both Mithridates by-unaccustomed
inflatum victoria continuit et Tigranen magnis copiis
puffed-up victory checked and Tigranes with-great forces
minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit quid
threatening Asia held-back and anyone will-doubt what
virtute perfecturus sit qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit,
by-courage going-to-accomplish he-be who so-much by-authority has-accomplished
aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia
or how easily by-command and army the-allies and revenues
conservaturus sit qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?
going-to-preserve he-be who by-his-very name and report has-defended(-them)

46 Age vero illa res quantam declarat eiusdem hominis apud
come indeed that thing how-great it-declares of-the-same man with
hostis populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam
the-enemies of-the-people Roman authority that from places so
longinquis tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic
remote and-so different in-so short a-time all to-this-man
se uni dediderunt! quod a communi Cretensium legati,
themselves alone have-surrendered for from the-community of-the-Cretans envoys
cum in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad
when in their island our commander and-army was to
Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt eique
Gnaeus Pompey into the-farthest almost lands came and-to-him
se omnis Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt!
themselves all of-the-Cretans the-states to-surrender to-wish said
Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium
what the-same that Mithridates surely to the-same Gnaeus Pompey
legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eum quem Pompeius
an-envoy right-up into Spain sent him whom Pompey
legatum semper iudicavit, ei quibus erat molestum ad eum
an-envoy always judged those to-whom it-was annoying to him
potissimum esse missum speculatorem quam legatum
especially to-have-been sent a-spy than an-envoy
iudicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur iam constituere, Quirites,
to-be-judged preferred you-can therefore now decide citizens
hanc auctoritatem multis postea rebus gestis magnisque
this authority by-many afterward things done and-by-great
vestris iudiciis amplificatam quantum apud illos reges,
your judgments enlarged how-much among those kings
quantum apud exteras nationes valituram esse existimetis.
how-much among foreign nations going-to-avail to-be you-may-think

Reliquum est ut de felicitate quam praestare de se 47
remaining it-is that about good-fortune which to-guarantee about himself
ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero
himself no-one can to-remember and to-recount about another
possumus, sicut aequum est homines de potestate deorum,
we-can as fair it-is men about the-power of-the-gods
timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo, maximo,
timidly and a-few-things we-should-say I for so think to-Maximus
Marcello, Scipioni, Mario ceterisque magnis imperatoribus
to-Marcellus to-Scipio to-Marius and-to-the-other great commanders
non solum propter virtutem sed etiam propter fortunam
not only on-account-of courage but also on-account-of fortune
saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos.
more-often commands entrusted and armies to-have-been committed
Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad
there-was for surely to-certain very-great men a-certain for
amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas
greatness and for glory and for things great well to-be-done
divinitus adiuncta fortuna. De huius autem hominis felicitate
by-the-gods joined fortune about of-this however man the-good-fortune
quo de nunc agimus hac utar moderatione dicendi, non
whom about now we-are-dealing this I-shall-use moderation of-speaking not
ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam sed ut
that in his power fortune placed to-be I-may-say but that
praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisa
the-past to-remember the-rest to-hope we-may-seem lest either hateful
dis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse videatur.
to-the-gods immortal speech our or ungrateful to-be may-seem
Itaque non sum praedicaturus quantas ille res domi 48
and-so not I-am going-to-proclaim how-great he things at-home
militiae, terra marique quantaque felicitate gesserit,
in-war on-land and-sea and-with-how-great good-fortune has-done

ut eius semper voluntatibus non modo cives adsenserint,
that his always wishes not only citizens have-assented-to
socii obtemperarint, hostes oboedierint, sed etiam venti
allies have-complied-with enemies have-obeyed but also winds
tempestatesque obsecundarint; hoc brevissime dicam,
and-storms have-favored this most-briefly I-shall-say
neminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse qui ab dis
no-one ever so shameless to-have-been as from the-gods
immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare
immortal so-many and so-great things silently would-dare to-wish
quot et quantas di immortales ad Cn. Pompeium
as-many and as-great-as the-gods immortal to Gnaeus Pompey
detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit,
have-brought which that for-him his-own and lasting be
Quirites, cum communis salutis atque imperi tum ipsius
citizens both of-the-common safety and of-empire and of-the-very
hominis causa, sicuti facitis, et velle et optare debetis.
man for-the-sake as you-do both to-wish and to-pray you-ought
49 Qua re cum et bellum sit ita necessarium ut neglegi
by-which thing since both the-war is so necessary that to-be-neglected
non possit, ita magnum ut accuratissime sit administrandum,
not it-can so great that most-carefully it-is to-be-administered
et cum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis in quo sit eximia
and since over-it a-commander to-set you-can in whom is exceptional
belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia
of-war knowledge singular courage most-famous authority outstanding
fortuna, dubitatis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni quod vobis ab
fortune do-you-doubt citizens that this so-great good which to-you by
dis immortalibus oblatum et datum est in rem publicam
the-gods immortal offered and given has-been for the-thing public
conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis? Quod si Romae
being-preserved and being-enlarged you-should-devote but if at-Rome

Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad 50
Gnaeus Pompey a-private-man were at-this time still for
tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus; nunc
so-great a-war he was to-be-chosen and to-be-sent now
cum ad ceteras summas utilitates haec quoque opportunitas
when to the-other highest advantages this also opportunity
adiungatur ut in eis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum,
is-added that in those very places he-is-present that he-has an-army
ut ab eis qui habent accipere statim possit, quid
that from those who have(-them) to-receive at-once he-can what
exspectamus? aut cur non ducibus dis immortalibus
are-we-waiting-for or why not as-leaders with-the-gods immortal
eidem cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae
to-the-same-man to-whom other-things the-highest with safety of-the-thing public
commissa sunt hoc quoque bellum regium commendamus?
entrusted have-been this also war royal do-we-commend
At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae, 51
but indeed a-man most-illustrious most-loving of-the-thing public
vestris beneficiis amplissimis adfectus, Q. Catulus, itemque
with-your favors most-ample endowed Quintus Catulus and-likewise
summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingeni
with-the-highest distinctions of-honor of-fortune of-courage of-talent
praeditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt. Quorum
endowed Quintus Hortensius from this plan dissent whose
ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et
I authority with you in-many places very-much to-have-availed and
valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, tametsi cognostis
to-avail to-be-right I-confess but in this case although you-know-of
auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum,
the-authorities contrary of-men most-brave and most-illustrious
tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ratione exquirere
still with-omitted the-authorities the-very thing and reason to-seek-out

possumus veritatem, atque hoc facilius quod ea omnia
we-can the-truth and this more-easily because those-things all
quae a me adhuc dicta sunt idem isti vera esse
which by me so-far said have-been the-same those-men true to-be
concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno
concede both necessary the-war to-be and great and in one
52 Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. Quid igitur ait
Gnaeus Pompey the-highest to-be all-things what therefore says
Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, dignissimum
Hortensius if to-one-man all-things to-be-granted are most-worthy
esse Pompeium, sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri
to-be Pompey but to one still all-things to-be-conferred
non oportere. Obsolevit iam ista oratio re multo
not it-behooves has-grown-obsolete now that speech by-the-fact much
magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi,
more than by-words refuted for you the-same Quintus Hortensius
multa pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate
many-things in-keeping-with your highest copiousness and singular ability
dicendi et in senatu contra virum fortem, A. Gabinium,
of-speaking both in the-senate against a-man brave Aulus Gabinius
graviter ornateque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra
gravely and-ornately said when he about one commander against
praedones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso
the-pirates to-be-appointed a-law had-published and from this very
loco permulta item contra eam legem verba fecisti.
place very-many likewise against that law words made
53 Quid? tum, per deos immortalis! si plus apud populum
what then by the-gods immortal if more with the-people
Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani
Roman authority your than of-the-very people Roman
salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque
the-safety and true cause had-availed today this glory and

hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus? An tibi tum
this of-the-circle of-the-earth empire would-we-hold or to-you then
imperium hoc esse videbatur cum populi Romani legati
empire this to-be did-it-seem when of-the-people Roman the-envoys
quaestores praetoresque capiebantur, cum ex omnibus
quaestors and-praetors were-being-captured when from all
provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur,
provinces from-supplies both private and public we-were-cut-off
cum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia ut neque privatam
when so closed to-us were seas all that neither private
rem transmarinam neque publicam iam obire possemus?
business overseas nor public now to-undertake we-could
Quae civitas umquam fuit antea, non dico Atheniensium 54
what state ever was before not I-say of-the-Athenians
quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non
which enough widely once the-sea to-have-held is-said not
Carthaginiensium qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus
of-the-Carthaginians who very-much in-fleet and maritime matters
valuerunt, non Rhodiorum quorum usque ad nostram
were-strong not of-the-Rhodians whose right-up to our
memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria permansit, quae civitas,
memory discipline naval and glory has-lasted what state
inquam, antea tam tenuis aut tam parvola fuit quae non
I-say before so feeble or so tiny was which not
portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae
harbors its-own and fields and some part of-its-region and coast
maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At hercules aliquot annos
maritime by itself itself defended but by-Hercules several years
continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cuius
continuous before the-law Gabinian that people Roman whose
usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus
right-up to our memory name unconquered in naval

pugnis permanserit, magna ac multo maxima parte non
battles has-lasted of-the-great and by-far greatest part not
modo utilitatis sed etiam dignitatis atque imperi caruit.
only of-advantage but also of-dignity and empire was-deprived
Nos quorum maiores Antiochum regem classe Persenque
we whose ancestors Antiochus the-king with-a-fleet and-Perseus
superarunt omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthaginiensis,
overcame and-in-all naval battles the-Carthaginians
homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque,
men in maritime matters most-practiced and-most-ready
vicerunt, ei nullo in loco iam praedonibus pares
conquered those-same no in place now to-the-pirates equal
esse poteramus. Nos qui antea non modo Italiam tutam
to-be could we who before not only Italy safe
habebamus sed omnis socios in ultimis oris auctoritate
held but all allies in the-farthest shores by-the-authority
nostri imperi salvos praestare poteramus, tum cum insula
of-our empire safe to-guarantee could then when the-island
Delus tam procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quo
Delos so far from us in the-Aegean sea placed whither
omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant,
all from-everywhere with wares and cargoes used-to-come
referta divitiis, parva, sine muro nihil timebat, idem non
stuffed with-riches small without a-wall nothing feared the-same-we not
modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portibus
only of-provinces and the-coasts of-Italy maritime and harbors
nostris sed etiam Appia iam via carebamus. Et eis
our but also of-the-Appian now road were-deprived and in-those
temporibus nonne pudebat magistratus populi Romani in
times surely it-shamed the-magistrates of-the-people Roman onto

hunc ipsum locum escendere, cum eum nobis maiores nostri
this very place to-mount when it to-us ancestors our
exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent!
with-spoils nautical and of-fleets with-the-spoils adorned had-left
Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus 56
with-good you mind then Quintus Hortensius the-people Roman
et ceteros qui erant in eadem sententia dicere existimavit
and the-others who were in the-same opinion to-speak thought
et ea quae sentiebatis; sed tamen in salute communi
and those-things which you-felt but still in the-safety common
idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam auctoritati
the-same people Roman to-grief its-own preferred than authority
vestrae obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus
your to-obey and-so one law one man one year
non modo vos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit sed
not only you from-that misery and disgrace freed but
etiam effecit ut aliquando vere videremini omnibus
also brought-about that at-last truly you-seemed over-all
gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare.
peoples and nations by-land and-sea to-rule
Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obtrectatum esse 57
by-which to-me even more-unworthy it-seems disparaged to-have-been
adhuc, Gabinio dicam anne Pompeio an utrique, id quod
so-far Gabinius shall-I-say or Pompey or both that which
est verius, ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio
is truer that-not be-made-legate Aulus Gabinius to-Gnaeus Pompey
expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille qui postulat ad tantum
seeking and demanding(-it) whether he who demands for so-great
bellum legatum quem velit idoneus non est qui impetret,
a-war a-legate whom he-wishes fit not is who may-obtain(-him)
cum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias quos
when the-others for plundering allies and-robbing provinces whom

voluerunt legatos eduxerint, an ipse cuius lege salus ac
they-wished as-legates have-led-out or he-himself by-whose law the-safety and
dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta
dignity for-the-people Roman and all peoples established
est expers esse debet eius imperatoris atque eius
has-been without-share to-be ought of-that command and of-that
exercitus qui consilio ac periculo illius est constitutus? An
army which by-the-counsel and danger his has-been established or
58 C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latiniensis,
Gaius Falcidius Quintus Metellus Quintus Caelius Latiniensis
Cn. Lentulus, quos omnis honoris causa nomino,
Gnaeus Lentulus whom all of-honor for-the-sake I-name
cum tribuni plebi fuissent, anno proximo legati esse
when tribunes of-the-plebs they-had-been in-the-year next legates to-be
potuerunt; in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes qui in hoc
could in one Gabinius are-they so scrupulous who in this
bello quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque
war which by-the-law Gabinian is-waged in this commander and
exercitu quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo
army which through you he-himself established even with-special
iure esse debebat? De quo legando consules spero
right to-be it-ought about whose being-made-legate the-consuls I-hope
ad senatum relaturos. Qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur,
to the-senate going-to-refer who if they-shall-hesitate or be-reluctant
ego me profiteor relaturum; neque me impediet cuiusquam
I myself profess going-to-refer nor me shall-hinder of-anyone
iniquitas quo minus vobis fretus vestrum ius beneficiumque
the-unfairness by-which less on-you relying your right and-favor
defendam, neque praeter intercessionem quicquam audiam,
I-should-defend nor besides a-veto anything I-shall-listen-to
de qua, ut ego arbitror, isti ipsi qui minitantur etiam
about which as I think those very-men who threaten again

atque etiam quid liceat considerabunt. Mea quidem
and again what be-permitted will-consider in-my indeed
sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi
opinion citizens one Aulus Gabinius of-the-war maritime
rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius ascribitur,
and-of-the-things done to-Gnaeus Pompey as-partner is-enrolled
propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum
on-that-account because the-one to-one-man that war to-be-undertaken
vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.
by-your votes conferred the-other conferred and-undertaken finished

V · CATULUS AND THE PRECEDENTS

Catulus asked in whom the people would place their hope if everything were put on Pompey and something happened to him, and they answered, in Catulus himself. Against his objection that nothing new should be done against the custom of the ancestors, Cicero shows how often the ancestors made new arrangements in war, citing Scipio and Marius, and how many new things had been done already for Pompey with Catulus's approval. The war in Asia needs a commander whose restraint the plundered allies can trust, as well as one who can win battles. Servilius, Curio, Lentulus, and Cassius support the law, and Cicero pledges himself to the cause for the sake of the state, not for any favor.

Reliquum est ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et 59
remaining it-is that about of-Quintus Catulus the-authority and
sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui cum ex vobis
opinion to-be-spoken to-be may-seem who when of you
quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si
he-asked if on one Gnaeus Pompey all-things you-placed if
quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri,
anything to-him done had-been in whom hope you-were going-to-have
cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis,
reaped great of-his-own courage fruit and dignity

cum omnes una prope voce in eo ipso vos spem
when all with-one almost voice in him himself you hope
habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir ut nulla
going-to-have to-be said for-indeed such is the-man that no
res tanta sit ac tam difficilis quam ille non et consilio
thing so-great is and so difficult which he not both by-counsel
regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit.
govern and by-integrity protect and by-courage accomplish can
Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio,
but in this very-thing from him most-vehemently I-differ
quod quo minus certa est hominum ac minus
that by-how-much less certain is of-men and less
diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos
lasting the-life by-this more the-thing public while by the-gods
immortalis licet, frui debet summi viri vita atque
immortal it-is-allowed to-enjoy ought of-a-very-great man with-the-life and
virtute.
with-courage

60 At enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla
but indeed that-not anything new be-done against the-examples
atque instituta maiorum. Non dicam hoc loco
and institutions of-our-ancestors not I-shall-say in-this place
maiores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in
ancestors our always in peace to-custom in
bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus
war to-advantage to-have-obeyed always to new chances
temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse,
of-times of-new counsels the-plans to-have-adapted
non dicam duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense,
not I-shall-say two wars very-great the-Punic and the-Spanish
ab uno imperatore esse confecta duasque urbis
by one commander to-have-been finished and-two cities

potentissimas quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur,
most-powerful which to-this to-empire most threatened
Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione
Carthage and Numantia by the-same Scipio
esse deletas, non commemorabo nuper ita vobis
to-have-been destroyed not I-shall-recount lately so to-you
patribusque vestris esse visum ut in uno C. Mario
and-to-fathers your to-have seemed-good that in one Gaius Marius
spes imperi poneretur, ut idem cum Iugurtha,
the-hope of-empire should-be-placed that the-same with Jugurtha
idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum
the-same with the-Cimbri the-same with the-Teutons war
administraret; in ipso Cn. Pompeio in quo novi
should-administer in the-very Gnaeus Pompey in whom new
constitui nihil volt Q. Catulus quam multa sint
to-be-established nothing wishes Quintus Catulus how many be
nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta
new-things with-the-fullest of-Quintus Catulus goodwill established
recordamini.
recall
Quid tam novum quam adulescentulum privatum 61
what so new as a-young-man private
exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere?
an-army in-a-difficult of-the-thing public time to-raise
Confecit. Huic praeesse? Praefuit. Rem optime
he-raised(-it) over-it to-command he-commanded(-it) the-thing best
ductu suo gerere? Gessit. Quid tam
under-his-leadership his-own to-conduct he-conducted(-it) what so
praeter consuetudinem quam homini peradulescenti cuius
beyond custom as to-a-man very-young whose
aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset imperium
age from the-senatorial rank far was-distant a-command

atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque
and an-army to-be-given Sicily to-be-entrusted and
Africam bellumque in ea provincia administrandum?
Africa and-war in that province to-be-administered
Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate,
he-was in these provinces of-singular integrity gravity
virtute, bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem
courage a-war in Africa very-great he-finished a-victorious
exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum
army he-brought-home what indeed so unheard-of
quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam
as a-knight Roman to-triumph but that
quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit sed
also thing the-people Roman not only saw but
omnium etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam
with-all-men's even zeal to-be-seen and to-be-celebrated
putavit.
thought

62 Quid tam inusitatum quam ut, cum duo consules
what so unusual as that when two consuls
clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum
most-illustrious and-most-brave there-were a-knight Roman to a-war
maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur?
very-great and-most-fearful as proconsul should-be-sent
Missus est. Quo quidem tempore cum esset non
sent he-was at-which indeed time when there-was not
nemo in senatu qui diceret 'non oportere mitti hominem
no-one in the-senate who said not to-behoove to-be-sent a-man
privatum pro consule,' L. Philippus dixisse dicitur
private as proconsul Lucius Philippus to-have-said is-said
'non se illum sua sententia pro consule sed
not himself him by-his-own vote as proconsul but

pro consulibus mittere.' Tanta in eo rei publicae
in-place-of the-consuls to-send so-great in him of-the-thing public
bene gerendae spes constituebatur ut duorum consulum
well being-managed a-hope was-placed that of-two consuls
munus unius adulescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid
the-task of-one young-man's to-the-courage was-entrusted what
tam singulare quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus
so singular as that by of-the-senate decree from-the-laws
solutus consul ante fieret quam ullum alium
released consul before he-should-become than any other
magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam
magistracy by the-laws to-take it-had-been-allowed what so
incredibile quam ut iterum eques Romanus ex senatus
incredible as that again a-knight Roman by of-the-senate
consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova
decree should-triumph what-things in all men new
post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam
since of-men memory established have-been those so
multa non sunt quam haec quae in hoc uno homine
many not are as these which in this one man
vidimus.
we-have-seen
Atque haec tot exempla tanta ac tam nova 63
and these so-many examples so-great and so new
profecta sunt in eodem homine a Q. Catuli
proceeded have in the-same man from of-Quintus Catulus
atque a ceterorum eiusdem dignitatis amplissimorum
and from of-the-others of-the-same dignity most-distinguished
hominum auctoritate. Qua re videant ne sit
men the-authority by-which thing let-them-see lest it-be
periniquum et non ferendum illorum auctoritatem
very-unfair and not to-be-borne their authority

de Cn. Pompei dignitate a vobis comprobatam
about of-Gnaeus Pompey the-dignity by you approved
semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine
always to-have-been your by them about the-same man
iudicium populique Romani auctoritatem improbari,
judgment and-of-the-people Roman authority to-be-disapproved
praesertim cum iam suo iure populus Romanus
especially when now by-its-own right the-people Roman
in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnis
in this man its-own authority even against all
qui dissentiunt possit defendere, propterea quod
who dissent can defend on-that-account because
isdem istis reclamantibus vos unum illum
with-those-same those-men protesting you one him
ex omnibus delegistis quem bello praedonum
out-of all chose whom over-the-war of-the-pirates
praeponeretis.
you-might-set

64 Hoc si vos temere fecistis et rei publicae parum
this if you rashly did and for-the-thing public too-little
consuluistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis
took-thought rightly those-men zeal your by-their-own counsels
regere conantur. Sin autem vos plus tum in re
to-govern try but-if however you more then in the-thing
publica vidistis, vos eis repugnantibus per vosmet
public saw you with-them opposing through you
ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum
yourselves dignity to-this empire safety to-the-circle of-the-earth
attulistis, aliquando isti principes et sibi et
brought at-last those leading-men both for-themselves and
ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum
for-the-others of-the-people Roman whole to-the-authority to-be-obeyed

esse fateantur. Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio,
to-be let-them-confess and in this war Asiatic and royal
Quirites, non solum militaris illa virtus quae est in
citizens not only military that courage which is in
Cn. Pompeio singularis sed aliae quoque animi virtutes
Gnaeus Pompey singular but other also of-mind virtues
magnae et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia,
great and many are-required difficult it-is in Asia Cilicia
Syria regnisque interiorum nationum ita versari
Syria and-the-kingdoms of-the-inner nations so to-conduct-himself
nostrum imperatorem ut nihil aliud nisi de hoste
our commander that nothing else except about the-enemy
ac de laude cogitet. Deinde, etiam si qui sunt
and about praise he-think then even if any are
pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse
in-modesty and self-control more-moderate still them to-be
talis propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo
such on-account-of the-multitude of-greedy men no-one
arbitratur.
thinks
Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus 65
difficult it-is to-say citizens how-great in hatred we-are
apud exteras nationes propter eorum quos ad eas
among foreign nations on-account-of of-those whom to them
per hos annos cum imperio misimus libidines
through these years with command we-have-sent the-lusts
et iniurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis
and wrongs what for shrine do-you-think in those
terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem
lands to-our magistrates sacred what state
sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam
holy what house enough closed and fortified

fuisse? Urbes iam locupletes et copiosae requiruntur
to-have-been cities now rich and well-stocked are-sought-out
quibus causa belli propter diripiendi facultatem
on-which a-pretext of-war on-account-of of-plundering the-opportunity
inferatur.
may-be-brought

66 Libenter haec coram cum Q. Catulo et
gladly these-things face-to-face with Quintus Catulus and
Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem;
Quintus Hortensius very-great and most-illustrious men I-would-discuss
norunt enim sociorum volnera, vident eorum calamitates,
they-know for of-the-allies the-wounds they-see their calamities
querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostis
complaints they-hear for the-allies do-you against the-enemies
exercitus mittere putatis an hostium simulatione contra
armies send think or of-enemies on-the-pretense against
socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia
allies and friends what state is-there in Asia
quae non modo imperatoris aut legati sed unius
which not only of-a-commander or of-a-legate but of-one
tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit?
tribune of-soldiers the-airs and pride contain could
Qua re, etiam si quem habetis qui conlatis
by-which thing even if anyone you-have who brought-together
signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen,
with-standards the-armies royal to-overcome to-be-able may-seem still
nisi erit idem qui a pecuniis sociorum, qui
unless he-shall-be the-same who from the-moneys of-the-allies who
ab eorum coniugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis
from their wives and children who from the-ornaments
fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque
of-shrines and towns who from the-gold and-treasure

regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non
royal his-hands eyes mind to-restrain can not
erit idoneus qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque
he-will-be fit who to the-war Asiatic and-royal
mittatur.
may-be-sent
Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse quae locuples 67
any do-you-think state pacified to-have-been which rich
sit, ecquam esse locupletem quae istis pacata esse
is any to-be rich which to-those-men pacified to-be
videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium
seems the-coast maritime citizens Gnaeus Pompey
non solum propter rei militaris gloriam sed
not only on-account-of of-the-thing military the-glory but
etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat
also on-account-of of-mind the-restraint sought-for it-saw
enim praetores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica
for the-praetors to-be-enriched yearly with-money public
praeter paucos, neque nos quicquam aliud adsequi
except a-few nor us anything else to-attain
classium nomine nisi ut detrimentis accipiendis
of-fleets by-the-name except that by-losses being-suffered
maiore adfici turpitudine videremur. Nunc qua
with-greater to-be-affected disgrace we-seemed now with-what
cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus iacturis
greed men into the-provinces with-what sacrifices
quibusque condicionibus proficiscantur ignorant videlicet
and-on-what terms set-out they-do-not-know of-course
isti qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non
those-men who to one-man to-be-conferred all-things to-be not
arbitrantur. Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum
think as-if indeed Gnaeus Pompey not both

suis virtutibus tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse
by-his-own virtues and also by-others' vices great to-be
videamus.
we-see

68 Qua re nolite dubitare quin huic uni credatis
by-which thing do-not doubt that to-this one-man you-should-entrust
omnia qui inter tot annos unus inventus est
all-things who among so-many years alone found has-been
quem socii in urbis suas cum exercitu venisse
whom the-allies into cities their-own with an-army to-have-come
gauderent. Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam,
rejoiced but if by-authorities this cause
Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor
citizens to-be-confirmed you-think there-is for-you as-sponsor
vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus,
a-man of-wars all and-of-the-greatest affairs most-experienced
P. Servilius, cuius tantae res gestae terra marique
Publius Servilius whose so-great things done by-land and-sea
exstiterunt ut, cum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis
have-stood-out that when about war you-deliberate a-sponsor to-you
gravior esse nemo debeat; est C. Curio, summis
weightier be no-one ought there-is Gaius Curio highest
vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo
by-your favors and-greatest things done with-the-highest
ingenio et prudentia praeditus, est Cn. Lentulus
talent and prudence endowed there-is Gnaeus Lentulus
in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus
in whom all for most-ample your honors
summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognostis,
the-highest counsel the-highest gravity to-be have-known
est C. Cassius, integritate, veritate, constantia
there-is Gaius Cassius of-integrity truthfulness constancy

singulari. Qua re videte ut horum auctoritatibus
singular by-which thing see that by-these-men's authorities
illorum orationi qui dissentiunt respondere posse
to-their speech who dissent to-answer to-be-able
videamur.
we-may-seem
Quae cum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam 69
which since so they-are Gaius Manilius first that
tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo
your both law and will and opinion I-praise
vehementissimeque comprobo; deinde te hortor ut
and-most-vehemently approve then you I-urge that
auctore populo Romano maneas in sententia neve
as-sponsor with-the-people Roman you-remain in your-opinion and-that-not
cuiusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in
of-anyone the-violence or threats you-fear first in
te satis esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror; deinde,
you enough to-be of-spirit and-of-perseverance I-think then
cum tantam multitudinem tanto cum studio adesse
since so-great a-multitude so-much with zeal to-be-present
videamus quantam iterum nunc in eodem homine
we-see as-great-as again now in the-same man
praeficiendo videmus, quid est quod aut de
being-placed-in-command we-see what is-there that either about
re aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego
the-thing or about of-accomplishing the-ability we-should-doubt I
autem, quicquid est in me studi, consili, laboris, ingeni,
however whatever is in me of-zeal of-counsel of-labor of-talent
quicquid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac
whatever by-this favor of-the-people Roman and by-this
potestate praetoria, quicquid auctoritate, fide, constantia
power praetorian whatever by-authority faith constancy

possum, id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et
I-can that all for this thing being-accomplished to-you and
populo Romano polliceor ac defero testorque omnis
to-the-people Roman I-promise and offer and-I-call-to-witness all
deos,
the-gods
70 et eos maxime qui huic loco temploque praesident,
and those most who over-this place and-temple preside
qui omnium mentis eorum qui ad rem publicam
who of-all the-minds of-those who to the-thing public
adeunt maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu
approach most see-through me this neither at-the-request
facere cuiusquam, neque quo Cn. Pompei gratiam
to-do of-anyone nor because of-Gnaeus Pompey the-favor
mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque
for-me through this cause to-be-won I-think nor
quo mihi ex cuiusquam amplitudine aut praesidia
because for-myself from of-anyone the-greatness either protections
periculis aut adiumenta honoribus quaeram, propterea
for-dangers or helps for-honors I-seek on-that-account
quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestare oportet,
because dangers easily as a-man to-guarantee it-behooves
innocentia tecti repellemus, honorem autem neque ab
by-integrity protected we-shall-repel honor however neither from
uno neque ex hoc loco sed eadem illa nostra
one-man nor from this place but by-the-same that our
laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret,
most-laborious method of-life if your will shall-allow
consequemur.
we-shall-attain

Quam ob rem, si quid in hac causa mihi 71
which on-account-of thing if anything in this cause by-me
susceptum est, Quirites, id ego omne me rei
undertaken has-been citizens that I all me of-the-thing
publicae causa suscepisse confirmo, tantumque abest
public for-the-sake to-have-undertaken affirm and-so-much it-is-distant
ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar,
that any for-myself good favor to-have-sought I-may-seem
ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras,
that many me even enmities partly hidden
partim apertas intellegam mihi non necessarias,
partly open I-may-understand to-me not necessary
vobis non inutilis suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc
to-you not useless to-have-undertaken but I myself with-this
honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis adfectum
honor endowed with-so-great your favors endowed
statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et rei
have-decided citizens your will and of-the-thing
publicae dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque
public the-dignity and the-safety of-the-provinces and
sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus praeferre
of-allies to-my all advantages and interests to-prefer
oportere.
to-behoove

CICERO

De Lege Agraria

On the Agrarian Law

I · AGAINST RULLUS IN THE SENATE

The opening is lost, but for four phrases later writers quote, set first; Cicero is speaking in the senate against the tribune Rullus's land bill. The decemvirs it creates would sell public lands and revenues across the empire, even claim Egypt, and call in the booty of every general but Pompey. With the money they would buy land from willing sellers at any price they liked. He shows that the bill is a scheme to give ten men the wealth and power of the state.

Imberba iuventute
with-beardless youth
Capuam colonis deductis occupabunt, Atellam praesidio
Capua with-colonists settled they-will-seize Atella with-a-garrison
communient, Nuceriam, Cumas multitudine suorum
they-will-fortify Nuceria Cumae with-a-multitude of-their-own-men
obtinebunt, cetera oppida praesidiis devincient.
they-will-hold the-other towns with-garrisons they-will-bind
Venibit igitur sub praecone tota Propontis atque
will-be-sold therefore under the-auctioneer the-whole Propontis and
Hellespontus, addicetur omnis ora Lyciorum atque
Hellespont will-be-knocked-down all the-coast of-the-Lycians and
Cilicum, Mysia et Phrygia eidem condicioni legique
Cilicians Mysia and Phrygia to-the-same condition and-law
parebunt.
will-submit
Praedam, manubias, sectionem, castra denique
the-booty the-spoils the-confiscated-goods the-camp finally
Cn. Pompei sedente imperatore xviri vendent.
of-Gnaeus Pompey sitting-by the-commander the-board-of-ten will-sell

1 *** quae res aperte petebatur, ea nunc occulte cuniculis
(lacuna) which thing openly was-sought that now secretly by-tunnels
oppugnatur. Dicent enim xviri, id quod et dicitur
is-attacked will-say for the-board-of-ten that which both is-said
a multis et saepe dictum est, post eosdem consules
by many and often said has-been after the-same consuls
regis Alexandri testamento regnum illud populi Romani
of-king Alexander by-the-will the-kingdom that of-the-people Roman
esse factum. Dabitis igitur Alexandream clam petentibus
to-have-been made will-you-give therefore Alexandria secretly seeking
eis quibus apertissime pugnantibus restitistis? Haec, per
to-those to-whom most-openly fighting you-resisted these by
deos immortalis! utrum esse vobis consilia siccorum an
the-gods immortal whether to-be to-you the-counsels of-sober-men or
vinolentorum somnia, et utrum cogitata sapientium an
of-drunkards the-dreams and whether the-thoughts of-the-wise or
optata furiosorum videntur?
the-wishes of-madmen do-they-seem

2 Videte nunc proximo capite ut impurus helluo turbet
see now in-the-next clause how the-impure glutton may-disturb
rem publicam, ut a maioribus nostris possessiones relictas
the-thing public how by ancestors our possessions left
disperdat ac dissipet, ut sit non minus in populi
he-may-squander and scatter how he-may-be not less in of-the-people
Romani patrimonio nepos quam in suo. Perscribit in
Roman the-patrimony a-spendthrift than in his-own he-writes-out in
sua lege vectigalia quae xviri vendant, hoc est,
his-own law the-revenues which the-board-of-ten may-sell that is
proscribit auctionem publicorum bonorum. Agros emi
he-advertises an-auction of-public goods lands to-be-bought
volt qui dividantur; quaerit pecuniam. Videlicet excogitabit
he-wishes which may-be-divided he-seeks money of-course he-will-devise

aliquid atque adferet. Nam superioribus capitibus dignitas
something and he-will-bring for in-the-earlier clauses the-dignity
populi Romani violabatur, nomen imperi in commune
of-the-people Roman was-violated the-name of-empire into the-common
odium orbis terrae vocabatur, urbes pacatae, agri
hatred of-the-circle of-the-earth was-called cities pacified the-lands
sociorum, regum status xviris donabantur; nunc
of-the-allies of-kings the-status to-the-board-of-ten were-given now
praesens pecunia, certa, numerata quaeritur.
present money certain counted-out is-sought
Exspecto quid tribunus plebis vigilans et acutus excogitet. 3
I-wait-to-see what the-tribune of-the-plebs watchful and sharp may-devise
'Veneat,' inquit, 'silva Scantia.' Utrum tandem hanc silvam
let-be-sold he-says the-forest Scantian whether pray this forest
in relictis possessionibus, an in censorum pascuis
among the-relinquished possessions or among of-the-censors the-pastures
invenisti? Si quid est quod indagaris, inveneris, ex
did-you-find if anything there-is which you-have-tracked-down found from
tenebris erueris, quamquam iniquum est, tamen consume
the-darkness dug-out although unfair it-is still use-up
sane, quod commodum est, quoniam quidem tu attulisti;
by-all-means what convenient is since indeed you brought(-it)
silvam vero tu Scantiam vendas nobis consulibus atque hoc
the-forest indeed you the-Scantian should-sell with-us as-consuls and this
senatu? tu ullum vectigal attingas, tu populo Romano
senate you any revenue should-touch you from-the-people Roman
subsidia belli, tu ornamenta pacis eripias? Tum vero hoc
the-supports of-war you the-ornaments of-peace should-snatch then indeed by-this
me inertiorem consulem iudicabo quam illos fortissimos
myself more-sluggish a-consul I-shall-judge than those most-brave
viros qui apud maiores nostros fuerunt, quod, quae vectigalia
men who among ancestors our were that what revenues

illis consulibus populo Romano parta sunt, ea me
with-them as-consuls for-the-people Roman won were those with-me
consule ne retineri quidem potuisse iudicabuntur.
as-consul not to-be-kept even to-have-been-able will-be-judged
4 Vendit Italiae possessiones ex ordine omnis. Sane est in
he-sells of-Italy the-possessions in order all by-all-means he-is in
eo diligens; nullam enim praetermittit. Persequitur in tabulis
it diligent none for he-passes-over he-pursues in the-records
censoriis totam Siciliam; nullum aedificium, nullos agros
of-the-censors the-whole Sicily no building no fields
relinquit. Audistis auctionem populi Romani proscriptam
he-leaves you-have-heard an-auction of-the-people Roman advertised
a tribuno plebis, constitutam in mensem Ianuarium, et,
by a-tribune of-the-plebs appointed for the-month of-January and
credo, non dubitatis quin idcirco haec aerari
I-believe not you-doubt that for-this-reason these-things of-the-treasury
causa non vendiderint ei qui armis et virtute pepererunt,
for-the-sake not they-sold those who by-arms and courage won(-them)
ut esset quod nos largitionis causa venderemus.
that there-might-be what we of-largess for-the-sake might-sell
5 Videte nunc quo adfectent iter apertius quam antea.
see now whither they-aim their-course more-openly than before
Nam superiore parte legis quem ad modum Pompeium
for in-the-earlier part of-the-law in-what to manner Pompey
oppugnarent, a me indicati sunt; nunc iam se
they-were-attacking by me revealed they-were now already themselves
ipsi indicabunt. Iubent venire agros Attalensium
they-themselves will-reveal they-order to-be-sold the-lands of-the-Attalenses
atque Olympenorum quos populo Romano P. Servili,
and of-the-Olympeni which to-the-people Roman of-Publius Servilius
fortissimi viri, victoria adiunxit, deinde agros in Macedonia
of-a-most-brave man the-victory added then the-lands in Macedonia

regios qui partim T. Flaminini, partim L. Pauli qui
royal which partly of-Titus Flamininus partly of-Lucius Paulus who
Persen vicit virtute parti sunt, deinde agrum optimum
Perseus conquered by-the-courage won were then the-land best
et fructuosissimum Corinthium qui L. Mummi imperio
and most-fruitful Corinthian which by-Lucius Mummius' command
ac felicitate ad vectigalia populi Romani adiunctus est, post
and good-fortune to the-revenues of-the-people Roman added was after
autem agros in Hispania apud Carthaginem novam duorum
however lands in Spain near Carthage New by-the-two
Scipionum eximia virtute possessos; tum vero ipsam veterem
Scipios' exceptional courage acquired then indeed itself old
Carthaginem vendunt quam P. Africanus nudatam tectis ac
Carthage they-sell which Publius Africanus stripped of-roofs and
moenibus sive ad notandam Carthaginiensium calamitatem,
walls whether for marking of-the-Carthaginians the-calamity
sive ad testificandam nostram victoriam, sive oblata aliqua
or for attesting our victory or offered by-some
religione ad aeternam hominum memoriam consecravit.
religious-scruple to the-eternal of-men memory consecrated
His insignibus atque infulis imperi venditis quibus 6
with-these insignia and fillets of-empire sold with-which
ornatam nobis maiores nostri rem publicam tradiderunt,
adorned to-us ancestors our the-thing public handed-down
iubent eos agros venire quos rex Mithridates in Paphlagonia,
they-order those lands to-be-sold which king Mithridates in Paphlagonia
Ponto Cappadociaque possederit. Num obscure videntur
Pontus and-Cappadocia possessed surely-not obscurely seem-they
prope hasta praeconis insectari Cn. Pompei exercitum
with-almost the-spear of-the-auctioneer to-pursue of-Gnaeus Pompey the-army

qui venire iubeant eos ipsos agros in quibus ille etiam
who to-be-sold order those very lands in which he even
nunc bellum gerat atque versetur?
now war wages and is-engaged

7 Hoc vero cuius modi est, quod eius auctionis quam constituunt
this indeed of-what kind is that of-that auction which they-appoint
locum sibi nullum definiunt? Nam xviris quibus in
a-place for-themselves none they-define for to-the-board-of-ten whatever in
locis ipsis videatur vendendi potestas lege permittitur.
places themselves it-may-seem-good of-selling the-power by-the-law is-granted
Censoribus vectigalia locare nisi in conspectu populi Romani
to-the-censors the-revenues to-let except in the-sight of-the-people Roman
non licet; his vendere vel in ultimis terris licebit? At
not it-is-allowed to-these to-sell even in the-farthest lands it-will-be-allowed but
hoc etiam nequissimi homines consumptis patrimoniis faciunt
this even most-worthless men with-squandered patrimonies do
ut in atriis auctionariis potius quam in triviis aut in compitis
that in halls auction rather than at crossroads or at street-corners
auctionentur; hic permittit sua lege xviris ut
they-hold-auctions this-man permits by-his-own law to-the-board-of-ten that
in quibus commodum sit tenebris, ut in qua velint
in what convenient may-be darkness that in what they-wish
solitudine, bona populi Romani possint divendere.
solitude the-goods of-the-people Roman they-may-be-able to-sell-off

8 Iam illa omnibus in provinciis, regnis, liberis populis quam
now that all in provinces kingdoms free peoples how
acerba, quam formidolosa, quam quaestuosa concursatio
bitter how fearful how gainful a-running-about
xviralis futura sit, non videtis? Hereditatum obeundarum
of-the-board-of-ten going-to-be be not do-you-see of-inheritances being-pursued
causa quibus vos legationes dedistis, qui et privati
for-the-sake to-whom you embassies have-given who both as-private-men

et privatum ad negotium exierunt non maximis opibus
and private for business went-out not with-the-greatest resources
neque summa auctoritate praediti, tamen auditis profecto
nor the-highest authority endowed still you-hear surely
quam graves eorum adventus sociis nostris esse soleant.
how grievous their arrivals to-allies our to-be are-wont
Quam ob rem quid putatis impendere hac lege 9
which on-account-of thing what do-you-think to-hang-over by-this law
omnibus gentibus terroris et mali, cum immittantur in
over-all peoples of-terror and of-evil when are-let-loose upon
orbem terrarum xviri summo cum imperio, summa cum
the-circle of-the-earth the-board-of-ten the-highest with command the-highest with
avaritia infinitaque omnium rerum cupiditate? Quorum cum
avarice and-boundless of-all things greed whose when
adventus graves, cum fasces formidolosi, tum vero iudicium ac
the-arrivals grievous when the-fasces fearful then indeed the-judgment and
potestas erit non ferenda; licebit enim quod videbitur
power will-be not to-be-borne it-will-be-allowed for what shall-seem-good
publicum iudicare, quod iudicarint vendere. Etiam illud quod
public to-judge what they-have-judged to-sell even that which
homines sancti non facient, ut pecuniam accipiant ne
men upright not will-do that money they-should-accept so-as-not-to
vendant, tamen id eis ipsum per legem licebit. Hinc vos
sell still that to-them itself by the-law will-be-allowed hence you
quas spoliationes, quas pactiones, quam denique in omnibus
what despoilings what bargains what finally in all
locis nundinationem iuris ac fortunarum fore putatis?
places trafficking of-right and fortunes going-to-be think
Etenim, quod superiore parte legis praefinitum fuit, 'Sulla 10
for-indeed what in-the-earlier part of-the-law fixed was with-Sulla
et Pompeio consulibus,' id rursus liberum infinitumque
and Pompey as-consuls that again free and-unlimited

fecerunt. Iubet enim eosdem xviros omnibus agris publicis
they-have-made he-orders for the-same board-of-ten on-all lands public
pergrande vectigal imponere, ut idem possint et liberare
a-very-large revenue to-impose so-that the-same can both to-free
agros quos commodum sit et quos ipsis libeat publicare.
lands which convenient may-be and which to-themselves it-please to-make-public
Quo in iudicio perspici non potest utrum severitas acerbior
which in judgment to-be-seen-through not can whether severity more-bitter
an benignitas quaestuosior sit futura. Sunt tamen in tota
or kindness more-gainful be going-to-be there-are still in the-whole
lege exceptiones duae non tam iniquae quam suspiciosae.
law exceptions two not so unfair as suspicious
Excipit enim in vectigali imponendo agrum Recentoricum
he-excepts for in revenue being-imposed the-land Recentorican
Siciliensem, in vendendis agris eos agros de quibus cautum
Sicilian in being-sold lands those lands about which provided
sit foedere. Hi sunt in Africa, qui ab Hiempsale possidentur.
it-be by-treaty these are in Africa which by Hiempsal are-possessed
11 Hic quaero, si Hiempsali satis est cautum foedere et
here I-ask if for-Hiempsal enough has-been provided by-treaty and
Recentoricus ager privatus est, quid attinuerit excipi;
the-Recentorican land private is what it-concerned to-be-excepted
sin et foedus illud habet aliquam dubitationem et ager
but-if both treaty that has some doubt and the-land
Recentoricus dicitur non numquam esse publicus, quem putet
Recentorican is-said not never to-be public whom he-thinks
existimaturum duas causas in orbe terrarum repertas quibus
going-to-believe two cases in the-circle of-the-earth found which
gratis parceret. Num quisnam tam abstrusus usquam
for-nothing he-would-spare surely-not any so hidden anywhere
nummus videtur quem non architecti huiusce legis olfecerint?
coin seems which not the-architects of-this law have-sniffed-out

Provincias, civitates liberas, socios, amicos, reges denique
the-provinces states free allies friends kings finally
exhauriunt, admovent manus vectigalibus populi Romani.
they-drain they-lay hands on-the-revenues of-the-people Roman
Non est satis. Audite, audite vos qui amplissimo populi 12
not it-is enough hear hear you who by-the-most-ample of-the-people
senatusque iudicio exercitus habuistis et bella gessistis: quod
and-senate judgment armies have-had and wars waged what
ad quemque pervenerit ex praeda, ex manubiis, ex auro
to each has-come from booty from spoils from gold
coronario, quod neque consumptum in monumento neque in
for-crowns which neither spent on a-monument nor into
aerarium relatum sit, id ad xviros referri iubet! Hoc
the-treasury paid-in be that to the-board-of-ten to-be-reported he-orders by-this
capite multa sperant; in omnis imperatores heredesque
clause many-things they-hope against all commanders and-heirs
eorum quaestionem suo iudicio comparant, sed maximam
their an-inquiry by-their-own judgment they-prepare but the-greatest
pecuniam se a Fausto ablaturos arbitrantur. Quam
money themselves from Faustus going-to-carry-off they-think which
causam suscipere iurati iudices noluerunt, hanc isti xviri
case to-undertake sworn judges were-unwilling this those board-of-ten
susceperunt: idcirco a iudicibus fortasse praetermissam
have-undertaken for-this-reason by the-judges perhaps passed-over
esse arbitrantur quod sit ipsis reservata.
to-have-been they-think because it-was for-themselves reserved
Deinde etiam in reliquum tempus diligentissime sancit ut, 13
then also for the-remaining time most-diligently he-enacts that
quod quisque imperator habeat pecuniae, protinus ad xviros
what each commander may-have of-money forthwith to the-board-of-ten
deferat. Hic tamen excipit Pompeium simillime, ut mihi
he-should-report here still he-excepts Pompey most-similarly as to-me

videtur, atque ut illa lege qua peregrini Roma eiciuntur
it-seems and as in-that law by-which foreigners from-Rome are-expelled
Glaucippus excipitur. Non enim hac exceptione unus adficitur
Glaucippus is-excepted not for by-this exception one-man is-affected
beneficio, sed unus privatur iniuria. Sed cui manubias
with-a-favor but one-man is-deprived by-an-injury but to-whom spoils
remittit, in huius vectigalia invadit. Iubet enim pecunia,
he-remits on his revenues he-makes-an-assault he-orders for money
si qua post nos consules ex novis vectigalibus recipiatur,
if any after us as-consuls from new revenues be-received
hac uti xviros. Quasi vero non intellegamus haec eos
this to-use the-board-of-ten as-if indeed not we-understand these them
vectigalia quae Cn. Pompeius adiunxerit vendere cogitare.
revenues which Gnaeus Pompey has-added to-sell to-intend
14 Videtis iam, patres conscripti, omnibus rebus et modis
you-see now fathers enrolled by-all things and means
constructam et coacervatam pecuniam xviralem. Minuetur
constructed and heaped-up the-money of-the-board-of-ten will-be-lessened
huius pecuniae invidia; consumetur enim in agrorum
of-this money the-odium it-will-be-spent for in of-lands
emptionibus. Optime. Quis ergo emet agros istos? Idem
purchases excellent who therefore will-buy lands those the-same
xviri; tu, Rulle, — missos enim facio ceteros — emes
board-of-ten you Rullus dismissed for I-make the-others you-will-buy
quod voles, vendes quod voles; utrumque horum facies
what you-wish you-will-sell what you-wish each of-these you-will-do
quanti voles. Cavet enim vir optimus ne emat ab
at-what-price you-wish he-takes-care for the-best man that-not he-buy from
invito. Quasi vero non intellegamus ab invito
an-unwilling-man as-if indeed not we-understand from an-unwilling-man
emere iniuriosum esse, ab non invito quaestuosum.
to-buy injurious to-be from not an-unwilling-man gainful

Quantum tibi agri vendet, ut alios omittam, socer
how-much to-you of-land will-sell that others I-may-omit father-in-law
tuus, et, si ego eius aequitatem animi probe novi, vendet
your and if I his fairness of-mind well know will-sell
non invitus? Facient idem ceteri libenter, ut possessionis
not unwilling will-do the-same the-others gladly that of-possession
invidiam pecunia commutent, accipiant quod cupiunt,
the-odium for-money they-may-exchange let-them-receive what they-desire
dent quod retinere vix possunt.
let-them-give what to-keep scarcely they-can

II · CAPUA AND THE CONSUL'S RESOLVE

The money the decemvirs raise cannot buy land from unwilling owners, so it would buy worthless land at any price. They would plant colonies where they wished, Capua above all, and so set up a rival to Rome. Cicero declares that as consul he will resist with all his strength, that he will be a consul of peace and quiet, which the people truly want, and that he has given up a province. He appeals to the tribunes to join the good and to the senate to stand with him.

Nunc perspicite omnium rerum infinitam atque intolerandam 15
now perceive of-all things the-boundless and intolerable
licentiam. Pecunia coacta est ad agros emendos; ei porro
license money collected has-been for lands to-be-bought those further
ab invitis non ementur. Si consenserint possessores
from unwilling-men not will-be-bought if shall-have-agreed the-possessors
non vendere, quid futurum est? Referetur pecunia? Non
not to-sell what going-to-be is will-be-paid-back the-money not
licet. Exigetur? Vetat. Verum esto; nihil est
it-is-allowed will-it-be-demanded-back he-forbids(-it) but let-it-be nothing is-there
quod non emi possit, si tantum des quantum velit
which not to-be-bought can if as-much you-give as-much-as wishes

venditor. Spoliemus orbem terrarum, vendamus vectigalia,
the-seller let-us-plunder the-circle of-the-earth let-us-sell the-revenues
effundamus aerarium, ut locupletatis aut invidiae aut
let-us-pour-out the-treasury so-that with-enriched either of-odium or
pestilentiae possessoribus agri tamen emantur.
of-pestilence the-possessors the-lands still may-be-bought
16 Quid tum? quae erit in istos agros deductio, quae totius
what then what will-be into those lands the-settling what of-the-whole
rei ratio atque descriptio? 'Deducentur,' inquit, 'coloniae.'
affair the-plan and arrangement will-be-settled he-says colonies
Quot? quorum hominum? In quae loca? Quis enim non videt
how-many of-what men into what places who for not sees
in coloniis esse haec omnia consideranda? Tibi nos, Rulle,
in colonies to-be these-things all to-be-considered to-you we Rullus
et istis tuis harum omnium rerum machinatoribus totam
and to-those your of-these all things contrivers whole
Italiam inermem tradituros existimasti, quam praesidiis
Italy unarmed going-to-hand-over did-you-think which with-garrisons
confirmaretis, coloniis occuparetis, omnibus vinclis devinctam
you-might-strengthen with-colonies seize with-all bonds bound
et constrictam teneretis? Ubi enim cavetur ne in Ianiculo
and constrained you-might-hold where for is-it-provided that-not on the-Janiculum
coloniam constituatis, ne urbem hanc urbe alia premere
a-colony you-establish that-not city this with-city another to-press
atque urgere possitis? 'Non faciemus,' inquit. Primum
and to-crowd you-may-be-able not we-shall-do(-it) he-says first
nescio, deinde timeo, postremo non committam ut vestro
I-do-not-know then I-fear finally not I-shall-let-it-happen that by-your
beneficio potius quam nostro consilio salvi esse possimus.
kindness rather than by-our counsel safe to-be we-can

Quod vero totam Italiam vestris coloniis complere voluistis, 17
that indeed whole Italy with-your colonies to-fill you-wished
id cuius modi esset neminemne nostrum intellecturum
that of-what kind it-was no-one of-us going-to-understand
existimavistis? Scriptum est enim: 'Quae in municipia
did-you-think written it-is for whatever into towns
quasque in colonias xviri velint, deducant colonos
and-whatever into colonies the-board-of-ten wish they-may-settle colonists
quos velint et eis agros adsignent quibus in locis velint,'
whom they-wish and to-them lands may-assign whatever in places they-wish
ut, cum totam Italiam militibus suis occuparint,
so-that when whole Italy with-soldiers their-own they-shall-have-seized
nobis non modo dignitatis retinendae, verum ne libertatis
for-us not only of-dignity being-kept but not of-liberty
quidem recuperandae spes relinquatur. Atque haec a me
even being-recovered hope be-left and these-things by me
suspicionibus et coniectura coarguuntur.
by-suspicions and conjecture are-proved
Iam omnis omnium tolletur error, iam aperte ostendent 18
now all of-all will-be-removed error now openly they-will-show
sibi nomen huius rei publicae, sedem urbis atque
to-themselves the-name of-this thing public the-seat of-the-city and
imperi, denique hoc templum Iovis optimi maximi atque hanc
of-empire finally this temple of-Jupiter best greatest and this
arcem omnium gentium displicere. Capuam deduci colonos
citadel of-all peoples to-displease to-Capua to-be-settled colonists
volunt, illam urbem huic urbi rursus opponere, illuc opes
they-wish that city to-this city again to-set-against thither resources
suas deferre et imperi nomen transferre cogitant. Qui locus
their-own to-carry and of-empire the-name to-transfer they-intend which place
propter ubertatem agrorum abundantiamque rerum omnium
on-account-of the-fertility of-its-fields and-abundance of-things all

superbiam et crudelitatem genuisse dicitur, ibi nostri
pride and cruelty to-have-begotten is-said there our
coloni delecti ad omne facinus a xviris conlocabuntur,
colonists picked for every crime by the-board-of-ten will-be-placed
et, credo, qua in urbe homines in vetere dignitate fortunaque
and I-suppose which in city men in ancient dignity and-fortune
nati copiam rerum moderate ferre non potuerunt, in ea
born the-abundance of-things moderately to-bear not could in it
isti vestri satellites modeste insolentiam suam continebunt.
those your henchmen modestly insolence their-own will-restrain
19 Maiores nostri Capua magistratus, senatum, consilium
ancestors our from-Capua the-magistrates the-senate the-council
commune, omnia denique insignia rei publicae sustulerunt,
common all finally the-insignia of-a-thing public removed
neque aliud quicquam in urbe nisi inane nomen Capuae
nor other anything in the-city except the-empty name of-Capua
reliquerunt, non crudelitate — quid enim illis fuit clementius
left not from-cruelty what for than-them was more-merciful
qui etiam externis hostibus victis sua saepissime
who even to-foreign enemies conquered their-own-things very-often
reddiderunt? — Sed consilio, quod videbant, si quod rei
gave-back but from-policy because they-saw if any of-a-thing
publicae vestigium illis moenibus contineretur, urbem ipsam
public trace within-those walls were-contained the-city itself
imperio domicilium praebere posse; vos haec, nisi evertere
for-empire a-home to-offer to-be-able you these-things unless to-overturn
rem publicam cuperetis ac vobis novam dominationem
the-thing public you-desired and for-yourselves a-new despotism
comparare, credo, quam perniciosa essent non videretis.
to-procure I-believe how pernicious they-would-be not would-see

Quid enim cavendum est in coloniis deducendis? Si 20
what for to-be-guarded-against is in colonies being-settled if
luxuries, Hannibalem ipsum Capua corrupit, si superbia,
luxury Hannibal himself Capua corrupted if pride
nata inibi esse haec ex Campanorum fastidio videtur, si
born there to-be this from of-the-Campanians the-disdain seems if
praesidium, non praeponitur huic urbi ista colonia, sed
a-garrison not is-placed-before to-this city that colony but
opponitur. At quem ad modum armatur, di immortales! Nam
is-set-against(-it) but in-what to manner it-is-armed gods immortal for
bello Punico quicquid potuit Capua, potuit ipsa per sese;
in-the-war Punic whatever could Capua it-could itself by itself
nunc omnes urbes quae circum Capuam sunt a colonis per
now all cities which around Capua are by colonists through
eosdem xviros occupabuntur; hanc enim ob causam
the-same board-of-ten will-be-seized this for on-account-of cause
permittit ipsa lex, in omnia quae velint oppida colonos
permits itself the-law into all which they-wish towns colonists
ut xviri deducant quos velint. Atque his colonis
that the-board-of-ten may-settle whom they-wish and to-these colonists
agrum Campanum et Stellatem campum dividi iubet.
the-land Campanian and the-Stellate plain to-be-divided he-orders
Non queror deminutionem vectigalium, non flagitium huius 21
not I-complain-of the-diminution of-the-revenues not the-scandal of-this
iacturae atque damni, praetermitto illa quae nemo est quin
loss and damage I-pass-over those-things which no-one is but
gravissime et verissime conqueri possit, nos caput patrimoni
most-gravely and most-truly to-complain-of can we the-head of-the-patrimony
publici, pulcherrimam populi Romani possessionem, subsidium
public the-most-splendid of-the-people Roman possession the-support
annonae, horreum belli, sub signo claustrisque rei
of-the-grain-supply the-granary of-war under the-seal and-bars of-the-thing

publicae positum vectigal servare non potuisse, eum denique
public placed the-revenue to-keep not to-have-been-able that finally
nos agrum P. Rullo concessisse, qui ager ipse per sese
we land to-Publius Rullus to-have-yielded which land itself by itself
et Sullanae dominationi et Gracchorum largitioni restitisset;
both to-Sulla's despotism and to-the-Gracchi's largess had-withstood
non dico solum hoc in re publica vectigal esse quod
not I-say alone this in the-thing public a-revenue to-be which
amissis aliis remaneat, intermissis non conquiescat,
lost the-others remains when-others-are-interrupted not it-rests
in pace niteat, in bello non obsolescat, militem sustentet,
in peace it-shines in war not it-becomes-obsolete the-soldier it-sustains
hostem non pertimescat; praetermitto omnem hanc orationem
the-enemy not it-fears I-pass-over all this speech
et contioni reservo; de periculo salutis ac libertatis loquor.
and for-the-assembly reserve(-it) about the-danger of-safety and liberty I-speak
22 Quid enim existimatis integrum vobis in re publica
what for do-you-think unimpaired to-you in the-thing public
fore aut in vestra libertate ac dignitate retinenda, cum
going-to-be or in your liberty and dignity being-kept when
Rullus atque ei quos multo magis quam Rullum timetis cum
Rullus and those whom much more than Rullus you-fear with
omni egentium atque improborum manu, cum omnibus copiis,
every of-needy and wicked-men band with all forces
cum omni argento et auro Capuam et urbis circa Capuam
with all silver and gold Capua and the-cities around Capua
occuparint? His ego rebus, patres conscripti, resistam vehementer
shall-have-seized these I things fathers enrolled shall-resist vehemently
atque acriter neque patiar homines ea me consule
and fiercely nor I-shall-allow men those-things with-me as-consul
expromere quae contra rem publicam iam diu cogitarunt.
to-bring-out which against the-thing public now long they-have-plotted

Errastis, Rulle, vehementer et tu et non nulli conlegae tui 23
you-have-erred Rullus vehemently both you and not none colleagues your
qui sperastis vos contra consulem veritate, non ostentatione
who hoped you against a-consul in-truth not in-display
popularem posse in evertenda re publica populares
popular to-be-able in overturning the-thing public popular-men
existimari. Lacesso vos, in contionem voco, populo Romano
to-be-thought I-challenge you to the-assembly I-call the-people Roman
disceptatore uti volo. Etenim, ut circumspiciamus omnia quae
as-arbiter to-use I-wish for-indeed that we-may-look-round-at all-things which
populo grata atque iucunda sunt, nihil tam populare quam
to-the-people welcome and pleasant are nothing so popular as
pacem, quam concordiam, quam otium reperiemus. Sollicitam
peace as concord as tranquility we-shall-find anxious
mihi civitatem suspicione, suspensam metu, perturbatam
to-me the-state with-suspicion held-in-suspense with-fear disturbed
vestris legibus et contionibus et deductionibus tradidistis;
by-your laws and assemblies and settlements you-have-handed-over
spem improbis ostendistis, timorem bonis iniecistis, fidem
hope to-the-wicked you-have-shown fear on-the-good you-have-cast credit
de foro, dignitatem de re publica sustulistis.
from the-forum dignity from the-thing public you-have-removed
Hoc motu atque hac perturbatione animorum atque rerum 24
in-this commotion and in-this disturbance of-minds and things
cum populo Romano vox et auctoritas consulis repente
when on-the-people Roman the-voice and authority of-the-consul suddenly
in tantis tenebris inluxerit, cum ostenderit nihil esse
in such-great darkness shall-have-shone when it-shall-have-shown nothing to-be
metuendum, nullum exercitum, nullam manum, nullas colonias,
to-be-feared no army no band no colonies
nullam venditionem vectigalium, nullum imperium novum,
no sale of-revenues no command new

nullum regnum xvirale, nullam alteram Romam neque
no kingship of-the-board-of-ten no second Rome nor
aliam sedem imperi nobis consulibus futuram summamque
another seat of-empire with-us as-consuls going-to-be and-the-highest
tranquillitatem pacis atque oti, verendum, credo, nobis erit
tranquility of-peace and of-leisure to-be-feared I-suppose for-us it-will-be
ne vestra ista praeclara lex agraria magis popularis esse videatur.
lest your that splendid law agrarian more popular to-be may-seem
25 Cum vero scelera consiliorum vestrorum fraudemque legis
when indeed the-crimes of-counsels your and-the-fraud of-the-law
et insidias quae ipsi populo Romano a popularibus
and the-snares which to-the-very people Roman by popular
tribunis plebis fiant ostendero, pertimescam, credo,
tribunes of-the-plebs are-made I-shall-have-shown I-shall-fear I-suppose
ne mihi non liceat contra vos in contione consistere,
lest for-me not it-be-allowed against you in an-assembly to-stand
praesertim cum mihi deliberatum et constitutum sit ita
especially since by-me deliberated and decided it-is so
gerere consulatum quo uno modo geri graviter et
to-conduct the-consulship in-which one way to-be-conducted gravely and
libere potest, ut neque provinciam neque honorem neque
freely it-can that neither a-province nor an-honor nor
ornamentum aliquod aut commodum neque rem ullam quae
distinction any or advantage nor thing any which
a tribuno plebis impediri possit appetiturus sim.
by a-tribune of-the-plebs to-be-hindered can going-to-seek I-be
26 Dicit frequentissimo senatu consul Kalendis Ianuariis sese, si
says in-the-fullest senate the-consul on-the-Kalends of-January himself if
status hic rei publicae maneat neque aliquod negotium
condition this of-the-thing public remain nor any business
exstiterit quod honeste subterfugere non possit, in provinciam
shall-have-arisen which honorably to-evade not he-can into a-province

non iturum. Sic me in hoc magistratu geram, patres
not going-to-go so myself in this magistracy I-shall-conduct fathers
conscripti, ut possim tribunum plebis rei publicae
enrolled that I-can a-tribune of-the-plebs with-the-thing public
iratum coercere, mihi iratum contemnere. Quam ob rem,
angry to-restrain with-me angry to-despise which on-account-of thing
per deos immortalis! Conligite vos, tribuni plebis, deserite
by the-gods immortal collect yourselves tribunes of-the-plebs desert
eos a quibus, nisi prospicitis, brevi tempore deseremini,
those by whom unless you-look-ahead in-a-short time you-will-be-deserted
conspirate nobiscum, consentite cum bonis, communem rem
conspire with-us agree with the-good the-common thing
publicam communi studio atque amore defendite. Multa sunt
public with-common zeal and love defend many are
occulta rei publicae volnera, multa nefariorum civium
hidden of-the-thing public wounds many of-wicked citizens
perniciosa consilia; nullum externum periculum est, non
pernicious plans no external danger is not
rex, non gens ulla, non natio pertimescenda est; inclusum
a-king not a-people any not a-nation to-be-feared is shut-in
malum, intestinum ac domesticum est. Huic pro se quisque
the-evil internal and domestic is to-this for himself each
nostrum mederi atque hoc omnes sanare velle debemus.
of-us to-heal and this all to-cure to-wish we-ought
Erratis, si senatum probare ea quae dicuntur a me putatis, 27
you-err if the-senate to-approve those-things which are-said by me you-think
populum autem esse in alia voluntate. Omnes qui se
the-people however to-be in another will all who themselves
incolumis volent sequentur auctoritatem consulis soluti a
unharmed will-wish will-follow the-authority of-the-consul freed from
cupiditatibus, liberi a delictis, cauti in periculis, non timidi
desires free from offenses cautious in dangers not timid

in contentionibus. Quod si qui vestrum spe ducitur se
in contests but if any of-you by-hope is-led himself
posse turbulenta ratione honori velificari suo, primum me
to-be-able by-a-turbulent method to-honor to-sail his-own first with-me
consule id sperare desistat, deinde habeat me ipsum sibi
as-consul that to-hope let-him-cease then let-him-have me myself for-himself
documento, quem equestri ortum loco consulem videt, quae
as-a-lesson whom from-an-equestrian born rank consul he-sees what
vitae via facillime viros bonos ad honorem dignitatemque
of-life the-road most-easily men good to honor and-dignity
perducat. Quod si vos vestrum mihi studium, patres conscripti,
may-lead but if you your to-me zeal fathers enrolled
ad communem dignitatem defendendam profitemini, perficiam
for the-common dignity to-be-defended profess I-shall-accomplish
profecto, id quod maxime res publica desiderat, ut huius
surely that which most the-thing public desires that of-this
ordinis auctoritas, quae apud maiores nostros fuit, eadem nunc
order the-authority which among ancestors our was the-same now
longo intervallo rei publicae restituta esse videatur.
after-a-long interval to-the-thing public restored to-have-been may-seem

DE LEGE AGRARIA II

I · THE POPULAR CONSUL

Cicero thanks the people, who made him the first new man consul in a long time, and promises to be a truly popular consul, defending peace, liberty, and quiet; he praises the Gracchi's land laws. He tells how the tribunes framed their bill in secret and shut him out, and how no one understood Rullus's speech.

Est hoc in more positum, Quirites, institutoque maiorum, 1
it-is this in custom placed citizens and-in-the-institution of-our-ancestors
ut ei qui beneficio vestro imagines familiae suae consecuti
that those who by-favor your the-images of-family their-own attained
sunt eam primam habeant contionem, qua gratiam benefici
have that first may-have assembly in-which the-gratitude for-favor
vestri cum suorum laude coniungant. Qua in oratione
your with of-their-own-ancestors the-praise they-may-join which in speech
non nulli aliquando digni maiorum loco reperiuntur, plerique
not none sometimes worthy of-their-ancestors' rank are-found most
autem hoc perficiunt ut tantum maioribus eorum debitum
however this accomplish that so-much to-their-ancestors their owed
esse videatur, unde etiam quod posteris solveretur
to-have-been may-seem whence even what to-descendants might-be-paid
redundaret. Mihi, Quirites, apud vos de meis maioribus
should-overflow to-me citizens before you about my ancestors
dicendi facultas non datur, non quo non tales fuerint qualis
of-speaking the-opportunity not is-given not that not such they-were such-as
nos illorum sanguine creatos disciplinisque institutos videtis,
us of-their blood begotten and-by-training formed you-see
sed quod laude populari atque honoris vestri luce caruerunt.
but because by-praise popular and of-honor your the-light they-lacked

2 De me autem ipso vereor ne adrogantis sit apud vos
about me however myself I-fear lest of-arrogance it-be before you
dicere, ingrati tacere. Nam et quibus studiis hanc
to-speak of-ingratitude to-be-silent for both by-what pursuits this
dignitatem consecutus sim memet ipsum commemorare
dignity attained I-have me myself to-recount
perquam grave est, et silere de tantis vestris beneficiis
very grievous is and to-be-silent about such-great your favors
nullo modo possum. Qua re adhibebitur a me certa
in-no way I-can by-which thing will-be-used by me a-fixed
ratio moderatioque dicendi, ut quid a vobis acceperim
method and-moderation of-speaking so-that what from you I-have-received
commemorem, qua re dignus vestro summo honore
I-may-recount by-which thing worthy of-your highest honor
singularique iudicio sim, ipse modice dicam, si necesse
and-singular judgment I-am myself moderately I-shall-say if necessary
erit, vos eosdem existimaturos putem qui iudicavistis.
it-shall-be you the-same going-to-judge I-may-think who have-judged
3 Me perlongo intervallo prope memoriae temporumque
me after-a-very-long interval almost of-memory and-of-times
nostrorum primum hominem novum consulem fecistis et eum
our the-first man new consul you-made and that
locum quem nobilitas praesidiis firmatum atque omni ratione
place which the-nobility with-defenses strengthened and in-every way
obvallatum tenebat me duce rescidistis virtutique in
walled-round held with-me as-leader you-broke-down and-to-merit into
posterum patere voluistis. Neque me tantum modo consulem,
the-future to-be-open you-wished nor me so-much only consul
quod est ipsum per sese amplissimum, sed ita fecistis quo
which is in-itself by itself most-ample but so you-made as
modo pauci nobiles in hac civitate consules facti sunt, novus
in-manner few nobles in this state consuls made have-been new-man

ante me nemo. Nam profecto, si recordari volueritis de
before me no-one for surely if to-recall you-shall-have-wished about
novis hominibus, reperietis eos qui sine repulsa consules facti
new men you-will-find those who without defeat consuls made
sunt diuturno labore atque aliqua occasione esse factos,
have-been by-long labor and some opportunity to-have-been made
cum multis annis post petissent quam praetores fuissent,
when many years after they-had-sought(-it) than praetors they-had-been
aliquanto serius quam per aetatem ac per leges liceret; qui
somewhat later than by age and by the-laws it-was-allowed who
autem anno suo petierint, sine repulsa non esse
however in-the-year their-own have-sought without defeat not to-have-been
factos; me esse unum ex omnibus novis hominibus de quibus
made me to-be the-one of all new men of whom
meminisse possimus, qui consulatum petierim cum primum
to-remember we-can who the-consulship sought when first
licitum sit, consul factus sim cum primum petierim, ut
allowed it-was consul made I-was when first I-sought(-it) so-that
vester honos ad mei temporis diem petitus, non ad alienae
your honor at of-my time the-day sought not at of-another's
petitionis occasionem interceptus, nec diuturnis precibus
candidacy the-opportunity snatched nor by-long prayers
efflagitatus, sed dignitate impetratus esse videatur.
extorted but by-dignity obtained to-have-been may-seem
Est illud amplissimum quod paulo ante commemoravi, 4
it-is that most-ample which a-little before I-mentioned
Quirites, quod hoc honore ex novis hominibus primum
citizens that with-this honor of new men first
me multis post annis adfecistis, quod prima petitione,
me many after years you-honored that at-the-first candidacy
quod anno meo, sed tamen magnificentius atque ornatius
that in-the-year my-own but still more-magnificent and more-ornate

esse illo nihil potest, quod meis comitiis non tabellam
to-be than-that nothing can-be that at-my elections not a-ballot
vindicem tacitae libertatis, sed vocem vivam prae vobis
the-guardian of-silent liberty but the-voice living before you
indicem vestrarum erga me voluntatum ac studiorum
as-informer of-your toward me wishes and zeal
tulistis. Itaque me non extrema diribitio suffragiorum, sed
you-carried and-so me not the-final sorting of-the-votes but
primi illi vestri concursus, neque singulae voces praeconum,
the-first those your rushes nor the-individual voices of-the-heralds
sed una vox universi populi Romani consulem declaravit.
but one voice of-the-whole people Roman consul declared
5 Hoc ego tam insigne, tam singulare vestrum beneficium,
this I so signal so singular your favor
Quirites, cum ad animi mei fructum atque laetitiam duco
citizens while for of-mind my the-fruit and joy I-reckon
esse permagnum, tum ad curam sollicitudinemque multo
to-be very-great so for care and-anxiety much
magis. Versantur enim, Quirites, in animo meo multae
more there-turn for citizens in mind my many
et graves cogitationes quae mihi nullam partem neque
and grave thoughts which to-me no part either
diurnae neque nocturnae quietis impertiunt, primum tuendi
of-daytime or of-night rest impart first of-defending
consulatus, quae cum omnibus est difficilis et magna ratio,
the-consulship which while for-all is difficult and great a-task
tum vero mihi praeter ceteros cuius errato nulla venia,
so indeed for-me beyond the-others for-whose error no pardon
recte facto exigua laus et ab invitis expressa
for-a-thing-rightly done slight praise and from unwilling-men extorted

proponitur; non dubitanti fidele consilium, non laboranti
is-set-forth not to-me-hesitating faithful counsel not to-me-laboring
certum subsidium nobilitatis ostenditur.
sure support of-the-nobility is-shown
Quod si solus in discrimen aliquod adducerer, ferrem, 6
but if alone into crisis some I-were-brought I-would-bear(-it)
Quirites, animo aequiore; sed mihi videntur certi homines,
citizens with-mind calmer but to-me seem certain men
si qua in re me non modo consilio verum etiam casu
if any in thing me not only in-counsel but also by-chance
lapsum esse arbitrabuntur, vos universos qui me antetuleritis
slipped to-have they-shall-think you all who me have-preferred
nobilitati vituperaturi. Mihi autem, Quirites, omnia potius
to-the-nobility going-to-blame to-me however citizens all-things rather
perpetienda esse duco quam non ita gerendum consulatum ut
to-be-endured to-be I-reckon than not so to-be-conducted the-consulship that
in omnibus meis factis atque consiliis vestrum de me factum
in all my deeds and counsels your about me deed
consiliumque laudetur. Accedit etiam ille mihi summus labor
and-counsel be-praised is-added also that to-me the-highest labor
ac difficillima ratio consulatus gerendi, quod non eadem
and most-difficult method of-consulship being-conducted that not the-same
mihi qua superioribus consulibus lege et condicione utendum
to-me as by-the-earlier consuls law and condition to-be-used
esse decrevi, qui aditum huius loci conspectumque vestrum
to-be I-have-decided who the-approach of-this place and-sight your
partim magno opere fugerunt, partim non vehementer secuti
partly in-great measure shunned partly not vehemently pursued
sunt. Ego autem non solum hoc in loco dicam ubi est
have I however not only this in place shall-say where is
id dictu facillimum, sed in ipso senatu in quo esse
that to-say very-easy but in the-very senate in which to-be

locus huic voci non videbatur popularem me futurum esse
a-place for-this word not seemed popular me going-to-be to-be
consulem prima illa mea oratione Kalendis Ianuariis dixi.
consul in-the-first that my speech on-the-Kalends of-January I-said
7 Neque enim ullo modo facere possum ut, cum me
nor for in-any way to-bring-about I-can that when myself
intellegam non hominum potentium studio, non excellentibus
I-understand not of-men powerful by-zeal not by-the-outstanding
gratiis paucorum, sed universi populi Romani iudicio consulem
favor of-a-few but by-the-whole people Roman's judgment consul
ita factum ut nobilissimis hominibus longe praeponerer, non
so made that to-most-noble men far I-was-preferred not
et in hoc magistratu et in omni vita videar esse popularis.
both in this magistracy and in all life I-should-seem to-be popular
Sed mihi ad huius verbi vim et interpretationem vehementer
but to-me for of-this word the-force and interpretation vehemently
opus est vestra sapientia. Versatur enim magnus error propter
need is of-your wisdom there-turns for a-great error on-account-of
insidiosas non nullorum simulationes qui, cum populi
the-treacherous not of-none pretenses who while of-the-people
non solum commoda verum etiam salutem oppugnant et
not only the-advantages but also the-safety they-attack and
impediunt, oratione adsequi volunt ut populares esse videantur.
hinder by-speech to-attain wish that popular to-be they-may-seem
8 Ego qualem Kalendis Ianuariis acceperim rem publicam,
I of-what-sort on-the-Kalends of-January I-received the-thing public
Quirites, intellego, plenam sollicitudinis, plenam timoris; in qua
citizens understand full of-anxiety full of-fear in which
nihil erat mali, nihil adversi quod non boni metuerent,
nothing there-was of-evil nothing adverse which not the-good feared
improbi exspectarent; omnia turbulenta consilia contra hunc
the-wicked expected all turbulent plans against this

rei publicae statum et contra vestrum otium partim
of-the-thing public condition and against your tranquility partly
iniri, partim nobis consulibus designatis inita
to-be-entered-into partly with-us as-consuls designate entered-into
esse dicebantur; sublata erat de foro fides non ictu
to-have-been were-said removed had-been from the-forum credit not by-blow
aliquo novae calamitatis, sed suspicione ac perturbatione
some of-new calamity but by-suspicion and disturbance
iudiciorum, infirmatione rerum iudicatarum; novae dominationes,
of-the-courts by-the-weakening of-things judged new despotisms
extraordinaria non imperia, sed regna quaeri putabantur.
extraordinary not commands but kingships to-be-sought were-thought
Quae cum ego non solum suspicarer, sed plane cernerem — 9
which since I not only suspected but plainly saw
neque enim obscure gerebantur — dixi in senatu in hoc
nor for obscurely they-were-done I-said in the-senate in this
magistratu me popularem consulem futurum. Quid enim est
magistracy me a-popular consul going-to-be what for is
tam populare quam pax? qua non modo ei quibus natura
so popular as peace at-which not only those to-whom nature
sensum dedit sed etiam tecta atque agri mihi laetari
feeling has-given but also the-houses and fields to-me to-rejoice
videntur. Quid tam populare quam libertas? Quam non
seem what so popular as liberty which not
solum ab hominibus verum etiam a bestiis expeti atque
only by men but also by beasts to-be-sought and
omnibus rebus anteponi videtis. Quid tam populare quam
above-all things to-be-preferred you-see what so popular as
otium? Quod ita iucundum est ut et vos et maiores vestri
tranquility which so pleasant is that both you and ancestors your
et fortissimus quisque vir maximos labores suscipiendos
and the-bravest each man the-greatest labors to-be-undertaken

putet, ut aliquando in otio possit esse, praesertim in
think that at-last in tranquility he-may-be-able to-be especially in
imperio ac dignitate. Quin idcirco etiam maioribus nostris
command and dignity nay for-this-reason also to-ancestors our
praecipuam laudem gratiamque debemus, quod eorum labore
special praise and-gratitude we-owe that by-their labor
est factum uti impune in otio esse possemus.
it-has been-brought-about that with-impunity in tranquility to-be we-could
Qua re qui possum non esse popularis, cum videam
by-which thing how can-I not to-be popular when I-see
haec omnia, Quirites, pacem externam, libertatem propriam
these-things all citizens peace external liberty proper
generis ac nominis vestri, otium domesticum, denique omnia
of-race and name your tranquility domestic finally all-things
quae vobis cara atque ampla sunt in fidem et quodam
which to-you dear and ample are into the-protection and in-a-certain
modo in patrocinium mei consulatus esse conlata?
way into the-patronage of-my consulship to-have-been brought
10 Neque enim, Quirites, illud vobis iucundum aut populare
nor for citizens that to-you pleasant or popular
debet videri, largitio aliqua promulgata, quae verbis ostentari
ought to-seem a-largess some published which in-words to-be-displayed
potest, re vera fieri nisi exhausto aerario nullo pacto
can in-thing true to-be-done except with-exhausted treasury in-no way
potest; neque vero illa popularia sunt existimanda, iudiciorum
can nor indeed those popular are to-be-thought of-the-courts
perturbationes, rerum iudicatarum infirmationes, restitutio
the-disturbances of-things judged the-weakenings the-restoration
damnatorum, qui civitatum adflictarum perditis iam rebus
of-the-condemned which of-states stricken with-ruined already affairs
extremi exitiorum solent esse exitus; nec, si qui agros populo
the-last of-destructions are-wont to-be outcomes nor if any lands to-the-people

Romano pollicentur, si aliud quiddam obscure moliuntur,
Roman promise if one-thing something obscurely they-contrive
aliud spe ac specie simulationis ostentant, populares
another by-hope and appearance of-pretense they-display popular
existimandi sunt. Nam vere dicam, Quirites, genus ipsum legis
to-be-thought are for truly I-shall-say citizens the-kind itself of-law
agrariae vituperare non possum. Venit enim mihi in mentem
agrarian to-blame not I-can comes for to-me into mind
duos clarissimos, ingeniosissimos, amantissimos plebei
two most-illustrious most-talented most-loving of-the-plebs
Romanae viros, Ti. et C. Gracchos, plebem in agris
Roman men Tiberius and Gaius Gracchi the-plebs on lands
publicis constituisse, qui agri a privatis antea possidebantur.
public to-have-settled which lands by private-men before were-possessed
Non sum autem ego is consul qui, ut plerique, nefas esse
not I-am however I that consul who as most wrong to-be
arbitrer Gracchos laudare, quorum consiliis, sapientia, legibus
should-think the-Gracchi to-praise by-whose counsels wisdom laws
multas esse video rei publicae partis constitutas.
many to-have-been I-see of-the-thing public parts established
Itaque, ut initio mihi designato consuli nuntiabatur legem 11
and-so when at-the-beginning to-me designate consul it-was-reported a-law
agrariam tribunos plebis designatos conscribere, cupiebam quid
agrarian the-tribunes of-the-plebs designate to-be-drafting I-desired what
cogitarent cognoscere; etenim arbitrabar, quoniam eodem anno
they-intended to-learn for-indeed I-thought since in-the-same year
gerendi nobis essent magistratus, esse aliquam oportere
to-be-administered by-us were the-magistracies to-be some it-behooved
inter nos rei publicae bene administrandae societatem.
between us of-the-thing public well being-administered partnership

12 Cum familiariter me in eorum sermonem insinuarem ac
when in-a-friendly-way myself into their conversation I-insinuated and
darem, celabar, excludebar, et, cum ostenderem,
gave(-myself) I-was-kept-in-the-dark I-was-shut-out and when I-showed
si lex utilis plebi Romanae mihi videretur, auctorem
if the-law useful to-the-plebs Roman to-me seemed as-sponsor
me atque adiutorem futurum, tamen aspernabantur hanc
me and helper going-to-be still they-spurned this
liberalitatem meam; negabant me adduci posse ut ullam
generosity my they-denied me to-be-led to-be-able that any
largitionem probarem. Finem feci offerendi mei ne forte
largess I-should-approve an-end I-made of-offering myself lest perhaps
mea sedulitas aut insidiosa aut impudens videretur. Interea
my assiduity either treacherous or shameless might-seem meanwhile
non desistebant clam inter se convenire, privatos quosdam
not they-ceased secretly among themselves to-meet private certain-men
adhibere, ad suos coetus occultos noctem adiungere et
to-bring-in to their-own gatherings secret night to-add and
solitudinem. Quibus rebus quanto in metu fuerimus, ex
solitude by-which things how-great in fear we-were from
vestra sollicitudine in qua illis temporibus fuistis facile
your anxiety in which at-those times you-were easily
adsequi coniectura poteritis.
to-grasp by-conjecture you-will-be-able

13 Ineunt tandem magistratus tribuni plebis; contio
they-enter at-last their-magistracies the-tribunes of-the-plebs an-assembly
exspectatur P. Rulli, quod et princeps erat agrariae
is-awaited of-Publius Rullus because both the-leader he-was of-the-agrarian
legis et truculentius se gerebat quam ceteri. Iam
law and more-truculently himself he-conducted than the-others already
designatus alio voltu, alio vocis sono, alio
designate with-another face with-another of-voice sound with-another

incessu esse meditabatur, vestitu obsoletiore, corpore inculto et
gait to-be he-was-practicing in-dress shabbier with-body unkempt and
horrido, capillatior quam ante barbaque maiore, ut oculis
shaggy more-long-haired than before and-with-beard bigger so-that with-eyes
et aspectu denuntiare omnibus vim tribuniciam et minitari
and look to-announce to-all violence tribunician and to-threaten
rei publicae videretur. Legem hominis contionemque
to-the-thing public he-might-seem the-law of-the-man and-assembly
exspectabam; lex initio nulla proponitur, contionem in
I-awaited the-law at-first none is-proposed an-assembly on
pridie Idus advocari iubet. Summa cum exspectatione
the-day-before the-Ides to-be-convoked he-orders the-highest with expectation
concurritur. Explicat orationem sane longam et verbis valde
there-is-a-rush he-unfolds a-speech indeed long and in-words very
bonis. Unum erat quod mihi vitiosum videbatur, quod tanta
good one-thing there-was which to-me faulty seemed that so-great
ex frequentia inveniri nemo potuit qui intellegere posset
from crowd to-be-found no-one could who to-understand could
quid diceret. Hoc ille utrum insidiarum causa fecerit, an
what he-said this he whether of-snares for-the-sake did or
hoc genere eloquentiae delectetur nescio. Tametsi, qui
with-this kind of-eloquence is-delighted I-do-not-know although those-who
acutiores in contione steterant, de lege agraria nescio quid
sharper in the-assembly had-stood about the-law agrarian I-know-not what
voluisse eum dicere suspicabantur. Aliquando tandem me
to-have-wished him to-say suspected at-length at-last with-me
designato lex in publicum proponitur. Concurrunt iussu meo
designate the-law into public is-posted there-run-together at-order my
plures uno tempore librarii, descriptam legem ad me adferunt.
several at-one time copyists the-copied law to me bring

The decemvirs are to be elected by only seventeen tribes chosen by lot, nine of which suffice, so that a minority of the people decides. Rullus himself is to draw the lot, hold the elections, and declare the winners, and he may name himself, against the Licinian and Aebutian laws. A candidate must declare himself in person, which keeps out Pompey. Cicero, who says he came to the law ready to support it, finds in it ten kings set over everything under an agrarian pretext.

14 Omni hoc ratione vobis confirmare possum, Quirites, hoc
by-every this means to-you to-affirm I-can citizens with-this
animo me ad legendam legem cognoscendamque venisse ut,
mind me to reading the-law and-learning(-it) to-have-come that
si eam vobis accommodatam atque utilem esse intellegerem,
if it to-you suited and useful to-be I-understood
auctor eius atque adiutor essem. Non enim natura neque
the-sponsor of-it and helper I-might-be not for by-nature nor
discidio neque odio penitus insito bellum nescio quod
by-quarrel nor by-hatred deeply implanted war I-know-not what
habet susceptum consulatus cum tribunatu, quia persaepe
has undertaken the-consulship with the-tribunate because very-often
seditiosis atque improbis tribunis plebis boni et fortes
seditious and wicked tribunes of-the-plebs good and brave
consules obstiterunt, et quia vis tribunicia non numquam
consuls have-opposed and because power tribunician not never
libidini restitit consulari. Non potestatum dissimilitudo, sed
to-the-lust has-resisted consular not of-powers the-unlikeness but
animorum disiunctio dissensionem facit.
of-minds the-separation disagreement makes

15 Itaque hoc animo legem sumpsi in manus ut eam
and-so with-this mind the-law I-took into (my)-hands that it
cuperem esse aptam vestris commodis et eius modi quam
I-desired to-be suited to-your advantages and of-that kind which

consul re, non oratione popularis et honeste et libenter
a-consul in-fact not in-speech popular both honorably and gladly
posset defendere. Atque ego a primo capite legis usque
could defend and I from the-first clause of-the-law right-up
ad extremum reperio, Quirites, nihil aliud cogitatum, nihil
to the-last find citizens nothing else thought-of nothing
aliud susceptum, nihil aliud actum nisi uti x reges
else undertaken nothing else done except that ten kings
aerari, vectigalium, provinciarum omnium, totius rei
of-the-treasury of-the-revenues of-the-provinces of-all of-the-whole thing
publicae, regnorum, liberorum populorum, orbis denique
public of-kingdoms of-free peoples of-the-circle finally
terrarum domini constituerentur legis agrariae simulatione
of-the-earth as-masters be-established of-a-law agrarian under-the-pretense
atque nomine. Sic confirmo, Quirites, hac lege agraria
and name so I-affirm citizens by-this law agrarian
pulchra atque populari dari vobis nihil, condonari
splendid and popular to-be-given to-you nothing to-be-handed-over
certis hominibus omnia, ostentari populo Romano agros,
to-certain men all-things to-be-displayed to-the-people Roman lands
eripi etiam libertatem, privatorum pecunias augeri,
to-be-snatched also liberty of-private-men the-moneys to-be-increased
publicas exhauriri, denique, quod est indignissimum,
the-public to-be-drained finally what is most-unworthy
per tribunum plebis, quem maiores praesidem libertatis
through a-tribune of-the-plebs whom ancestors as-protector of-liberty
custodemque esse voluerunt, reges in civitate constitui.
and-guardian to-be wished kings in the-state to-be-established
Quae cum, Quirites, exposuero, si falsa vobis videbuntur esse, 16
which when citizens I-shall-have-set-out if false to-you they-shall-seem to-be
sequar auctoritatem vestram, mutabo meam sententiam;
I-shall-follow authority your I-shall-change my opinion

sin insidias fieri libertati vestrae simulatione largitionis
but-if snares to-be-made for-liberty your under-the-pretense of-largess
intellegetis, nolitote dubitare plurimo sudore et sanguine
you-shall-understand do-not hesitate by-very-much sweat and blood
maiorum vestrorum partam vobisque traditam libertatem
of-ancestors your won and-to-you handed-down liberty
nullo vestro labore consule adiutore defendere. Primum
with-no your labor with-the-consul as-helper to-defend the-first
caput est legis agrariae quo, ut illi putant, temptamini
clause is of-the-law agrarian by-which as they think you-are-tested
leviter quo animo libertatis vestrae deminutionem ferre
lightly with-what mind of-liberty your the-diminution to-bear
possitis. Iubet enim tribunum plebis qui eam legem
you-can he-orders for the-tribune of-the-plebs who that law
tulerit creare xviros per tribus xvii, ut, quem
shall-have-carried to-create a-board-of-ten through tribes seventeen so-that whom
viiii tribus fecerint, is xvir sit.
nine tribes shall-have-made he a-member-of-the-ten be

17 Hic quaero quam ob causam initium rerum ac legum
here I-ask what on-account-of cause the-beginning of-measures and laws
suarum hinc duxerit ut populus Romanus suffragio privaretur.
his-own hence he-drew that the-people Roman of-the-vote should-be-deprived
Totiens legibus agrariis curatores constituti sunt iiiviri,
so-often by-laws agrarian commissioners appointed have-been boards-of-three
vviri, xviri; quaero a populari tribuno plebis ecquando
boards-of-five boards-of-ten I-ask of the-popular tribune of-the-plebs whether-ever
nisi per xxxv tribus creati sint. Etenim cum omnis
except through thirty-five tribes created they-were for-indeed when all
potestates, imperia, curationes ab universo populo Romano
powers commands commissions from the-whole people Roman
proficisci convenit, tum eas profecto maxime quae constituuntur
to-proceed it-is-fitting then those surely most which are-appointed

ad populi fructum aliquem et commodum, in quo et universi
for of-the-people profit some and advantage in which both all-together
deligant quem populo Romano maxime consulturum putent,
may-choose whom for-the-people Roman most going-to-take-thought they-think
et unus quisque studio et suffragio suo viam sibi ad
and each one by-zeal and vote his-own a-road for-himself to
beneficium impetrandum munire possit. Hoc tribuno plebis
a-favor being-obtained to-build can this to-the-tribune of-the-plebs
potissimum venit in mentem, populum Romanum universum
especially came into mind the-people Roman whole
privare suffragiis, paucas tribus non certa condicione iuris,
to-deprive of-votes a-few tribes not by-fixed condition of-right
sed sortis beneficio fortuito ad usurpandam libertatem vocare.
but of-lot by-favor chance for exercising liberty to-call
'Item,' inquit, 'eodemque modo,' capite altero, 'ut comitiis 18
likewise he-says and-in-the-same manner in-clause the-second as at-the-elections
pontificis maximi.' Ne hoc quidem vidit, maiores nostros
of-the-pontiff chief not this even he-has-seen ancestors our
tam fuisse popularis ut, quem per populum creari
so to-have-been popular that whom through the-people to-be-created
fas non erat propter religionem sacrorum, in eo
right not it-was on-account-of the-religion of-the-rites in him
tamen propter amplitudinem sacerdoti voluerint populo
still on-account-of the-grandeur of-the-priesthood they-wished to-the-people
supplicari. Atque hoc idem de ceteris sacerdotiis
to-be-supplicated and this same-thing about the-other priesthoods
Cn. Domitius, tribunus plebis, vir clarissimus, tulit,
Gnaeus Domitius tribune of-the-plebs a-man most-illustrious carried
quod populus per religionem sacerdotia mandare non poterat,
since the-people by religion priesthoods to-confer not could

ut minor pars populi vocaretur; ab ea parte qui
that the-smaller part of-the-people should-be-called by that part who
esset factus, is a conlegio cooptaretur.
should-have-been made he by the-college should-be-co-opted

19 Videte quid intersit inter Cn. Domitium, tribunum plebis,
see what differs between Gnaeus Domitius tribune of-the-plebs
hominem nobilissimum, et P. Rullum qui temptavit,
a-man most-noble and Publius Rullus who has-tried
ut opinor, patientiam vestram, cum se nobilem esse
as I-think patience your when himself noble to-be
diceret. Domitius, quod per caerimonias populi fieri non
he-said Domitius what by the-ceremonies of-the-people to-be-done not
poterat, ratione adsecutus est, ut id, quoad posset, quoad
could by-method attained has that it as-far-as he-could as-far-as
fas esset, quoad liceret, populi ad partis daret; hic,
right it-was as-far-as it-was-allowed of-the-people into the-parts he-gave this-man
quod populi semper proprium fuit, quod nemo imminuit,
what of-the-people always proper has-been which no-one has-lessened
nemo mutavit quin ei qui populo agros essent adsignaturi
no-one changed that those who to-the-people lands were going-to-assign
ante acciperent a populo beneficium quam darent, id
before should-receive from the-people a-favor than they-gave(-it) that
totum eripere vobis atque e manibus extorquere conatus
wholly to-snatch from-you and out-of your-hands to-wrest tried
est. Ille, quod dari populo nullo modo poterat, tamen
has he what to-be-given to-the-people in-no way could still
quodam modo dedit; hic, quod adimi nullo pacto
in-a-certain way gave this-man what to-be-taken-away in-no way
potest, tamen quadam ratione eripere conatur.
can still in-a-certain way to-snatch tries

Quaeret quispiam in tanta iniuria tantaque impudentia 20
will-ask someone in so-great injury and-so-great shamelessness
quid spectarit. Non defuit consilium; fides erga plebem
what he-aimed-at not was-lacking a-plan good-faith toward the-plebs
Romanam, Quirites, aequitas in vos libertatemque vestram
Roman citizens fairness toward you and-liberty your
vehementer defuit. Iubet enim comitia xviris habere
vehemently was-lacking he-orders for the-elections for-the-board-of-ten to-hold
creandis eum qui legem tulerit. Hoc dicam planius:
being-created him who the-law shall-have-carried this I-shall-say more-plainly
iubet Rullus, homo non cupidus neque appetens, habere
he-orders Rullus a-man not greedy nor grasping to-hold
comitia Rullum. Nondum reprehendo; video fecisse alios;
the-elections Rullus not-yet I-blame(-it) I-see to-have-done others
illud quod nemo fecit, de minore parte populi, quo
that which no-one has-done about the-smaller part of-the-people whither
pertineat videte. Habebit comitia, volet eos renuntiare
it-may-tend see he-will-hold the-elections he-will-wish those to-declare
quibus regia potestas hac lege quaeritur; universo populo
for-whom royal power by-this law is-sought to-the-whole people
neque ipse committit neque illi horum consiliorum
neither he-himself entrusts(-it) nor those of-these counsels
auctores committi recte putant posse.
the-authors to-be-entrusted rightly think to-be-able
Sortietur tribus idem Rullus. Homo felix educet quas 21
will-draw-lots-for the-tribes the-same Rullus a-man lucky he-will-draw-out what
volet tribus. Quos viiii tribus xviros fecerint ab
he-shall-wish tribes whom nine tribes as-board-of-ten shall-have-made by
eodem Rullo eductae, hos omnium rerum, ut iam ostendam,
the-same Rullus drawn-out these of-all things as now I-shall-show
dominos habebimus. Atque hi, ut grati ac memores benefici
as-masters we-shall-have and these that grateful and mindful of-the-favor

esse videantur, aliquid se viiii tribuum notis hominibus
to-be they-may-seem something themselves nine of-the-tribes known to-men
debere confitebuntur, reliquis vero vi et xx tribubus
to-owe will-confess to-the-remaining indeed six and twenty tribes
nihil erit quod non putent posse suo iure se
nothing will-there-be which not they-think to-be-able by-their-own right themselves
denegare. Quos tandem igitur xviros fieri volt?
to-refuse whom pray therefore as-board-of-ten to-be-made does-he-wish
Se primum. Qui licet? Leges enim sunt veteres
himself first how is-it-allowed laws for there-are old
neque eae consulares, si quid interesse hoc arbitramini,
nor those consular if anything to-matter this you-think
sed tribuniciae vobis maioribusque vestris vehementer gratae
but tribunician to-you and-to-ancestors your vehemently welcome
atque iucundae; Licinia est lex et altera Aebutia, quae
and pleasant Licinian is the-law and the-second Aebutian which
non modo eum qui tulerit de aliqua curatione ac
not only him who shall-have-carried(-it) about some commission and
potestate sed etiam conlegas eius, cognatos, adfinis
power but also the-colleagues his the-kinsmen relatives-by-marriage
excipit, ne eis ea potestas curatiove mandetur.
excepts lest to-them that power or-commission be-entrusted
22 Etenim si populo consulis, remove te a suspicione
for-indeed if for-the-people you-take-thought remove yourself from the-suspicion
alicuius tui commodi, fac fidem te nihil nisi populi
of-some your advantage make faith you nothing except of-the-people
utilitatem et fructum quaerere, sine ad alios potestatem, ad
the-usefulness and profit to-seek allow to others the-power to
te gratiam benefici tui pervenire. Nam hoc quidem vix est
you the-gratitude of-the-favor your to-come for this indeed scarcely is
liberi populi, vix vestrorum animorum ac magnificentiae.
of-a-free people scarcely of-your minds and magnificence

Quis legem tulit? Rullus. Quis maiorem partem populi
who the-law carried Rullus who the-greater part of-the-people
suffragiis prohibuit? Rullus. Quis comitiis praefuit,
from-the-votes barred Rullus who over-the-elections presided
quis tribus quas voluit vocavit nullo custode sortitus,
who the-tribes which he-wished called with-no guard having-drawn-lots
quis xviros quos voluit creavit? Idem Rullus. Quem
who the-board-of-ten whom he-wished created the-same Rullus whom
principem renuntiavit? Rullum. Vix me hercule servis
as-the-first did-he-declare Rullus scarcely so-help-me Hercules to-slaves
hoc eum suis, non modo vobis omnium gentium dominis
this him his-own not only to-you of-all peoples to-the-masters
probaturum arbitror. Optimae leges igitur hac lege sine ulla
going-to-commend I-think the-best laws therefore by-this law without any
exceptione tollentur; idem lege sibi sua curationem
exception will-be-removed the-same by-law for-himself his-own the-commission
petet, idem maiore parte populi suffragiis spoliata
will-seek the-same with-the-greater part of-the-people of-votes despoiled
comitia habebit, quos volet atque in eis se ipsum
the-elections will-hold whom he-will-wish and among them himself himself
renuntiabit, et videlicet conlegas suos ascriptores legis
will-declare and of-course colleagues his-own the-co-signers of-the-law
agrariae non repudiabit, a quibus ei locus primus in
agrarian not he-will-reject by whom to-him the-place first in
indice et in praescriptione legis concessus est; ceteri
the-index and in the-heading of-the-law conceded has-been the-other
fructus omnium rerum qui in spe legis huius positi
profits of-all things which in the-hope of-the-law this placed
sunt communi cautione atque aequa ex parte retinentur.
are by-common guarantee and equal in part are-retained

23 At videte hominis diligentiam, si aut Rullum illud cogitasse
but see of-the-man the-diligence if either Rullus that to-have-thought
aut si Rullo potuisse in mentem venire arbitramini.
or if to-Rullus to-have-been-able into mind to-come you-think
Viderunt ei qui haec machinabantur, si vobis ex omni
they-saw those who these-things contrived if to-you from all
populo deligendi potestas esset data, quaecumque res
the-people of-choosing the-power had-been given whatever matter
esset in qua fides, integritas, virtus, auctoritas quaereretur,
there-were in which faith integrity courage authority were-sought
vos eam sine dubitatione ad Cn. Pompeium principem
you it without doubt to Gnaeus Pompey as-the-chief
delaturos. Etenim quem unum ex cunctis delegissetis
going-to-confer for-indeed whom one out-of all you-had-chosen
ut eum omnibus omnium gentium bellis terra et mari
that him over-all of-all peoples wars on-land and sea
praeponeretis, certe in xviris faciendis sive fides
you-should-place certainly in the-board-of-ten being-made whether faith
haberetur sive honos, et committi huic optime et
were-regarded or honor both to-be-entrusted to-this-man best and
ornari hunc iustissime posse intellegebant.
to-be-honored this-man most-justly to-be-able they-understood

24 Itaque excipitur hac lege non adulescentia, non legitimum
and-so is-excepted by-this law not youth not lawful
aliquod impedimentum, non potestas, non magistratus ullus
some impediment not power not magistracy any
aliis negotiis ac legibus impeditus, reus denique
by-other business and laws hindered a-defendant finally
quo minus xvir fieri possit, non excipitur;
by-which less a-member-of-the-ten to-be-made he-can not is-excepted
Cn. Pompeius excipitur, ne cum P. Rullo — taceo
Gnaeus Pompey is-excepted lest with Publius Rullus I-am-silent

de ceteris — xvir fieri possit. Praesentem enim
about the-others a-member-of-the-ten to-be-made he-can present for
profiteri iubet, quod nulla alia in lege umquam fuit
to-declare-candidacy he-orders which in-no other in law ever has-been
ne in eis quidem magistratibus quorum certus ordo est,
not in those even magistracies of-which fixed the-order is
ne, si accepta lex esset, illum sibi conlegam ascriberetis
lest if received the-law had-been him to-himself as-colleague you-should-enroll
custodem ac vindicem cupiditatum. Hic, quoniam video
the-guardian and avenger of-(their)-desires here since I-see
vos hominis dignitate et contumelia legis esse commotos,
you of-the-man by-the-dignity and the-insult of-the-law to-be moved
renovabo illud quod initio dixi, regnum comparari,
I-shall-renew that which at-the-beginning I-said a-kingship to-be-procured
libertatem vestram hac lege funditus tolli.
liberty your by-this law utterly to-be-removed
An vos aliter existimabatis? cum ad omnia vestra pauci 25
or you otherwise did-you-think when on all your-things a-few
homines cupiditatis oculos adiecissent, non eos in primis
men of-greed the-eyes had-cast not them in first-things
id acturos ut ex omni custodia vestrae libertatis, ex
that going-to-do that from every guarding of-your liberty from
omni potestate, curatione, patrocinio vestrorum commodorum
every power commission patronage of-your advantages
Cn. Pompeius depelleretur? Viderunt et vident, si per
Gnaeus Pompey might-be-driven-away they-saw and see if through
imprudentiam vestram, neglegentiam meam legem incognitam
heedlessness your negligence my the-law unknown
acceperitis, fore uti postea cognitis insidiis, cum
you-shall-have-accepted going-to-be that afterward with-learned the-snares when
xviros creetis, tum vitiis omnibus et sceleribus
the-board-of-ten you-create then to-the-vices all and crimes

legis Cn. Pompei praesidium opponendum putetis.
of-the-law of-Gnaeus Pompey the-protection to-be-set-against you-may-think
Et hoc parvum argumentum vobis erit, a certis hominibus
and this small proof to-you will-be by certain men
dominationem potestatemque omnium rerum quaeri, cum
despotism and-power of-all things to-be-sought when
videatis eum quem custodem vestrae libertatis fore videant
you-see him whom the-guardian of-your liberty going-to-be they-see
expertem fieri dignitatis?
without-share to-be-made of-dignity

III · THE DECEMVIRS' POWERS

The decemvirs are confirmed by a curiate law that a praetor carries, so the people never vote on them, yet they hold the same right if it never passes, and no tribune may veto it. Their power is praetorian in name and royal in fact, set at five years and made lasting, with pullarii, clerks, heralds, and two hundred surveyors, and they may judge, buy, found colonies, and roam the world without appeal. They may sell everything the senate decreed for sale in the consulship of Marcus Tullius and Gnaeus Cornelius or later, with the city's public places and shrines and Mount Gaurus, and whatever outside Italy became public from the consulship of Sulla and Pompeius on.

26 Cognoscite nunc quae potestas xviris et quanta detur.
learn now what power to-the-board-of-ten and how-great is-given
Primum lege curiata xviros ornat. Iam hoc inauditum
first by-a-law curiate the-board-of-ten he-equips now this unheard-of
et plane novum, uti curiata lege magistratus detur qui nullis
and plainly new that by-a-curiate law a-magistracy be-given which at-no
comitiis ante sit datus. Eam legem ab eo praetore populi
elections before has-been given that law by that praetor of-the-people
Romani qui sit primus factus ferri iubet. At quo
Roman who shall-have first been-made to-be-carried he-orders but in-what

modo? Ut ei xviratum habeant quos plebs designaverit.
manner that those the-decemvirate may-hold whom the-plebs shall-have-designated
Oblitus est nullos a plebe designari. Et is orbem terrarum
forgotten he-has none by the-plebs to-be-designated and he the-circle of-the-earth
constringit novis legibus qui, quod in secundo capite scriptum
binds with-new laws who what in the-second clause written
est, non meminit in tertio? Atque hic perspicuum est quid
is not remembers in the-third and here clear it-is what
iuris a maioribus acceperitis, quid ab hoc tribuno plebis
of-right from your-ancestors you-received what by this tribune of-the-plebs
vobis relinquatur. Maiores de singulis magistratibus bis vos
to-you is-left ancestors about each magistracy twice you
sententiam ferre voluerunt. Nam cum centuriata lex censoribus
a-vote to-cast wished for when a-centuriate law for-the-censors
ferebatur, cum curiata ceteris patriciis magistratibus, tum
was-carried when a-curiate for-the-other patrician magistrates then
iterum de eisdem iudicabatur, ut esset reprehendendi
again about the-same-men there-was-judging that there-might-be of-reproving
potestas, si populum benefici sui paeniteret.
the-power if the-people of-favor its-own it-repented
Nunc, Quirites, prima illa comitia tenetis, centuriata et 27
now citizens first those elections you-hold the-centuriate and
tributa, curiata tantum auspiciorum causa remanserunt. Hic
the-tribal the-curiate only of-the-auspices for-the-sake have-remained this
autem tribunus plebis quia videbat potestatem neminem
however tribune of-the-plebs because he-saw power no-one
iniussu populi aut plebis posse habere, curiatis
without-the-order of-the-people or of-the-plebs to-be-able to-have by-the-curiate
eam comitiis quae vos non initis confirmavit, tributa quae
it elections which you not enter he-confirmed the-tribal which
vestra erant sustulit. Ita cum maiores binis comitiis voluerint
yours were he-removed so when ancestors by-two elections wished

vos de singulis magistratibus iudicare, hic homo popularis
you about each magistracy to-judge this man popular
ne unam quidem populo comitiorum potestatem reliquit.
not one even to-the-people of-elections power has-left
28 Sed videte hominis religionem et diligentiam. Vidit et
but see of-the-man the-scrupulousness and diligence he-saw and
perspexit sine curiata lege xviros potestatem habere non
perceived without a-curiate law the-board-of-ten power to-have not
posse, quoniam per viiii tribus essent constituti; iubet ferre
to-be-able since through nine tribes they-were appointed he-orders to-carry
de his legem curiatam; praetori imperat. Quam id ipsum
about them a-law curiate the-praetor he-commands how that very-thing
absurde, nihil ad me attinet. Iubet enim, qui primus sit
absurdly nothing to me it-concerns he-orders for whoever first shall-be
praetor factus, eum legem curiatam ferre; sin is ferre non
praetor made him the-law curiate to-carry but-if he to-carry not
possit, qui postremus sit, ut aut lusisse in tantis rebus aut
can who last be that either to-have-jested in such-great matters or
profecto nescio quid spectasse videatur. Verum hoc quod
surely I-know-not what to-have-aimed-at he-may-seem but this which
est aut ita perversum ut ridiculum, aut ita malitiosum ut
is either so perverse that ridiculous or so malicious that
obscurum sit, relinquamus; ad religionem hominis revertamur.
obscure it-be let-us-leave to the-scrupulousness of-the-man let-us-return
Videt sine lege curiata nihil agi per xviros posse.
he-sees without a-law curiate nothing to-be-done by the-board-of-ten to-be-able
29 Quid postea, si ea lata non erit? Attendite ingenium.
what afterward if it carried not shall-have-been attend-to his-ingenuity
'Tum ei xviri,' inquit, 'eodem iure sint quo qui
then those board-of-ten he-says with-the-same right let-them-be as those-who
optima lege.' Si hoc fieri potest ut in hac civitate quae
with-the-best law if this to-be-done can that in this state which

longe iure libertatis ceteris civitatibus antecellit quisquam
far in-the-right of-liberty the-other to-states surpasses anyone
nullis comitiis imperium aut potestatem adsequi possit,
with-no elections command or power to-attain can
quid attinet tertio capite legem curiatam ferre iubere,
what does-it-matter in-the-third clause a-law curiate to-carry to-order
cum quarto permittas ut sine lege curiata idem iuris
when in-the-fourth you-permit that without a-law curiate the-same right
habeant quod haberent, si optima lege a populo essent
they-have which they-would-have if by-the-best law by the-people they-had-been
creati? Reges constituuntur, non xviri, Quirites, itaque
created kings are-established not a-board-of-ten citizens and-so
ab his initiis fundamentisque nascuntur, ut non modo
from these beginnings and-foundations they-are-born that not only
cum magistratum gerere coeperint, sed etiam cum
when the-magistracy to-conduct they-shall-have-begun but also when
constituentur, omne vestrum ius, potestas libertasque tollatur.
they-are-appointed all your right power and-liberty be-removed
At videte quam diligenter retineat ius tribuniciae potestatis. 30
but see how diligently he-keeps the-right of-tribunician power
Consulibus legem curiatam ferentibus a tribunis plebis
with-the-consuls a-law curiate carrying by tribunes of-the-plebs
saepe est intercessum — neque tamen nos id querimur,
often it-has-been vetoed nor still we that complain
esse hanc tribunorum plebis potestatem; tantum modo, si
to-be this of-the-tribunes of-the-plebs power so-much only if
quis ea potestate temere est usus, furiosum existimamus—;
anyone that power rashly has used mad we-think
hic tribunus plebis legi curiatae quam praetor ferat
this tribune of-the-plebs from-the-law curiate which the-praetor may-carry
adimit intercedendi potestatem. Atque hoc cum in eo
takes-away of-vetoing the-power and this while in it

reprehendendum est quod per tribunum plebis tribunicia
to-be-blamed is that by a-tribune of-the-plebs the-tribunician
potestas minuitur, tum in eo deridendum quod consuli, si
power is-diminished so in it to-be-laughed-at that for-a-consul if
legem curiatam non habet, attingere rem militarem non
a-law curiate not he-has to-touch the-thing military not
licet, hic, cui vetat intercedi, ei potestatem, etiam
it-is-allowed this-man to-whom he-forbids a-veto for-him power even
si intercessum sit, tamen eandem constituit quam si lata
if vetoed it-has-been still the-same establishes as if carried
esset lex, ut non intellegam qua re aut hic vetet
had-been the-law so-that not I-may-understand by-which thing either he forbids
intercedere aut quemquam intercessurum putet, cum intercessio
to-veto or anyone going-to-veto he-thinks since the-veto
stultitiam intercessoris significatura sit, non rem impeditura.
the-folly of-the-vetoer going-to-signify be not the-thing going-to-hinder
31 Sint igitur xviri neque veris comitiis, hoc est, populi
let-there-be therefore a-board-of-ten neither by-true elections that is of-the-people
suffragiis, neque illis ad speciem atque ad usurpationem
by-the-votes nor by-those for show and for the-usage
vetustatis per xxx lictores auspiciorum causa adumbratis
of-antiquity through thirty lictors of-the-auspices for-the-sake shadowed
constituti. Videte nunc eos qui a vobis nihil potestatis
appointed see now them who from you nothing of-power
acceperint quanto maioribus ornamentis adficiat quam
shall-have-received with-how-much greater distinctions he-endows than
omnes nos adfecti sumus quibus vos amplissimas potestates
all we endowed have-been to-whom you the-most-ample powers
dedistis. Iubet auspicia coloniarum deducendarum causa
have-given he-orders auspices of-colonies to-be-settled for-the-sake
xviros habere pullariosque, ‘eodem iure,’ inquit, ‘quo
the-board-of-ten to-have and-chicken-keepers by-the-same right he-says by-which

habuerunt iiiviri lege Sempronia.' Audes etiam,
had the-board-of-three by-the-law Sempronian do-you-dare even
Rulle, mentionem facere legis Semproniae, nec te ea lex
Rullus mention to-make of-the-law Sempronian nor you that law
ipsa commonet iiiviros illos xxxv tribuum suffragio
itself reminds the-board-of-three those thirty-five of-tribes by-the-vote
creatos esse? Et cum tu a Ti. Gracchi aequitate
created to-have-been and when you from of-Tiberius Gracchus the-fairness
ac pudore longissime remotus sis, id quod dissimillima
and modesty most-far removed are that which by-a-most-unlike
ratione factum sit eodem iure putas esse oportere?
method done was by-the-same right do-you-think to-be it-behooves
Dat praeterea potestatem verbo praetoriam, re vera 32
he-gives besides power in-word praetorian in-thing true
regiam; definit in quinquennium, facit sempiternam;
royal he-limits(-it) to five-years he-makes(-it) everlasting
tantis enim confirmat opibus et copiis ut invitis
with-such-great for he-strengthens(-it) resources and forces that from-the-unwilling
eripi nullo modo possit. Deinde ornat apparitoribus,
to-be-snatched in-no way it-can then he-equips(-them) with-attendants
scribis, librariis, praeconibus, architectis, praeterea mulis,
clerks copyists heralds architects besides with-mules
tabernaculis, centunculis, supellectili; sumptum haurit ex
tents patch-blankets furniture the-expense he-draws from
aerario, suppeditat a sociis; finitores ex equestri loco
the-treasury he-supplies from the-allies surveyors from the-equestrian rank
ducentos, vicenos singulorum stipatores corporis constituit,
two-hundred twenty-each of-each guards of-the-body he-appoints
eosdem ministros et satellites potestatis. Formam adhuc
the-same the-agents and henchmen of-(their)-power the-form so-far
habetis, Quirites, et speciem ipsam tyrannorum; insignia
you-have citizens and the-appearance itself of-tyrants the-insignia

videtis potestatis, nondum ipsam potestatem. Dixerit enim
you-see of-power not-yet itself the-power may-say for
fortasse quispiam: 'quid me ista laedunt, scriba, lictor,
perhaps someone why me those-things hurt the-clerk the-lictor
praeco, pullarius?' Omnia sunt haec huius modi,
the-herald the-chicken-keeper all are these-things of-this kind
Quirites, ut, ea qui habeat sine vestris suffragiis, aut
citizens that them he-who may-have without your votes either
rex non ferendus aut privatus furiosus esse videatur.
a-king not to-be-borne or a-private-man mad to-be may-seem

33 Perspicite quanta potestas permittatur; non privatorum
perceive how-great a-power is-granted not of-private-men
insaniam, sed intolerantiam regum esse dicetis. Primum
the-insanity but the-insolence of-kings to-be you-will-say first
permittitur infinita potestas innumerabilis pecuniae conficiendae
is-granted boundless power of-countless money to-be-raised
vestris vectigalibus non fruendis, sed alienandis; deinde
your by-revenues not being-enjoyed but being-alienated then
orbis terrarum gentiumque omnium datur cognitio sine
of-the-circle of-the-earth and-of-peoples all is-given the-cognizance without
consilio, poena sine provocatione, animadversio sine auxilio.
council punishment without appeal chastisement without help

34 Iudicare per quinquennium vel de consulibus vel de
to-judge through five-years either about consuls or about
ipsis tribunis plebis poterunt; de illis interea nemo
the-very tribunes of-the-plebs they-will-be-able about them meanwhile no-one
iudicabit; magistratus eis petere licebit, causam dicere
will-judge magistracies for-them to-seek it-will-be-allowed a-case to-plead
non licebit; emere agros a quibus volent et quos
not it-will-be-allowed to-buy lands from whom they-shall-wish and which
volent quam volent magno poterunt; colonias
they-shall-wish as they-shall-wish at-a-high-price they-will-be-able colonies

deducere novas, renovare veteres, totam Italiam suis
to-settle new-ones to-renew old-ones whole Italy with-their-own
coloniis ut complere liceat permittitur; omnis provincias
colonies that to-fill it-be-allowed is-permitted all provinces
obeundi, liberos populos agris multandi, regnorum
of-visiting free peoples of-their-lands of-fining of-kingdoms
vendendorum summa potestas datur; cum velint, Romae
of-being-sold the-highest power is-given when they-wish at-Rome
esse, cum commodum sit, quacumque velint summo
to-be when convenient it-be wherever they-wish with-the-highest
cum imperio iudicioque rerum omnium vagari ut liceat
with command and-judgment of-things all to-roam that it-be-allowed
conceditur; interea dissolvant iudicia publica, e consiliis
is-conceded meanwhile they-may-dissolve the-courts public from the-panels
abducant quos velint, singuli de maximis rebus iudicent,
they-may-withdraw whom they-wish singly about the-greatest matters they-may-judge
quaestori permittant, finitorem mittant, ratum sit quod
to-a-quaestor they-may-delegate a-surveyor they-may-send valid let-it-be what
finitor uni illi a quo missus erit renuntiaverit.
the-surveyor to-the-one him by whom sent he-shall-have-been shall-have-reported
Verbum mihi deest, Quirites, cum ego hanc potestatem 35
a-word to-me is-lacking citizens when I this power
regiam appello, sed profecto maior est quaedam. Nullum
royal call but surely greater it-is a-certain-thing no
enim regnum fuit umquam quod non se, si minus iure
for kingdom has-been ever which not itself if less by-right
aliquo, at regionibus tamen certis contineret. Hoc vero
some at-least by-regions still fixed contained this indeed
infinitum est, quo et regna omnia et vestrum imperium,
boundless is in-which both kingdoms all and your empire
quod latissime patet, et ea quae partim libera a
which most-widely extends and those-things which partly free by

vobis, partim etiam ignorata vobis sunt, permissu legis
you partly even unknown to-you are by-the-permission of-the-law
continentur. Datur igitur eis primum ut liceat ea
are-contained it-is-given therefore to-them first that it-be-allowed those-things
vendere omnia de quibus vendendis senatus consulta facta
to-sell all about which being-sold of-the-senate decrees made
sunt M. Tullio Cn. Cornelio consulibus postve ea.
have-been with-Marcus Tullius Gnaeus Cornelius as-consuls or-after that
36 Cur hoc tam est obscurum atque caecum? Quid? ista
why this so is obscure and blind what those-things
omnia de quibus senatus censuit nominatim in lege
all about which the-senate decreed by-name in the-law
perscribi nonne potuerunt? Duae sunt huius obscuritatis
to-be-written-out surely could-they two are of-this obscurity
causae, Quirites, una pudoris, si quis pudor esse potest
the-causes citizens one of-shame if any shame be can
in tam insigni impudentia, altera sceleris. Nam neque
in so signal shamelessness the-other of-crime for neither
ea quae senatus vendenda censuit nominatim audet
those-things which the-senate to-be-sold decreed by-name he-dares
appellare; sunt enim loca publica urbis, sunt sacella quae
to-name they-are for places public of-the-city they-are shrines which
post restitutam tribuniciam potestatem nemo attigit, quae
since the-restored tribunician power no-one has-touched which
maiores in urbe partim ornamenta urbis, partim periculi
ancestors in the-city partly ornaments of-the-city partly of-danger
perfugia esse voluerunt. Haec lege tribunicia xviri
refuges to-be wished these by-a-law tribunician the-board-of-ten
vendent. Accedet eo mons Gaurus, accedent salicta
will-sell will-be-added to-that mount Gaurus will-be-added the-willow-beds
ad Minturnas, adiungetur etiam illa via vendibilis Herculanea
at Minturnae will-be-joined also that road salable Herculanean

multarum deliciarum et magnae pecuniae, permulta alia
of-many delights and of-great money very-many other-things
quae senatus propter angustias aerari vendenda censuit,
which the-senate on-account-of the-straits of-the-treasury to-be-sold decreed
consules propter invidiam non vendiderunt.
the-consuls on-account-of odium not sold
Verum haec fortasse propter pudorem in lege reticentur. 37
but these-things perhaps on-account-of shame in the-law are-kept-silent
Sed illud magis est credendum et pertimescendum quod
but that more is to-be-believed and to-be-feared that
audaciae xvirali corrumpendarum tabularum publicarum
to-the-audacity of-the-board-of-ten of-being-falsified of-records public
fingendorumque senatus consultorum, quae facta numquam
and-of-being-forged of-the-senate decrees which made never
sint, cum ex eo numero qui per eos annos consules fuerunt
were since from that number who through those years consuls were
multi mortui sint, magna potestas permittitur. Nisi forte
many dead are great power is-granted unless perhaps
nihil est aequum nos de eorum audacia suspicari quorum
nothing it-is fair us about their audacity to-suspect whose
cupiditati nimium angustus orbis terrarum esse videatur.
to-the-greed too narrow the-circle of-the-earth to-be seems
Habetis unum venditionis genus quod magnum videri 38
you-have one of-sale kind which great to-seem
vobis intellego; sed attendite animos ad ea quae
to-you I-understand but attend minds to those-things which
consequuntur; hunc quasi gradum quendam atque aditum ad
follow this as-if step a-certain and approach to
cetera factum intellegetis. ‘Qui agri, quae loca, aedificia.’
the-rest made you-will-understand what lands what places buildings
Quid est praeterea? Multa in mancipiis, in pecore, auro,
what is-there besides many-things in slaves in cattle gold

argento, ebore, veste, supellectili, ceteris rebus. Quid dicam?
silver ivory clothing furniture other things why shall-I-say
invidiosum putasse hoc fore, si omnia nominasset?
odious to-have-thought this going-to-be if all-things he-had-named
Non metuit invidiam. Quid ergo? Longum putavit et
not he-feared odium what therefore long he-thought(-it) and
timuit ne quid praeteriret; ascripsit 'aliudve quid,' qua
he-feared lest anything he-should-pass-over he-added or-other anything by-which
brevitate rem nullam esse exceptam videtis. Quicquid igitur
brevity thing none to-be excepted you-see whatever therefore
sit extra Italiam quod publicum populi Romani factum
be outside Italy which public of-the-people Roman made
sit L. Sulla Q. Pompeio consulibus aut postea,
has-been with-Lucius Sulla Quintus Pompeius as-consuls or afterward
id xviros iubet vendere.
that the-board-of-ten he-orders to-sell

IV · EGYPT AND THE PROVINCES

The decemvirs may call any place public and sell it, from the cities of Asia to the kingdom of Bithynia and Mytilene. Egypt and Alexandria, said to be left to Rome by a king's will, would fall to their judgment, and they could award the kingdom to Rome or to the king. Cicero has the clerk read out the auction of the people's revenues, from Sicily to the lands won by Servilius, Corinth, Carthage, and the royal lands of Mithridates in Pontus, which they would sell while Pompey is still at war there.

39 Hoc capite, Quirites, omnis gentis, nationes, provincias,
by-this clause citizens all peoples nations provinces
regna xvirum dicioni, iudicio potestatique permissa
kingdoms of-the-board-of-ten to-the-dominion judgment and-power handed-over

et condonata esse dico. Primum hoc quaero, ecqui
and given-away to-have-been I-say first this I-ask whether-any
tandem locus usquam sit quem non possint xviri
pray place anywhere be which not could the-board-of-ten
dicere publicum populi Romani esse factum. Nam
say public of-the-people Roman to-have-been made for
cum idem possit iudicare qui dixerit, quid est
since the-same-man can judge who has-said(-it) what is-there
quod non liceat ei dicere cui liceat eidem
that not be-allowed to-him to-say to-whom it-be-allowed the-same-man
iudicare? Commodum erit Pergamum, Smyrnam, Trallis,
to-judge convenient it-will-be Pergamum Smyrna Tralles
Ephesum, Miletum, Cyzicum, totam denique Asiam quae
Ephesus Miletus Cyzicus whole finally Asia which
post L. Sullam Q. Pompeium consules recuperata sit
after Lucius Sulla Quintus Pompeius as-consuls recovered has-been
populi Romani factam esse dicere;
of-the-people Roman made to-have-been to-say
utrum oratio ad eius rei disputationem deerit, an, cum 40
whether speech for of-that matter the-argument will-be-lacking or when
idem et disseret et iudicabit, impelli non poterit ut
the-same-man both shall-argue and shall-judge to-be-driven not he-will-be-able that
falsum iudicet? an, si condemnare Asiam nolet, terrorem
a-falsehood he-judge or if to-condemn Asia he-shall-not-wish the-terror
damnationis et minas non quanti volet aestimabit?
of-condemnation and threats not at-how-much he-wishes will-be-assess
Quid? Quod disputari contra nullo pacto potest, quod iam
what that to-be-argued against in-no way can what already
statutum a nobis est et iudicatum, quoniam hereditatem
decided by us is and judged since the-inheritance
iam crevimus, regnum Bithyniae, quod certe publicum
already we-have-entered-on the-kingdom of-Bithynia which certainly public

est populi Romani factum, num quid causae est quin
is of-the-people Roman made surely-not anything of-reason is-there why
omnis agros, urbis, stagna, portus, totam denique Bithyniam
all lands cities pools harbors whole finally Bithynia
xviri vendituri sint? Quid? Mytilenae, quae certe
the-board-of-ten going-to-sell be what Mytilene which certainly
vestrae, Quirites, belli lege ac victoriae iure factae
yours citizens of-war by-the-law and by-the-right of-victory made
sunt, urbs et natura ac situ et descriptione aedificiorum
have-been a-city both in-nature and site and in-the-layout of-its-buildings
et pulchritudine in primis nobilis, agri iucundi et
and beauty in first-things noble the-lands pleasant and
fertiles, nempe eodem capite inclusi continentur.
fertile surely in-the-same clause included are-contained

41 Quid? Alexandrea cunctaque Aegyptus ut occulte latet,
what Alexandria and-whole Egypt how secretly it-lies-hidden
ut recondita est, ut furtim tota xviris traditur!
how concealed it-is how stealthily wholly to-the-board-of-ten it-is-handed-over
Quis enim vestrum hoc ignorat, dici illud regnum
who for of-you this does-not-know to-be-said that kingdom
testamento regis Alexae populi Romani esse factum?
by-the-will of-king Alexas of-the-people Roman to-have-been made
Hic ego consul populi Romani non modo nihil iudico
here I consul of-the-people Roman not only nothing judge
sed ne quid sentiam quidem profero. Magna enim mihi
but not what I-feel even put-forward great for to-me
res non modo ad statuendum sed etiam ad dicendum
the-matter not only for deciding but also for speaking
videtur esse. Video qui testamentum factum esse
seems to-be I-see someone-who the-will made to-have-been
confirmet; auctoritatem senatus exstare hereditatis aditae
may-confirm the-authority of-the-senate to-stand of-the-inheritance entered

sentio tum cum Alexa mortuo nos tris legatos Tyrum
I-perceive then when with-Alexas dead we three envoys to-Tyre
misimus, qui ab illo pecuniam depositam recuperarent.
sent who from him the-money deposited should-recover
Haec L. Philippum saepe in senatu confirmasse memoria 42
these-things Lucius Philippus often in the-senate to-have-affirmed in-memory
teneo; eum qui regnum illud teneat hoc tempore neque
I-hold him who the-kingdom that holds at-this time neither
genere neque animo regio esse inter omnis fere video
in-birth nor in-spirit royal to-be among all almost I-see
convenire. Dicitur contra nullum esse testamentum, non
to-be-agreed it-is-said on-the-other-side no to-be will not
oportere populum Romanum omnium regnorum appententem
to-behoove the-people Roman of-all kingdoms covetous
videri, demigraturos in illa loca nostros homines propter
to-seem going-to-migrate into those places our men on-account-of
agrorum bonitatem et omnium rerum copiam.
of-the-lands the-goodness and of-all things the-abundance
Hac tanta de re P. Rullus cum ceteris xviris 43
this so-great about matter Publius Rullus with the-other board-of-ten
conlegis suis iudicabit, et utrum iudicabit? Nam utrumque
colleagues his-own will-judge and which-way will-he-judge for each-way
ita magnum est ut nullo modo neque concedendum
so great is that in-no way neither to-be-conceded
neque ferendum sit. Volet esse popularis; populo
nor to-be-borne be he-will-wish to-be popular to-the-people
Romano adiudicabit. Ergo idem ex sua lege
Roman he-will-award(-it) therefore the-same-man by his-own law
vendet Alexandream, vendet Aegyptum, urbis copiosissimae
will-sell Alexandria will-sell Egypt of-the-city most-well-stocked
pulcherrimorumque agrorum iudex, arbiter, dominus, rex
and-of-the-most-beautiful lands the-judge the-arbiter the-master the-king

denique opulentissimi regni reperietur. Non sumet sibi
finally of-a-most-opulent kingdom he-will-be-found not he-will-take for-himself
tantum, non appetet; iudicabit Alexandream regis esse, a
so-much not he-will-aim he-will-judge Alexandria the-king's to-be from
populo Romano abiudicabit.
the-people Roman he-will-adjudge(-it)-away

44 Primum cur de populi Romani hereditate xviri
first why about of-the-people Roman the-inheritance the-board-of-ten
iudicent, cum vos volueritis de privatis hereditatibus
should-judge when you have-wished about private inheritances
cviros iudicare? Deinde quis aget causam populi
the-hundred-men to-judge then who will-plead the-cause of-the-people
Romani? ubi res ista agetur? qui sunt isti xviri,
Roman where the-matter that shall-be-pleaded who are those board-of-ten
quos prospiciamus regnum Alexandreae Ptolomaeo gratis
whom we-may-foresee the-kingdom of-Alexandria to-Ptolemy free
adiudicaturos? Quod si Alexandrea petebatur, cur non eosdem
going-to-award but if Alexandria was-sought why not the-same
cursus hoc tempore quos L. Cotta L. Torquato
courses at-this time which with-Lucius Cotta Lucius Torquatus
consulibus cucurrerunt? cur non aperte ut antea, cur non
as-consuls they-ran why not openly as before why not
item ut tum, derecto et palam regionem illam petiverunt?
likewise as then directly and openly region that did-they-seek
an qui etesiis, qui per cursum rectum regnum
or those-who with-the-Etesian-winds who by course straight the-kingdom
tenere non potuerunt, nunc caecis tenebris et caligine
to-hold not could now by-blind darkness and mist
se Alexandream perventuros arbitrati sunt?
themselves to-Alexandria going-to-arrive thought have

Atque illud circumspicite vestris mentibus una, Quirites. 45
and that look-around-at with-your minds together citizens
Legatos nostros, homines auctoritate tenui, qui rerum
envoys our men of-authority slight who of-affairs
privatarum causa legationes liberas obeunt, tamen exterae
private for-the-sake embassies free undertake still foreign
nationes ferre vix possunt. Grave est enim nomen imperi
nations to-bear scarcely can heavy is for the-name of-empire
atque id etiam in levi persona pertimescitur, propterea
and it even in a-light person is-feared on-that-account
quod vestro, non suo nomine, cum hinc egressi sunt,
because your not their-own name when hence gone-out they-have
abutuntur. Quid censetis, cum isti xviri cum imperio,
they-abuse what do-you-think when those board-of-ten with command
cum fascibus, cum illa delecta finitorum iuventute per
with fasces with that picked of-surveyors youth through
totum orbem terrarum vagabuntur, quo tandem animo,
the-whole circle of-the-earth shall-roam with-what pray spirit
quo metu, quo periculo miseras nationes futuras?
with-what fear with-what danger the-wretched nations going-to-be
Est in imperio terror; patientur. Est in adventu sumptus; 46
there-is in command terror they-will-endure(-it) there-is in arrival expense
ferent. Imperabitur aliquid muneris; non recusabunt.
they-will-bear(-it) there-will-be-commanded some contribution not they-will-refuse
Illud vero quantum est, Quirites, cum is xvir qui
that indeed how-great it-is citizens when that member-of-the-ten who
aliquam in urbem aut exspectatus ut hospes aut repente ut
some into city either awaited as a-guest or suddenly as
dominus venerit illum ipsum locum quo venerit,
a-master shall-have-come that very place to-which he-shall-have-come
illam ipsam sedem hospitalem in quam erit deductus
that very seat hospitable into which he-shall-have-been brought

publicam populi Romani esse dicet! At quanta calamitas
public of-the-people Roman to-be shall-say but how-great a-calamity
populi, si dixerit, quantus ipsi quaestus, si
of-the-people if he-shall-have-said(-so) how-great for-himself gain if
negarit! Atque idem qui haec appetunt queri
he-shall-have-denied(-it) and the-same-men who these-things aim-at to-complain
non numquam solent omnis terras Cn. Pompeio atque omnia
not never are-wont all lands to-Gnaeus Pompey and all
maria esse permissa. Simile vero est multa committi
seas to-have-been entrusted like indeed it-is many-things to-be-entrusted
et condonari omnia, labori et negotio praeponi an praedae
and to-be-given-away all-things to-labor and business to-be-preferred or to-plunder
et quaestui, mitti ad socios liberandos an ad opprimendos!
and gain to-be-sent for the-allies being-freed or for being-oppressed
Denique, si qui est honos singularis, nihilne interest, utrum
finally if any is honor singular does-nothing differ whether
populus Romanus eum cui velit deferat, an is impudenter
the-people Roman it to-whom it-wishes may-confer or it shamelessly
populo Romano per legis fraudem surripiatur?
from-the-people Roman by of-a-law fraud be-stolen
47 Intellexistis quot res et quantas xviri legis
you-have-understood how-many things and how-great the-board-of-ten by-the-law's
permissu venditurі sint. Non est satis. Cum se
permission going-to-sell be not it-is enough when themselves
sociorum, cum exterarum nationum, cum regum sanguine
of-the-allies when of-foreign nations when of-kings with-blood
implerint, incidant nervos populi Romani, adhibeant
they-shall-have-filled let-them-cut the-sinews of-the-people Roman let-them-lay
manus vectigalibus vestris, inrumpant in aerarium. Sequitur
hands on-revenues your let-them-burst into the-treasury follows
enim caput, quo capite ne permittit quidem, si forte
for a-clause by-which clause not he-permits even if perhaps

desit pecunia, quae tanta ex superioribus recipi potest
be-lacking money which so-much from the-earlier to-be-received can
ut deesse non debeat, sed plane, quasi ea res vobis
that to-be-lacking not it-ought but plainly as-if that thing for-you
saluti futura sit, ita cogit atque imperat ut xviri
for-safety going-to-be be so he-compels and commands that the-board-of-ten
vestra vectigalia vendant nominatim, Quirites.
your revenues should-sell by-name citizens
Eam tu mihi ex ordine recita de legis scripto populi 48
it you to-me in order read from of-the-law the-text of-the-people
Romani auctionem; quam me hercule ego praeconi huic
Roman the-auction which so-help-me Hercules I for-the-herald this
ipsi luctuosam et acerbam praedicationem futuram puto. —
himself a-mournful and bitter proclamation going-to-be think
Auctio — Ut in suis rebus, ita in re publica luxuriosus
the-auction as in his-own affairs so in the-thing public extravagant
est nepos, qui prius silvas vendat quam vineas!
is the-spendthrift who sooner the-forests should-sell than the-vineyards
Italiam percensuisti; perge in Siciliam. — Nihil est in
Italy you-have-surveyed go-on into Sicily nothing is-there in
hac provincia quod aut in oppidis aut in agris maiores
this province which either in towns or in lands ancestors
nostri proprium nobis reliquerint quin id venire iubeat.
our as-property to-us left that-not that to-be-sold he-may-order
Quod partum recenti victoria maiores vobis in sociorum 49
what won by-recent victory ancestors to-you in of-the-allies
urbibus ac finibus et vinculum pacis et monumentum belli
cities and territories both as-a-bond of-peace and as-a-memorial of-war
reliquerunt, id vos ab illis acceptum hoc auctore vendetis?
left that you from them received with-this-man as-sponsor will-sell
Hic mihi parumper mentis vestras, Quirites, commovere
here to-me for-a-little minds your citizens to-stir

videor, dum patefacio vobis quas isti penitus abstrusas insidias
I-seem while I-lay-open to-you what those deeply hidden snares
se posuisse arbitrantur contra Cn. Pompei dignitatem.
themselves to-have-laid think against of-Gnaeus Pompey the-dignity
Et mihi, quaeso, ignoscite, si appello talem virum saepius.
and to-me I-beg pardon if I-name such a-man rather-often
Vos mihi praetori biennio ante, Quirites, hoc eodem in loco
you on-me as-praetor two-years before citizens this same in place
personam hanc imposuistis ut, quibuscumque rebus possem,
part this imposed that by-whatever means I-could
illius absentis dignitatem vobiscum una tuerer. Feci
his absent dignity with-you together I-might-protect I-have-done
adhuc quae potui, neque familiaritate illius adductus nec
so-far what I-could neither by-intimacy his led nor
spe honoris atque amplissimae dignitatis, quam ego, etsi
by-hope of-honor and most-ample dignity which I although
libente illo, tamen absente illo per vos consecutus sum.
with-glad him still with-absent him through you attained I-have
50 Quam ob rem, cum intellegam totam hanc fere legem
which on-account-of thing since I-understand whole this almost law
ad illius opes evertendas tamquam machinam comparari,
for his resources being-overturned like an-engine to-be-prepared
et resistam consiliis hominum et perficiam profecto,
both I-shall-resist to-the-plans of-men and I-shall-accomplish surely
quod ego video, ut id vos universi non solum videre verum
what I see that it you all not only to-see but
etiam tenere possitis. Iubet venire quae Attalensium, quae
also to-hold may-be-able he-orders to-be-sold what of-the-Attalenses what
Phaselitum, quae Olympenorum fuerint, agrumque Aperensem
of-the-Phaselites what of-the-Olympeni have-been and-the-land Aperensian
et Oroandicum et Gedusanum. Haec P. Servili imperio
and Oroandian and Gedusanian these by-Publius Servilius' command

et victoria, clarissimi viri, vestra facta sunt. Adiungit
and victory a-most-illustrious man yours made have-been he-adds
agros Bithyniae regios quibus nunc publicani fruuntur;
the-lands of-Bithynia royal which now the-tax-farmers enjoy
deinde Attalicos agros in Cherroneso, in Macedonia qui
then the-Attalid lands in the-Chersonese in Macedonia which
regis Philippi sive Persae fuerunt, qui item a censoribus
of-king Philip or Perseus were which likewise by the-censors
locati sunt et certissimum vectigal adferunt.
let have-been and a-most-certain revenue bring
Ascribit eidem auctioni Corinthios agros opimos et fertilis, et 51
he-adds to-the-same auction the-Corinthian lands rich and fertile and
Cyrenensis qui Apionis fuerunt, et agros in Hispania propter
the-Cyrenean which Apion's were and the-lands in Spain near
Carthaginem novam et in Africa ipsam veterem Carthaginem
Carthage New and in Africa itself old Carthage
vendit, quam videlicet P. Africanus non propter religionem
he-sells which of-course Publius Africanus not on-account-of the-religion
sedum illarum ac vetustatis de consili sententia consecravit,
of-seats those and of-antiquity by of-his-council the-opinion consecrated
nec ut ipse locus eorum qui cum hac urbe de imperio
nor so-that itself the-place of-those who with this city about empire
decertarunt vestigia calamitatis ostenderet, sed non fuit tam
contended the-traces of-calamity should-show but not he-was so
diligens quam est Rullus, aut fortasse emptorem ei loco
diligent as is Rullus or perhaps a-buyer that for-the-place
reperire non potuit. Verum inter hos agros captos veteribus
to-find not could but among these lands captured in-old
bellis virtute summorum imperatorum adiungit regios
wars by-the-courage of-the-greatest commanders he-adds the-royal

agros Mithridatis, qui in Paphlagonia, qui in Ponto, qui in
lands of-Mithridates which in Paphlagonia which in Pontus which in
Cappadocia fuerunt, ut eos xviri vendant. Itane vero?
Cappadocia were that them the-board-of-ten may-sell is-it-so indeed
52 Non legibus datis, non auditis verbis imperatoris, nondum
not with-laws given not with-heard the-words of-the-commander not-yet
denique bello confecto, cum rex Mithridates amisso exercitu
finally with-the-war finished when king Mithridates with-lost (his)-army
regno expulsus tamen in ultimis terris aliquid etiam nunc
from-his-kingdom expelled still in the-farthest lands something even now
moliatur atque ab invicta Cn. Pompei manu Maeote
is-plotting and from the-unconquered of-Gnaeus Pompey hand by-the-Maeotis
et illis paludibus et itinerum angustiis atque altitudine
and by-those marshes and of-the-routes by-the-narrowness and the-height
montium defendatur, cum imperator in bello versetur, in
of-the-mountains is-defended when the-commander in war is-engaged in
locis autem illis etiam nunc belli nomen reliquum sit, eos
places however those even now of-war the-name remaining be those
agros quorum adhuc penes Cn. Pompeium omne iudicium et
lands of-which so-far with Gnaeus Pompey all judgment and
potestas more maiorum debet esse xviri vendent?
power by-the-custom of-our-ancestors ought to-be the-board-of-ten will-sell

Cicero pictures Rullus auctioning Pompey's conquests in Pontus under the eyes of Pompey's army, and shows that the decemvirs alone, with no hearing and no council, would judge what land is public, sparing only those with influence on Rullus or a king's treaty. The bill makes every commander but Pompey declare his spoils to the decemvirs, an exemption Cicero reads as fear, not honor. The ancestors, he says, never entrusted such power to any one man, even their best.

Et, credo, P. Rullus — is enim sic se gerit ut 53
and I-suppose Publius Rullus he for so himself conducts that
sibi iam xvir designatus esse videatur — ad eam
to-himself already member-of-the-ten designate to-be he-seems to that
auctionem potissimum proficiscetur! Is videlicet, ante quam
auction especially will-set-out he of-course before than
veniat in Pontum, litteras ad Cn. Pompeium mittet, quarum
he-comes into Pontus a-letter to Gnaeus Pompey will-send of-which
ego iam exemplum ab istis compositum esse arbitror:
I already a-copy by those-men composed to-be think
'P. Servilius Rullus tribunus plebis xvir s.
Publius Servilius Rullus tribune of-the-plebs member-of-the-ten greeting
d. Cn. Pompeio Cn. f.' Non credo ascripturum esse
says to-Gnaeus Pompey of-Gnaeus son not I-believe going-to-add to-be
'Magno,' non enim videtur id quod imminuere lege conatur
the-Great not for he-seems that which to-lessen by-law he-tries
concessurus verbo. 'Te volo curare ut mihi Sinopae praesto
going-to-concede in-word you I-wish to-see-to-it that to-me at-Sinope ready
sis auxiliumque adducas, dum eos agros quos tu tuo labore
you-be and-help you-bring while those lands which you by-your labor
cepisti ego mea lege vendam.' An Pompeium non adhibebit? in
took I by-my law may-sell or Pompey not will-be-invite in
eius provincia vendet manubias imperatoris? Ponite ante oculos
of-him the-province will-he-sell the-spoils of-the-commander set before eyes

vobis Rullum in Ponto inter nostra atque hostium castra
to-you Rullus in Pontus between our and of-the-enemies camps
hasta posita cum suis formosis finitoribus auctionantem.
with-the-spear set-up with his-own handsome surveyors auctioning
54 Neque in hoc solum inest contumelia, quae vehementer et
nor in this alone is-there an-insult which vehemently both
insignis est et nova, ut ulla res parta bello nondum legibus
signal is and new that any thing won in-war not-yet with-laws
datis etiam tum imperatore bellum administrante non
given even then with-the-commander the-war administering not
modo venierit verum locata sit. Plus spectant homines
only should-have-been-sold but leased be more aim-at the-men
certe quam contumeliam; sperant, si concessum sit inimicis
certainly than insult they-hope if granted it-be to-the-enemies
Cn. Pompei cum imperio, cum iudicio omnium rerum,
of-Gnaeus Pompey with command with judgment of-all things
cum infinita potestate, cum innumerabili pecunia non solum
with boundless power with countless money not only
illis in locis vagari verum etiam ad ipsius exercitum pervenire,
those in places to-roam but also to his-own army to-arrive
aliquid illi insidiarum fieri, aliquid de eius exercitu,
something for-him of-snares to-be-done something from his army
copiis, gloria detrahi posse. Putant, si quam spem in
forces glory to-be-taken-away to-be-able they-think if any hope in
Cn. Pompeio exercitus habeat aut agrorum aut aliorum
Gnaeus Pompey the-army have either of-lands or of-other
commodorum, hanc non habiturum, cum viderit earum
advantages this not going-to-have when it-shall-have-seen of-those
rerum omnium potestatem ad xviros esse translatam.
things all the-power to the-board-of-ten to-have-been transferred

Patior non moleste tam stultos esse qui haec sperent, 55
I-bear not annoyingly so foolish to-be those-who these-things hope
tam impudentis qui conentur; illud queror, tam me ab
so shameless those-who try(-them) this I-complain so me by
eis esse contemptum ut haec portenta me consule
them to-have-been despised that these portents with-me as-consul
potissimum cogitarent. Atque in omnibus his agris
especially they-should-contrive and in all these lands
aedificiisque vendendis permittitur xviris ut vendant
and-buildings being-sold it-is-permitted to-the-board-of-ten that they-may-sell
'quibuscumque in locis.' O perturbatam rationem, o libidinem
whatever in places O disordered method O lust
effrenatam, o consilia dissoluta atque perdita! Vectigalia
unbridled O counsels dissolute and abandoned revenues
locare nusquam licet nisi in hac urbe, hoc ex loco,
to-let nowhere it-is-allowed except in this city this from place
hac vestrum frequentia. Venire nostras res proprias et
with-this of-you crowd to-be-sold our properties own and
in perpetuum a nobis abalienari in Paphlagoniae tenebris
for ever from us to-be-alienated in of-Paphlagonia the-darkness
atque in Cappadociae solitudine licebit?
and in of-Cappadocia the-solitude will-it-be-allowed
L. Sulla cum bona indemnatorum civium funesta illa 56
Lucius Sulla when the-goods of-uncondemned citizens deadly that
auctione sua venderet et se praedam suam diceret vendere,
at-auction his-own he-was-selling and himself booty his-own he-said to-sell
tamen ex hoc loco vendidit nec, quorum oculos offendebat,
still from this place he-sold nor of-those-whose eyes he-was-offending
eorum ipsorum conspectum fugere ausus est; xviri
of-their very sight to-shun dared he-has the-board-of-ten
vestra vectigalia non modo non vobis, Quirites, arbitris sed
your revenues not only not with-you citizens as-arbiters but

ne praecone quidem publico teste vendent? Sequitur 'omnis
not with-a-herald even public as-witness will-sell there-follows all
agros extra Italiam' infinito ex tempore, non, ut antea, ab
lands outside Italy an-unlimited from time not as before from
Sulla et Pompeio consulibus. Cognitio xvirum, privatus
Sulla and Pompey as-consuls the-cognizance of-the-board-of-ten private
sit an publicus; eique agro pergrande vectigal imponitur.
be-it or public and-on-that land a-very-large revenue is-imposed
57 Hoc quantum iudicium, quam intolerandum, quam regium
this how-great a-judgment how intolerable how royal
sit, quem praeterit, posse quibuscumque locis velint nulla
it-is whom does-it-escape to-be-able in-whatever places they-wish with-no
disceptatione, nullo consilio privata publicare, publica
argument with-no council private-things to-make-public public-things
liberare? Excipitur hoc capite ager in Sicilia Recentoricus;
to-free is-excepted in-this clause the-land in Sicily Recentorican
quem ego excipi et propter hominum necessitudinem et
which I to-be-excepted both on-account-of of-the-men the-connection and
propter rei aequitatem, Quirites, ipse vehementer gaudeo.
on-account-of of-the-thing the-fairness citizens myself vehemently rejoice
Sed quae est haec impudentia! Qui agrum Recentoricum
but what is this shamelessness who the-land Recentorican
possident, vetustate possessionis se, non iure, misericordia
possess by-the-antiquity of-possession themselves not by-right by-the-pity
senatus, non agri condicione defendunt. Nam illum
of-the-senate not of-the-land by-the-condition defend for that
agrum publicum esse fatentur; se moveri possessionibus,
land public to-be they-confess themselves to-be-moved from-possessions
antiquissimis sedibus, ac dis penatibus negant oportere.
most-ancient from-seats and from-the-gods household they-deny it-to-behoove
Ac, si est privatus ager Recentoricus, quid eum excipis? sin
and if is private the-land Recentorican why it do-you-except but-if

autem publicus, quae est ista aequitas ceteros, etiam si privati
however public what is that fairness others even if private
sint, permittere ut publici iudicentur, hunc excipere nominatim
they-be to-allow that public they-be-judged this-one to-except by-name
qui publicum se esse fateatur? Ergo eorum ager excipitur
which public itself to-be confesses therefore of-those the-land is-excepted
qui apud Rullum aliqua ratione valuerunt, ceteri agri omnes
who with Rullus by-some means availed the-other lands all
qui ubique sunt sine ullo dilectu, sine populi Romani
which anywhere are without any distinction without of-the-people Roman
notione, sine iudicio senatus xviris addicentur?
cognizance without judgment of-the-senate to-the-board-of-ten will-be-knocked-down
Atque etiam est alia superiore capite quo omnia veneunt 58
and also there-is another in-the-earlier clause by-which all-things are-sold
quaestuosa exceptio, quae teget eos agros de quibus
gainful exception which will-cover those lands about which
foedere cautum est. Audivit hanc rem non a me, sed ab
by-treaty provided it-is be-heard this matter not by me but by
aliis agitari saepe in senatu, non numquam ex hoc loco,
others to-be-discussed often in the-senate not never from this place
possidere agros in ora maritima regem Hiempsalem quos
to-possess lands on the-coast maritime king Hiempsal which
P. Africanus populo Romano adiudicarit; ei tamen
Publius Africanus to-the-people Roman awarded to-him still
postea per C. Cottam consulem cautum esse foedere.
afterward through Gaius Cotta the-consul provided to-have-been by-treaty
Hoc quia vos foedus non iusseritis, veretur Hiempsal ut
this because you the-treaty not have-ordered fears Hiempsal that-not
satis firmum sit et ratum. Cuicuimodi est illud, tollitur
enough firm it-be and valid of-whatever-sort is that is-removed
vestrum iudicium, foedus totum accipitur, comprobatur. Quod
your judgment the-treaty whole is-accepted is-approved because

minuit auctionem xviralem laudo, quod regi amico
it-lessens the-auction of-the-board-of-ten I-praise(-it) because for-a-king friendly
cavet non reprehendo, quod non gratis fit indico.
it-provides not I-blame(-it) because not for-nothing it-is-done I-point-out(-it)
59 Volitat enim ante oculos istorum Iuba, regis filius,
flits for before the-eyes of-those-men Juba of-the-king the-son
adulescens non minus bene nummatus quam bene capillatus.
a-young-man not less well moneyed than well haired
Vix iam videtur locus esse qui tantos acervos pecuniae
scarcely now seems a-place to-be which such-great heaps of-money
capiat; auget, addit, accumulat. 'Aurum, argentum ex
may-hold he-increases adds accumulates gold silver from
praeda, ex manubiis, ex coronario ad quoscumque pervenit
booty from spoils from crown-gold to whomever has-come
neque relatum est in publicum neque in monumento
nor paid-in has-been into the-treasury nor on a-monument
consumptum,' id profiteri apud xviros et ad eos
spent that to-be-declared before the-board-of-ten and to them
referri iubet. Hoc capite etiam quaestionem de clarissimis
to-be-reported he-orders by-this clause also an-inquiry about most-illustrious
viris qui populi Romani bella gesserunt, iudiciumque de
men who of-the-people Roman wars have-waged and-a-judgment about
pecuniis residuis ad xviros translatum videtis. Horum
moneys remaining to the-board-of-ten transferred you-see of-these
erit nullum iudicium quantae cuiusque manubiae fuerint,
will-be no judgment how-great of-each the-spoils have-been
quid relatum, quid residuum sit; in posterum vero lex
what paid-in what remaining be for the-future indeed law
haec imperatoribus vestris constituitur; ut, quicumque de
this for-commanders your is-established that whoever from

provincia decesserit, apud eosdem xviros quantum habeat
a-province shall-have-departed before the-same board-of-ten how-much he-have
praedae, manubiarum, auri coronarii, profiteatur.
of-booty of-spoils of-gold crown he-should-declare
Hic tamen vir optimus eum quem amat excipit, 60
here still the-man best him whom he-loves excepts
Cn. Pompeium. Unde iste amor tam improvisus ac tam
Gnaeus Pompey whence that love so unforeseen and so
repentinus? Qui honore xviratus excluditur prope
sudden he-who from-the-honor of-the-decemvirate is-excluded almost
nominatim, cuius iudicium legumque datio, captorum
by-name whose judgment and-of-laws the-giving of-the-captured
agrorum ipsius virtute cognitio tollitur, cuius non in
lands by-his-own courage the-cognizance is-removed whose not into
provinciam, sed in ipsa castra xviri cum imperio,
province but into the-very camp the-board-of-ten with command
infinita pecunia, maxima potestate et iudicio rerum omnium
boundless money the-greatest power and judgment of-things all
mittuntur, cui ius imperatorium, quod semper omnibus
are-sent from-whom the-right of-a-commander which always for-all
imperatoribus est conservatum, soli eripitur, is excipitur
commanders has-been preserved alone is-snatched he is-excepted
unus ne manubias referre iubeatur? Utrum tandem hoc
alone that-not the-spoils to-report he-be-ordered whether pray by-this
capite honos haberi homini, an invidia quaeri videtur?
clause honor to-be-paid to-the-man or envy to-be-sought seems
Remittit hoc Rullo Cn. Pompeius; beneficio isto legis, 61
gives-up this to-Rullus Gnaeus Pompey the-favor that of-the-law
benignitate xvirali nihil utitur. Nam si est aequum
the-kindness of-the-board-of-ten nothing he-uses for if it-is fair
praedam ac manubias suas imperatores non in monumenta
the-booty and spoils their-own commanders not on monuments

deorum immortalium neque in urbis ornamenta conferre,
of-the-gods immortal nor on of-the-city ornaments to-spend
sed ad xviros tamquam ad dominos reportare, nihil
but to the-board-of-ten as-if to masters to-bring-back nothing
sibi appetit praecipui Pompeius, nihil; volt se in
for-himself seeks special Pompey nothing wishes himself in
communi atque in eodem quo ceteri iure versari. Sin est
common and in the-same in-which the-others right to-move but-if it-is
iniquum, Quirites, si turpe, si intolerandum hos xviros
unfair citizens if shameful if intolerable these board-of-ten
portitores omnibus omnium pecuniis constitui, qui non
as-customs-officers for-all of-all moneys to-be-appointed who not
modo reges atque exterarum nationum homines sed etiam
only kings and of-foreign nations the-men but also
imperatores vestros excutiant, non mihi videntur honoris
commanders your may-shake-out not to-me they-seem of-honor
causa excipere Pompeium, sed metuere ne ille eandem
for-the-sake to-except Pompey but to-fear lest he the-same
contumeliam quam ceteri ferre non possit.
insult as the-others to-bear not could

62 Pompeius autem cum hoc animo sit ut, quicquid
Pompey however since with-this mind he-is that whatever
vobis placeat, sibi ferendum putet, quod vos ferre non
to-you may-please to-himself to-be-borne he-thinks what you to-bear not
poteritis, id profecto perficiet ne diutius inviti ferre
shall-be-able that surely he-will-bring-about that-not longer unwilling to-bear
cogamini. Verum tamen cavet ut, si qua pecunia post
you-be-compelled but still he-provides that if any money after
nos consules ex novis vectigalibus recipiatur, ea xviri
us as-consuls from new revenues be-received that the-board-of-ten
utantur. Nova porro vectigalia videt ea fore quae Pompeius
may-use new further revenues he-sees those going-to-be which Pompey

adiunxerit. Ita remissis manubiis vectigalibus eius virtute
shall-have-added so with-given-up the-spoils the-revenues by-his courage
partis se frui putat oportere. Parta sit pecunia,
won themselves to-enjoy he-thinks it-to-behoove won let-there-be money
Quirites, xviris tanta quanta sit in terris, nihil
citizens for-the-board-of-ten as-great as-great-as be in the-lands nothing
praetermissum sit, omnes urbes, agri, regna denique, postremo
passed-over be all cities lands kingdoms finally lastly
etiam vectigalia vestra venierint, accesserint in cumulum
even revenues your shall-have-been-sold let-be-added to the-heap
manubiae vestrorum imperatorum; quantae et quam immanes
the-spoils of-your commanders how-great and how monstrous
divitiae xviris in tantis auctionibus, tot iudiciis,
riches for-the-board-of-ten in so-great auctions so-many judgments
tam infinita potestate rerum omnium quaerantur videtis.
so boundless a-power of-things all be-sought you-see
Cognoscite nunc alios immensos atque intolerabilis quaestus, 63
learn now other immense and intolerable gains
ut intellegatis ad certorum hominum importunam avaritiam
that you-may-understand for of-certain men the-savage avarice
hoc populare legis agrariae nomen esse quaesitum.
this popular of-a-law agrarian name to-have-been sought
Hac pecunia iubet agros emi quo deducamini.
with-this money he-orders lands to-be-bought whither you-may-be-settled
Non consuevi homines appellare asperius, Quirites, nisi
not I-am-wont men to-address too-harshly citizens except
lacessitus. Vellem fieri posset ut a me sine contumelia
provoked I-would-wish to-be-done it-could that by me without insult
nominarentur ei qui se xviros sperant futuros; iam
were-named those who themselves board-of-ten hope going-to-be now

videretis quibus hominibus omnium rerum et vendendarum
you-would-see to-what men of-all things both of-being-sold
et emendarum potestatem permitteretis.
and of-being-bought the-power you-would-permit
64 Sed quod ego nondum statuo mihi esse dicendum, vos
but what I not-yet decide to-me to-be to-be-said you
tamen id potestis cum animis vestris cogitare; unum hoc
still that can with minds your consider one this
certe videor mihi verissime posse dicere: tum cum haberet
certainly I-seem to-myself most-truly to-be-able to-say then when had
haec res publica Luscinos, Calatinos, Acidinos, homines
this thing public Luscini Calatini Acidini men
non solum honoribus populi rebusque gestis verum etiam
not only by-the-honors of-the-people and-by-things done but also
patientia paupertatis ornatos, et tum cum erant Catones,
by-the-endurance of-poverty distinguished and then when there-were Catones
Phili, Laelii, quorum sapientiam temperantiamque in publicis
Phili Laelii whose wisdom and-self-control in public
privatisque, forensibus domesticisque rebus perspexeratis, tamen
and-private forensic and-domestic affairs you-had-perceived still
huiusce modi res commissa nemini est ut idem
of-this kind a-thing entrusted to-no-one has-been that the-same-man
iudicaret et venderet et hoc faceret per quinquennium
should-judge and sell and this should-do through five-years
toto in orbe terrarum idemque agros vectigalis populi
whole in the-circle of-the-earth and-the-same the-lands revenue-paying of-the-people
Romani abalienaret et, cum summam tantae pecuniae nullo
Roman should-alienate and when the-sum of-so-great money with-no
teste sibi ipse ex sua voluntate fecisset, tum denique
witness for-himself he-himself by his-own will had-made then at-last
emeret a quibus vellet quod videretur.
should-buy from whom he-wished what seemed-good

The bill names no lands and buys only from willing sellers, so it enriches the holders of hated Sullan land and of barren, plague-ridden ground, Rullus's father-in-law among them, while the money stays with the decemvirs. Colonies could be planted wherever the decemvirs choose, even on the Janiculum, and their garrisons would hold Italy against the people's liberty. Cicero then turns to the Campanian land and the five thousand colonists the bill sends to Capua.

Committite vos nunc, Quirites, his hominibus haec 65
entrust you now citizens to-these men these-things
omnia quos odorari hunc xviratum suspicamini; reperietis
all whom to-be-sniffing-after this decemvirate you-suspect you-will-find
partem esse eorum quibus ad habendum, partem quibus ad
part to-be of-those to-whom for having part to-whom for
consumendum nihil satis esse videatur. Hic ego iam illud quod
spending nothing enough to-be seems here I now that which
expeditissimum est ne disputo quidem, Quirites, non esse hanc
most-ready is not I-argue even citizens not to-be this
nobis a maioribus relictam consuetudinem ut emantur agri
to-us by ancestors left custom that be-bought lands
a privatis quo plebes publice deducatur; omnibus legibus
from private-men whither the-plebs publicly may-be-settled by-all laws
agris publicis privatos esse deductos. Huiusce modi me
on-lands public private-men to-have-been settled of-this kind me
aliquid ab hoc horrido ac truce tribuno plebis exspectasse
something from this shaggy and fierce tribune of-the-plebs to-have-expected
confiteor; hanc vero emendi et vendendi quaestuosissimam
I-confess this indeed of-buying and selling most-gainful
ac turpissimam mercaturam alienam actione tribunicia,
and most-shameful trade foreign to-the-action tribunician
alienam dignitate populi Romani semper putavi.
foreign to-the-dignity of-the-people Roman always I-have-thought

66 Iubet agros emi. Primum quaero quos agros et quibus
he-orders lands to-be-bought first I-ask what lands and what
in locis? Nolo suspensam et incertam plebem Romanam
in places I-do-not-wish held-in-suspense and uncertain the-plebs Roman
obscura spe et caeca exspectatione pendere. Albanus ager est,
by-obscure hope and blind expectation to-hang the-Alban land is-there
Setinus, Privernas, Fundanus, Vescinus, Falernus, Literninus,
the-Setine the-Privernate the-Fundan the-Vescine the-Falernian the-Literne
Cumanus, Nucerinus. Audio. Ab alia porta Capenas,
the-Cuman the-Nucerine I-hear-you from another gate the-Capenate
Faliscus, Sabinus ager, Reatinus; ab alia Venafranus,
the-Faliscan the-Sabine land the-Reatine from another the-Venafran
Allifanus, Trebulanus. Habes tantam pecuniam qua hosce
the-Allifan the-Trebulan you-have so-much money with-which these
omnis agros et ceteros horum similis non modo emere
all lands and the-others of-these like not only to-buy
verum etiam coacervare possis; cur eos non definis neque
but even to-heap-up you-could why them not do-you-define nor
nominas, ut saltem deliberare plebes Romana possit quid
name that at-least deliberate the-plebs Roman may what
intersit sua, quid expediat, quantum tibi in emendis
may-concern it what may-be-expedient how-much to-you in being-bought
et in vendendis rebus committendum putet? 'Definio,'
and in being-sold things to-be-entrusted it-may-think I-define(-them)
inquit, 'Italiam.' Satis certa regio. Etenim quantulum interest
he-says Italy fairly certain a-region for-indeed how-little it-matters
utrum in Massici radices, an in Silam silvam deducamini?
whether to of-Massicus the-roots or to the-Sila forest you-be-settled
67 Age, non definis locum; quid? Naturam agri? 'Vero,' inquit,
come not you-define the-place what the-nature of-the-land yes he-says
'qui arari aut coli possit.' 'Qui possit arari,' inquit, 'aut
which to-be-plowed or tilled can which can to-be-plowed he-says or

coli,' non qui aratus aut cultus sit. Utrum haec lex est, an
tilled not which plowed or tilled has-been whether this a-law is or
tabula Veratianae auctionis? in qua scriptum fuisse aiunt:
the-placard of-the-Veratian auction in which written to-have-been they-say
'Iugera cc in quibus olivetum fieri potest, iugera
acres two-hundred on which an-olive-grove to-be-made can acres
ccc ubi institui vineae possunt.' Hoc tu emes ista
three-hundred where to-be-planted vines can this you will-buy with-that
innumerabili pecunia quod arari aut coli possit? Quod solum
countless money which to-be-plowed or tilled can what soil
tam exile et macrum est quod aratro perstringi non possit,
so thin and lean is which by-the-plow to-be-grazed not can
aut quod est tam asperum saxetum in quo agricolarum cultus
or which is so rough a-rock-field in which of-farmers the-tillage
non elaboret? 'Idcirco,' inquit, 'agros nominare non possum
not toil for-this-reason he-says lands to-name not I-can
quia tangam nullum ab invito.' Hoc, Quirites, multo est
because I-shall-touch none from an-unwilling-man this citizens much is
quaestuosius quam si ab invito sumeret; inibitur
more-gainful than if from an-unwilling-man he-took will-be-entered-into
enim ratio quaestus de vestra pecunia, et tum denique
for a-scheme of-gain with your money and then at-last
ager emetur cum idem expediet emptori et venditori.
the-land will-be-bought when the-same-thing shall-suit the-buyer and the-seller
Sed videte vim legis agrariae. Ne ei quidem qui agros 68
but see the-force of-the-law agrarian not those even who lands
publicos possident decedent de possessione, nisi erunt
public possess will-depart from possession unless they-shall-have-been
deducti optima condicione et pecunia maxima. Conversa
led-off on-the-best terms and with-money very-great reversed
ratio. Antea cum erat a tribuno plebis mentio
is-the-method before when there-had-been by a-tribune of-the-plebs mention

legis agrariae facta, continuo qui agros publicos aut qui
of-a-law agrarian made forthwith those-who lands public or who
possessiones invidiosas tenebant extimescebant; haec lex eos
possessions odious held were-terrified this law those
homines fortunis locupletat, invidia liberat. Quam multos
men in-fortunes enriches from-odium frees how many
enim, Quirites, existimatis esse qui latitudinem possessionum
for citizens do-you-think to-be who the-extent of-their-possessions
tueri, qui invidiam Sullanorum agrorum ferre non possint,
to-protect who the-odium of-the-Sullan lands to-bear not can
qui vendere cupiant, emptorem non reperiant, perdere iam
who to-sell desire a-buyer not find to-lose now
denique illos agros ratione aliqua velint? Qui paulo ante
finally those lands by-way some would-wish who a-little before
diem noctemque tribunicium nomen horrebant, vestram vim
day and-night the-tribunician name dreaded your force
metuebant, mentionem legis agrariae pertimescebant, ei nunc
feared the-mention of-a-law agrarian dreaded those now
etiam ultro rogabuntur atque orabuntur ut agros partim
even voluntarily will-be-asked and begged that lands partly
publicos, partim plenos invidiae, plenos periculi quanti
public partly full of-odium full of-danger at-whatever-price
ipsi velint xviris tradant. Atque hoc carmen
they-themselves wish to-the-board-of-ten they-hand-over and this song
hic tribunus plebis non vobis, sed sibi intus canit.
this tribune of-the-plebs not for-you but for-himself within sings
69 Habet socerum, virum optimum, qui tantum agri in
he-has a-father-in-law a-man most-excellent who so-much of-land in
illis rei publicae tenebris occupavit quantum concupivit.
those of-the-thing public darknesses seized as-much-as he-coveted
Huic subvenire volt succumbenti iam et oppresso,
to-this-man to-come-to-the-aid he-wishes sinking already and crushed

Sullanis oneribus gravi, sua lege, ut liceat illi
by-the-Sullan burdens heavy by-his-own law that it-be-allowed to-him
invidiam deponere, pecuniam condere. Et vos non dubitatis
the-odium to-lay-down the-money to-store-away and you not do-you-hesitate
quin vectigalia vestra vendatis plurimo maiorum vestrorum
to revenues your to-sell by-very-much of-ancestors your
sanguine et sudore quaesita, ut Sullanos possessores divitiis
blood and sweat acquired that the-Sullan possessors with-riches
augeatis, periculo liberetis?
you-may-increase from-danger may-free
Nam ad hanc emptionem xviralem duo genera agrorum 70
for to this purchase of-the-board-of-ten two kinds of-lands
spectant, Quirites. Eorum unum propter invidiam domini
look citizens of-them one on-account-of odium the-owners
fugiunt, alterum propter vastitatem. Sullanus ager a certis
shun the-other on-account-of desolation the-Sullan land by certain
hominibus latissime continuatus tantam habet invidiam ut
men most-widely made-continuous so-much has odium that
veri ac fortis tribuni plebis stridorem unum perferre
of-a-true and brave tribune of-the-plebs the-grating one to-endure
non possit. Hic ager omnis, quoquo pretio coemptus
not it-could this land all at-whatever price bought-up
erit, tamen ingenti pecunia nobis inducetur. Alterum
it-shall-have-been still at-a-huge price to-us will-be-charged the-other
genus agrorum propter sterilitatem incultum, propter
kind of-lands on-account-of barrenness untilled on-account-of
pestilentiam vastum atque desertum emetur ab eis qui
pestilence wasted and deserted will-be-bought from those who
eos vident sibi esse, si non vendiderint, relinquendos.
them see to-themselves to-be if not they-shall-have-sold to-be-abandoned
Et nimirum id est quod ab hoc tribuno plebis dictum est
and no-doubt that is what by this tribune of-the-plebs said was

in senatu, urbanam plebem nimium in re publica posse;
in the-senate the-urban plebs too-much in the-thing public to-be-able
exhauriendam esse; hoc enim verbo est usus, quasi de aliqua
to-be-drained to-be this for word he-has used as-if about some
sentina ac non de optimorum civium genere loqueretur.
bilge and not about of-the-best citizens a-class he-were-speaking
71 Vos vero, Quirites, si me audire voltis, retinete istam
you indeed citizens if me to-hear you-wish keep that
possessionem gratiae, libertatis, suffragiorum, dignitatis,
possession of-influence of-liberty of-votes of-dignity
urbis, fori, ludorum, festorum dierum, ceterorum
of-the-city of-the-forum of-the-games of-festal days of-the-other
omnium commodorum, nisi forte mavoltis relictis his rebus
all advantages unless perhaps you-prefer with-left these things
atque hac luce rei publicae in Sipontina siccitate aut
and this light of-the-thing public in the-Sipontine drought or
in Salpinorum plenis pestilentiae finibus Rullo duce
in of-the-Salpini full of-pestilence territories with-Rullus as-leader
conlocari. Aut dicat quos agros empturus sit; ostendat
to-be-placed or let-him-say what lands going-to-buy he-be let-him-show
et quid et quibus daturus sit. Ut vero, cum omnis urbis,
both what and to-whom going-to-give he-be that indeed when all cities
agros, vectigalia, regna vendiderit, tum harenam aliquam
lands revenues kingdoms he-shall-have-sold then sand some
aut paludes emat, id vos potestis, quaeso, concedere?
or marshes he-should-buy that you can I-beg concede
Quamquam illud est egregium quod hac lege ante omnia
although that is outstanding that by-this law before all-things
veneunt, ante pecuniae coguntur et coacervantur quam gleba
are-sold before moneys are-collected and are-heaped-up than clod
una ematur. Deinde emi iubet, ab invito vetat.
one be-bought then to-be-bought he-orders from an-unwilling-man he-forbids

Quaero, si qui velint vendere non fuerint, quid pecuniae 72
I-ask if any wish to-sell not there-shall-have-been what of-the-money
fiet? Referre in aerarium lex vetat, exigi prohibet.
will-be-done to-pay-in to the-treasury the-law forbids to-be-demanded it-prohibits
Igitur pecuniam omnem xviri tenebunt, vobis ager
therefore the-money all the-board-of-ten will-hold for-you land
non emetur; vectigalibus abalienatis, sociis vexatis, regibus
not will-be-bought with-revenues alienated with-allies harassed with-kings
atque omnibus gentibus exinanitis illi pecunias habebunt, vos
and all peoples drained they moneys will-have you
agros non habebitis. 'Facile,' inquit, 'adducentur pecuniae
lands not will-have easily he-says they-will-be-induced of-the-money
magnitudine ut velint vendere.' Ergo ea lex est qua
by-the-greatness that they-may-wish to-sell therefore that law is by-which
nostra vendamus quanti possimus, aliena emamus
our-own-things we-may-sell at-what-price we-can others'-things may-buy
quanti possessores velint.
at-what-price the-possessors wish
Atque in hos agros qui hac lege empti sint colonias ab his 73
and into these lands which by-this law bought shall-be colonies by these
xviris deduci iubet. Quid? omnisne locus eius modi est ut
board-of-ten to-be-settled he-orders what every place of-that kind is that
nihil intersit rei publicae, colonia deducatur in eum
nothing it-matter to-the-thing public (whether)-a-colony be-settled into that
locum necne, an est locus qui coloniam postulet, est qui
place or-not or is-there a-place which a-colony demands is-there which
plane recuset? Quo in genere sicut in ceteris rei publicae
plainly refuses which in kind as in the-other of-the-thing public
partibus est operae pretium diligentiam maiorum recordari,
parts it-is of-effort the-reward the-diligence of-our-ancestors to-recall
qui colonias sic idoneis in locis contra suspicionem periculi
who colonies so suitable in places against suspicion of-danger

conlocarunt ut esse non oppida Italiae, sed propugnacula
placed that to-be not towns of-Italy but bulwarks
imperi viderentur. Hi deducent colonias in eos agros quos
of-empire they-seemed these-men will-settle colonies into those lands which
emerint; etiamne si rei publicae non expediat?
they-shall-have-bought even if to-the-thing public not it-be-expedient
74 'Et in quae loca praeterea videbitur.' Quid igitur est causae
and into what places besides it-shall-seem-good what therefore is-there of-reason
quin coloniam in Ianiculum possint deducere et suum
why-not a-colony onto the-Janiculum they-may settle and their-own
praesidium in capite atque cervicibus nostris conlocare? Tu
garrison on the-head and necks our place you
non definias quot colonias, in quae loca, quo numero
not should-define how-many colonies into what places with-what number
colonorum deduci velis, tu occupes locum quem idoneum
of-colonists to-be-settled you-wish you should-seize a-place which suitable
ad vim tuam iudicaris, compleas numero, confirmes
for force your you-shall-have-judged fill(-it) with-number strengthen(-it)
praesidio quo velis, populi Romani vectigalibus atque
with-a-garrison which you-wish of-the-people Roman with-the-revenues and
omnibus copiis ipsum populum Romanum coerceas, opprimas,
all resources the-very people Roman you-should-coerce crush
redigas in istam xviralem dicionem ac potestatem?
reduce into that of-the-board-of-ten dominion and power
75 Ut vero totam Italiam suis praesidiis obsidere atque
how indeed whole Italy with-his-own garrisons to-besiege and
occupare cogitet, quaeso, Quirites, cognoscite. Permittit
to-seize he-intends I-beg citizens learn he-permits
xviris ut in omnia municipia, in omnis colonias totius
to-the-board-of-ten that into all towns into all colonies of-whole
Italiae colonos deducant quos velint, eisque colonis agros
Italy colonists they-may-settle whom they-wish and-to-those colonists lands

dari iubet. Num obscure maiores opes quam libertas
to-be-given he-orders surely-not obscurely greater resources than liberty
vestra pati potest, et maiora praesidia quaeruntur, num
your to-endure can and greater garrisons are-sought surely-not
obscure regnum constituitur, num obscure libertas vestra
obscurely a-kingship is-established surely-not obscurely liberty your
tollitur? Nam cum idem omnem pecuniam, maximam
is-removed for when the-same-men all money the-greatest
multitudinem obtinebunt, idem totam Italiam suis
multitude shall-hold the-same whole Italy with-their-own
opibus obsidebunt, idem vestram libertatem suis
resources shall-besiege the-same your liberty with-their-own
praesidiis et coloniis interclusam tenebunt, quae spes tandem,
garrisons and colonies shut-off shall-hold what hope pray
quae facultas recuperandae vestrae libertatis relinquetur?
what means of-recovering your liberty will-be-left
At enim ager Campanus hac lege dividetur orbi 76
but indeed the-land Campanian by-this law will-be-divided in-the-circle
terrae pulcherrimus et Capuam colonia deducetur, urbem
of-the-earth most-beautiful and to-Capua a-colony will-be-settled a-city
amplissimam atque ornatissimam. Quid ad haec possumus
most-ample and most-adorned what to these-things can-we
dicere? De commodo prius vestro dicam, Quirites; deinde
say about advantage first your I-shall-speak citizens then
ad amplitudinem et dignitatem revertar, ut, si quis
to grandeur and dignity I-shall-return so-that if anyone
agri aut oppidi bonitate delectatur, ne quid
of-the-land or of-the-town in-the-goodness delights that-not anything
exspectet, si quem rei indignitas commovet, ut huic
he-may-expect if anyone the-thing's unworthiness moves that this
simulatae largitioni resistat. Ac primum de oppido dicam,
pretended largess he-may-resist and first about the-town I-shall-speak

si quis est forte quem Capua magis quam Roma delectet.
if any is perhaps whom Capua more than Rome may-delight
V milia colonorum Capuam scribi iubet; ad hunc
five thousand of-colonists to-Capua to-be-enrolled he-orders for this
numerum quingenos sibi singuli sumunt.
number five-hundred-each for-themselves individually they-take
77 Quaeso, nolite vosmet ipsos consolari; vere et diligenter
I-beg do-not you yourselves console truly and diligently
considerate. Num vobis aut vestri similibus integris, quietis,
consider surely-not for-you or of-you like upright quiet
otiosis hominibus in hoc numero locum fore putatis? Si
peaceful men in this number a-place going-to-be do-you-think if
est omnibus vobis maiorive vestrum parti, quamquam me
it-is for-all you or-for-the-greater of-you part although me
vester honos vigilare dies atque noctes et intentis oculis
your honor to-be-watchful days and nights and with-intent eyes
omnis rei publicae partis intueri iubet, tamen paulisper,
all of-the-thing public parts to-watch orders still for-a-little
si ita commodum vestrum fert, conivebo. Sed si v
if so advantage your requires I-shall-close-my-eyes but if for-five
hominum milibus ad vim, facinus caedemque delectis locus
of-men thousands for violence crime and-slaughter chosen a-place
atque urbs quae bellum facere atque instruere possit quaeritur,
and a-city which war to-make and to-equip could is-sought
tamenne patiemini vestro nomine contra vos firmari
still will-you-allow in-your name against you to-be-strengthened
opes, armari praesidia, urbis, agros, copias comparari?
resources to-be-armed garrisons cities lands forces to-be-procured

The Campanian land, the people's surest revenue in war and peace, would pass from the people to a few powerful men, and the plebs who farm it now would be driven out. The ancestors took from Capua its land, magistrates, senate, and council, and kept the city only as a market and storehouse for the farmers, while they destroyed Carthage and Corinth outright. The bill, Cicero warns, would set up at Capua a new republic against the old one.

Nam agrum quidem Campanum quem vobis ostentant ipsi 78
for the-land indeed Campanian which to-you they-display they-themselves
concupiverunt; deducent suos, quorum nomine ipsi
have-coveted they-will-settle their-own-men in-whose name they-themselves
teneant et fruantur; coement praeterea; ista dena iugera
may-hold and enjoy(-it) they-will-buy-up besides those ten-acre lots
continuabunt. Nam si dicent per legem id non licere,
they-will-join(-them) for if they-shall-say by the-law that not to-be-allowed
ne per Corneliam quidem licet; at videmus, ut longinqua
not by the-Cornelian even it-is-allowed but we-see that distant-things
mittamus, agrum Praenestinum a paucis possideri. Neque
we-may-omit the-land Praenestine by a-few to-be-possessed nor
istorum pecuniis quicquam aliud deesse video nisi eius
to-those-men's moneys anything else to-be-lacking I-see except of-that
modi fundos quorum subsidio familiarum magnitudines et
kind farms by-whose support of-their-households the-size and
Cumanorum ac Puteolanorum praediorum sumptus sustentare
of-their-Cuman and Puteolan estates the-expense to-sustain
possint. Quod si vestrum commodum spectat, veniat
they-may-be-able but if your advantage he-regards let-him-come
et coram mecum de agri Campani divisione disputet.
and face-to-face with-me about of-the-land Campanian the-division let-him-debate

79 Quaesivi ex eo Kalendis Ianuariis quibus hominibus et
I-asked of him on-the-Kalends of-January to-what men and
quem ad modum illum agrum esset distributurus. Respondit
in-what to manner that land he-was going-to-distribute he-answered
a Romilia tribu se initium esse facturum. Primum quae
from the-Romilian tribe himself the-beginning to-be going-to-make first what
est ista superbia et contumelia ut populi pars amputetur,
is that arrogance and insult that of-the-people a-part be-cut-off
ordo tribuum neglegatur, ante rusticis detur ager, qui
the-order of-the-tribes be-neglected sooner to-rustics be-given land who
habent, quam urbanis, quibus ista agri spes et iucunditas
have(-it) than to-the-urban to-whom that of-land hope and delight
ostenditur? Aut, si hoc ab se dictum negat et satis
is-displayed or if this by himself said he-denies and enough
facere omnibus vobis cogitat, proferat; in iugera dena
to-do all you he-intends let-him-produce(-it) into acres ten
discribat, a Suburana usque ad Arniensem nomina
let-him-apportion(-it) from the-Suburan right-up to the-Arniensian names
vestra proponat. Si non modo dena iugera dari vobis sed
your let-him-put-up if not only ten acres to-be-given to-you but
ne constipari quidem tantum numerum hominum posse in
not to-be-packed even so-great a-number of-men to-be-able into
agrum Campanum intellegetis, tamenne vexari rem
the-land Campanian you-shall-understand will-you-still to-be-harassed the-thing
publicam, contemni maiestatem populi Romani, deludi
public to-be-despised the-majesty of-the-people Roman to-be-mocked
vosmet ipsos diutius a tribuno plebis patiemini?
you yourselves longer by a-tribune of-the-plebs allow
80 Quod si posset ager iste ad vos pervenire, nonne eum tamen
but if could land that to you come surely it still
in patrimonio vestro remanere malletis? Unumne fundum
in patrimony your to-remain would-you-prefer one farm

pulcherrimum populi Romani, caput vestrae pecuniae, pacis
most-beautiful of-the-people Roman the-head of-your money of-peace
ornamentum, subsidium belli, fundamentum vectigalium,
the-ornament the-support of-war the-foundation of-the-revenues
horreum legionum, solacium annonae disperire patiemini?
the-granary of-the-legions the-solace of-the-grain-supply to-perish will-you-allow
An obliti estis Italico bello amissis ceteris vectigalibus
or forgotten have-you in-the-Italian war with-lost the-other revenues
quantos agri Campani fructibus exercitus alueritis? an
how-great of-the-land Campanian by-the-produce armies you-fed or
ignoratis cetera illa magnifica populi Romani vectigalia
do-you-not-know the-other those magnificent of-the-people Roman revenues
perlevi saepe momento fortunae inclinatione temporis
on-a-very-slight often movement of-fortune on-a-turn of-time
pendere? Quid nos Asiae portus, quid Syriae ora, quid
to-hang what us of-Asia the-harbors what of-Syria the-coast what
omnia transmarina vectigalia iuvabunt tenuissima suspicione
all overseas revenues will-help with-the-slightest suspicion
praedonum aut hostium iniecta?
of-pirates or of-enemies cast-in
At vero hoc agri Campani vectigal, Quirites, eius modi est 81
but indeed this of-the-land Campanian revenue citizens of-that kind is
ut cum domi sit et omnibus praesidiis oppidorum tegatur,
that while at-home it-is and by-all defenses of-towns is-protected
tum neque bellis infestum nec fructibus varium nec caelo ac
so neither by-wars harassed nor in-produce varying nor by-climate and
loco calamitosum esse soleat. Maiores nostri non solum id
place calamitous to-be it-is-wont ancestors our not only that
quod de Campanis ceperant non imminuerunt verum etiam
which from the-Campanians they-had-taken not lessened but also
quod ei tenebant quibus adimi iure non poterat
what those held from-whom to-be-taken-away by-right not it-could

coemerunt. Qua de causa nec duo Gracchi qui de plebis
bought-up which for cause neither the-two Gracchi who about of-the-plebs
Romanae commodis plurimum cogitaverunt, nec L. Sulla
Roman the-advantages very-much thought nor Lucius Sulla
qui omnia sine ulla religione quibus voluit est dilargitus,
who all-things without any scruple to-whom he-wished has lavished
agrum Campanum attingere ausus est; Rullus exstitit qui
the-land Campanian to-touch dared has Rullus has-stood-forth who
ex ea possessione rem publicam demoveret ex qua nec
from that possession the-thing public should-dislodge from which neither
Gracchorum benignitas eam nec Sullae dominatio deiecisset.
of-the-Gracchi the-kindness it nor of-Sulla the-despotism had-cast-down
Quem agrum nunc praetereuntes vestrum esse dicitis et
which land now passing-by yours to-be you-say and
quem per iter qui faciunt, externi homines, vestrum
which through a-journey those-who make foreign men yours
esse audiunt, is, cum erit divisus, neque erit vester
to-be hear it when it-shall-be divided neither it-will-be yours
neque vester esse dicetur. At qui homines possidebunt?
nor yours to-be it-will-be-said but what men will-possess(-it)
82 Primo quidem acres, ad vim prompti, ad seditionem parati
at-first indeed fierce for violence prompt for sedition ready
qui, simul ac xviri concrepuerint, armati in civis et
who as-soon as the-board-of-ten shall-have-rattled armed against citizens and
expediti ad caedem esse possint; deinde ad paucos opibus et
unencumbered for slaughter to-be could then to a-few in-resources and
copiis adfluentis totum agrum Campanum perferri videbitis.
forces overflowing the-whole land Campanian to-be-carried you-will-see
Vobis interea, qui illas a maioribus pulcherrimas vectigalium
for-you meanwhile who those from ancestors most-beautiful of-the-revenues
sedis armis captas accepistis, gleba nulla de paternis atque
seats by-arms captured received a-clod none from your-paternal and

avitis possessionibus relinquetur. At quantum intererit inter
ancestral possessions will-be-left but how-much it-will-differ between
vestram et privatorum diligentiam! Quid? Cum a maioribus
your and private-men's diligence what when by ancestors
nostris P. Lentulus, qui princeps senatus fuit, in ea loca
our Publius Lentulus who the-leader of-the-senate was into those places
missus esset ut privatos agros qui in publicum Campanum
sent had-been that the-private lands which into the-public Campanian
incurrebant pecunia publica coemeret, dicitur renuntiasse
ran-in with-money public he-might-buy-up he-is-said to-have-reported
nulla se pecunia fundum cuiusdam emere potuisse,
with-no himself money the-farm of-a-certain-man to-buy to-have-been-able
eumque qui nollet vendere ideo negasse se
and-him who was-unwilling to-sell for-this-reason to-have-denied himself
adduci posse uti venderet quod, cum pluris fundos haberet,
to-be-induced to-be-able that he-should-sell because though more farms he-had
ex illo solo fundo numquam malum nuntium audisset.
from that alone farm never bad news he-had-heard
Itane vero? privatum haec causa commovit; populum Romanum 83
is-it-so indeed a-private-man this reason moved the-people Roman
ne agrum Campanum privatis gratis Rullo rogante
that-not the-land Campanian to-private-men for-nothing with-Rullus proposing
tradat non commovebit? At idem populus Romanus de
it-hand-over not will-it-move but the-same people Roman about
hoc vectigali potest dicere quod ille de suo fundo dixisse
this revenue can say what he about his-own farm to-have-said
dicitur. Asia multos annos vobis fructum Mithridatico bello non
is-said Asia many years to-you produce in-the-Mithridatic war not
tulit, Hispaniarum vectigal temporibus Sertorianis nullum fuit,
bore of-the-Spains the-revenue in-the-times Sertorian none was
Siciliae civitatibus bello fugitivorum M'. Aquilius etiam
of-Sicily to-the-states in-the-war of-the-runaways Manius Aquilius even

mutuum frumentum dedit; at ex hoc vectigali numquam malus
on-loan grain gave but from this revenue never bad
nuntius auditus est. Cetera vectigalia belli difficultatibus
news heard has-been the-other revenues of-war by-the-difficulties
adfliguntur; hoc vectigali etiam belli difficultates sustentantur.
are-stricken by-this revenue even war's difficulties are-sustained
84 Deinde in hac adsignatione agrorum ne illud quidem dici
then in this assignment of-lands not that even to-be-said
potest quod in ceteris, agros desertos a plebe atque a
it-can which in the-others lands deserted by the-plebs and by
cultura hominum liberorum esse non oportere. Sic enim
the-tillage of-men free to-be not it-behooves thus for
dico, si Campanus ager dividatur, exturbari et expelli
I-say if the-Campanian land be-divided to-be-thrust-out and expelled
plebem ex agris, non constitui et conlocari. Totus enim
the-plebs from the-lands not established and settled whole for
ager Campanus colitur et possidetur a plebe, et a plebe
the-land Campanian is-tilled and possessed by the-plebs and by a-plebs
optima et modestissima; quod genus hominum optime
most-excellent and most-modest which kind of-men best
moratum, optimorum et aratorum et militum, ab hoc
mannered of-the-best both farmers and soldiers by this
plebicola tribuno plebis funditus eicitur. Atque illi miseri
plebs-cultivating tribune of-the-plebs utterly is-ejected and those wretches
nati in illis agris et educati, glebis subigendis exercitati,
born in those lands and raised in-clods being-worked practiced
quo se subito conferant non habebunt; his robustis
whither themselves suddenly they-may-betake not they-will-have to-these robust
et valentibus et audacibus xvirum satellitibus agri
and strong and audacious of-the-board-of-ten henchmen of-the-land
Campani possessio tota tradetur, et, ut vos nunc de
Campanian the-possession whole will-be-handed-over and as you now about

vestris maioribus praedicatis: 'hunc agrum nobis maiores nostri
your ancestors proclaim this land to-us ancestors our
reliquerunt,' sic vestri posteri de vobis praedicabunt: 'hunc
left so your descendants about you will-proclaim this
agrum patres nostri acceptum a patribus suis perdiderunt.'
land fathers our received from fathers their-own lost
Equidem existimo: si iam campus Martius dividatur et uni 85
for-my-part I-think if now the-field of-Mars were-divided and to-each
cuique vestrum ubi consistat bini pedes adsignentur, tamen
one of-you where he-might-stand two feet were-assigned still
promiscue toto quam proprie parva frui parte malitis.
in-common the-whole than as-property a-small to-enjoy part you-would-prefer
Qua re etiam si ad vos esset singulos aliquid ex hoc agro
by-which thing even if to you were individually something from this land
perventurum qui vobis ostenditur, aliis comparatur, tamen
going-to-come which to-you is-displayed for-others is-procured still
honestius eum vos universi quam singuli possideretis. Nunc
more-honorably it you all-together than individually would-possess now
vero cum ad vos nihil pertineat, sed paretur aliis, eripiatur
indeed when to you nothing pertains but it-is-prepared for-others is-snatched
vobis, nonne acerrime, tamquam armato hosti, sic huic legi
from-you surely most-fiercely as-if to-an-armed enemy so to-this law
pro vestris agris resistetis? Adiungit Stellatem campum agro
for your lands resist he-adds the-Stellate plain to-the-land
Campano et in eo duodena discribit in singulos homines
Campanian and in it twelve-each he-apportions to individual men
iugera. Quasi vero paulum differat ager Campanus a Stellati;
acres as-if indeed a-little differs the-land Campanian from the-Stellate
sed multitudo, Quirites, quaeritur qua illa omnia oppida 86
but a-multitude citizens is-sought with-which those all towns
compleantur. Nam dixi antea lege permitti ut quae
may-be-filled for I-said before by-the-law to-be-permitted that what

velint municipia, quas velint veteres colonias colonis
they-wish towns what they-wish old colonies with-colonists
suis occupent. Calenum municipium complebunt, Teanum
their-own they-may-seize the-Calene town they-will-fill Teanum
oppriment, Atellam, Cumas, Neapolim, Pompeios, Nuceriam
they-will-crush Atella Cumae Neapolis Pompeii Nuceria
suis praesidiis devincient, Puteolos vero qui nunc in
with-their-own garrisons they-will-bind Puteoli indeed which now in
sua potestate sunt, suo iure libertateque utuntur, totos
their-own power are their-own right and-liberty enjoy wholly
novo populo atque adventiciis copiis occupabunt. Tunc
with-a-new people and foreign forces they-will-seize then
illud vexillum Campanae coloniae vehementer huic imperio
that standard of-the-Campanian colony vehemently for-this empire
timendum Capuam a xviris inferetur, tunc contra hanc
to-be-feared to-Capua by the-board-of-ten will-be-carried then against this
Romam, communem patriam omnium nostrum, illa altera
Rome the-common fatherland of-all of-us that second
Roma quaeretur.
Rome will-be-sought

87 In id oppidum homines nefarie rem publicam vestram
into that town men wickedly the-thing public your
transferre conantur, quo in oppido maiores nostri nullam
to-transfer try which in town ancestors our no
omnino rem publicam esse voluerunt, qui tris solum urbis in
at-all thing public to-be wished who three only cities in
terris omnibus, Carthaginem, Corinthum, Capuam, statuerunt
lands all Carthage Corinth Capua decided
posse imperi gravitatem ac nomen sustinere. Deleta Carthago
to-be-able of-empire the-weight and name to-sustain destroyed Carthage
est, quod cum hominum copiis, tum ipsa natura ac
was because both of-men with-the-forces and itself by-nature and

loco, succincta portibus, armata muris, excurrere ex Africa,
place girt with-harbors armed with-walls to-sally-forth from Africa
imminere duabus fructuosissimis insulis populi Romani
to-hang-over the-two most-fruitful islands of-the-people Roman
videbatur. Corinthi vestigium vix relictum est. Erat enim
it-seemed of-Corinth a-trace scarcely left has-been it-was for
posita in angustiis atque in faucibus Graeciae sic ut terra
placed in the-narrows and in the-jaws of-Greece so that by-land
claustra locorum teneret et duo maria maxime navigationi
the-barriers of-the-places it-held and two seas most for-navigation
diversa paene coniungeret, cum pertenui discrimine
opposite almost joined since by-a-very-slight interval
separentur. Haec quae procul erant a conspectu imperi
they-are-separated these which far were from the-sight of-empire
non solum adflixerunt sed etiam, ne quando recreata exsurgere
not only they-struck-down but also lest ever revived to-rise-up
atque erigere se possent, funditus, ut dixi, sustulerunt.
and to-lift themselves they-could utterly as I-said they-removed
De Capua multum est et diu consultatum; exstant litterae, 88
about Capua much was and long deliberated there-exist records
Quirites, publicae, sunt senatus consulta complura. Statuerunt
citizens public there-are of-the-senate decrees several they-decided
homines sapientes, si agrum Campanis ademissent,
men wise if the-land from-the-Campanians they-had-taken-away
magistratus, senatum, publicum ex illa urbe consilium
the-magistrates senate public from that city council
sustulissent, imaginem rei publicae nullam reliquissent, nihil
had-removed an-image of-a-thing public none had-left nothing
fore quod Capuam timeremus. Itaque hoc perscriptum in
going-to-be for-which Capua we-should-fear and-so this written in
monumentis veteribus reperietis, ut esset urbs quae res
the-records old you-will-find that there-should-be a-city which things

eas quibus ager Campanus coleretur suppeditare posset,
those by-which the-land Campanian might-be-tilled to-supply could
ut esset locus comportandis condendisque fructibus,
that there-should-be a-place for-being-carried-in and-stored crops
ut aratores cultu agrorum defessi urbis domiciliis
that the-farmers with-the-tilling of-the-lands wearied of-the-city the-houses
uterentur, idcirco illa aedificia non esse deleta.
might-use for-this-reason those buildings not to-have-been destroyed
89 Videte quantum intervallum sit interiectum inter maiorum
see how-great an-interval has-been set between of-ancestors
nostrorum consilia et inter istorum hominum dementiam.
our the-counsels and between of-those men the-madness
Illi Capuam receptaculum aratorum, nundinas rusticorum,
they Capua a-refuge of-farmers a-market of-countrymen
cellam atque horreum Campani agri esse voluerunt,
the-storeroom and granary of-the-Campanian land to-be wished
hi expulsis aratoribus, effusis ac dissipatis fructibus vestris
these with-expelled the-farmers poured-out and scattered the-crops your
eandem Capuam sedem novae rei publicae constituunt, molem
the-same Capua the-seat of-a-new thing public establish a-mass
contra veterem rem publicam comparant. Quod si maiores
against the-old thing public they-prepare but if ancestors
nostri existimassent quemquam in tam inlustri imperio et
our had-thought anyone in so illustrious an-empire and
tam praeclara populi Romani disciplina M. Bruti aut
so splendid of-the-people Roman discipline of-Marcus Brutus or
P. Rulli similem futurum — hos enim nos duos adhuc
of-Publius Rullus like going-to-be these for we two so-far
vidimus qui hanc rem publicam Capuam totam transferre
have-seen who this thing public to-Capua wholly to-transfer
vellent — profecto nomen illius urbis non reliquissent.
wished surely the-name of-that city not they-would-have-left

The ancestors destroyed Corinth and Carthage but left Capua standing, stripped of its land and government under Rome's eye, and it served Rome loyally in every later war. Cicero recalls the arrogance of Brutus's colony there, whose magistrates called themselves praetors, and warns that colonists set in a city made proud by its plenty would turn it against Rome. He closes as a consul of the people, promising the peace and quiet that the people should keep.

Verum arbitrabantur Corinthi et Carthagini, etiam si senatum 90
but they-thought at-Corinth and at-Carthage even if the-senate
et magistratus sustulissent agrumque civibus ademissent,
and magistrates they-had-removed and-the-land from-the-citizens taken-away
tamen non defore qui illa restituerent atque qui
still not to-be-lacking men-who those-things would-restore and who
ante omnia commutarent quam nos audire possemus; hic
before all-things would-change than we to-hear could here
vero in oculis senatus populique Romani nihil posse
indeed in the-eyes of-the-senate and-of-the-people Roman nothing to-be-able
exsistere quod non ante exstingui atque opprimi posset
to-arise which not before to-be-extinguished and crushed could
quam plane exortum esset ac natum. Neque vero ea res
than plainly risen it-had and born nor indeed that thing
fefellit homines divina mente et consilio praeditos. Nam
deceived men with-divine mind and counsel endowed for
post Q. Fulvium Q. Fabium consules, quibus consulibus
after Quintus Fulvius Quintus Fabius as-consuls in-whose consulship
Capua devicta atque capta est, nihil est in illa urbe contra
Capua conquered and taken was nothing has in that city against
hanc rem publicam non dico factum, sed nihil omnino est
this thing public not I-say been-done but nothing at-all has-been
cogitatum. Multa postea bella gesta cum regibus, Philippo,
thought-of many afterward wars waged with kings Philip

Antiocho, Persa, Pseudophilippo, Aristonico, Mithridate et
Antiochus Perseus Pseudophilippus Aristonicus Mithridates and
ceteris; multa praeterea bella gravia, Carthaginiense iii,
the-others many besides wars grave the-Carthaginian third
Corinthium, Numantinum; multae in hac re publica
the-Corinthian the-Numantine many in this thing public
seditiones domesticae quas praetermitto; bella cum sociis,
seditions domestic which I-pass-over wars with allies
Fregellanum, Marsicum; quibus omnibus domesticis externisque
the-Fregellan the-Marsic in-which all domestic and-foreign
bellis Capua non modo non obfuit sed opportunissimam se
wars Capua not only not hindered but most-serviceable itself
nobis praebuit et ad bellum instruendum et ad exercitus
to-us showed both for war being-equipped and for armies
ornandos et tectis ac sedibus suis recipiendos.
being-furnished and with-roofs and seats its-own being-received

91 Homines non inerant in urbe qui malis contionibus,
men not were-present in the-city who with-bad assemblies
turbulentis senatus consultis, iniquis imperiis rem
with-turbulent of-the-senate decrees with-unjust commands the-thing
publicam miscerent et rerum novarum causam aliquam
public might-confound and of-things new pretext some
quaererent. Neque enim contionandi potestas erat cuiquam nec
might-seek nor for of-haranguing the-power was to-anyone nor
consili capiendi publici; non gloriae cupiditate efferebantur,
of-counsel being-taken public not of-glory by-desire they-were-carried-away
propterea quod, ubi honos publice non est, ibi gloriae
on-that-account because where honor publicly not is there of-glory
cupiditas esse non potest; non contentione, non ambitione
desire to-be not can not by-rivalry not by-canvassing
discordes. Nihil enim supererat de quo certarent, nihil
at-variance nothing for remained about which they-might-contend nothing

quod contra peterent, nihil ubi dissiderent. Itaque illam
which in-rivalry they-might-seek nothing where they-might-dissent and-so that
Campanam adrogantiam atque intolerandam ferociam ratione
Campanian arrogance and intolerable ferocity by-reason
et consilio maiores nostri ad inertissimum ac desidiosissimum
and counsel ancestors our to most-sluggish and most-indolent
otium perduxerunt. Sic et crudelitatis infamiam effugerunt
leisure brought so both of-cruelty the-infamy they-escaped
quod urbem ex Italia pulcherrimam non sustulerunt, et multum
because the-city of Italy most-beautiful not they-removed and much
in posterum providerunt quod nervis urbis omnibus
for the-future they-provided because with-the-sinews of-the-city all
exsectis urbem ipsam solutam ac debilitatam reliquerunt.
cut-out the-city itself loosened and weakened they-left
Haec consilia maiorum M. Bruto, ut antea dixi, 92
these counsels of-our-ancestors to-Marcus Brutus as before I-said
reprehendenda et P. Rullo visa sunt; neque te,
to-be-blamed and to-Publius Rullus seemed have nor you
P. Rulle, omina illa M. Bruti atque auspicia a
Publius Rullus omens those of-Marcus Brutus and auspices from
simili furore deterrent. Nam et ipse qui deduxit,
like madness deter for both he-himself who led-out(-the-colony)
et qui magistratum Capuae illo creante ceperunt, et
and those-who magistracy at-Capua with-him creating took and
qui aliquam partem illius deductionis, honoris, muneris
those-who some part of-that settlement of-honor of-office
attigerunt, omnis acerbissimas impiorum poenas pertulerunt.
touched all most-bitter of-the-impious penalties suffered
Et quoniam M. Bruti atque illius temporis feci
and since of-Marcus Brutus and of-that time I-have-made
mentionem, commemorabo id quod egomet vidi, cum
mention I-shall-recount that which I-myself saw when

venissem Capuam colonia iam deducta L. Considio
I-had-come to-Capua with-the-colony already settled with-Lucius Considius
et Sex. Saltio, quem ad modum ipsi loquebantur,
and Sextus Saltius in-what to manner they-themselves spoke
'praetoribus,' ut intellegatis quantam locus ipse adferat
as-praetors that you-may-understand how-much the-place itself brings
superbiam, quae paucis diebus quibus illo colonia deducta
arrogance which in-a-few days in-which thither the-colony settled
est perspici atque intellegi potuit.
was to-be-seen-through and understood could

93 Nam primum, id quod dixi, cum ceteris in coloniis iiviri
for first that which I-said while the-other in colonies duumvirs
appellentur, hi se praetores appellari volebant. Quibus
are-called these themselves praetors to-be-called wished to-whom
primus annus hanc cupiditatem attulisset, nonne arbitramini
the-first year this desire had-brought surely do-you-think
paucis annis fuisse consulum nomen appetituros? Deinde
in-a-few years to-have-been the-consuls' name going-to-seek then
anteibant lictores non cum bacillis, sed, ut hic praetoribus
there-went-before lictors not with rods but as here before-the-praetors
urbanis anteeunt, cum fascibus bini. Erant hostiae maiores
urban they-go with fasces two-each there-were victims full-grown
in foro constitutae, quae ab his praetoribus de tribunali,
in the-forum set which by these praetors from the-tribunal
sicut a nobis consulibus, de consili sententia probatae
as by us consuls by of-the-council the-opinion approved
ad praeconem et ad tibicinem immolabantur. Deinde
to the-herald and to the-flute-player were-sacrificed then
patres conscripti vocabantur. Iam vero voltum Considi
fathers enrolled were-called now indeed the-face of-Considius
videre ferendum vix erat. Quem hominem 'vegrandi macie
to-see to-be-borne scarcely was whom a-man with-dwarfish leanness

torridum' Romae contemptum, abiectum videbamus, hunc
parched at-Rome despised abject we-used-to-see this-man
Capuae Campano fastidio ac regio spiritu cum videremus,
at-Capua with-Campanian disdain and royal pride when we-saw
Blossios mihi videbar illos videre ac Vibellios.
the-Blossii to-myself I-seemed those to-see and the-Vibellii
Iam vero qui metus erat tunicatorum illorum! et in 94
now indeed what fear there-was of-those-in-tunics of-those and in
Albana et Seplasia quae concursatio percontantium quid
the-Alban and Seplasia what running-about of-men-inquiring what
praetor edixisset, ubi cenaret, quo denuntiasset! Nos
the-praetor had-proclaimed where he-dined whither he-had-given-notice we
autem, hinc Roma qui veneramus, iam non hospites, sed
however hence from-Rome who had-come now not guests but
peregrini atque advenae nominabamur.
foreigners and strangers were-called
Haec qui prospexerint, maiores nostros dico, Quirites, 95
these-things those-who foresaw ancestors our I-say citizens
non eos in deorum immortalium numero venerandos a nobis
not them in of-the-gods immortal the-number to-be-venerated by us
et colendos putatis? Quid enim viderunt? Hoc quod nunc
and to-be-worshiped do-you-think what for did-they-see this which now
vos, quaeso, perspicite atque cognoscite. Non ingenerantur
you I-beg perceive and learn not are-implanted
hominibus mores tam a stirpe generis ac seminis quam
in-men characters so-much from the-stock of-the-race and seed as
ex eis rebus quae ab ipsa natura nobis ad vitae consuetudinem
from those things which by itself nature to-us for of-life the-habit
suppeditantur, quibus alimur et vivimus. Carthaginienses
are-supplied by-which we-are-nourished and live the-Carthaginians
fraudulenti et mendaces non genere, sed natura loci,
fraudulent and lying not by-race but by-the-nature of-their-place

quod propter portus suos multis et variis mercatorum et
because on-account-of harbors their-own by-many and varied of-merchants and
advenarum sermonibus ad studium fallendi studio quaestus
of-strangers conversations to the-pursuit of-deceiving by-the-pursuit of-gain
vocabantur. Ligures duri atque agrestes; docuit ager ipse
were-called the-Ligurians hard and rustic taught(-them) the-land itself
nihil ferendo nisi multa cultura et magno labore quaesitum.
nothing producing except by-much cultivation and by-great labor obtained
Campani semper superbi bonitate agrorum et fructuum
the-Campanians always arrogant from-the-goodness of-their-lands and of-the-produce
magnitudine, urbis salubritate, descriptione, pulchritudine.
from-the-greatness of-the-city from-the-healthiness layout beauty
Ex hac copia atque omnium rerum adfluentia primum
from this plenty and of-all things abundance first
illa nata est adrogantia qua a maioribus nostris alterum
that born was arrogance which from ancestors our the-second
Capua consulem postularunt, deinde ea luxuries quae ipsum
from-Capua consul they-demanded then that luxury which the-very
Hannibalem armis etiam tum invictum voluptate vicit.
Hannibal by-arms even then unconquered by-pleasure conquered
96 Huc isti xviri cum ɔɔ colonorum ex lege Rulli
hither those board-of-ten when five-thousand colonists by the-law of-Rullus
deduxerint, c decuriones, x augures, vi pontifices
shall-have-settled a-hundred councilors ten augurs six pontiffs
constituerint, quos illorum animos, quos impetus, quam
shall-have-appointed what their spirits what impulses what
ferociam fore putatis? Romam in montibus positam et
ferocity going-to-be do-you-think Rome on mountains placed and
convallibus, cenaculis sublatam atque suspensam, non optimis
valleys by-garrets raised and hung not with-the-best
viis, angustissimis semitis, prae sua Capua planissimo
roads with-very-narrow lanes compared-with their-own Capua very-flat

in loco explicata ac praeclarissime sita inridebunt atque
in place spread-out and most-splendidly sited they-will-laugh-at and
contemnent; agros vero Vaticanum et Pupiniam cum suis
despise the-lands indeed the-Vatican and Pupinia with their-own
opimis atque uberibus campis conferendos scilicet non putabunt.
rich and fertile plains to-be-compared of-course not they-will-think
Oppidorum autem finitimorum illam copiam cum hac per
of-the-towns however neighboring that abundance with this in
risum ac iocum contendent; Veios, Fidenas, Collatiam, ipsum
laughter and jest they-will-match Veii Fidenae Collatia itself
hercle Lanuvium, Ariciam, Tusculum cum Calibus, Teano,
by-Hercules Lanuvium Aricia Tusculum with Cales Teanum
Neapoli, Puteolis, Cumis, Pompeiis, Nuceria comparabunt.
Neapolis Puteoli Cumae Pompeii Nuceria they-will-compare
Quibus illi rebus elati et inflati fortasse non continuo, 97
by-which they things elated and puffed-up perhaps not at-once
sed certe, si paulum adsumpserint vetustatis ac roboris,
but certainly if a-little they-shall-have-taken of-age and strength
non continebuntur; progredientur, cuncta secum ferent.
not will-be-restrained will-advance all-things with-themselves will-carry
Singularis homo privatus, nisi magna sapientia praeditus, vix
a-single man private unless with-great wisdom endowed scarcely
cancellis et regionibus offici magnis in fortunis et copiis
by-the-railings and bounds of-duty great in fortunes and resources
continetur, nedum isti ab Rullo et Rulli similibus conquisiti
is-contained much-less those by Rullus and of-Rullus by-those-like sought-out
atque electi coloni Capuae in domicilio superbiae atque in
and picked colonists at-Capua in the-home of-arrogance and in
sedibus luxuriosis conlocati non statim conquisituri sint aliquid
seats luxurious placed not at-once going-to-seek be something
sceleris et flagiti, immo vero etiam hoc magis quam illi veteres
of-crime and outrage nay indeed even by-this more than those old

germanique Campani, quod in vetere fortuna illos natos et
and-genuine Campanians because in old fortune them born and
educatos nimiae tamen rerum omnium copiae depravabant,
raised excessive still of-things all the-abundance corrupted
hi ex summa egestate in eandem rerum abundantiam traducti
these from the-highest poverty into the-same of-things abundance brought-over
non solum copia verum etiam insolentia commovebuntur.
not only by-abundance but also by-insolence will-be-moved
98 Haec tu, P. Rulle, M. Bruti sceleris vestigia quam
these you Publius Rullus of-Marcus Brutus of-crime the-traces than
monumenta maiorum sapientiae sequi maluisti, haec tu
the-monuments of-our-ancestors' wisdom to-follow preferred these you
cum istis tuis auctoribus excogitasti, ut vetera vectigalia
with those your sponsors devised that the-old revenues
nostra expilaretis, exploraretis nova, urbem novam huic urbi
our you-might-plunder explore new a-city new to-this city
ad certamen dignitatis opponeretis; ut sub vestrum ius,
for a-contest of-dignity you-might-set-against that under your right
iuris dictionem, potestatem urbis, nationes, provincias, liberos
of-right the-speaking power cities nations provinces free
populos, reges, terrarum denique orbem subiungeretis; ut, cum
peoples kings of-the-lands finally the-circle you-might-subject that when
omnem pecuniam ex aerario exhausissetis, ex vectigalibus
all the-money from the-treasury you-had-drained from the-revenues
redegissetis, ab omnibus regibus, gentibus, ab imperatoribus
had-collected from all kings peoples from commanders
nostris coegissetis, tamen omnes vobis pecunias ad nutum
our had-gathered still all to-you moneys at nod
vestrum penderent; ut idem partim invidiosos agros a
your they-might-pay that the-same partly odious lands from
Sullanis possessoribus, partim desertos ac pestilentis a vestris
the-Sullan possessors partly deserted and pestilential from your

necessariis et a vobismet ipsis emptos quanti velletis
connections and from you yourselves bought at-what-price you-wished
populo Romano induceretis; ut omnia municipia coloniasque
on-the-people Roman you-might-charge that all towns and-colonies
Italiae novis colonis occuparetis; ut quibuscumque in locis
of-Italy with-new colonists you-might-seize that whatever in places
vobis videretur ac quam multis videretur colonias conlocaretis;
to-you it-seemed-good and as many as-seemed-good colonies you-might-place
ut omnem rem publicam vestris militibus, vestris urbibus, 99
that all the-thing public with-your soldiers your cities
vestris praesidiis cingeretis atque oppressam teneretis; ut
your garrisons you-might-surround and crushed hold that
ipsum Cn. Pompeium, cuius praesidio saepissime res
the-very Gnaeus Pompey by-whose protection very-often the-thing
publica contra acerrimos hostis et contra improbissimos civis
public against most-fierce enemies and against most-wicked citizens
munita est, exercitu victore atque horum conspectu privare
fortified has-been of-his-army victorious and of-these of-the-sight to-deprive
possetis; ut nihil auro et argento violari, nihil numero
you-could that nothing by-gold and silver to-be-violated nothing by-number
et servitiis declarari, nihil vi et manu perfringi
and slaves to-be-declared nothing by-force and hand to-be-broken-through
posset quod non vos oppressum atque ereptum teneretis;
could which not you crushed and snatched might-hold
ut volitaretis interea per gentis, per regna omnia cum
that you-might-flit meanwhile through peoples through kingdoms all with
imperio summo, cum iudicio infinito, cum omni pecunia;
command the-highest with judgment boundless with all money
ut veniretis in castra Cn. Pompei atque ipsa castra,
that you-might-come into the-camp of-Gnaeus Pompey and the-very camp
si commodum vobis esset, venderetis; ut interea magistratus
if convenient to-you it-were you-might-sell that meanwhile the-magistracies

reliquos legibus omnibus soluti sine metu iudiciorum, sine
remaining from-the-laws all released without fear of-the-courts without
periculo petere possetis; ut nemo ad populum Romanum
danger to-seek you-could that no-one to the-people Roman
vos adducere, nemo producere, nemo in senatum cogere,
you to-bring no-one to-produce no-one into the-senate to-compel
non consul coercere, non tribunus plebis retinere posset.
not a-consul to-restrain not a-tribune of-the-plebs to-hold-back could
100 Haec ego vos concupisse pro vestra stultitia atque
these-things I you to-have-coveted in-keeping-with your folly and
intemperantia non miror, sperasse me consule adsequi
intemperance not I-wonder to-have-hoped with-me as-consul to-attain
posse demiror. Nam cum omnium consulum gravis in re
to-be-able I-marvel for while of-all consuls grave in the-thing
publica custodienda cura ac diligentia debet esse, tum eorum
public being-guarded the-care and diligence ought to-be so of-those
maxime qui non in cunabulis, sed in campo sunt consules facti.
most who not in the-cradle but in the-field were consuls made
Nulli populo Romano pro me maiores mei spoponderunt;
no to-the-people Roman for me ancestors my pledged
mihi creditum est; a me petere quod debeo, me ipsum
to-me trusted it-has-been from me to-demand what I-owe me myself
appellare debetis. Quem ad modum, cum petebam, nulli
to-call-upon you-ought in-what to manner when I-was-a-candidate none
me vobis auctores generis mei commendarunt, sic, si quid
me to-you sponsors of-family my recommended so if anything
deliquero, nullae sunt imagines quae me a vobis
I-shall-have-done-wrong none are images which me from you
deprecentur. Qua re, modo mihi vita suppetat, quam ego
may-beg-off by-which thing provided to-me life suffice which I
conabor ab istorum scelere insidiisque defendere, polliceor
shall-try from those-men's crime and-snares to-defend I-promise

hoc vobis, Quirites, bona fide: rem publicam vigilanti
this to-you citizens in-good faith the-thing public to-a-vigilant
homini, non timido, diligenti, non ignavo, commisistis.
man not timid to-a-diligent not idle you-have-entrusted
Ego sum is consul qui contionem metuam, qui tribunum 101
I am that consul who an-assembly should-fear who a-tribune
plebis perhorrescam, qui saepe et sine causa tumultuer,
of-the-plebs should-dread who often and without cause should-make-a-stir
qui timeam ne mihi in carcere habitandum sit, si tribunus
who should-fear lest to-me in prison to-be-lived be if a-tribune
plebis duci iusserit? Ego cum vestris armis armatus
of-the-plebs to-be-led shall-have-ordered I since with-your arms armed
sim, imperio, auctoritate insignibusque amplissimis exornatus,
I-am with-command authority and-insignia most-ample adorned
non horreo in hunc locum progredi, possum vobis,
not I-shudder into this place to-come-forward I-can with-you
Quirites, auctoribus improbitati hominis resistere, nec vereor
citizens as-sponsors to-the-wickedness of-the-man to-resist nor I-fear
ne res publica tantis munita praesidiis ab istis vinci
lest the-thing public by-so-great fortified defenses by those-men be-conquered
aut opprimi possit. Si antea timuissem, tamen hac contione,
or crushed can if before I-had-feared still with-this assembly
hoc populo certe non vererer. Quis enim umquam tam
with-this people certainly not I-would-fear who for ever with-so
secunda contione legem agrariam suasit quam ego dissuasi?
favorable an-assembly a-law agrarian urged as I dissuaded(-it)
si hoc dissuadere est ac non disturbare atque pervertere.
if this to-dissuade is and not to-throw-into-confusion and to-overturn
Ex quo intellegi, Quirites, potest nihil esse tam populare 102
from which to-be-understood citizens it-can nothing to-be so popular
quam id quod ego vobis in hunc annum consul popularis
as that which I to-you into this year a-consul popular

adfero, pacem, tranquillitatem, otium. Quae nobis designatis
bring peace tranquility leisure what with-us designate
timebatis, ea ne accidere possent consilio meo ac ratione
you-feared those-things lest to-happen could by-counsel my and planning
provisa sunt. Non modo vos eritis in otio qui semper
provided-against have-been not only you will-be in leisure who always
esse volueratis, verum etiam istos quibus odio est otium
to-be had-wished but even those to-whom hateful is leisure
quietissimos atque otiosissimos reddam. Etenim illis honores,
most-quiet and most-at-leisure I-shall-render for-indeed to-them honors
potestates, divitiae ex tumultu atque ex dissensionibus civium
powers riches from commotion and from dissensions of-citizens
comparari solent; vos, quorum gratia in suffragiis consistit,
to-be-obtained are-wont you whose influence in votes stands
libertas in legibus, ius in iudiciis et aequitate magistratuum,
liberty in laws right in courts and the-fairness of-magistrates
res familiaris in pace, omni ratione otium retinere debetis.
the-thing household in peace in-every way leisure to-keep ought
103 Nam si ei qui propter desidiam in otio vivunt, tamen in
for if those who on-account-of idleness in leisure live still in
sua turpi inertia capiunt voluptatem ex ipso otio, quam
their-own shameful sloth derive pleasure from the-very leisure how
vos fortunati eritis, si in hoc statu quem habetis vestra non
you fortunate will-be if in this condition which you-have by-your not
ignavia quaesitum, sed virtute partum, otium tenueritis,
cowardice sought but by-courage won leisure you-shall-have-kept
Quirites! Ego ex concordia quam mihi constitui cum
citizens I by the-concord which for-myself I-established with
conlega, invitissimis eis hominibus qui nos in consulatu
my-colleague to-the-most-unwilling those men who us in the-consulship
inimicos esse et fore aiebant, providi omnibus,
enemies to-be and to-be-going-to-be said I-foresaw for-all

prospexi annonae, revocavi fidem, tribunis plebis
I-provided for-the-grain-supply I-recalled credit to-the-tribunes of-the-plebs
denuntiavi ne quid turbulenti me consule conflarent.
I-gave-notice that-not anything turbulent with-me as-consul they-should-stir-up
Summum et firmissimum est illud communibus fortunis
the-highest and firmest is that for-the-common fortunes
praesidium, Quirites, ut, qualis vos hodierno die maxima
protection citizens that such-as you on-today's day at-a-very-great
contione mihi pro salute vestra praebuistis, talis reliquis
assembly to-me for safety your showed-yourselves such at-the-remaining
temporibus rei publicae praebeatis. Promitto, recipio,
times to-the-thing public you-show-yourselves I-promise undertake
polliceor hoc vobis atque confirmo, me esse perfecturum
pledge this to-you and affirm me to-be going-to-accomplish
ut iam tandem illi qui honori inviderunt meo tamen vos
that now at-last those who honor have-envied my still you
universos in consule deligendo plurimum vidisse fateantur.
all in a-consul being-chosen very-much to-have-seen may-confess

DE LEGE AGRARIA III

I · THE CLAUSE FOR THE SULLAN POSSESSORS

Rullus has told the people that Cicero defends the Sullan possessors. Cicero reads out the clause of Rullus's bill that confirms those holdings more firmly than the Valerian law and makes private whatever anyone merely occupies. Rullus serves his father-in-law, who holds such land, and the charge turns back on him. The possessions Cicero defends are the people's own, and the Campanian land is kept for an army against them and Pompey.

Commodius fecissent tribuni plebis, Quirites, si, quae 1
more-suitably would-have-acted the-tribunes of-the-plebs citizens if what-things
apud vos de me deferunt, ea coram potius me
before you about me they-report those face-to-face rather with-me
praesente dixissent; nam et aequitatem vestrae disceptationis
present they-had-said for both the-fairness of-your judgment
et consuetudinem superiorum et ius suae potestatis
and the-custom of-their-predecessors and the-right of-their-own power
retinuissent. Sed quoniam adhuc praesens certamen
they-would-have-kept but since so-far present the-contest
contentionemque fugerunt, nunc, si videtur eis, in
and-dispute they-have-shunned now if it-seems-good to-them into
meam contionem prodeant et, quo provocati a me
my assembly let-them-come-forward and whither challenged by me
venire noluerunt, revocati saltem revertantur.
to-come they-were-unwilling recalled at-least let-them-return
Video quosdam, Quirites, strepitu significare nescio quid et 2
I-see certain-men citizens by-noise to-signify I-know-not what and
non eosdem voltus quos proxima mea contione praebuerunt
not the-same faces which at-the-last my assembly they-showed
in hanc contionem mihi rettulisse. Qua re a vobis
into this assembly to-me to-have-brought-back by-which thing from you

qui nihil de me credidistis ut eam voluntatem quam
who nothing about me believed that that goodwill which
semper habuistis erga me retineatis peto; a vobis autem
always you-have-had toward me you-keep I-ask from you however
quos leviter immutatos esse sentio parvam exigui temporis
whom slightly changed to-be I-perceive a-small of-short time
usuram bonae de me opinionis postulo, ut eam, si quae
use of-good about me opinion I-request that it if what-things
dixero vobis probabo, perpetuo retineatis; sin aliter,
I-shall-have-said to-you I-shall-prove for-ever you-may-keep but-if otherwise
hoc ipso in loco depositam atque abiectam relinquatis.
this very in place laid-down and cast-off you-may-leave(-it)
3 Completi sunt animi auresque vestrae, Quirites, me
filled are the-minds and-ears your citizens me
gratificantem Septimiis, Turraniis ceterisque Sullanarum
gratifying the-Septimii the-Turranii and-the-other of-the-Sullan
adsignationum possessoribus agrariae legi et commodis
assignments possessors the-agrarian law and advantages
vestris obsistere. Hoc si qui crediderunt, illud prius
your to-oppose this if any have-believed that first
crediderint necesse est, hac lege agraria quae promulgata
they-have-believed necessary it-is by-this law agrarian which published
est adimi Sullanos agros vobisque dividi, aut
has-been to-be-taken-away the-Sullan lands and-to-you to-be-divided or
denique minui privatorum possessiones ut in eas vos
finally to-be-diminished the-private-men's possessions so-that onto them you
deducamini. Si ostendo non modo non adimi cuiquam
may-be-settled if I-show not only not to-be-taken-away from-anyone
glebam de Sullanis agris, sed etiam genus id agrorum
a-clod from the-Sullan lands but even the-kind that of-lands
certo capite legis impudentissime confirmari atque sanciri,
by-a-specific clause of-the-law most-shamelessly to-be-confirmed and sanctioned

si doceo agris eis qui a Sulla sunt dati sic diligenter Rullum
if I-show for-those lands which by Sulla were given so diligently Rullus
sua lege consulere ut facile appareat eam legem non
by-his-own law to-provide that easily it-be-apparent that law not
a vestrorum commodorum patrono, sed a Valgi genero
by of-your advantages the-patron but by of-Valgus the-son-in-law
esse conscriptam, num quid est causae, Quirites, quin
to-have-been drafted surely-not anything is-there of-reason citizens why
illa criminatione qua in me absentem usus est non solum
by-that accusation which against me absent used he-has not only
meam sed etiam vestram diligentiam prudentiamque despexerit?
my but also your diligence and-prudence he-has-despised
Caput est legis xl de quo ego consulto, Quirites, 4
the-clause is of-the-law fortieth about which I deliberately citizens
neque apud vos ante feci mentionem, ne aut refricare
neither before you previously have-made mention lest either to-rub-open
obductam iam rei publicae cicatricem viderer aut
the-closed now of-the-thing public scar I-might-seem or
aliquid alienissimo tempore novae dissensionis commovere,
something at-a-most-unsuitable time of-new dissension to-stir
neque vero nunc ideo disputabo quod hunc statum
nor indeed now for-this-reason I-shall-argue because this condition
rei publicae non magno opere defendendum putem,
of-the-thing public not in-great measure to-be-defended I-think
praesertim qui oti et concordiae patronum me in
especially one-who of-leisure and concord as-patron myself for
hunc annum populo Romano professus sim, sed ut
this year to-the-people Roman professed I-have but that
doceam Rullum posthac in eis saltem tacere rebus in
I-may-teach Rullus hereafter in those at-least to-be-silent things in
quibus de se et de suis factis taceri velit.
which about himself and about his-own deeds to-be-kept-silent he-may-wish

5 Omnium legum iniquissimam dissimillimamque legis esse
of-all laws the-most-unjust and-most-unlike of-a-law to-be
arbitror eam quam L. Flaccus interrex de Sulla tulit, ut
I-think that which Lucius Flaccus interrex about Sulla carried that
omnia quaecumque ille fecisset essent rata. Nam cum ceteris in
all-things whatever he had-done should-be valid for while other in
civitatibus tyrannis institutis leges omnes exstinguantur atque
states with-tyrants established laws all are-extinguished and
tollantur, hic rei publicae tyrannum lege constituit. Est
removed here of-the-thing public a-tyrant by-law he-established it-is
invidiosa lex, sicuti dixi, verum tamen habet excusationem;
odious the-law as I-said but still it-has an-excuse
non enim videtur hominis lex esse, sed temporis.
not for it-seems of-the-man the-law to-be but of-the-time

6 Quid si est haec multo impudentior? Nam Valeria lege
what if is this much more-shameless for by-the-Valerian law
Corneliisque legibus eripitur civi, civi datur,
and-by-the-Cornelian laws is-snatched from-a-citizen to-a-citizen is-given
coniungitur impudens gratificatio cum acerba iniuria; sed
is-joined shameless favor with bitter injury but
tamen imbibit illis legibus spem non nullam cui
still has-imbibed from-those laws hope not none he-from-whom
ademptum est, aliquem scrupulum cui datum est.
taken-away it-has-been some scruple he-to-whom given it-has-been
Rulli cautio est haec: 'Qui post C. Marium Cn. Papirium
of-Rullus the-proviso is this which after Gaius Marius Gnaeus Papirius
consules.' Quam procul a suspicione fugit, quod eos
as-consuls how far from suspicion he-has-fled because those
consules qui adversarii Sullae maxime fuerunt potissimum
consuls who opponents of-Sulla most were especially
nominavit! Si enim Sullam dictatorem nominasset, perspicuum
he-has-named if for Sulla dictator he-had-named clear

fore et invidiosum arbitratus est. Sed quem vestrum
going-to-be and odious thought he-has but whom of-you
tam tardo ingenio fore putavit cui post eos consules
so of-slow wit going-to-be did-he-think to-whom after those consuls
Sullam dictatorem fuisse in mentem venire non posset?
Sulla dictator to-have-been into mind to-come not could
Quid ergo ait Marianus tribunus plebis, qui nos Sullanos 7
what therefore says the-Marian tribune of-the-plebs who us as-Sullans
in invidiam rapit? Qui post Marium et Carbonem consules
into odium sweeps which after Marius and Carbo as-consuls
agri, aedificia, lacus, stagna, loca, possessiones — caelum
lands buildings lakes pools places possessions the-sky
et mare praetermisit, cetera complexus est — 'publice
and sea he-has-passed-over the-other-things embraced he-has publicly
data adsignata, vendita, concessa sunt' — a quo, Rulle?
given assigned sold conceded have-been by whom Rullus
Post Marium et Carbonem consules quis adsignavit, quis
after Marius and Carbo as-consuls who assigned who
dedit, quis concessit praeter Sullam? — 'Ea omnia eo
gave who conceded except Sulla those all-things with-that
iure sint' — quo iure? labefactat videlicet nescio quid.
right be with-which right he-undermines of-course I-know-not what
Nimium acer, nimium vehemens tribunus plebis Sullana
too fierce too vehement a-tribune of-the-plebs the-Sullan-acts
rescindit — 'ut quae optimo iure privata sunt.' Etiamne
he-rescinds as what-things by-the-best right private are even
meliore quam paterna et avita?
by-a-better than paternal and ancestral
Meliore. At hoc Valeria lex non dicit, Corneliae leges non 8
by-a-better but this the-Valerian law not says the-Cornelian laws not
sanciunt, Sulla ipse non postulat. Si isti agri partem aliquam
sanction Sulla himself not demands if those lands part some

iuris, aliquam similitudinem propriae possessionis, aliquam
of-right some likeness of-proper possession some
spem diuturnitatis attingunt, nemo est tam impudens istorum
hope of-permanence touch no-one is so shameless of-those-men
quin agi secum praeclare arbitretur. Tu vero, Rulle, quid
but to-be-dealt with-himself splendidly would-think you indeed Rullus what
quaeris? Quod habent ut habeant? Quis vetat? Ut privatum
do-you-seek what they-have that they-may-have who forbids(-it) that private
sit? Ita latum est. Ut meliore iure tui soceri fundus
it-be so carried it-has-been that with-a-better right your father-in-law's farm
Hirpinus sit sive ager Hirpinus — totum enim possidet —
Hirpinian be or land Hirpinian whole for he-possesses(-it)
quam meus paternus avitusque fundus Arpinas?
than my paternal and-ancestral farm Arpinate
9 Id enim caves. Optimo enim iure ea sunt profecto
that for you-provide-for by-the-best for right those-things are surely
praedia quae optima condicione sunt. Libera meliore iure
estates which on-the-best terms are free with-better right
sunt quam serva; capite hoc omnia quae serviebant non
are than encumbered by-clause this all-things which were-encumbered not
servient. Soluta meliore in causa sunt quam obligata;
will-be-encumbered unmortgaged a-better in condition are than mortgaged
eodem capite subsignata omnia, si modo Sullana sunt,
by-the-same clause pledged all-things if only Sullan they-are
liberantur. Immunia commodiore condicione sunt quam illa
are-freed tax-free on-easier terms are than those
quae pensitant; ego Tusculanis pro aqua Crabra vectigal
which pay I to-the-Tusculans for the-water Crabra a-tax
pendam, quia mancipio fundum accepi; si a Sulla mihi
I-shall-pay because by-purchase the-farm I-received if by Sulla to-me
datus esset, Rulli lege non penderem.
given it-had-been by-Rullus' law not I-would-pay

Video vos, Quirites, sicuti res ipsa cogit, commoveri vel 10
I-see you citizens as the-thing itself compels to-be-moved either
legis vel orationis impudentia, legis quae ius melius
by-the-law's or by-the-speech's shamelessness of-the-law which a-right better
Sullanis praediis constituat quam paternis, orationis quae eius
for-Sullan estates establishes than for-paternal of-the-speech which of-that
modi in causa insimulare quemquam audeat rationes Sullae
kind in a-case to-accuse anyone dares the-interests of-Sulla
nimium vehementer defendere. At si illa solum sanciret
too vehemently to-defend but if those-things only it-sanctioned
quae a Sulla essent data, tacerem, modo ipse se
which by Sulla had-been given I-would-be-silent provided he-himself himself
Sullanum esse confiteretur. Sed non modo illis cavet
a-Sullan to-be should-confess but not only for-those-things he-provides
verum etiam aliud quoddam genus donationis inducit; et
but also another a-certain kind of-donation he-introduces and
is qui a me Sullanas possessiones defendi criminatur non
he who by me the-Sullan possessions to-be-defended charges not
eas solum sancit verum ipse novas adsignationes instituit
them only sanctions but he-himself new assignments establishes
et repentinus Sulla nobis exoritur.
and a-sudden Sulla for-us arises
Nam attendite quantas concessiones agrorum hic noster 11
for attend how-great concessions of-lands this our
obiurgator uno verbo facere conetur: 'Quae data, donata,
reprover by-one word to-make tries what-things given donated
concessa, vendita.' Patior, audio. Quid deinde? 'Possessa.'
conceded sold I-bear(-it) I-hear(-it) what then possessed
Hoc tribunus plebis promulgare ausus est ut, quod quisque
this a-tribune of-the-plebs to-publish dared has that what each-one
post Marium et Carbonem consules possideret, id eo
after Marius and Carbo as-consuls possessed that by-that

iure teneret quo quod optimo privatum est? Etiamne
right he-should-hold by-which what by-the-best private is even
si vi deiecit, etiamne si clam, si precario venit
if by-force he-ejected(-its-owner) even if secretly if on-sufferance he-came
in possessionem? Ergo hac lege ius civile, causae
into possession therefore by-this law the-right civil the-cases
possessionum, praetorum interdicta tollentur.
of-possession the-praetors' interdicts will-be-removed

12 Non mediocris res neque parvum sub hoc verbo furtum,
not moderate a-thing nor small under this word a-theft
Quirites, latet. Sunt enim multi agri lege Cornelia
citizens lies-hidden there-are for many lands by-the-law Cornelian
publicati nec cuiquam adsignati neque venditi qui a paucis
confiscated nor to-anyone assigned nor sold which by a-few
hominibus impudentissime possidentur. His cavet, hos
men most-shamelessly are-possessed for-these he-provides these
defendit, hos privatos facit; hos, inquam, agros quos Sulla
he-defends these private he-makes these I-say lands which Sulla
nemini dedit Rullus non vobis adsignare volt, sed eis
to-no-one gave Rullus not to-you to-assign wishes but to-those
condonare qui possident. Causam quaero cur ea quae
to-give-away who possess(-them) the-reason I-seek why those-things which
maiores vobis in Italia, Sicilia, Africa, duabus Hispaniis,
ancestors to-you in Italy Sicily Africa the-two Spains
Macedonia, Asia reliquerunt venire patiamini, cum ea
Macedonia Asia left to-be-sold you-should-allow when those-things
quae vestra sunt condonari possessoribus eadem lege videatis.
which yours are to-be-given-away to-the-possessors by-the-same law you-see

13 Iam totam legem intellegetis, cum ad paucorum
now whole the-law you-will-understand both for of-a-few
dominationem scripta sit, tum ad Sullanae adsignationis
the-despotism written it-be and for of-the-Sullan assignment

rationes esse accommodatissimam. Nam socer huius
the-interests to-be most-adapted for the-father-in-law of-this-man
vir multum bonus est; neque ego nunc de illius bonitate,
a-man very good is nor I now about his goodness
sed de generi impudentia disputo. Ille enim quod habet
but about the-son-in-law's shamelessness argue he for what he-has
retinere volt neque se Sullanum esse dissimulat; hic,
to-keep wishes nor himself a-Sullan to-be conceals this-man
ut ipse habeat quod non habet, quae dubia sunt
so-that he-himself may-have what not he-has what-things doubtful are
per vos sancire volt et, cum plus appetat quam ipse Sulla,
through you to-sanction wishes and when more he-seeks than himself Sulla
quibus rebus resisto, Sullanas res defendere me criminatur.
which things I-resist the-Sullan interests to-defend me he-charges
'Habet agros non nullos,' inquit, 'socer meus desertos 14
he-has lands not none he-says father-in-law my deserted
atque longinquos; vendet eos mea lege quanti volet.
and remote he-will-sell them by-my law at-what-price he-will-wish
Habet incertos ac nullo iure possessos; confirmabuntur
he-has uncertain and by-no right possessed they-will-be-confirmed
optimo iure. Habet publicos; reddam privatos. Denique
by-the-best right he-has public I-shall-render(-them) private finally
eos fundos quos in agro Casinati optimos fructuosissimosque
those farms which in the-land Casinate best and-most-fruitful
continuavit, cum usque eo vicinos proscriberet quoad
he-made-continuous when right-up thereto his-neighbors he-proscribed until
angulos conformando ex multis praediis unam fundi
the-corners by-shaping from many estates one of-a-farm
regionem normamque perfecerit, quos nunc cum aliquo metu
region and-square he-completed which now with some fear
tenet, sine ulla cura possidebit.'
he-holds without any care he-will-possess

15 Et quoniam qua de causa et quorum causa ille hoc
and since what about reason and for-whose sake he this
promulgarit ostendi, doceat ipse nunc ego quem
published I-have-shown let-him-teach he-himself now I what
possessorem defendam, cum agrariae legi resisto. Silvam
possessor I-may-defend when the-agrarian law I-resist the-forest
Scantiam vendis; populus Romanus possidet; defendo.
Scantian you-sell the-people Roman possesses(-it) I-defend(-it)
Campanum agrum dividis; vos estis in possessione; non
the-Campanian land you-divide you are in possession not
cedo. Deinde Italiae, Siciliae ceterarumque provinciarum
I-yield then of-Italy of-Sicily and-of-the-other provinces
possessiones venalis ac proscriptas hac lege video; vestra
the-possessions for-sale and advertised by-this law I-see yours
sunt praedia, vestrae possessiones; resistam atque repugnabo
are the-estates your possessions I-shall-resist and fight
neque patiar a quoquam populum Romanum de suis
nor I-shall-allow by anyone the-people Roman from its-own
possessionibus me consule demoveri, praesertim, Quirites,
possessions with-me as-consul to-be-dislodged especially citizens
cum vobis nihil quaeratur.
when for-you nothing is-sought

16 Hoc enim vos in errore versari diutius non oportet. Num
this for you in error to-dwell longer not it-behooves surely-not
quis vestrum ad vim, ad facinus, ad caedem accommodatus
anyone of-you for violence for crime for slaughter suited
est? Nemo. Atqui ei generi hominum, mihi credite,
is no-one and-yet for-that kind of-men to-me believe
Campanus ager et praeclara illa Capua servatur; exercitus
the-Campanian land and splendid that Capua is-kept an-army
contra vos, contra libertatem vestram, contra Cn. Pompeium
against you against liberty your against Gnaeus Pompey

constituitur; contra hanc urbem Capua, contra vos manus
is-formed against this city Capua against you a-band
hominum audacissimorum, contra Cn. Pompeium x duces
of-men most-audacious against Gnaeus Pompey ten leaders
comparantur. Veniant et coram, quoniam me in vestram
are-prepared let-them-come and face-to-face since me into your
contionem vobis flagitantibus evocaverunt, disserant.
assembly with-you demanding they-have-called-out let-them-discuss

CICERO

Post Reditum in Senatu

After His Return, to the Senate

POST REDITUM IN SENATU

I · THANKS TO THE SENATE

Cicero thanks the senators for restoring him, and with him his brother, children, fortunes, and country. He praises the consuls Lentulus and Metellus. He contrasts them with the consuls of the year before, Piso and Gabinius, who betrayed him and the state.

Si, patres conscripti, pro vestris immortalibus in me 1
if fathers enrolled for your immortal toward me
fratremque meum liberosque nostros meritis parum vobis
and-brother my and-children our services too-little to-you
cumulate gratias egero, quaeso obtestorque ne meae
abundantly thanks I-shall-have-given I-beg and-implore that-not to-my
naturae potius quam magnitudini vestrorum beneficiorum id
nature rather than to-the-greatness of-your favors that
tribuendum putetis. Quae tanta enim potest exsistere ubertas
to-be-attributed you-think what so-great for can arise fertility
ingeni, quae tanta dicendi copia, quod tam divinum atque
of-talent what so-great of-speaking abundance what so divine and
incredibile genus orationis, quo quisquam possit vestra in
incredible kind of-oratory by-which anyone could your toward
nos universa promerita non dicam complecti orando, sed
us all merits not I-shall-say to-embrace by-speaking but
percensere numerando? qui mihi fratrem optatissimum, me
to-survey by-enumerating you-who to-me a-brother most-longed-for me
fratri amantissimo, liberis nostris parentes, nobis liberos,
to-a-brother most-loving to-children our parents to-us children
qui dignitatem, qui ordinem, qui fortunas, qui amplissimam
who dignity who rank who fortunes who the-most-ample

rem publicam, qui patriam, qua nihil potest esse
thing public who the-fatherland than-which nothing can be
iucundius, qui denique nosmet ipsos nobis reddidistis.
more-pleasant who finally us ourselves to-us have-given-back
2 Quod si parentes carissimos habere debemus, quod ab iis nobis
but if parents most-dear to-hold we-ought because by them to-us
vita, patrimonium, libertas, civitas tradita est, si deos
life patrimony liberty citizenship handed-down has-been if the-gods
immortalis, quorum beneficio et haec tenuimus et ceteris
immortal by-whose favor both these-things we-have-held and with-the-other
rebus aucti sumus, si populum Romanum, cuius honoribus
things increased we-have-been if the-people Roman by-whose honors
in amplissimo consilio et in altissimo gradu dignitatis atque
in the-most-ample council and in the-highest step of-dignity and
in hac omnium terrarum arce conlocati sumus, si hunc
in this of-all lands citadel placed we-have-been if this
ipsum ordinem, a quo saepe magnificentissimis decretis
very order by which often with-most-magnificent decrees
sumus honestati, immensum quiddam et infinitum est
we-have-been honored immense something and boundless it-is
quod vobis debeamus, qui vestro singulari studio atque
which to-you we-owe who by-your singular zeal and
consensu parentum beneficia, deorum immortalium munera,
agreement of-parents the-favors of-the-gods immortal the-gifts
populi Romani honores, vestra de me multa iudicia nobis
of-the-people Roman the-honors your about me many judgments to-us
uno tempore omnia reddidistis, ut, cum multa vobis,
at-one time all have-given-back so-that since many-things to-you
magna populo Romano, innumerabilia parentibus, omnia
great-things to-the-people Roman countless to-parents all

dis immortalibus debeamus, haec antea singula per
to-the-gods immortal we-owe these-things before singly through
illos habuerimus, nunc universa per vos reciperarimus.
them we-had now all-together through you we-have-recovered
Itaque, patres conscripti, quod ne optandum quidem est 3
and-so fathers enrolled what not to-be-wished even is
homini, immortalitatem quandam per vos esse adepti
by-a-man immortality a-certain through you to-have attained
videmur. Quod enim tempus erit umquam cum vestrorum
we-seem what for time will-there-be ever when of-your
in nos beneficiorum memoria ac fama moriatur? Qui
toward us favors the-memory and report may-die you-who
illo ipso tempore cum vi ferro metu minis obsessi
at-that very time when by-violence sword fear threats besieged
teneremini, non multo post discessum meum me universi
you-were-held not long after departure my me all-together
revocavistis referente L. Ninnio, fortissimo atque optimo
recalled with-reporting Lucius Ninnius a-most-brave and excellent
viro, quem habuit ille pestifer annus et maxime fidelem
man whom had that pestilent year both most faithful
et minime timidum, si dimicare placuisset, defensorem
and least timid if to-fight it-had-pleased as-defender
salutis meae: postea quam vobis decernendi potestas non
of-the-safety my after that to-you of-decreeing the-power not
est permissa per eum tribunum plebis qui, cum per se
was permitted by that tribune of-the-plebs who when by himself
rem publicam lacerare non posset, sub alieno scelere
the-thing public to-tear not he-could under another's crime
delituit, numquam de me siluistis, numquam meam
lurked never about me you-were-silent never my
salutem non ab iis consulibus qui vendiderant flagitavistis.
safety not from those consuls who had-sold(-it) you-demanded

4 Itaque vestro studio atque auctoritate perfectum est ut ipse
and-so by-your zeal and authority brought-about it-was that very
ille annus, quem ego mihi quam patriae malueram esse
that year which I for-myself than for-the-fatherland had-preferred to-be
fatalem, octo tribunos haberet qui et promulgarent de salute
fatal eight tribunes should-have who both should-publish(-bills) about safety
mea et ad vos saepe numero referrent. Nam consules modesti
my and to you often in-number refer(-it) for the-consuls modest
legumque metuentes impediebantur lege, non ea quae de
and-of-the-laws fearing were-hindered by-a-law not that which about
me, sed ea quae de ipsis lata erat, quam meus inimicus
me but that which about themselves carried had-been which my enemy
promulgavit ut, si revixissent ii qui haec paene
published that if had-come-to-life-again those who these-things almost
delerunt, tum ego redirem; quo facto utrumque confessus est,
destroyed then I should-return by-which deed each-thing he-confessed has
et se illorum vitam desiderare, et magno in periculo rem
both himself their life to-long-for and great in danger the-thing
publicam futuram si, cum hostes atque interfectores rei
public going-to-be if when the-enemies and murderers of-the-thing
publicae revixissent, ego non revertissem. Idemque illo
public had-come-to-life-again I not had-returned and-the-same in-that
ipso tamen anno, cum ego cessissem, princeps autem civitatis
very still year when I had-withdrawn the-leading-man however of-the-state
non legum praesidio sed parietum vitam suam tueretur, res
not by-the-laws' protection but by-walls' life his-own protected the-thing
publica sine consulibus esset, neque solum parentibus perpetuis
public without consuls was nor only of-parents everlasting
verum etiam tutoribus annuis esset orbata, sententias dicere
but also of-yearly guardians had-been bereaved opinions to-speak

prohiberemini, caput meae proscriptionis recitaretur, numquam
you-were-prevented the-head of-my proscription was-read-out never
dubitastis meam salutem cum communi salute coniungere.
you-hesitated my safety with the-common safety to-join
Postea vero quam singulari et praestantissima virtute 5
after indeed that by-singular and most-outstanding courage
P. Lentuli consulis ex superioris anni caligine et
of-Publius Lentulus the-consul from of-the-earlier year the-fog and
tenebris lucem in re publica Kalendis Ianuariis dispicere
darkness light in the-thing public on-the-Kalends of-January to-discern
coepistis, cum Q. Metelli, nobilissimi hominis atque
you-began when of-Quintus Metellus a-most-noble man and
optimi viri, summa dignitas, cum praetorum tribunorum
best man the-highest dignity when of-the-praetors of-the-tribunes
plebis paene omnium virtus et fides rei publicae
of-the-plebs almost all the-courage and loyalty to-the-thing public
subvenisset, cum virtute gloria rebus gestis Cn. Pompeius
had-come-to-the-aid when in-courage glory things done Gnaeus Pompey
omnium gentium, omnium saeculorum, omnis memoriae
of-all peoples of-all ages of-all memory
facile princeps tuto se venire in senatum arbitraretur,
easily the-first safely himself to-come into the-senate thought
tantus vester consensus de salute mea fuit ut corpus
so-great your agreement about safety my was that the-body
abesset meum, dignitas iam in patriam revertisset.
was-absent my the-dignity already into the-fatherland had-returned
Quo quidem mense quid inter me et meos inimicos 6
in-which indeed month what between me and my enemies
interesset existimare potuistis. Ego meam salutem deserui,
the-difference-was to-judge you-could I my safety deserted
ne propter me civium vulneribus res publica
lest on-account-of me with-citizens' wounds the-thing public

cruentaretur: illi meum reditum non populi Romani
be-bloodied they my return not of-the-people Roman
suffragiis sed flumine sanguinis intercludendum putaverunt.
by-the-votes but by-a-river of-blood to-be-blocked thought
Itaque postea nihil vos civibus, nihil sociis, nihil regibus
and-so afterward nothing you to-citizens nothing to-allies nothing to-kings
respondistis; nihil iudices sententiis, nihil populus suffragiis,
answered nothing the-judges by-verdicts nothing the-people by-votes
nihil hic ordo auctoritate declaravit; mutum forum, elinguem
nothing this order by-authority declared a-mute forum a-tongueless
curiam, tacitam et fractam civitatem videbatis.
senate-house a-silent and broken state you-saw

7 Quo quidem tempore, cum is excessisset qui caedi et
at-which indeed time when he had-departed who to-slaughter and
flammae vobis auctoribus restiterat, cum ferro et facibus
fire with-you as-sponsors had-resisted when with-swords and torches
homines tota urbe volitantis, magistratuum tecta
men through-the-whole city flitting the-magistrates' houses
impugnata, deorum templa inflammata, summi viri et
attacked the-gods' temples set-on-fire of-a-very-great man and
clarissimi consulis fascis fractos, fortissimi atque optimi
most-illustrious consul the-fasces broken of-a-most-brave and best
tribuni plebis sanctissimum corpus non tactum ac violatum
tribune of-the-plebs the-most-sacred body not touched and violated
manu sed vulneratum ferro confectumque vidistis. Qua
by-hand but wounded by-the-sword and-finished you-saw by-which
strage non nulli permoti magistratus partim metu mortis,
slaughter not none moved magistrates partly by-fear of-death
partim desperatione rei publicae paululum a mea
partly by-despair of-the-thing public a-little from my
causa recesserunt: reliqui fuerunt quos neque terror nec
cause withdrew the-rest were-those whom neither terror nor

vis, nec spes nec metus, nec promissa nec minae, nec
violence nor hope nor fear nor promises nor threats nor
tela nec faces a vestra auctoritate, a populi Romani
weapons nor torches from your authority from of-the-people Roman
dignitate, a mea salute depellerent.
the-dignity from my safety could-drive
Princeps P. Lentulus, parens ac deus nostrae vitae fortunae 8
the-first Publius Lentulus the-parent and god of-our life fortune
memoriae nominis, hoc specimen virtutis, hoc indicium animi,
memory name this proof of-courage this sign of-mind
hoc lumen consulatus sui fore putavit, si me mihi, si
this light of-consulship his going-to-be he-thought if me to-myself if
meis, si vobis, si rei publicae reddidisset. Qui ut
to-my-family if to-you if to-the-thing public he-had-restored who as-soon-as
est designatus, numquam dubitavit sententiam de salute
he-was designated never hesitated an-opinion about safety
mea se et re publica dignam dicere: cum a tribuno
my of-himself and of-the-thing public worthy to-speak when by a-tribune
plebis vetaretur, cum praeclarum caput recitaretur ne quis
of-the-plebs it-was-forbidden when the-splendid clause was-read-out that-not anyone
ad vos referret, ne quis decerneret, ne disputaret, ne
to you should-refer that-not anyone should-decree that-not should-discuss that-not
loqueretur, ne pedibus iret, ne scribendo adesset,
should-speak that-not with-his-feet should-go that-not at-the-drafting should-attend
totam illam, ut ante dixi, proscriptionem non legem putavit,
whole that as before I-said a-proscription not a-law he-thought
qua civis optime de re publica meritus nominatim
by-which a-citizen best of the-thing public having-deserved by-name
sine iudicio una cum senatu rei publicae esset
without trial together with the-senate from-the-thing public had-been
ereptus. Ut vero iniit magistratum, non dicam quid egit
snatched when indeed he-entered his-magistracy not I-shall-say what he-did

prius, sed quid omnino egit aliud nisi ut me conservato
first but what at-all he-did else except that with-me preserved
vestram in posterum dignitatem auctoritatemque sanciret?
your for the-future dignity and-authority he-might-sanction
9 Di immortales, quantum mihi beneficium dedisse videmini,
gods immortal how-great to-me a-favor to-have-given you-seem
quod hoc anno P. Lentulus consul populi Romani
that in-this year Publius Lentulus consul of-the-people Roman
fuit! quanto maius dedissetis si superiore anno fuisset!
was how-much greater you-would-have-given if in-the-earlier year he-had-been
Nec enim eguissem medicina consulari, nisi consulari
nor for I-would-have-needed medicine consular unless by-a-consular
vulnere concidissem. Audieram ex sapientissimo homine
wound I-had-fallen I-had-heard from a-most-wise man
atque optimo civi et viro, Q. Catulo, non saepe
and excellent citizen and man Quintus Catulus not often
unum consulem improbum, duo vero numquam excepto illo
one consul wicked two indeed never except that
Cinnano tempore fuisse; qua re meam causam semper
Cinnan time to-have-been by-which thing my cause always
fore firmissimam dicere solebat, dum vel unus in re
going-to-be most-firm to-say he-was-wont while even one in the-thing
publica consul esset; quod vere dixerat si illud de duobus
public consul there-was which truly he-had-said if that about the-two
consulibus, quod ante in re publica non fuerat, perenne
consuls which before in the-thing public not had-been lasting
ac proprium manere potuisset. Quod si Q. Metellus illo
and proper to-remain could-have but if Quintus Metellus at-that
tempore consul fuisset, dubitatis quo animo fuerit
time consul had-been do-you-doubt with-what mind he-would-have-been

in me conservando futurus, cum in restituendo auctorem
in me being-preserved going-to-be when in restoring(-me) the-sponsor
fuisse adscriptoremque videatis?
to-have-been and-co-signer you-see
Sed fuerunt ii consules quorum mentes angustae humiles 10
but there-were those consuls whose minds narrow low
pravae, oppletae tenebris ac sordibus, nomen ipsum
perverse filled with-darkness and filth the-name itself
consulatus, splendorem illius honoris, magnitudinem tanti
of-the-consulship the-splendor of-that honor the-greatness of-so-great
imperi nec intueri nec sustinere nec capere potuerunt, —
a-command neither to-look-upon nor to-sustain nor to-grasp could
non consules, sed mercatores provinciarum ac venditores
not consuls but merchants of-provinces and sellers
vestrae dignitatis; quorum alter a me Catilinam, amatorem
of-your dignity of-whom the-one from me Catiline lover
suum, multis audientibus, alter Cethegum consobrinum
his-own with-many hearing the-other Cethegus his-cousin
reposcebat; qui me duo sceleratissimi post hominum
demanded-back who me two most-criminal since of-men
memoriam non consules sed latrones non modo deseruerunt,
memory not consuls but brigands not only deserted
in causa praesertim publica et consulari, sed prodiderunt,
in a-cause especially public and consular but betrayed
oppugnarunt, omni auxilio non solum suo sed etiam
attacked of-every help not only their-own but also
vestro ceterorumque ordinum spoliatum esse voluerunt.
yours and-of-the-other orders stripped to-be wished
Quorum alter tamen neque me neque quemquam fefellit.
of-whom the-one still neither me nor anyone deceived

11 Quis enim ullam ullius boni spem haberet in eo cuius primum
who for any of-any good hope would-have in him whose first
tempus aetatis palam fuisset ad omnis libidines divulgatum?
time of-age openly had-been to all lusts prostituted
qui ne a sanctissima quidem parte corporis potuisset
who not from the-most-sacred even part of-the-body could
hominum impuram intemperantiam propulsare? qui cum suam
of-men the-impure intemperance repel who when his-own
rem non minus strenue quam postea publicam confecisset,
property not less vigorously than afterward the-public he-had-squandered
egestatem et luxuriem domestico lenocinio sustentavit? qui nisi
poverty and luxury by-domestic pimping sustained who unless
in aram tribunatus confugisset, neque vim praetoris nec
to the-altar of-the-tribunate he-had-fled neither the-violence of-the-praetor nor
multitudinem creditorum nec bonorum proscriptionem effugere
the-multitude of-creditors nor of-his-goods the-proscription to-escape
potuisset? qui in magistratu nisi rogationem de piratico bello
could-have who in office unless a-bill about the-pirate war
tulisset, profecto egestate et improbitate coactus piraticam
he-had-carried surely by-poverty and wickedness forced piracy
ipse fecisset, ac minore quidem cum rei publicae
himself would-have-practiced and with-less indeed with of-the-thing public
detrimento quam quod intra moenia nefarius hostis praedoque
loss than that within the-walls a-wicked enemy and-pirate
versatus est? quo inspectante ac sedente legem tribunus
moved has with-whom looking-on and sitting a-law a-tribune
plebis tulit ne auspiciis obtemperaretur, ne obnuntiare
of-the-plebs carried that-not the-auspices be-obeyed that-not to-announce-omens
concilio aut comitiis, ne legi intercedere liceret, ut lex
to-the-council or to-the-assemblies that-not the-law to-veto be-allowed that the-law

Aelia et Fufia ne valeret, quae nostri maiores certissima subsidia
Aelian and Fufian not should-hold which our ancestors the-surest supports
rei publicae contra tribunicios furores esse voluerunt?
of-the-thing public against tribunician frenzies to-be wished
Idemque postea, cum innumerabilis multitudo bonorum 12
and-the-same-man afterward when a-countless multitude of-the-good
de Capitolio supplex ad eum sordidata venisset, cumque
from the-Capitol as-suppliant to him in-mourning had-come and-when
adulescentes nobilissimi cunctique equites Romani se ad
young-men most-noble and-all knights Roman themselves at
lenonis impudicissimi pedes abiecissent, quo vultu cincinnatus
the-pimp's most-shameless feet had-thrown with-what face the-curly-haired
ganeo non solum civium lacrimas verum etiam patriae
glutton not only of-citizens the-tears but also of-the-fatherland
preces repudiavit! Neque eo contentus fuit, sed etiam in
the-prayers rejected nor with-that content he-was but even into
contionem escendit eaque dixit quae, si eius vir Catilina
an-assembly he-mounted and-those-things said which if his man Catiline
revixisset, dicere non esset ausus, se Nonarum
had-come-to-life-again to-say not he-would-have dared himself of-the-Nones
Decembrium quae me consule fuissent clivique Capitolini
of-December which with-me as-consul had-been and-of-the-slope Capitoline
poenas ab equitibus Romanis esse repetiturum. Neque solum
the-penalty from the-knights Roman to-be going-to-exact nor only
id dixit, sed quos ei commodum fuit compellavit,
that he-said but those-whom to-him convenient it-was he-assailed
Lucium vero Lamiam, equitem Romanum, praestanti dignitate
Lucius indeed Lamia a-knight Roman of-outstanding dignity
hominem et saluti meae pro familiaritate, rei publicae pro
a-man and to-safety my for intimacy to-the-thing public for
fortunis suis amicissimum, consul imperiosus exire ex urbe
fortunes his-own most-friendly the-consul imperious to-go-out from the-city

iussit. Et cum vos vestem mutandam censuissetis cunctique
ordered and when you dress to-be-changed had-voted and-all
mutassetis atque idem omnes boni iam ante fecissent, ille
had-changed and the-same all good-men already before had-done he
unguentis oblitus cum toga praetexta, quam omnes praetores
with-ointments smeared with the-toga bordered which all praetors
aedilesque tum abiecerant, inrisit squalorem vestrum et luctum
and-aediles then had-thrown-off mocked mourning your and the-grief
gratissimae civitatis, fecitque, quod nemo umquam tyrannus, ut
of-a-most-grateful state and-he-did what no-one ever tyrant that
quo minus occulte vestrum malum gemeretis nihil diceret,
by-which less secretly your misfortune you-should-groan nothing he-said
ne aperte incommoda patriae lugeretis ediceret.
that-not openly the-misfortunes of-the-fatherland you-should-mourn he-proclaimed
13 Cum vero in circo Flaminio non a tribuno plebis
when indeed in the-circus Flaminian not by a-tribune of-the-plebs
consul in contionem, sed a latrone archipirata productus
a-consul into an-assembly but by a-brigand arch-pirate brought-forward
esset, primum processit, qua auctoritate vir! vini
he-had-been first he-came-forward with-what authority a-man of-wine
somni stupri plenus, madenti coma, composito capillo,
of-sleep of-debauchery full with-dripping locks with-arranged hair
gravibus oculis, fluentibus buccis: pressa voce et temulenta,
with-heavy eyes with-flowing cheeks with-pressed voice and drunken
quod in civis indemnatos esset animadversum, id sibi
that upon citizens uncondemned had-been punishment-inflicted that to-himself
dixit gravis auctor vehementissime displicere. Ubi nobis
he-said weighty authority most-vehemently to-displease where for-us
haec auctoritas tam diu tanta latuit? cur in lustris et
this authority so long so-great lay-hidden why in brothels and
helluationibus huius calamistrati saltatoris tam eximia virtus
gluttonies of-this curled dancer so exceptional a-virtue

tam diu cessavit? Nam ille alter Caesoninus Calventius
so long has-been-idle for that other Caesoninus Calventius
ab adulescentia versatus est in foro, cum eum praeter
from youth moved has in the-forum when him besides
simulatam versutamque tristitiam nulla res commendaret,
a-feigned and-crafty gloom no thing recommended
non consilium, non dicendi copia, non rei militaris,
not counsel not of-speaking copiousness not of-the-thing military
non cognoscendorum hominum studium, non liberalitas.
not of-learning-about men zeal not liberality
Quem praeteriens cum incultum horridum maestumque
whom passing-by when unkempt shaggy and-gloomy
vidisses, etiam si agrestem et inhumanum existimares,
you-had-seen even if rustic and inhuman you-would-think(-him)
tamen libidinosum et perditum non putares.
still lustful and abandoned not you-would-think(-him)

II · PISO, GABINIUS, AND THE TRIBUNES

Cicero turns on Piso, a block of wood in the forum and a voluptuary at home, whose frown deceived the senate and people, and who joined Gabinius in selling the state. He thanks the tribunes who worked for his return, Milo and Sestius above all, and the praetors. He thanks Lentulus, whose motion called all Italy to his defense, and Metellus, who laid aside his enmity.

Cum hoc homine an cum stipite in foro constitisses, nihil 14
with this man or with a-stump in the-forum you-had-stood nothing
crederes interesse: sine sensu, sine sapore, elinguem,
you-would-believe to-differ without feeling without taste tongueless
tardum, inhumanum negotium, Cappadocem modo abreptum
slow inhuman a-creature a-Cappadocian just-now snatched

de grege venalium diceres. Idem domi quam libidinosus,
from the-herd of-slaves-for-sale you-would-say the-same at-home how lustful
quam impurus, quam intemperans, non ianua receptis sed
how impure how intemperate not by-the-door admitted but
pseudothyro intromissis voluptatibus! Cum vero etiam litteris
by-a-back-door brought-in pleasures when indeed even letters
studere incipit et belua immanis cum Graeculis philosophari,
to-study he-begins and the-beast monstrous with Greeklings to-philosophize
tum est Epicureus non penitus illi disciplinae, quaecumque
then he-is an-Epicurean not deeply to-that school whatever
est, deditus, sed captus uno verbo voluptatis. Habet autem
it-is devoted but captured by-one word of-pleasure he-has however
magistros non ex istis ineptis qui dies totos de officio ac de
teachers not from those fools who days whole about duty and about
virtute disserunt, qui ad laborem, ad industriam, ad pericula pro
virtue discourse who to labor to industry to dangers for
patria subeunda adhortantur, sed eos qui disputent horam
the-fatherland to-be-undergone exhort but those who argue hour
nullam vacuam voluptate esse debere, in omni parte corporis
no empty of-pleasure to-be to-be-obliged in every part of-the-body
semper oportere aliquod gaudium delectationemque versari.
always to-behoove some joy and-delight to-be-present
15 His utitur quasi praefectis libidinum suarum, hi voluptates
these he-uses as-if as-overseers of-lusts his-own these the-pleasures
omnis vestigant atque odorantur, hi sunt conditores
all track-down and sniff-out these are the-founders
instructoresque convivi, idem expendunt atque aestimant
and-furnishers of-the-banquet the-same weigh and value
voluptates sententiamque dicunt et iudicant quantum cuique
the-pleasures and-an-opinion speak and judge how-much to-each
libidini tribuendum esse videatur. Horum ille artibus eruditus
lust to-be-granted to-be may-seem of-these he by-the-arts trained

ita contempsit hanc prudentissimam civitatem ut omnis suas
so despised this most-prudent state that all his-own
libidines, omnia flagitia latere posse arbitraretur, si modo
lusts all outrages to-lie-hidden to-be-able he-thought if only
vultum importunum in forum detulisset. Is nequaquam me
a-face savage into the-forum he-had-brought he by-no-means me
quidem — cognoram enim propter Pisonum adfinitatem
indeed I-had-known for on-account-of of-the-Pisos the-relationship
quam longe hunc ab hoc genere cognatio materna
how far this-man from this stock his-kinship maternal
Transalpini sanguinis abstulisset — sed vos populumque
of-Transalpine blood had-taken-away but you and-the-people
Romanum non consilio neque eloquentia, quod in multis
Roman not by-counsel nor by-eloquence which in many
saepe accidit, sed rugis supercilioque decepit.
often happens but by-wrinkles and-eyebrow he-deceived
Luci Piso, tune ausus es isto oculo, non dicam isto 16
Lucius Piso you-then dared have with-that eye not I-shall-say with-that
animo, ista fronte, non vita, tanto supercilio, non
mind with-that brow not life with-so-great eyebrow not
enim possum dicere tantis rebus gestis, cum A. Gabinio
for I-can say with-so-great things done with Aulus Gabinius
consociare consilia pestis meae? Non te illius unguentorum
to-share the-counsels of-ruin my not you his of-ointments
odor, non vini anhelitus, non frons calamistri notata
the-smell not of-wine the-panting not the-brow of-the-curling-iron marked
vestigiis in eam cogitationem adducebat, ut cum illius re
with-traces to that thought led that since to-his in-fact
similis fuisses, frontis tibi integimento ad occultanda
like you-had-been of-your-brow to-you the-covering for hiding
tanta flagitia diutius uti non liceret? Cum hoc
such-great outrages longer to-use not it-would-be-allowed with this-man

coire ausus es ut consularem dignitatem, ut rei
to-combine dared you-have that the-consular dignity that of-the-thing
publicae statum, ut senatus auctoritatem, ut civis optime
public the-condition that the-senate's authority that of-a-citizen best
meriti fortunas provinciarum foedere addiceres? Te
having-deserved the-fortunes of-provinces by-the-pact you-might-knock-down with-you
consule, tuis edictis et imperiis senatui populi Romani non
as-consul by-your edicts and commands to-the-senate of-the-people Roman not
est licitum non modo sententiis atque auctoritate sua, sed
it-was allowed not only by-votes and authority its-own but
ne luctu quidem ac vestitu rei publicae subvenire?
not by-mourning even and dress to-the-thing public to-come-to-the-aid
17 Capuaene te putabas, in qua urbe domicilium quondam
at-Capua yourself did-you-think in which city the-home once
superbiae fuit, consulem esse, sicut eras eo tempore,
of-arrogance was consul to-be as you-were at-that time
an Romae, in qua civitate omnes ante vos consules senatui
or at-Rome in which state all before you consuls the-senate
paruerunt? Tu es ausus in circo Flaminio productus cum tuo
obeyed you have dared in the-circus Flaminian brought-forward with your
illo pari dicere te semper misericordem fuisse? quo verbo
that equal to-say yourself always merciful to-have-been by-which word
senatum atque omnis bonos, tum cum a patria pestem
the-senate and all the-good then when from the-fatherland a-plague
depellerent, crudelis demonstrabas fuisse. Tu misericors me,
they-were-driving cruel you-were-showing to-have-been you merciful me
adfinem tuum, quem comitiis praerogativae primum
relative your whom at-the-elections of-the-first-voting-century as-first
custodem praefeceras, quem Kalendis Ianuariis tertio
guardian you-had-appointed whom on-the-Kalends of-January in-the-third
loco sententiam rogaras, constrictum inimicis rei
place for-his-opinion you-had-asked bound to-the-enemies of-the-thing

publicae tradidisti; tu meum generum, propinquum tuum, tu
public handed-over you my son-in-law kinsman your you
adfinem tuam, filiam meam, superbissimis et crudelissimis
relative your daughter my with-most-arrogant and most-cruel
verbis a genibus tuis reppulisti; idemque tu clementia ac
words from knees your repelled and-the-same you with-clemency and
misericordia singulari, cum ego una cum re publica non
pity singular when I together with the-thing public not
tribunicio sed consulari ictu concidissem, tanto scelere
by-a-tribunician but by-a-consular blow had-fallen with-so-great crime
tantaque intemperantia fuisti ut ne unam quidem horam
and-so-great intemperance were that not one even hour
interesse paterere inter meam pestem et tuam praedam,
to-intervene you-allowed between my ruin and your plunder
saltem dum conticisceret illa lamentatio et gemitus urbis!
at-least while might-die-down that lamentation and groaning of-the-city
Nondum palam factum erat occidisse rem publicam, 18
not-yet openly made it-had-been to-have-fallen the-thing public
cum tibi arbitria funeris solvebantur: uno eodemque
when to-you the-fees of-its-funeral were-being-paid at-one and-the-same
tempore domus mea diripiebatur, ardebat, bona ad
time the-house my was-being-plundered was-burning the-goods to
vicinum consulem de Palatio, de Tusculano ad item
the-neighboring consul from the-Palatine from the-Tusculan to likewise
vicinum alterum consulem deferebantur cum, isdem operis
the-neighboring second consul were-being-carried when by-the-same gangs
suffragium ferentibus, eodem gladiatore latore, vacuo
a-vote casting with-the-same gladiator as-proposer with-empty
non modo a bonis sed etiam a liberis atque inani foro,
not only from good-men but even from free-men and empty forum
ignaro populo Romano quid ageretur, senatu vero
with-the-ignorant people Roman of-what was-being-done with-the-senate indeed

oppresso et adflicto, duobus impiis nefariisque consulibus
crushed and stricken to-two impious and-wicked consuls
aerarium provinciae legiones imperia donabantur. Horum
the-treasury provinces legions commands were-being-given of-these
consulum ruinas vos consules vestra virtute fulsistis, summa
consuls the-ruins you consuls by-your courage propped-up by-the-highest
tribunorum plebis praetorumque fide et diligentia sublevati.
of-the-tribunes of-the-plebs and-the-praetors loyalty and diligence supported
19 Quid ego de praestantissimo viro, T. Annio, dicam, aut
what I about a-most-outstanding man Titus Annius shall-say or
quis de tali cive satis digne umquam loquetur? Qui cum
who about such a-citizen enough worthily ever will-speak who when
videret sceleratum civem aut domesticum potius hostem, si
he-saw a-criminal citizen or a-domestic rather enemy if
legibus uti liceret, iudicio esse frangendum, sin ipsa
the-laws to-use it-were-allowed by-a-trial to-be to-be-broken but-if themselves
iudicia vis impediret ac tolleret, audaciam virtute, furorem
the-courts violence hindered and removed audacity by-courage madness
fortitudine, temeritatem consilio, manum copiis, vim vi
by-bravery rashness by-counsel a-band by-forces violence by-violence
esse superandam, primo de vi postulavit; postea quam ab
to-be to-be-overcome first for violence he-prosecuted after that by
eodem iudicia sublata esse vidit, ne ille omnia vi
the-same-man the-courts removed to-have-been he-saw that-not he all-things by-violence
posset efficere curavit; qui docuit neque tecta neque templa
could accomplish he-took-care who showed neither houses nor temples
neque forum nec curiam sine summa virtute ac maximis
nor the-forum nor the-senate-house without the-highest courage and the-greatest
opibus et copiis ab intestino latrocinio posse defendi;
resources and forces from internal brigandage to-be-able to-be-defended

qui primus post meum discessum metum bonis, spem
who first after my departure fear from-the-good hope
audacibus, timorem huic ordini, servitutem depulit civitati.
from-the-audacious terror from-this order slavery drove-off from-the-state
Quam rationem pari virtute animo fide P. Sestius 20
which course with-equal courage spirit loyalty Publius Sestius
secutus pro mea salute, pro vestra auctoritate, pro statu
following for my safety for your authority for the-condition
civitatis nullas sibi inimicitias, nullam vim, nullos impetus,
of-the-state no for-himself enmities no violence no attacks
nullum vitae discrimen vitandum umquam putavit; qui causam
no of-life risk to-be-avoided ever thought who the-cause
senatus, exagitatam contionibus improborum, sic sua
of-the-senate harassed by-the-assemblies of-the-wicked so by-his-own
diligentia multitudini commendavit ut nihil tam populare quam
diligence to-the-multitude commended that nothing so popular as
vestrum nomen, nihil tam omnibus carum aliquando quam
your name nothing so to-all dear at-last as
vestra auctoritas videretur; qui me cum omnibus rebus quibus
your authority seemed who me both with-all means by-which
tribunus plebis potuit defendit, tum reliquis officiis,
a-tribune of-the-plebs could defended and with-the-remaining services
iuxta ac si meus frater esset, sustentavit; cuius ego clientibus,
just as if my brother he-were sustained by-whose I clients
libertis, familia, copiis, litteris ita sum sustentatus ut meae
freedmen household resources letters so I-was sustained that of-my
calamitatis non adiutor solum, verum etiam socius videretur.
calamity not a-helper only but also a-partner he-seemed
Iam ceterorum officia ac studia vidistis, quam cupidus mei 21
now of-the-others the-services and zeal you-have-seen how eager for-me
C. Cestilius, quam studiosus vestri, quam non varius fuerit
Gaius Cestilius how devoted to-you how not changeable he-was

in causa. Quid M. Cispius? cui ego ipsi parenti fratrique
in the-cause what Marcus Cispius to-whom I himself to-his-father and-brother
eius sentio quantum debeam; qui, cum a me voluntas eorum
his feel how-much I-owe who though by me will their
in privato iudicio esset offensa, publici mei benefici memoria
in a-private trial had-been offended of-public my favor by-the-memory
privatam offensionem oblitteraverunt. Iam T. Fadius, qui mihi
the-private offense they-blotted-out now Titus Fadius who to-me
quaestor fuit, M. Curtius, cuius ego patri quaestor fui,
quaestor was Marcus Curtius to-whose I father quaestor was
studio amore animo huic necessitudini non defuerunt. Multa
in-zeal love spirit to-this tie not were-lacking many-things
de me C. Messius et amicitiae et rei publicae causa
about me Gaius Messius both of-friendship and of-the-thing public for-the-sake
dixit: legem separatim initio de salute mea promulgavit.
said a-law separately at-the-beginning about safety my he-published
22 Q. Fabricius si, quae de me agere conatus est, ea
Quintus Fabricius if what about me to-do he-tried has those-things
contra vim et ferrum perficere potuisset, mense Ianuario
against violence and steel to-accomplish had-been-able in-the-month January
nostrum statum reciperassemus; quem ad salutem meam
our condition we-would-have-recovered whom to safety my
voluntas impulit, vis retardavit, auctoritas vestra revocavit.
goodwill drove violence held-back authority your called-back
Iam vero praetores quo animo in me fuerint vos
now indeed the-praetors with-what mind toward me they-were you
existimare potuistis, cum L. Caecilius privatim me suis
to-judge could when Lucius Caecilius privately me with-his-own
omnibus copiis studuerit sustentare, publice promulgarit de
all resources was-eager to-sustain publicly published(-a-bill) about
mea salute cum conlegis paene omnibus, direptoribus autem
my safety with his-colleagues almost all to-the-plunderers however

bonorum meorum in ius adeundi potestatem non fecerit.
of-goods my into court of-going the-power not granted
M. autem Calidius statim designatus sententia sua quam
Marcus however Calidius at-once designate by-opinion his-own how
esset cara sibi mea salus declaravit.
was dear to-him my safety declared
Omnia officia C. Septimi, Q. Valeri, P. Crassi, 23
all services of-Gaius Septimius Quintus Valerius Publius Crassus
Sex. Quinctili, C. Cornuti summa et in me et in rem
Sextus Quinctilius Gaius Cornutus highest both toward me and toward the-thing
publicam constiterunt. Quae cum libenter commemoro, tum non
public have-stood which both gladly I-recount and not
invitus non nullorum in me nefarie commissa praetereo.
unwillingly not of-none against me wickedly committed-deeds I-pass-over
Non est mei temporis iniurias meminisse, quas ego etiam si
not it-is of-my time injuries to-remember which I even if
ulcisci possem, tamen oblivisci mallem: alio transferenda mea
to-avenge I-could still to-forget would-prefer elsewhere to-be-turned my
tota vita est, ut bene de me meritis referam gratiam,
whole life is that to-those-well toward me deserving I-may-return thanks
amicitias igni perspectas tuear, cum apertis hostibus
friendships by-fire tested I-may-protect with open enemies
bellum geram, timidis amicis ignoscam, proditores indicem,
war I-may-wage timid friends I-may-pardon traitors I-may-expose
dolorem profectionis meae reditus dignitate consoler.
the-pain of-departure my by-my-return's dignity I-may-console
Quod si mihi nullum aliud esset officium in omni vita reliquum 24
but if to-me no other were duty in all life remaining
nisi ut erga duces ipsos et principes atque auctores salutis
except that toward the-leaders themselves and chiefs and sponsors of-safety
meae satis gratus iudicarer, tamen exiguum reliquae
my enough grateful I-should-be-judged still small of-the-remaining

vitae tempus non modo ad referendam verum etiam ad
life the-time not only for returning but also for
commemorandam gratiam mihi relictum putarem. Quando enim
recounting thanks to-me left I-would-think when for
ego huic homini ac liberis eius, quando omnes mei gratiam
I to-this man and children his when all mine thanks
referent? Quae memoria, quae vis ingeni, quae magnitudo
will-return what memory what power of-talent what greatness
observantiae tot tantisque beneficiis respondere poterit? qui
of-respect so-many and-so-great favors to-answer will-be-able who
mihi primus adflicto et iacenti consularem fidem dextramque
to-me first stricken and lying consular faith and-right-hand
porrexit, qui me a morte ad vitam, a desperatione ad
stretched-out who me from death to life from despair to
spem, ab exitio ad salutem vocavit, qui tanto amore in
hope from destruction to safety called who with-so-much love toward
me, studio in rem publicam fuit ut excogitaret quem ad
me zeal toward the-thing public was that he-devised in-what to
modum calamitatem meam non modo levaret sed etiam
manner calamity my not only he-might-relieve but also
honestaret. Quid enim magnificentius, quid praeclarius mihi
might-honor what for more-magnificent what more-splendid to-me
accidere potuit quam quod illo referente vos decrevistis, ut
happen could than that with-him referring you decreed that
cuncti ex omni Italia, qui rem publicam salvam vellent, ad
all from all Italy who the-thing public safe wished for
me unum, hominem fractum et prope dissipatum, restituendum
me one man broken and almost scattered being-restored
et defendendum venirent? ut, qua voce ter omnino post
and being-defended should-come that by-which voice three-times at-all since
Romam conditam consul usus esset pro universa re publica
Rome founded a-consul had used for the-whole thing public

apud eos solum qui eius vocem exaudire possent, eadem
before those only who his voice to-hear could with-the-same
voce senatus omnis ex omnibus agris atque oppidis civis
voice the-senate all from all fields and towns citizens
totamque Italiam ad unius salutem defendendam excitaret.
and-whole Italy for of-one-man the-safety being-defended should-rouse
Quid ego gloriosius meis posteris potui relinquere quam 25
what I more-glorious to-my descendants could leave than
hoc, senatum iudicasse, qui civis me non defendisset,
this the-senate to-have-judged that-whatever citizen me not had-defended
eum rem publicam salvam noluisse? Itaque tantum
he the-thing public safe had-not-wished and-so so-much
vestra auctoritas, tantum eximia consulis dignitas valuit
your authority so-much exceptional of-the-consul the-dignity availed
ut dedecus et flagitium se committere putaret, si qui
that dishonor and outrage himself to-commit he-thought if anyone
non veniret. Idemque consul, cum illa incredibilis multitudo
not came and-the-same consul when that incredible multitude
Romam et paene Italia ipsa venisset, vos frequentissimos in
to-Rome and almost Italy itself had-come you in-the-fullest-numbers to
Capitolium convocavit. Quo tempore quantam vim naturae
the-Capitol called-together at-which time how-great a-force of-nature
bonitas haberet et vera nobilitas, intellegere potuistis.
the-goodness had and true nobility to-understand you-could
Nam Q. Metellus, et inimicus et frater inimici,
for Quintus Metellus both an-enemy and brother of-an-enemy
perspecta vestra voluntate omnia privata odia deposuit: quem
with-seen your will all private hatreds laid-down whom
P. Servilius, vir cum clarissimus tum vero optimus
Publius Servilius a-man both most-illustrious and indeed best
mihique amicissimus, et auctoritatis et orationis suae
and-to-me most-friendly both of-authority and of-speech his-own

divina quadam gravitate ad sui generis communisque
with-a-divine certain gravity to of-his-own family and-common
sanguinis facta virtutesque revocavit, ut haberet in consilio
blood the-deeds and-virtues recalled so-that he-had in counsel
et fratrem ab inferis, socium rerum mearum, et omnis
both his-brother from the-dead a-partner of-affairs my and all
Metellos, praestantissimos civis, paene ex Acheronte excitatos,
the-Metelli most-outstanding citizens almost from Acheron roused
in quibus Numidicum illum, cuius quondam de patria
among whom Numidicus that whose once from the-fatherland
discessus honestus omnibus, sed luctuosus tamen visus est.
departure honorable to-all but mournful still seemed has
26 Itaque divinitus exstitit non modo salutis defensor, qui ante
and-so divinely he-stood-forth not only of-safety the-defender who before
hoc unum beneficium fuerat inimicus, verum etiam adscriptor
this one favor had-been an-enemy but also the-co-signer
dignitatis meae. Quo quidem die cum quadringenti decem
of-dignity my on-which indeed day when four-hundred ten
septem essetis, magistratus autem omnes adessent, dissensit
seven you-were the-magistrates however all were-present there-dissented
unus, is qui sua lege coniuratos etiam ab inferis
one he who by-his-own law the-conspirators even from the-dead
excitandos putarat. Atque illo die cum rem publicam meis
to-be-roused had-thought and on-that day when the-thing public by-my
consiliis conservatam gravissimis verbis et plurimis iudicassetis,
counsels preserved in-most-weighty words and very-many you-had-judged
idem consul curavit ut eadem a principibus civitatis in
the-same consul took-care that the-same-things by the-leading-men of-the-state in
contione postero die dicerentur; cum quidem ipse egit
the-assembly on-the-next day should-be-said when indeed he-himself pleaded
ornatissime meam causam, perfecitque astante atque
most-ornately my cause and-accomplished with-standing-by and

audiente Italia tota ut nemo cuiusquam conducti aut perditi
listening Italy whole that no-one of-anyone hired or abandoned
vocem acerbam atque inimicam bonis posset audire.
a-voice bitter and hostile to-the-good could hear

III · POMPEY, ITALY, AND THE PLEDGE

Lentulus brought Cicero home through the centuriate assembly, and Pompey, Milo, and Sestius worked for his return. Cicero explains why he left rather than fight. He compares his return with those of Popilius, Metellus, and Marius, honors his brother and his son-in-law Piso, and promises the senate a life spent in its service.

Ad haec non modo adiumenta salutis sed etiam ornamenta 27
to these-things not only aids of-safety but also ornaments
dignitatis meae reliqua vos idem addidistis: decrevistis ne
of-dignity my remaining you the-same added you-decreed that-not
quis ulla ratione rem impediret; qui impedisset,
anyone by-any means the-matter should-hinder that-whoever had-hindered
graviter molesteque laturos — illum contra rem publicam
gravely and-annoyingly going-to-take(-it) him against the-thing public
salutemque bonorum concordiamque civium facturum, et
and-the-safety of-the-good and-the-concord of-citizens going-to-act and
ut ad vos de eo statim referretur; meque etiam, si
that to you about him at-once it-be-referred and-me even if
diutius calumniarentur, redire iussistis. Quid? ut agerentur
longer they-raised-quibbles to-return you-ordered what that be-given
gratiae, qui e municipiis venissent? quid? ut ad illam
thanks to-those-who from the-towns had-come what that for that
diem, res cum redissent, rogarentur ut pari studio
day the-affairs when they-had-returned they-be-asked that with-equal zeal
convenirent? quid? denique illo die, quem P. Lentulus
they-should-assemble what finally on-that day which Publius Lentulus

mihi fratrique meo liberisque nostris natalem constituit,
for-me and-for-brother my and-for-children our a-birthday established
non modo ad nostram verum etiam ad sempiterni memoriam
not only for our but also for of-everlasting the-memory
temporis, quo die nos comitiis centuriatis, quae maxime
time on-which day us at-the-assembly centuriate which most
maiores comitia iusta dici haberique voluerunt, arcessivit
ancestors the-assembly lawful to-be-called and-held wished he-summoned
in patriam, ut eaedem centuriae quae me consulem
into the-fatherland that the-same centuries which me consul
fecerant consulatum meum comprobarent —
had-made the-consulship my should-approve
28 eo die quis civis fuit qui fas esse putaret, quacumque
on-that day what citizen was-there who right to-be thought of-whatever
aut aetate aut valetudine esset, non se de salute mea
either age or health he-was not himself about safety my
sententiam ferre? Quando tantam frequentiam in campo,
a-vote to-cast when so-great a-crowd in the-field
tantum splendorem Italiae totius ordinumque omnium, quando
so-great splendor of-Italy whole and-of-orders all when
illa dignitate rogatores diribitores custodesque vidistis?
with-that dignity polling-clerks sorters and-guards have-you-seen
Itaque P. Lentuli beneficio excellenti atque divino non
and-so by-Publius Lentulus' favor outstanding and divine not
reducti sumus in patriam sicut non nulli clarissimi
led-back we-have-been into the-fatherland as not none most-illustrious
cives, sed equis insignibus et curru aurato reportati.
citizens but with-horses splendid and in-a-chariot gilded brought-back
29 Possum ego satis in Cn. Pompeium umquam gratus videri?
can I enough toward Gnaeus Pompey ever grateful seem
Qui non solum apud vos, qui omnes idem sentiebatis, sed
who not only before you who all the-same-thing felt but

etiam apud universum populum salutem populi Romani et
also before the-whole people the-safety of-the-people Roman both
conservatam per me et coniunctam esse cum mea dixerit; qui
preserved by me and joined to-be with mine has-said who
causam meam prudentibus commendarit, imperitos edocuerit,
cause my to-the-prudent commended the-ignorant taught
eodemque tempore improbos auctoritate sua compresserit,
and-at-the-same time the-wicked by-authority his-own checked
bonos excitarit; qui populum Romanum pro me tamquam pro
the-good roused who the-people Roman for me as-if for
fratre aut pro parente non solum hortatus sit, verum etiam
a-brother or for a-parent not only exhorted has but also
obsecrarit; qui cum ipse propter metum dimicationis
besought who when he-himself on-account-of fear of-combat
et sanguinis domo se teneret, iam a superioribus
and bloodshed at-home himself kept already from the-earlier
tribunis petierit ut de salute mea et promulgarent et
tribunes asked that about safety my both they-should-publish and
referrent; qui in colonia nuper constituta cum ipse gereret
refer who in a-colony lately established when he-himself was-holding
magistratum, in qua nemo erat emptus intercessor, vim
a-magistracy in which no-one was a-bought vetoer the-violence
et crudelitatem privilegi auctoritate honestissimorum
and cruelty of-the-private-law by-the-authority of-most-honorable
hominum et publicis litteris consignarit, princepsque Italiae
men and by-public records sealed and-the-first of-Italy
totius praesidium ad meam salutem implorandum putarit;
whole the-protection for my safety to-be-implored thought
qui cum ipse mihi semper amicissimus fuisset, etiam ut
who though he-himself to-me always most-friendly had-been also that
suos necessarios mihi amicos redderet elaborarit.
his-own connections to-me friends he-might-render labored

30 Quibus autem officiis T. Anni beneficia remunerabor? Cuius
with-what however services Titus Annius' favors shall-I-repay whose
omnis ratio, cogitatio, totus denique tribunatus nihil aliud fuit
whole method thought whole finally tribunate nothing else was
nisi constans perpetua fortis invicta defensio salutis meae.
except a-steadfast lasting brave unconquered defense of-safety my
Quid de P. Sestio loquar? Qui suam erga me benivolentiam
what about Publius Sestius shall-I-speak who his-own toward me goodwill
et fidem non solum animi dolore sed etiam corporis
and loyalty not only by-mind's grief but also by-body's
vulneribus ostendit. Vobis vero, patres conscripti, singulis et
wounds showed to-you indeed fathers enrolled individually both
egi et agam gratias: universis egi initio, quantum
I-have-given and shall-give thanks to-all-together I-gave at-the-beginning as-much-as
potui, satis ornate agere nullo modo possum. Et quamquam
I-could enough ornately to-give in-no way I-can and although
sunt in me praecipua merita multorum, quae sileri
there-are toward me special merits of-many which to-be-kept-silent
nullo modo possunt, tamen huius temporis ac timoris mei
in-no way can still of-this time and of-fear my
non est conari commemorare beneficia in me singulorum;
not it-is to-try to-recount the-favors toward me of-individuals
nam difficile est non aliquem, nefas quemquam praeterire.
for difficult it-is not someone wrong anyone to-pass-over
Ego vos universos, patres conscripti, deorum numero colere
I you all fathers enrolled in-the-gods' number to-worship
debeo. Sed ut in ipsis dis immortalibus non semper eosdem
ought but as in the-very gods immortal not always the-same
atque alias alios solemus et venerari et precari, sic
and at-other-times others we-are-wont both to-venerate and to-pray-to so

in hominibus de me divinitus meritis: omnis erit aetas
in men about me divinely having-deserved all will-be life
mihi ad eorum erga me merita praedicanda atque recolenda,
for-me for their toward me merits proclaiming and recalling
hodierno autem die nominatim a me magistratibus statui 31
on-today's however day by-name by me to-the-magistrates I-decided
gratias esse agendas, et de privatis uni, qui pro salute mea
thanks to-be to-be-given and of private-men to-one who for safety my
municipia coloniasque adisset, populum Romanum supplex
the-towns and-colonies had-visited the-people Roman as-suppliant
obsecrasset, sententiam dixisset eam quam vos secuti mihi
had-besought an-opinion had-spoken that which you following to-me
dignitatem meam reddidistis. Vos me florentem semper
dignity my gave-back you me flourishing always
ornastis, laborantem mutatione vestis et prope luctu
honored laboring with-change of-dress and almost with-mourning
vestro, quoad licuit, defendistis. Nostra memoria senatores
your as-far-as it-was-allowed defended in-our memory senators
ne in suis quidem periculis mutare vestem solebant: in
not in their-own even dangers to-change dress were-wont in
meo periculo senatus veste mutata fuit, quoad licuit
my danger the-senate with-dress changed was as-far-as it-was-allowed
per eorum edicta qui mea pericula non modo suo
through their edicts who my dangers not only of-their-own
praesidio sed etiam vestra deprecatione nudarunt.
protection but also of-your intercession stripped
Quibus ego rebus obiectis, cum mihi privato 32
with-which I things set-before-me when for-me as-a-private-man
confligendum viderem cum eodem exercitu quem consul non
to-be-fought I-saw with the-same army which as-consul not
armis sed vestra auctoritate superaram, multa mecum ipse
by-arms but by-your authority I-had-overcome many-things with-myself myself

reputavi. Dixerat in contione consul se clivi Capitolini
I-pondered had-said in an-assembly the-consul himself of-the-slope Capitoline
poenas ab equitibus Romanis repetiturum; nominatim alii
the-penalties from the-knights Roman going-to-exact by-name some
compellabantur, alii citabantur, alii relegabantur; aditus
were-assailed others were-summoned others were-banished the-approaches
templorum erant non solum praesidiis et manu verum
of-the-temples were not only by-garrisons and by-band but
etiam demolitione sublati. Alter consul, ut me et rem
also by-demolition removed the-other consul that me and the-thing
publicam non modo desereret sed etiam hostibus rei
public not only he-might-desert but also to-the-enemies of-the-thing
publicae proderet, pactionibus se suorum praemiorum
public betray by-pacts himself of-his-own rewards
obligarat. Erat alius ad portas cum imperio in multos
had-bound there-was another at the-gates with command for many
annos magnoque exercitu, quem ego inimicum mihi fuisse
years and-a-great army whom I hostile to-me to-have-been
non dico, tacuisse, cum diceretur esse inimicus, scio.
not I-say to-have-been-silent when it-was-said he-was hostile I-know
33 Duae partes esse in re publica cum putarentur, altera
two parties to-be in the-thing public when were-thought the-one
me deposcere propter inimicitias, altera timide defendere
me to-demand on-account-of enmities the-other timidly to-defend
propter suspicionem caedis putabatur. Qui autem me
on-account-of suspicion of-slaughter was-thought those-who however me
deposcere videbantur, in hoc auxerunt dimicationis metum,
to-demand seemed in this increased of-combat the-fear
quod numquam infitiando suspicionem hominum curamque
that never by-denying the-suspicion of-men and-anxiety
minuerunt. Qua re cum viderem senatum ducibus orbatum,
they-lessened by-which thing when I-saw the-senate of-leaders bereaved

me a magistratibus partim oppugnatum, partim proditum,
me by the-magistrates partly attacked partly betrayed
partim derelictum, servos simulatione conlegiorum nominatim
partly abandoned slaves under-the-pretense of-guilds by-name
esse conscriptos, copias omnis Catilinae paene isdem
to-have-been enrolled the-forces all of-Catiline almost with-the-same
ducibus ad spem caedis et incendiorum esse revocatas,
leaders to the-hope of-slaughter and of-fires to-have-been recalled
equites Romanos proscriptionis, municipia vastitatis, omnis
the-knights Roman of-proscription the-towns of-devastation all
caedis metu esse permotos, potui, potui, patres conscripti,
of-slaughter by-fear to-have-been disturbed I-could I-could fathers enrolled
multis auctoribus fortissimis viris me vi armisque
with-many as-sponsors most-brave men myself by-force and-arms
defendere, nec mihi ipsi ille animus idem meus vobis non
to-defend nor to-me myself that spirit the-same mine to-you not
incognitus defuit. Sed videbam, si vicissem praesentem
unknown was-lacking but I-saw if I-had-conquered the-present
adversarium, nimium multos mihi alios esse vincendos; si victus
adversary too many to-me others to-be to-be-conquered if conquered
essem, multis bonis et pro me et mecum etiam post me
I-had-been for-many good-men both for me and with-me even after me
esse pereundum, tribuniciique sanguinis ultores esse praesentis,
to-be to-perish and-of-tribunician blood the-avengers to-be present
meae mortis poenas iudicio et posteritati reservari.
of-my death the-penalties for-judgment and posterity to-be-reserved
Nolui, cum consul communem salutem sine ferro 34
I-was-unwilling when as-consul the-common safety without sword
defendissem, meam privatus armis defendere, bonosque
I-had-defended my-own as-a-private-man by-arms to-defend and-good
viros lugere malui meas fortunas quam suis desperare;
men to-mourn I-preferred my fortunes than for-their-own to-despair

ac, si solus essem interfectus, mihi turpe, si cum multis,
and if alone I-were killed to-me shameful if with many
rei publicae funestum fore videbatur. Quod si mihi
to-the-thing public deadly going-to-be it-seemed but if for-me
aeternam esse aerumnam propositam arbitrarer, morte me
everlasting to-be distress set-before-me I-thought with-death me
ipse potius quam sempiterno dolore multassem. Sed
myself rather than with-everlasting pain I-would-have-punished but
cum viderem me non diutius quam ipsam rem publicam
when I-saw me not longer than itself the-thing public
ex hac urbe afuturum, neque ego illa exterminata mihi
from this city going-to-be-absent nor I with-it banished for-me
remanendum putavi, et illa, simul atque revocata est, me
to-be-remaining thought and it as-soon as recalled it-was me
secum pariter reportavit. Mecum leges, mecum quaestiones,
with-itself equally brought-back with-me the-laws with-me the-courts
mecum iura magistratuum, mecum senatus auctoritas,
with-me the-rights of-the-magistrates with-me the-senate's authority
mecum libertas, mecum etiam frugum ubertas, mecum deorum
with-me liberty with-me even of-crops the-plenty with-me of-gods
et hominum sanctitates omnes et religiones afuerunt. Quae
and of-men the-sanctities all and religious-rites were-absent which
si semper abessent, magis vestras fortunas lugerem quam
if always they-were-absent more your fortunes I-would-mourn than
desiderarem meas; sin aliquando revocarentur, intellegebam
I-would-long-for mine but-if sometime they-were-recalled I-understood
mihi cum illis una esse redeundum.
for-me with them together to-be to-be-returned
35 Cuius mei sensus certissimus testis est hic idem
of-which my feeling the-surest witness is this same-man
qui custos capitis fuit, Cn. Plancius, qui omnibus
who the-guardian of-my-life was Gnaeus Plancius who with-all

provincialibus ornamentis commodisque depositis totam suam
provincial honors and-advantages laid-down whole his-own
quaesturam in me sustentando et conservando conlocavit.
quaestorship on me being-sustained and being-preserved spent
Qui si mihi quaestor imperatori fuisset, in fili loco
who if to-me quaestor to-a-commander he-had-been in a-son's place
fuisset; nunc certe erit in parentis, cum fuerit
he-would-have-been now certainly he-will-be in a-parent's since he-has-been
consors non imperi sed doloris mei.
the-sharer not of-command but of-grief my
Quapropter, patres conscripti, quoniam in rem publicam 36
wherefore fathers enrolled since into the-thing public
sum pariter cum re publica restitutus, non modo
I-have-been equally with the-thing public restored not only
in ea defendenda nihil minuam de libertate mea pristina,
in it being-defended nothing I-shall-lessen of liberty my former
sed etiam adaugebo. Etenim si eam tum defendebam cum
but even shall-increase(-it) for-indeed if it then I-defended when
mihi aliquid illa debebat, quid nunc me facere oportet cum
to-me something it owed what now me to-do it-behooves when
ego illi plurimum debeo? Nam quid est quod animum
I to-it very-much owe for what is-there that mind
meum frangere aut debilitare possit, cuius ipsam calamitatem
my to-break or to-weaken could whose very calamity
non modo nullius delicti, sed etiam divinorum in rem
not only of-no offense but also of-divine toward the-thing
publicam beneficiorum testem esse videatis? Nam importata
public favors a-witness to-be you-see for brought-on
est quia defenderam civitatem, et mea voluntate suscepta
it-was because I-had-defended the-state and by-my will undertaken

est, ne a me defensa res publica per eundem me
it-was lest by me defended the-thing public through the-same me
extremum in discrimen vocaretur.
the-extreme into crisis should-be-called
37 Pro me non ut pro P. Popilio, nobilissimo homine,
for me not as for Publius Popilius a-most-noble man
adulescentes filii, non propinquorum multitudo populum
young sons not of-kinsmen a-multitude the-people
Romanum est deprecata, non ut pro Q. Metello, summo
Roman has entreated not as for Quintus Metellus a-very-great
et clarissimo viro, spectata iam adulescentia filius, non
and most-illustrious man of-tested already youth his-son not
L. et C. Metelli, consulares, non eorum liberi, non
Lucius and Gaius Metellus consulars not their children not
Q. Metellus Nepos, qui tum consulatum petebat, non
Quintus Metellus Nepos who then the-consulship was-seeking not
Luculli, Servilii, Scipiones, Metellarum filii flentes ac
the-Luculli Servilii Scipios of-the-Metellae sons weeping and
sordidati populo Romano supplicaverunt; sed unus frater, qui
in-mourning the-people Roman supplicated but one brother who
in me pietate filius, consiliis parens, amore, ut erat, frater
toward me in-piety a-son in-counsels a-parent in-love as he-was a-brother
inventus est, squalore et lacrimis et cotidianis precibus
found has-been by-squalor and tears and daily prayers
desiderium mei nominis renovari et rerum gestarum
the-longing for-my name to-be-renewed and of-the-things done
memoriam usurpari coegit. Qui cum statuisset, nisi per
the-memory to-be-kept-up he-compelled who when he-had-decided unless through
vos me reciperasset, eandem subire fortunam atque idem
you me he-had-recovered the-same to-undergo fortune and the-same
sibi domicilium et vitae et mortis deposcere, tamen
for-himself home both of-life and of-death to-demand still

numquam nec magnitudinem negoti nec solitudinem
never either the-greatness of-the-business or loneliness
suam nec vim inimicorum ac tela pertimuit.
his-own or the-violence of-enemies and weapons he-dreaded
Alter fuit propugnator mearum fortunarum et defensor 38
the-other was the-champion of-my fortunes and defender
adsiduus, summa virtute et pietate, C. Piso gener, qui
constant of-the-highest courage and piety Gaius Piso my-son-in-law who
minas inimicorum meorum, qui inimicitias adfinis
the-threats of-enemies my who the-enmities of-relative-by-marriage
mei, propinqui sui, consulis, qui Pontum et Bithyniam
my kinsman his-own a-consul who Pontus and Bithynia
quaestor prae mea salute neglexit. Nihil umquam senatus
as-quaestor compared-with my safety neglected nothing ever the-senate
de P. Popilio decrevit, numquam in hoc ordine de
about Publius Popilius decreed never in this order about
Q. Metello mentio facta est: tribuniciis sunt illi rogationibus
Quintus Metellus mention made was by-tribunician were they bills
interfectis inimicis denique restituti, cum alter eorum senatui
killed their-enemies finally restored though the-one of-them the-senate
paruisset, alter vim caedemque fugisset. Nam C. quidem
had-obeyed the-other violence and-slaughter had-fled for Gaius indeed
Marius, qui hac hominum memoria tertius ante me consularis
Marius who in-this of-men memory third before me of-consular-rank
tempestate civili expulsus est, non modo a senatu non est
in-a-storm civil expelled was not only by the-senate not was
restitutus, sed reditu suo senatum cunctum paene delevit.
restored but by-return his-own the-senate whole almost destroyed
Nulla de illis magistratuum consensio, nulla ad rem publicam
no about them of-magistrates agreement no for the-thing public

defendendam populi Romani convocatio, nullus Italiae
being-defended of-the-people Roman calling-together no of-Italy
motus, nulla decreta municipiorum et coloniarum exstiterunt.
movement no decrees of-towns and of-colonies appeared
39 Qua re, cum me vestra auctoritas arcessierit, populus
by-which thing since me your authority has-summoned the-people
Romanus vocarit, res publica implorarit, Italia cuncta
Roman has-called the-thing public has-implored Italy whole
paene suis umeris reportarit, non committam, patres
almost on-its-own shoulders has-brought-back not I-shall-let-it-happen fathers
conscripti, ut, cum ea mihi sint restituta quae in
enrolled that since those-things to-me be restored which in
potestate mea non fuerunt, ea non habeam quae ipse
power my not were those not I-have which I-myself
praestare possim, praesertim cum illa amissa reciperarim,
to-guarantee can especially since those lost I-have-recovered
virtutem et fidem numquam amiserim.
courage and loyalty never I-have-lost

CICERO

Post Reditum ad Quirites

After His Return, to the People

POST REDITUM AD QUIRITES

I · WHAT THE PEOPLE RESTORED

Cicero tells the people of the vow he made to the gods when he left, and how they restored to him his brother, children, wealth, country, and dignity. Popilius and Metellus were begged home by their kin and Marius came back by an army; Cicero, pleaded for only by his brother and son-in-law, came back by the senate and all Italy. On the first of January Lentulus brought his cause before the senate, and a tribune delayed it by asking for a night to deliberate.

Quod precatus a Iove Optimo Maximo ceterisque dis 1
what prayed from Jupiter Best Greatest and-the-other gods
immortalibus sum, Quirites, eo tempore cum me fortunasque
immortal I-have citizens at-that time when me and-fortunes
meas pro vestra incolumitate otio concordiaque devovi,
my for your safety leisure and-concord I-devoted
ut, si meas rationes umquam vestrae saluti anteposuissem,
that if my interests ever to-your safety I-had-preferred
sempiternam poenam sustinerem mea voluntate susceptam, sin
everlasting punishment I-should-bear by-my will undertaken but-if
et ea quae ante gesseram conservandae civitatis causa
both those-things which before I-had-done of-preserving the-state for-the-sake
gessissem et illam miseram profectionem vestrae salutis
I-had-done and that wretched departure of-your safety
gratia suscepissem, ut quod odium scelerati homines et
for-the-sake I-had-undertaken that what hatred criminal men and
audaces in rem publicam et in omnis bonos conceptum
audacious toward the-thing public and toward all good-men conceived
iam diu continerent, id in me uno potius quam in
now long-since were-holding-in that upon me one-man rather than upon
optimo quoque et universa civitate defigerent, — hoc si
the-best each and the-whole state they-might-fix with-this if

animo in vos liberosque vestros fuissem, ut aliquando
mind toward you and-children your I-had-been that sometime
vos patresque conscriptos Italiamque universam memoria
you and-the-fathers enrolled and-Italy whole the-memory
mei misericordia desideriumque teneret: eius devotionis me
of-me pity and-longing should-hold of-that devotion me
esse convictum iudicio deorum immortalium, testimonio
to-be convicted by-the-judgment of-the-gods immortal by-the-testimony
senatus, consensu Italiae, confessione inimicorum, beneficio
of-the-senate by-the-agreement of-Italy by-the-confession of-my-enemies by-favor
divino immortalique vestro maxime laetor.
divine and-immortal your most I-rejoice

2 Namque, Quirites, etsi nihil est homini magis optandum
for citizens although nothing is for-a-man more to-be-wished-for
quam prospera aequabilis perpetuaque fortuna secundo vitae
than prosperous even and-lasting fortune with-favorable of-life
sine ulla offensione cursu, tamen, si mihi tranquilla et placata
without any setback course still if for-me tranquil and calm
omnia fuissent, incredibili quadam et paene divina, qua nunc
all-things had-been of-an-incredible certain and almost divine which now
vestro beneficio fruor, laetitiae voluptate caruissem. Quid
by-your favor I-enjoy of-joy the-pleasure I-would-have-lacked what
dulcius hominum generi ab natura datum est quam sui cuique
sweeter to-the-race of-men by nature given is than his-own to-each
liberi? mihi vero et propter indulgentiam meam et propter
children to-me indeed both on-account-of indulgence my and on-account-of
excellens eorum ingenium vita sunt mea cariores: tamen non
excellent their talent than-life are my dearer still not
tanta voluptate erant suscepti quanta nunc sunt restituti.
with-so-great pleasure they-were begotten as-great-as now they-are restored

Nihil cuiquam fuit umquam iucundius quam mihi meus 3
nothing to-anyone was ever more-pleasant than to-me my
frater: non tam id sentiebam cum fruebar quam tum
brother not so-much that I-felt when I-enjoyed(-him) as then
cum carebam, et postea quam vos me illi et mihi eum
when I-lacked(-him) and after that you me to-him and to-me him
reddidistis. Res familiaris sua quemque delectat: reliquae
gave-back the-thing household his-own each delights the-remaining
meae fortunae reciperatae plus mihi nunc voluptatis adferunt
my fortunes recovered more to-me now of-pleasure bring
quam tum incolumes adferebant. Amicitiae, consuetudines,
than then unharmed they-brought friendships intimacies
vicinitates, clientelae, ludi denique et dies festi quid haberent
neighborhoods clienteles games finally and days festal what they-had
voluptatis carendo magis intellexi quam fruendo.
of-pleasure by-lacking more I-understood than by-enjoying
Iam vero honos, dignitas, locus, ordo, beneficia vestra, 4
now indeed office dignity place rank favors your
quamquam mihi semper clarissima visa sunt, tamen ea
although to-me always most-splendid seemed have still those-things
nunc renovata inlustriora videntur quam si obscurata non
now renewed more-illustrious seem than if obscured not
essent. Ipsa autem patria, di immortales! dici vix
they-had-been itself however the-fatherland gods immortal to-be-said scarcely
potest quid caritatis, quid voluptatis habeat; quae species Italiae,
can what of-dearness what of-pleasure it-has what sight of-Italy
quae celebritas oppidorum, quae forma regionum, qui agri, quae
what throng of-towns what beauty of-regions what fields what
fruges, quae pulchritudo urbis, quae humanitas civium, quae
crops what beauty of-the-city what humanity of-the-citizens what
rei publicae dignitas, quae vestra maiestas! Quibus ego
of-the-thing public dignity what your majesty which I

omnibus antea rebus sic fruebar ut nemo magis; sed tamquam
all before things so enjoyed that no-one more but as-if
bona valetudo iucundior est iis qui e gravi morbo recreati
good health more-pleasant is to-those who from grave illness revived
sunt quam qui numquam aegro corpore fuerunt, sic haec
have than those-who never of-sick body have-been so these-things
omnia desiderata magis quam adsidue percepta delectant.
all missed more than constantly enjoyed delight
Quorsum igitur haec disputo? quorsum? ut intellegere
to-what-end therefore these-things do-I-discuss to-what-end that to-understand
possitis neminem umquam tanta eloquentia fuisse,
you-may-be-able no-one ever with-so-great eloquence to-have-been
neque tam divino atque incredibili genere dicendi, qui
nor with-so divine and incredible kind of-speaking who
vestram magnitudinem multitudinemque beneficiorum quae in
your greatness and-multitude of-favors which on
me fratremque meum et liberos nostros contulistis non
me and-brother my and children our you-have-conferred not
modo augere aut ornare oratione, sed enumerare aut consequi
only to-increase or to-adorn by-speech but to-enumerate or to-attain
possit. A parentibus, id quod necesse erat, parvus sum
could from my-parents that which necessary was small I-was
procreatus, a vobis natus sum consularis. Illi mihi fratrem
begotten by you born I-was a-consular they to-me a-brother
incognitum qualis futurus esset dederunt, vos spectatum
unknown of-what-kind going-to-be he-was gave you proven
et incredibili pietate cognitum reddidistis. Rem publicam
and by-incredible piety known gave-back the-thing public
illis accepi temporibus eam quae paene amissa est, a
in-those I-received times that which almost lost was from
vobis eam reciperavi quam aliquando omnes unius opera
you that I-recovered which once all by-one-man's effort

servatam iudicaverunt. Di immortales mihi liberos dederunt,
preserved judged the-gods immortal to-me children gave
vos reddidistis. Multa praeterea a dis immortalibus
you gave-back many-things besides from the-gods immortal
optata consecuti sumus: nisi vestra voluntas fuisset, omnibus
wished-for attained we-have unless your will had-been of-all
divinis muneribus careremus. Vestros denique honores,
divine gifts we-would-be-without your finally honors
quos eramus gradatim singulos adsecuti, nunc a vobis
which we-had step-by-step singly attained now from you
universos habemus, ut quantum antea parentibus, quantum
all-together we-have so-that as-much-as before to-parents as-much-as
dis immortalibus, quantum vobismet ipsis, tantum hoc
to-the-gods immortal as-much-as to-you yourselves so-much at-this
tempore universum cuncto populo Romano debeamus.
time all-together to-the-whole people Roman we-owe
Nam cum in ipso beneficio vestro tanta magnitudo est 6
for while in the-very favor your so-great greatness is
ut eam complecti oratione non possim, tum in studiis
that it to-embrace in-speech not I-can so in zeal
vestris tanta animorum declarata est voluntas ut non
your so-great of-minds declared has-been the-goodwill that not
solum calamitatem mihi detraxisse, sed etiam dignitatem
only calamity from-me to-have-removed but also dignity
auxisse videamini. Non enim pro meo reditu ut pro
to-have-increased you-seem not for for my return as for
P. Popili, nobilissimi hominis, adulescentes filii et multi
Publius Popilius a-most-noble man young sons and many
praeterea cognati atque adfines deprecati sunt, non
besides kinsmen and relatives-by-marriage interceded have not
ut pro Q. Metello, clarissimo viro, iam spectata aetate
as for Quintus Metellus a-most-illustrious man already of-tested age

filius, non L. Diadematus consularis, summa auctoritate
his-son not Lucius Diadematus a-consular of-the-highest authority
vir, non C. Metellus censorius, non eorum liberi, non
a-man not Gaius Metellus an-ex-censor not their children not
Q. Metellus Nepos, qui tum consulatum petebat, non
Quintus Metellus Nepos who then the-consulship was-seeking not
sororum filii, Luculli, Servilii, Scipiones; permulti enim tum
his-sisters' sons the-Luculli Servilii Scipios very-many for then
Metelli aut Metellarum liberi pro Q. Metelli reditu vobis
Metelli or of-the-Metellae children for Quintus Metellus' return to-you
ac patribus vestris supplicaverunt. Quod si ipsius summa
and fathers your supplicated but if his-own highest
dignitas maximaeque res gestae non satis valerent, tamen
dignity and-greatest things done not enough availed still
fili pietas, propinquorum preces, adulescentium squalor,
the-son's piety the-kinsmen's prayers the-young-men's squalor
maiorum natu lacrimae populum Romanum movere potuerunt.
of-the-elders by-birth the-tears the-people Roman to-move could
7 Nam C. Mari, qui post illos veteres clarissimos consularis,
for of-Gaius Marius who after those old most-illustrious consulars
hac vestra patrumque memoria, tertius ante me consularis
in-this your and-your-fathers' memory third before me as-consular
subiit indignissimam fortunam praestantissima sua gloria,
underwent a-most-unworthy fortune with-most-outstanding his-own glory
dissimilis fuit ratio; non enim ille deprecatione rediit, sed
unlike was the-case not for he by-intercession returned but
in discessu civium exercitu se armisque revocavit.
in the-departure of-the-citizens by-an-army himself and-arms recalled
At me nudum a propinquis, nulla cognatione munitum,
but me bare of kinsmen by-no kinship fortified
nullo armorum ac tumultus metu, C. Pisonis, generi
with-no of-arms and tumult fear of-Gaius Piso of-son-in-law

mei, divina quaedam et inaudita auctoritas atque virtus,
my a-divine certain and unheard-of authority and courage
fratrisque miserrimi atque optimi cotidianae lacrimae
and-of-my-brother most-wretched and best the-daily tears
sordesque lugubres a vobis deprecatae sunt.
and-squalor mournful from you begged-off have
Frater erat unus qui suo squalore vestros oculos 8
a-brother there-was one who by-his-own squalor your eyes
inflecteret, qui suo fletu desiderium mei memoriamque
might-bend who by-his-own weeping the-longing for-me and-the-memory
renovaret; qui statuerat, Quirites, si vos me sibi non
might-renew who had-decided citizens if you me to-himself not
reddidissetis, eandem subire fortunam; tanto in me
had-given-back the-same to-undergo fortune with-so-great toward me
amore exstitit ut negaret fas esse non modo domicilio, sed
love he-stood-forth that he-denied right to-be not only from-home but
ne sepulcro quidem se a me esse seiunctum. Pro me
not from-the-tomb even himself from me to-be separated for me
praesente senatus hominumque praeterea viginti milia vestem
present the-senate and-of-men besides twenty thousand dress
mutaverunt, pro eodem me absente unius squalorem sordisque
changed for the-same me absent of-one the-squalor and-filth
vidistis. Unus hic, qui quidem in foro posset esse, mihi
you-saw alone this-one who indeed in the-forum could be to-me
pietate filius inventus est, beneficio parens, amore idem
in-piety a-son found has-been in-favor a-parent in-love the-same
qui semper fuit frater. Nam coniugis miserae squalor et
who always was a-brother for of-my-wife wretched the-squalor and
luctus atque optimae filiae maeror adsiduus filique parvi
grief and of-my-best daughter the-grief constant and-of-my-son small
desiderium mei lacrimaeque pueriles aut itineribus necessariis
the-longing for-me and-tears childish either by-journeys necessary

aut magnam partem tectis ac tenebris continebantur. Qua
or for-the-great part by-roofs and darkness were-confined by-which
re hoc maius est vestrum in nos promeritum, quod non
thing this greater is your toward us merit that not
multitudini propinquorum sed nobismet ipsis nos reddidistis.
to-a-multitude of-kinsmen but to-us ourselves us you-gave-back
9 Sed quem ad modum propinqui, quos ego parare non potui,
but in-what to manner kinsmen whom I to-procure not could
mihi ad deprecandam calamitatem meam non fuerunt, sic —
for-me for begging-off calamity my not were so
illud quod mea virtus praestare debuit — adiutores auctores
that which my courage to-provide ought helpers sponsors
hortatoresque ad me restituendum ita multi fuerunt ut
and-encouragers for me being-restored so many there-were that
longe superiores omnis hac dignitate copiaque superarem.
far the-earlier all in-this dignity and-abundance I-surpassed
Numquam de P. Popilio, clarissimo ac fortissimo viro,
never about Publius Popilius a-most-illustrious and most-brave man
numquam de Q. Metello, nobilissimo et constantissimo
never about Quintus Metellus a-most-noble and most-constant
cive, numquam de C. Mario, custode civitatis atque
citizen never about Gaius Marius the-guardian of-the-state and
imperi vestri, in senatu mentio facta est.
of-empire your in the-senate mention made was
10 Tribuniciis superiores illi rogationibus nulla auctoritate senatus
by-tribunician earlier those bills with-no authority of-the-senate
sunt restituti, Marius vero non modo non a senatu sed etiam
were restored Marius indeed not only not by the-senate but even
oppresso senatu est restitutus. Nec rerum gestarum memoria
with-crushed the-senate was restored nor of-things done the-memory
in reditu C. Mari sed exercitus atque arma valuerunt; at
in the-return of-Gaius Marius but the-army and arms availed but

de me ut valeret semper senatus flagitavit, ut aliquando
about me that it-should-avail always the-senate demanded that at-last
proficeret, cum primum licuit, frequentia atque auctoritate
it-should-succeed when first it-was-allowed by-its-numbers and authority
perfecit. Nullus in eorum reditu motus municipiorum et
it-accomplished no in their return movement of-towns and
coloniarum factus est; at me in patriam ter suis
of-colonies made was but me into the-fatherland three-times by-its-own
decretis Italia cuncta revocavit. Illi inimicis interfectis magna
decrees Italy whole recalled they with-enemies killed with-great
civium caede facta reducti sunt: ego iis a quibus eiectus
of-citizens slaughter made led-back were I with-those by whom expelled
sum provincias obtinentibus, inimico autem, optimo viro
I-was provinces holding with-my-enemy however a-most-excellent man
et mitissimo, consule altero consule referente reductus
and most-mild as-consul with-the-other consul referring led-back
sum, cum is inimicus, qui ad meam perniciem vocem suam
I-was when that enemy who for my ruin voice his-own
communibus hostibus praebuisset, spiritu dumtaxat viveret,
to-the-common enemies had-lent by-breath only was-alive
re quidem infra omnis mortuos amandatus esset.
in-fact indeed beneath all the-dead banished had-been
Numquam de P. Popilio L. Opimius, fortissimus consul, 11
never about Publius Popilius Lucius Opimius most-brave consul
numquam de Q. Metello non modo C. Marius, qui erat
never about Quintus Metellus not only Gaius Marius who was
inimicus, sed ne is quidem qui secutus est, M. Antonius,
his-enemy but not he even who followed has Marcus Antonius
homo eloquentissimus, cum A. Albino conlega senatum aut
a-man most-eloquent with Aulus Albinus his-colleague the-senate or
populum est cohortatus; at pro me superiores consules semper
the-people has exhorted but for me the-earlier consuls always

ut referrent flagitati sunt; sed veriti sunt ne gratiae
that they-should-refer pressed were but feared they-have lest of-favor
causa facere viderentur, quod alter mihi adfinis erat,
for-the-sake to-act they-might-seem because the-one to-me a-relative-by-marriage was
alterius causam capitis receperam; qui provinciarum foedere
of-the-other the-case capital I-had-undertaken who by-the-provinces' pact
infrenati totum illum annum querelas senatus, luctum
bridled whole that year the-complaints of-the-senate the-grief
bonorum, Italiae gemitum pertulerunt. Kalendis vero Ianuariis
of-the-good of-Italy the-groaning endured on-the-Kalends indeed of-January
postea quam orba res publica consulis fidem tamquam
after that the-bereaved thing public of-a-consul the-faith as-if
legitimi tutoris imploravit, P. Lentulus consul, parens,
of-a-lawful guardian implored Publius Lentulus consul parent
deus, salus nostrae vitae, fortunae, memoriae, nominis, simul
god safety of-our life fortune memory name as-soon
ac de sollemni deorum religione rettulit, nihil humanarum
as about the-solemn of-the-gods worship he-had-referred nothing of-human
rerum sibi prius quam de me agendum iudicavit.
things for-himself before than about me to-be-done judged
12 Atque eo die confecta res esset, nisi is tribunus
and on-that day finished the-matter would-have-been unless that tribune
plebis quem ego maximis beneficiis quaestorem consul
of-the-plebs whom I with-the-greatest favors as-quaestor as-consul
ornaram, cum et cunctus ordo et multi eum summi viri
had-honored when both the-whole order and many him very-great men
orarent, et Cn. Oppius socer, optimus vir, ad pedes
begged and Gnaeus Oppius his-father-in-law a-most-excellent man at his-feet
flens iaceret, noctem sibi ad deliberandum postulasset;
weeping lay a-night for-himself for deliberating had-demanded
quae deliberatio non in reddenda, quem ad modum non nulli
which deliberation not in giving-back in-what to manner not none

arbitrabantur, sed, ut patefactum est, in augenda mercede
thought but as revealed it-was in increasing the-price
consumpta est. Postea res acta est in senatu alia nulla:
spent was afterward the-matter treated was in the-senate other none
cum variis rationibus impediretur, voluntate tamen perspecta
though by-various means it-was-hindered with-the-will still perceived
senatus, causa ad vos mense Ianuario deferebatur. Hic
of-the-senate the-cause to you in-the-month of-January was-being-brought here
tantum interfuit inter me et inimicos meos.
so-much was-the-difference between me and enemies my

II · THOSE WHO HELPED AND THE RETURN

Cicero recalls the gangs of the Aurelian tribunal and the bought consuls, explains why he would not fight, and thanks Lentulus, Pompey, Milo, and Sestius. Marius avenged himself by arms; Cicero will answer his enemies by governing well, trusting no false friend, and calling the sellers of provinces to account. He pledges lasting gratitude.

Ego, cum homines in tribunali Aurelio palam conscribi 13
I when men at the-tribunal Aurelian openly to-be-enrolled
centuriarique vidissem, cum intellegerem veteres ad spem
and-formed-into-centuries I-had-seen when I-understood the-old for the-hope
caedis Catilinae copias esse revocatas, cum viderem ex
of-slaughter Catiline's forces to-have-been recalled when I-saw from
ea parte homines, cuius partis nos vel principes numerabamur,
that party men of-which party we even leaders were-counted
partim quod mihi inviderent, partim quod sibi timerent,
partly because me they-envied partly because for-themselves they-feared
aut proditores esse aut desertores salutis meae, cum duo
either betrayers to-be or deserters of-safety my when two

consules empti pactione provinciarum auctores se inimicis
consuls bought by-the-pact of-provinces as-sponsors themselves to-the-enemies
rei publicae tradidissent, cum egestatem avaritiam libidines
of-the-thing public had-handed-over when poverty avarice lusts
suas viderent expleri non posse nisi me constrictum
their-own they-saw to-be-filled not to-be-able unless me bound
domesticis hostibus dedidissent, cum senatus equitesque
to-domestic enemies they-had-surrendered when the-senate and-knights
Romani flere pro me ac mutata veste vobis supplicare
Roman to-weep for me and with-changed dress to-you to-supplicate
edictis atque imperiis vetarentur, cum omnium provinciarum
by-edicts and commands were-forbidden when of-all provinces
pactiones, cum omnia cum omnibus foedera reconciliationesque
the-pacts when all with all treaties and-reconciliations
gratiarum sanguine meo sancirentur, cum omnes boni non
of-favors with-blood my were-sanctioned when all good-men not
recusarent quin vel pro me vel mecum perirent, armis
refused but either for me or with-me they-would-perish by-arms
decertare pro mea salute nolui, quod et vincere et
to-fight-it-out for my safety I-was-unwilling because both to-conquer and
vinci luctuosum rei publicae fore putavi.
to-be-conquered mournful for-the-thing public going-to-be I-thought
14 At inimici mei, mense Ianuario cum de me ageretur,
but enemies my in-the-month of-January when about me it-was-being-dealt
corporibus civium trucidatis flumine sanguinis meum reditum
with-the-bodies of-citizens butchered by-a-river of-blood my return
intercludendum putaverunt. Itaque, dum ego absum, eam rem
to-be-blocked thought and-so while I am-absent such a-thing
publicam habuistis ut aeque me atque illam restituendam
public you-had that equally me and it to-be-restored
putaretis. Ego autem in qua civitate nihil valeret senatus,
you-thought I however in which state nothing availed the-senate

omnis esset impunitas, nulla iudicia, vis et ferrum in foro
all was impunity no courts violence and steel in the-forum
versaretur, cum privati parietum se praesidio non legum
moved when private-men of-walls themselves by-the-protection not of-laws
tuerentur, tribuni plebis vobis inspectantibus vulnerarentur,
protected tribunes of-the-plebs with-you looking-on were-wounded
ad magistratuum domos cum ferro et facibus iretur, consulis
to the-magistrates' houses with steel and torches it-was-gone the-consul's
fasces frangerentur, deorum immortalium templa incenderentur,
fasces were-broken of-the-gods immortal the-temples were-burned
rem publicam esse nullam putavi. Itaque neque re
the-thing public to-be none thought and-so neither with-the-thing
publica exterminata mihi locum in hac urbe esse duxi, nec,
public banished for-me a-place in this city to-be reckoned nor
si illa restitueretur, dubitavi quin me secum ipsa reduceret.
if it were-restored I-doubted that me with-itself it-itself would-lead-back
An ego, cum mihi esset exploratissimum P. Lentulum 15
or I when to-me it-was most-certain Publius Lentulus
proximo anno consulem futurum, qui illis ipsis rei
in-the-next year consul going-to-be who in-those very of-the-thing
publicae periculosissimis temporibus aedilis curulis me
public most-dangerous times aedile curule with-me
consule omnium meorum consiliorum particeps periculorumque
as-consul of-all my counsels sharer and-of-dangers
socius fuisset, dubitarem quin is me confectum consularibus
partner had-been should-I-doubt that he me finished by-consular
vulneribus consulari medicina ad salutem reduceret? Hoc
wounds with-consular medicine to safety would-lead-back with-him
duce, conlega autem eius, clementissimo atque optimo
as-leader with-colleague however his a-most-merciful and best
viro, primo non adversante, post etiam adiuvante, reliqui
man at-first not opposing afterward even helping the-remaining

magistratus paene omnes fuerunt defensores salutis meae; ex
magistrates almost all were defenders of-safety my of
quibus excellenti animo virtute auctoritate praesidio copiis
whom with-outstanding spirit courage authority protection forces
T. Annius et P. Sestius praestanti in me benivolentia
Titus Annius and Publius Sestius of-outstanding toward me goodwill
et divino studio exstiterunt; eodemque P. Lentulo
and divine zeal stood-forth and-with-the-same Publius Lentulus
auctore et pariter referente conlega frequentissimus senatus,
as-sponsor and equally referring his-colleague the-fullest senate
uno dissentiente, nullo intercedente, dignitatem meam
with-one dissenting with-no-one vetoing dignity my
quibus potuit verbis amplissimis ornavit, salutem vobis
with-what it-could words most-ample adorned safety to-you
municipiis coloniis omnibus commendavit.
to-the-towns to-the-colonies all commended

16 Ita me nudum a propinquis, nulla cognatione munitum,
so me bare of kinsmen by-no kinship fortified
consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, senatus, Italia cuncta semper
the-consuls praetors tribunes of-the-plebs the-senate Italy whole always
a vobis deprecata est, denique omnes qui vestris maximis
from you begged-off has finally all who by-your greatest
beneficiis honoribusque sunt ornati, producti ad vos ab
favors and-honors have-been adorned brought-forward to you by
eodem, non solum ad me conservandum vos cohortati sunt,
the-same-man not only for me being-preserved you exhorted have
sed etiam rerum mearum gestarum auctores testes laudatores
but also of-things my done sponsors witnesses praisers
fuerunt. Quorum princeps ad cohortandos vos et ad rogandos
were of-whom the-chief for exhorting you and for asking
fuit Cn. Pompeius, vir omnium qui sunt, fuerunt, erunt,
was Gnaeus Pompey a-man of-all who are have-been will-be

virtute sapientia gloria princeps: qui mihi unus uni privato
in-courage wisdom glory the-first who to-me alone to-a-single private
amico eadem omnia dedit quae universae rei publicae, salutem,
friend the-same all-things gave which to-the-whole thing public safety
otium, dignitatem. Cuius oratio fuit, quem ad modum accepi,
leisure dignity whose speech was in-what to manner I-have-received
tripertita; primum vos docuit meis consiliis rem publicam
threefold first you he-taught by-my counsels the-thing public
esse servatam, causamque meam cum communi salute
to-have-been preserved and-cause my with the-common safety
coniunxit, hortatusque est ut auctoritatem senatus, statum
he-joined and-exhorted he-has that the-authority of-the-senate the-condition
civitatis, fortunas civis bene meriti defenderetis; tum me in
of-the-state the-fortunes of-a-citizen well deserving you-should-defend then me in
perorando posuit vos rogari a senatu, rogari ab equitibus
his-peroration he-set you to-be-asked by the-senate to-be-asked by the-knights
Romanis, rogari ab Italia cuncta, deinde ipse ad extremum
Roman to-be-asked by Italy whole then he-himself at the-end
pro mea vos salute non rogavit solum verum etiam obsecravit.
for my you safety not asked only but also besought
Huic ego homini, Quirites, tantum debeo quantum hominem 17
to-this I man citizens so-much owe as-much-as a-man
homini debere vix fas est. Huius consilia, P. Lentuli
to-a-man to-owe scarcely right it-is his counsels of-Publius Lentulus
sententiam, senatus auctoritatem vos secuti me in eo loco,
the-opinion of-the-senate the-authority you following me in that place
in quo vestris beneficiis fueram, isdem centuriis quibus
in which by-your favors I-had-been by-the-same centuries by-which
conlocaratis reposuistis. Eodem tempore audistis eodem ex
you-had-placed(-me) you-restored at-the-same time you-heard the-same from
loco summos viros, ornatissimos atque amplissimos homines,
place the-highest men most-distinguished and most-ample persons

principes civitatis, omnis consularis, omnis praetorios
the-leading-men of-the-state all consulars all ex-praetors
eadem dicere, ut omnium testimonio per me unum
the-same-things to-say so-that by-all-men's testimony through me alone
rem publicam conservatam esse constaret. Itaque cum
the-thing public preserved to-have-been it-was-established and-so when
P. Servilius, gravissimus vir et ornatissimus civis, dixisset
Publius Servilius a-most-grave man and most-distinguished citizen had-said
opera mea rem publicam incolumem magistratibus deinceps
by-effort my the-thing public unharmed to-the-magistrates in-succession
traditam, dixerunt in eandem sententiam ceteri. Sed audistis
handed-down spoke in the-same opinion the-others but you-heard
eo tempore clarissimi viri non solum auctoritatem,
at-that time of-a-most-illustrious man not only the-authority
sed etiam testimonium, L. Gelli: qui quia suam classem
but also the-testimony of-Lucius Gellius who because his-own fleet
adtemptatam magno cum suo periculo paene sensit,
tampered-with great with his-own danger almost he-had-perceived
dixit in contione vestrum, si ego consul cum fui non
said in an-assembly of-yours if I consul when I-was not
fuissem, rem publicam funditus interituram fuisse.
had-been the-thing public utterly going-to-perish to-have-been
18 En ego tot testimoniis, Quirites, hac auctoritate
behold I with-so-many testimonies citizens with-this authority
senatus, tanta consensione Italiae, tanto studio bonorum
of-the-senate with-so-great agreement of-Italy with-so-great zeal of-the-good
omnium, causam agente P. Lentulo, consentientibus ceteris
all the-cause pleading Publius Lentulus with-agreeing the-other
magistratibus, deprecante Cn. Pompeio, omnibus hominibus
magistrates with-interceding Gnaeus Pompey with-all men
faventibus, dis denique immortalibus frugum ubertate
favoring with-the-gods finally immortal of-crops with-the-fertility

copia vilitate reditum meum comprobantibus, mihi meis
abundance cheapness return my approving to-me to-my-family
rei publicae restitutus, tantum vobis quantum facere
to-the-thing public restored as-much to-you as-much-as to-do
possum, Quirites, pollicebor: primum, qua sanctissimi
I-can citizens shall-promise first with-what the-most-upright
homines pietate erga deos immortalis esse soleant, eadem
men piety toward the-gods immortal to-be are-wont with-the-same
me erga populum Romanum semper fore, numenque vestrum
me toward the-people Roman always going-to-be and-divinity your
aeque mihi grave et sanctum ac deorum immortalium in omni
equally to-me weighty and sacred as of-the-gods immortal in all
vita futurum: deinde, quoniam me in civitatem res publica
life going-to-be then since me into the-state the-thing public
ipsa reduxit, nullo me loco rei publicae defuturum.
itself has-led-back in-no myself place to-the-thing public going-to-fail
Quod si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutata 19
but if anyone thinks me either in-will to-be changed
aut debilitata virtute aut animo fracto, vehementer errat.
or with-weakened courage or with-mind broken vehemently he-errs
Mihi quod potuit vis et iniuria et sceleratorum
from-me what could violence and injury and of-criminal
hominum furor detrahere, eripuit, abstulit, dissipavit: quod
men the-madness take-away it-snatched carried-off scattered what
viro forti adimi non potest, id omne manet et
from-a-man brave to-be-taken-away not can that all remains and
permanebit. Vidi ego fortissimum virum, municipem meum,
will-remain I-saw I a-most-brave man townsman my
C. Marium, — quoniam nobis quasi aliqua fatali necessitate
Gaius Marius since for-us as-if by-some fatal necessity
non solum cum iis qui haec delere voluissent, sed etiam
not only with those who these-things to-destroy had-wished but also

cum fortuna belligerandum fuit, — eum tamen vidi, cum esset
with fortune to-be-warred it-was him still I-saw when he-was
summa senectute, non modo non infracto animo propter
in-the-highest old-age not only not with-broken mind on-account-of
magnitudinem calamitatis, sed confirmato atque renovato.
the-greatness of-the-calamity but strengthened and renewed
Quem egomet dicere audivi tum se fuisse miserum cum
whom I-myself to-say heard then himself to-have-been wretched when
careret patria quam obsidione liberavisset, cum sua bona
he-lacked the-fatherland which from-siege he-had-freed when his-own goods
possideri ab inimicis ac diripi audiret, cum adulescentem
to-be-possessed by enemies and to-be-plundered he-heard when young
filium videret eiusdem socium calamitatis, cum in paludibus
his-son he-saw of-the-same the-partner calamity when in marshes
demersus concursu ac misericordia Minturnensium corpus
sunk by-the-concourse and pity of-the-Minturnenses his-body
ac vitam suam conservaret, cum parva navicula pervectus
and life his-own he-preserved when in-a-small boat carried-across
in Africam, quibus regna ipse dederat, ad eos inops
into Africa to-whom kingdoms he-himself had-given to them needy
supplexque venisset: reciperata vero sua dignitate se non
and-suppliant he-had-come with-recovered indeed his-own dignity himself not
commissurum ut, cum ea quae amiserat sibi restituta
going-to-let-it-happen that when those-things which he-had-lost to-himself restored
essent, virtutem animi non haberet quam numquam
had-been courage of-mind not he-should-have which never
perdidisset. Sed hoc inter me atque illum interest, quod ille,
he-had-lost but this between me and him differs that he
qua re plurimum potuit, ea ipsa re inimicos suos ultus
by-what thing very-much he-was-able by-that very thing enemies his-own avenged

est, armis, ego qua consuevi utar oratione, quoniam illi
has by-arms I which I-am-accustomed-to shall-use speech since for-that
arti in bello ac seditione locus est, huic in pace atque otio.
art in war and sedition a-place there-is for-this in peace and leisure
Quamquam ille animo irato nihil nisi de inimicis 21
although he with-mind angry nothing except about enemies
ulciscendis agebat, ego de ipsis amicis tantum quantum mihi
being-avenged did I about the-very friends as-much as-much-as to-me
res publica permittit cogitabo. Denique, Quirites, quoniam
the-thing public permits shall-think finally citizens since
me quattuor omnino hominum genera violarunt, unum
me four at-all of-men kinds have-wronged one
eorum qui odio rei publicae, quod eam ipsis
of-those who from-hatred of-the-thing public because it with-themselves
invitis conservaram, inimicissimi mihi fuerunt, alterum, qui
unwilling I-had-preserved most-hostile to-me were the-second who
per simulationem amicitiae nefarie me prodiderunt, tertium,
by pretense of-friendship wickedly me betrayed the-third
qui cum propter inertiam suam eadem adsequi non
who since on-account-of sloth their-own the-same-things to-attain not
possent, inviderunt laudi et dignitati meae, quartum,
they-could envied the-praise and dignity my the-fourth
qui cum custodes rei publicae esse deberent, salutem
who though guardians of-the-thing public to-be they-ought safety
meam, statum civitatis, dignitatem eius imperi quod erat
my the-condition of-the-state the-dignity of-that command which was
penes ipsos vendiderunt: sic ulciscar facinora singula,
in-the-hands-of themselves sold so I-shall-avenge the-deeds individual
quem ad modum a quibusque sum provocatus, malos
in-what to manner by each I-have-been provoked bad
civis rem publicam bene gerendo, perfidos amicos nihil
citizens the-thing public well managing treacherous friends nothing

credendo atque omnia cavendo, invidos virtuti et gloriae
believing and all-things guarding-against the-envious to-virtue and glory
serviendo, mercatores provinciarum revocando domum atque
devoting-myself the-merchants of-provinces recalling home and
ab iis provinciarum rationem repetendo.
from them of-the-provinces the-account demanding

22 Quamquam mihi, Quirites, maiori curae est quem ad modum
although to-me citizens greater for-care is in-what to manner
vobis, qui de me estis optime meriti, gratiam referam
to-you who about me have best deserved thanks I-may-return
quam quem ad modum inimicorum iniurias crudelitatemque
than in-what to manner of-enemies the-injuries and-cruelty
persequar. Etenim ulciscendae iniuriae facilior ratio est
I-may-pursue for-indeed of-avenging injury easier the-method is
quam benefici remunerandi, propterea quod superiorem esse
than of-a-favor being-repaid on-that-account because superior to-be
contra improbos minus est negoti quam bonis exaequari.
against the-wicked less is of-trouble than to-the-good to-be-made-equal
Tum etiam ne tam necessarium quidem est male meritis
then also not so necessary even it-is to-those-ill deserving
quam optime meritis referre quod debeas.
than to-those-best deserving to-return what you-owe

23 Odium vel precibus mitigari potest vel temporibus rei
hatred either by-prayers to-be-softened can or by-the-times of-the-thing
publicae communique utilitate deponi vel difficultate
public and-the-common advantage to-be-laid-aside or by-the-difficulty
ulciscendi contineri vel vetustate sedari; bene meritos
of-avenging to-be-restrained or by-age to-be-calmed those-well deserving
ne colas, nec exorari fas est, neque id
that-not you-should-cultivate neither to-be-prevailed-on right is nor that
rei publicae remittere utique necesse est; neque est
to-the-thing public to-remit in-any-case necessary is nor is-there

excusatio difficultatis, neque aequum est tempore et die
an-excuse of-difficulty nor fair it-is by-time and day
memoriam benefici definire. Postremo qui in ulciscendo
the-memory of-a-favor to-limit finally who in avenging
remissior fuit, in eo consilium aperte laudatur; at gravissime
more-lax has-been in that his-counsel openly is-praised but most-gravely
vituperatur qui in tantis beneficiis quanta vos in me
is-blamed he-who in so-great favors as-great-as you on me
contulistis remunerandis est tardior, neque solum ingratus,
have-conferred being-repaid is slower nor only ungrateful
quod ipsum grave est, verum etiam impius appelletur necesse
which itself grievous is but also impious to-be-called necessary
est. Atque in officio persolvendo dissimilis est ratio
it-is and in duty being-discharged unlike is the-method
pecuniae debitae, propterea quod pecuniam qui retinet
of-money owed on-that-account because money he-who keeps
non dissolvit, qui reddidit non habet: gratiam et
not discharges(-it) he-who has-paid(-it)-back not has(-it) gratitude and
qui rettulit habet, et qui habet dissolvit.
he-who has-returned(-it) has(-it) and he-who has(-it) discharges(-it)
Quapropter memoriam vestri benefici colam benivolentia 24
wherefore the-memory of-your favor I-shall-cherish with-goodwill
sempiterna, nec tantum dum anima exspirabo mea,
everlasting nor only while life I-shall-breathe-out my
sed etiam cum me vita defecerit, illa monumenta vestri
but also when me life shall-have-failed those monuments of-your
in me benefici permanebunt. In referenda autem gratia
toward me favor will-remain in returning however thanks
hoc vobis repromitto semperque praestabo, mihi neque in
this to-you I-promise and-always shall-guarantee for-me neither in
consiliis de re publica capiendis diligentiam neque in
counsels about the-thing public being-taken diligence nor in

periculis a re publica propulsandis animum neque in
dangers from the-thing public being-repelled courage nor in
sententia simpliciter ferenda fidem neque in hominum
opinion simply being-given faithfulness nor in of-men
voluntatibus pro re publica laedendis libertatem nec
the-wills for the-thing public being-offended freedom nor
in perferendo labore industriam nec in vestris commodis
in enduring labor industry nor in your advantages
augendis grati animi benivolentiam defuturam.
being-increased of-a-grateful mind goodwill going-to-be-lacking
25 Atque haec cura, Quirites, erit infixa animo meo sempiterna, ut
and this care citizens will-be fixed in-mind my everlasting that
cum vobis, qui apud me deorum immortalium vim et numen
both to-you who with me of-the-gods immortal the-power and divinity
tenetis, tum posteris vestris cunctisque gentibus dignissimus
hold and to-descendants your and-to-all peoples most-worthy
ea civitate videar quae suam dignitatem non posse se
of-that state I-may-seem which its-own dignity not to-be-able itself
tenere, nisi me reciperasset, cunctis suffragiis iudicavit.
to-keep unless me it-had-recovered by-all votes judged

CICERO

De Domo Sua

On His House

DE DOMO SUA

I · THE GRAIN AND THE PONTIFFS

Cicero tells the pontiffs the state rests on their verdict. Against Clodius, he explains why he came to the senate once the gangs had left the Capitol, and defends his motion giving Pompey the grain supply, made in a full senate, as the remedy for famine and riot.

Cum multa divinitus, pontifices, a maioribus nostris inventa 1
while many-things divinely pontiffs by ancestors our devised
atque instituta sunt, tum nihil praeclarius quam quod
and established have-been so nothing more-splendid than that
eosdem et religionibus deorum immortalium et summae
the-same both over-the-worship of-the-gods immortal and over-the-highest
rei publicae praeesse voluerunt, ut amplissimi et clarissimi
thing public to-preside wished that the-most-ample and most-illustrious
cives rem publicam bene gerendo religiones, religiones
citizens the-thing public well by-managing religion religion
sapienter interpretando rem publicam conservarent. Quod si
wisely by-interpreting the-thing public might-preserve but if
ullo tempore magna causa in sacerdotum populi Romani
at-any time a-great case in of-the-priests of-the-people Roman
iudicio ac potestate versata est, haec profecto tanta est ut
the-judgment and power engaged has-been this surely so-great is that
omnis rei publicae dignitas, omnium civium salus, vita,
all of-the-thing public the-dignity of-all citizens the-safety life
libertas, arae, foci, di penates, bona, fortunae, domicilia vestrae
liberty altars hearths gods household goods fortunes homes to-your
sapientiae, fidei, potestati commissa creditaque esse videantur.
wisdom faith power committed and-entrusted to-be may-seem

2 Vobis hodierno die constituendum est utrum posthac amentis
by-you on-today's day to-be-decided is whether hereafter insane
ac perditos magistratus improborum ac sceleratorum civium
and abandoned magistrates of-wicked and criminal citizens
praesidio nudare, an etiam deorum immortalium religione
of-the-protection to-strip or even of-the-gods immortal with-religion
armare malitis. Nam si illa labes ac flamma rei
to-arm you-prefer for if that stain and fire of-the-thing
publicae suum illum pestiferum et funestum tribunatum,
public his-own that pestilent and deadly tribunate
quem aequitate humana tueri non potest, divina religione
which by-fairness human to-protect not he-can by-divine religion
defenderit, aliae caerimoniae nobis erunt, alii antistites
shall-have-defended other ceremonies for-us will-be other priests
deorum immortalium, alii interpretes religionum requirendi;
of-the-gods immortal other interpreters of-religion to-be-sought
sin autem vestra auctoritate sapientiaque, pontifices, ea
but-if however by-your authority and-wisdom pontiffs those-things
quae furore improborum in re publica ab aliis oppressa,
which by-the-madness of-the-wicked in the-thing public by some crushed
ab aliis deserta, ab aliis prodita gesta sunt rescinduntur,
by others deserted by others betrayed done have-been are-rescinded
erit causa cur consilium maiorum in amplissimis viris
there-will-be reason why the-counsel of-our-ancestors in most-ample men
ad sacerdotia deligendis iure ac merito laudare possimus.
for priesthoods being-chosen rightly and deservedly to-praise we-may-be-able
3 Sed quoniam ille demens, si ea quae per hos dies
but since that madman if those-things which through these days
ego in senatu de re publica sensi vituperasset, aliquem
I in the-senate about the-thing public felt he-had-blamed some
se aditum ad auris vestras esse habiturum putavit,
for-himself approach to ears your to-be going-to-have thought

omittam ordinem dicendi meum: respondebo hominis furiosi
I-shall-omit the-order of-speaking my I-shall-answer of-the-man mad
non orationi, qua ille uti non potest, sed convicio, cuius
not to-the-speech which he to-use not can but to-the-abuse whose
exercitationem cum intolerabili petulantia tum etiam diuturna
practice both by-intolerable insolence and also by-long
impunitate munivit.
impunity he-has-fortified
Ac primum illud a te, homine vesano ac furioso, requiro,
and first that of you a-man insane and mad I-ask
quae te tanta poena tuorum scelerum flagitiorumque vexet
what you so-great penalty of-your crimes and-outrages harasses
ut hos talis viros, — qui non solum consiliis suis
that these such men who not only by-counsels their-own
sed etiam specie ipsa dignitatem rei publicae
but also by-their-appearance itself the-dignity of-the-thing public
sustinent, — quod ego in sententia dicenda salutem civium
sustain because I in my-opinion being-spoken the-safety of-the-citizens
cum honore Cn. Pompei coniunxerim mihi esse iratos,
with the-honor of-Gnaeus Pompey joined with-me to-be angry
et aliud de summa religione hoc tempore sensuros
and another-thing about the-highest religion at-this time going-to-feel
ac me absente senserint arbitrere?
than with-me absent they-felt you-should-think
'Fuisti,' inquit, 'tum apud pontifices superior, sed iam, 4
you-were he-says then before the-pontiffs superior but now
quoniam te ad populum contulisti, sis inferior necesse
since yourself to the-people you-have-betaken you-be inferior necessary
est.' Itane vero? quod in imperita multitudine est
it-is is-it-so indeed what in an-inexperienced multitude is
vitiosissimum, varietas et inconstantia et crebra tamquam
most-faulty changeableness and inconsistency and frequent as-if

tempestatum sic sententiarum commutatio, hoc tu ad hos
of-storms so of-opinions change this you to these-men
transferas, quos ab inconstantia gravitas, a libidinosa
should-transfer whom from inconsistency their-gravity from wanton
sententia certum et definitum ius religionum, vetustas
opinion the-fixed and defined right of-religion the-antiquity
exemplorum, auctoritas litterarum monumentorumque deterret?
of-precedents the-authority of-records and-monuments deters
'Tune es ille,' inquit, 'quo senatus carere non potuit, quem
you-then are that-man he-says whom the-senate to-lack not could whom
boni luxerunt, quem res publica desideravit, quo
the-good mourned whom the-thing public longed-for with-whom
restituto senatus auctoritatem restitutam putabamus quam
restored the-senate's authority restored we-thought which
primum adveniens prodidisti?' Nondum de mea sententia
first on-arriving you-betrayed not-yet about my opinion
dico: impudentiae primum respondebo tuae.
I-speak to-shamelessness first I-shall-reply your
Hunc igitur, funesta rei publicae pestis, hunc tu civem
this-man therefore deadly of-the-thing public plague this-man you a-citizen
ferro et armis et exercitus terrore et consulum scelere et
by-sword and arms and of-an-army by-terror and by-the-consuls' crime and
audacissimorum hominum minis, servorum dilectu, obsessione
of-most-audacious men by-threats of-slaves by-the-levy by-the-besieging
templorum, occupatione fori, oppressione curiae
of-temples by-the-seizure of-the-forum by-the-crushing of-the-senate-house
domo et patria, ne cum improbis boni ferro dimicarent,
from-home and fatherland lest with the-wicked the-good by-sword should-fight
cedere coegisti, quem a senatu, quem a bonis omnibus,
to-withdraw you-forced whom by the-senate whom by the-good all
quem a cuncta Italia desideratum, arcessitum, revocatum
whom by whole Italy longed-for summoned recalled

conservandae rei publicae causa confiteris? 'At enim in
for-preserving of-the-thing public the-sake you-confess but indeed into
senatum venire in Capitolium turbulento illo die non debuisti.'
the-senate to-come into the-Capitol on-turbulent that day not you-ought
Ego vero neque veni et domo me tenui quam diu 6
I indeed neither came and at-home myself I-kept as long-as
turbulentum tempus fuit, cum servos tuos, a te iam pridem
turbulent the-time was when slaves your by you now long-since
ad bonorum caedem paratos, cum illa tua consceleratorum
for of-the-good the-slaughter prepared with that your of-criminals
ac perditorum manu armatos in Capitolium tecum venisse
and abandoned-men band armed into the-Capitol with-you to-have-come
constabat; quod cum mihi nuntiaretur, scito me domi
it-was-established which when to-me it-was-reported know me at-home
mansisse et tibi et gladiatoribus tuis instaurandae caedis
to-have-stayed and to-you and to-gladiators your of-renewing slaughter
potestatem non fecisse. Postea quam mihi nuntiatum est
the-opportunity not to-have-given after that to-me reported it-was
populum Romanum in Capitolium propter metum atque
the-people Roman into the-Capitol on-account-of fear and
inopiam rei frumentariae convenisse, ministros autem
scarcity of-the-thing of-grain to-have-assembled the-agents however
scelerum tuorum perterritos partim amissis gladiis, partim
of-crimes your terrified partly with-swords lost partly
ereptis diffugisse, veni non solum sine ullis copiis ac
snatched to-have-fled I-came not only without any forces and
manu, verum etiam cum paucis amicis.
band but also with a-few friends
An ego, cum P. Lentulus consul optime de me ac de 7
or I when Publius Lentulus consul best of me and of
re publica meritus, cum Q. Metellus, qui cum meus
the-thing public having-deserved when Quintus Metellus who though my

inimicus esset, frater tuus, et dissensioni nostrae et precibus
enemy he-was brother your both to-dissension our and to-prayers
tuis salutem ac dignitatem meam praetulisset, me arcesserent
your the-safety and dignity my had-preferred me were-summoning
in senatum, cum tanta multitudo civium tam recenti officio
into the-senate when so-great a-multitude of-citizens so recent by-service
suo me ad referendam gratiam nominatim vocaret, non
its-own me to returning thanks by-name was-calling not
venirem, cum praesertim te iam illinc cum tua fugitivorum
should-I-come when especially you already from-there with your of-runaways
manu discessisse constaret? Hic tu me etiam, custodem
band to-have-departed it-was-established here you me even the-guardian
defensoremque Capitoli templorumque omnium, 'hostem
and-defender of-the-Capitol and-of-the-temples all an-enemy
Capitolinum' appellare ausus es, quod, cum in Capitolio
Capitoline to-call dared have because when in the-Capitol
senatum duo consules haberent, eo venerim? Utrum est
a-senate two consuls were-holding thither I-came whether is-there
tempus aliquod quo in senatum venisse turpe sit, an
time some at-which into the-senate to-have-come shameful be or
ea res erat illa de qua agebatur ut rem ipsam
that thing was that about which was-being-dealt-with that the-thing itself
repudiare et eos qui agebant condemnare deberem?
to-reject and those who were-dealing-with(-it) to-condemn I-ought

8 Primum dico senatoris esse boni semper in senatum venire,
first I-say of-a-senator to-be good always into the-senate to-come
nec cum his sentio qui statuunt minus bonis temporibus
nor with these I-agree who decide in-less good times
in senatum ipsum non venire, non intellegentes hanc suam
into the-senate itself not to-come not understanding this their-own
nimiam perseverantiam vehementer iis quorum animum
too-great persistence vehemently to-those whose minds

offendere voluerint et gratam et iucundam fuisse. At enim
to-offend they-wished both welcome and pleasant to-have-been but indeed
non nulli propter timorem, quod se in senatu tuto non
not none on-account-of fear because themselves in the-senate safe not
esse arbitrabantur, discesserunt. Non reprehendo, nec quaero
to-be they-thought departed not I-blame(-it) nor I-ask
fueritne aliquid pertimescendum: puto suo quemque
whether-there-was anything to-be-dreaded I-think by-his-own each
arbitratu timere oportere. Cur ego non timuerim quaeris? quia
judgment to-fear it-behooves why I not feared you-ask because
te illinc abisse constabat. Cur, cum viri boni non nulli
you thence to-have-gone-away it-was-established why when men good not none
putarint tuto se in senatu esse non posse, ego non idem
thought safe themselves in the-senate to-be not to-be-able I not the-same
senserim? Cur, cum ego me existimassem tuto omnino in
felt why when I myself had-thought safe at-all in
civitate esse non posse, illi remanserunt? An aliis licet,
the-state to-be not to-be-able they remained or for-others is-it-allowed
et recte licet, in meo metu sibi nihil timere: mihi uni
and rightly allowed in my fear for-themselves nothing to-fear for-me alone
necesse erit et meam et aliorum vicem pertimescere?
necessary will-it-be both my and of-others for-the-sake to-dread
An quia non condemnavi sententia mea duo consules, sum 9
or because not I-condemned by-opinion my two consuls am-I
reprehendendus? Eos igitur ego potissimum damnare debui
to-be-blamed them therefore I especially to-condemn ought
quorum lege perfectum est ne ego, indemnatus atque
by-whose law accomplished it-was that-not I uncondemned and
optime de re publica meritus, damnatorum poenam
best of the-thing public having-deserved of-the-condemned the-penalty
sustinerem? Quorum etiam delicta propter eorum egregiam
should-suffer whose even faults on-account-of their outstanding

in me conservando voluntatem non modo me sed omnis
toward me being-preserved goodwill not only me but all
bonos ferre oporteret, eorum optimum consilium ego
the-good to-bear it-would-behoove their best counsel I
potissimum per eos in meam pristinam dignitatem restitutus
especially through them into my former dignity restored
meo consilio repudiarem? At quam sententiam dixi? Primum
by-my counsel should-reject but what opinion did-I-speak first
eam quam populi sermo in animis nostris iam ante
that which of-the-people the-talk in minds our already before
defixerat, deinde eam quae erat superioribus diebus agitata
had-fixed then that which had-been in-the-earlier days discussed
in senatu, denique eam quam senatus frequens tum cum mihi
in the-senate finally that which the-senate full then when to-me
est adsensus secutus est: ut neque adlata sit a me res
has assented followed has so-that neither brought be by me a-thing
inopinata ac recens, nec, si quod in sententia vitium est,
unexpected and new nor if any in the-opinion fault is
maius sit eius qui dixerit quam omnium qui probarint.
greater be-it of-him who has-spoken(-it) than of-all who approved(-it)
10 At enim liberum senatus iudicium propter metum non fuit.
but indeed free of-the-senate the-judgment on-account-of fear not was
Si timuisse eos facis qui discesserunt, concede non timuisse
if to-have-feared those you-make who departed grant not to-have-feared
eos qui remanserunt; sin autem sine iis qui tum afuerunt
those who remained but-if however without those who then were-absent
nihil decerni libere potuit, cum omnes adessent, coeptum
nothing to-be-decreed freely could when all were-present begun
est referri de inducendo senatus consulto; ab universo
it-was to-be-referred about canceling of-the-senate the-decree by the-whole
senatu reclamatum est. Sed quaero in ipsa sententia, quoniam
senate shouted-down it-was but I-ask in itself the-opinion since

princeps ego sum eius atque auctor, quid reprendatur. Utrum
the-leader I am of-it and author what is-blamed whether
causa novi consili capiendi non fuit, an meae partes in ea
a-reason of-new counsel to-be-taken not was-there or my parts in that
causa non praecipuae fuerunt, an alio potius confugiendum
case not principal were or elsewhere rather to-be-fled
fuit nobis? Quae causa maior quam fames esse potuit, quam
was-it by-us what reason greater than famine be could than
seditio, quam consilia tua tuorumque, qui facultate oblata
sedition than plans your and-your-men's who with-the-opportunity offered
ad imperitorum animos incitandos renovaturum te tua
for of-the-ignorant the-minds being-incited going-to-renew yourself your
illis funesta latrocinia ob annonae causam putasti?
for-them deadly brigandages on-account-of the-grain-supply's reason thought
Frumentum provinciae frumentariae partim non habebant, 11
grain the-provinces grain-producing partly not had
partim in alias terras, credo, propter avaritiam venditorum
partly to other lands I-suppose on-account-of the-avarice of-the-sellers
miserant, partim, quo gratius esset tum cum in ipsa
had-sent partly so-that more-welcome it-might-be then when in the-very
fame subvenissent, custodiis suis clausum continebant,
famine they-had-come-to-the-aid in-stores their-own closed-up kept
ut subito novum mitterent. Res erat non in opinione
so-that suddenly new they-might-send the-thing was not in opinion
dubia, sed in praesenti atque ante oculos proposito periculo,
doubtful but in present and before eyes set danger
neque id coniectura prospiciebamus, sed iam experti
nor that by-conjecture we-foresaw but now having-experienced
videbamus. Nam cum ingravesceret annona, ut iam plane
we-saw for when grew-heavier the-price that now plainly
inopia ac fames non caritas timeretur, concursus est ad
scarcity and famine not dearness was-feared a-rush was to

templum Concordiae factus, senatum illuc vocante Metello
the-temple of-Concord made the-senate thither with-calling Metellus
consule. Qui si verus fuit ex dolore hominum et fame,
the-consul which if genuine it-was from the-grief of-men and famine
certe consules causam suscipere, certe senatus aliquid consili
certainly the-consuls the-cause to-take-up certainly the-senate some counsel
capere potuit; sin causa fuit annona, seditionis quidem
to-take could but-if the-pretext was the-grain-supply of-sedition indeed
instimulator et concitator tu fuisti, nonne id agendum nobis
the-instigator and rouser you were surely that to-be-done by-us
omnibus fuit ut materiem subtraheremus furori tuo?
all was that the-material we-should-take-away from-madness your
12 Quid? si utrumque fuit, ut et fames stimularet homines et tu
what if each was that both famine goaded men and you
in hoc ulcere tamquam inguen exsisteres, nonne fuit eo maior
in this ulcer like a-tumor should-arise surely was by-that a-greater
adhibenda medicina quae et illud nativum et hoc inlatum
to-be-applied medicine which both that native and this brought-in
malum sanare posset? Erat igitur et praesens caritas et
evil to-heal could there-was therefore both present dearness and
futura fames; non est satis; facta lapidatio est. Si ex dolore
future famine not is enough made stoning there-was if from the-grief
plebei nullo incitante, magnum malum; si P. Clodi
of-the-plebs with-no-one inciting a-great evil if by-Publius Clodius'
impulsu, usitatum hominis facinerosi scelus; si utrumque,
impulse the-usual of-a-man villainous crime if both
ut et res esset ea quae sua sponte multitudinis
so-that both the-thing was that which of-its-own accord of-the-multitude
animos incitaret, et parati atque armati seditionis duces,
the-minds might-incite and ready and armed of-sedition leaders
videturne ipsa res publica et consulis auxilium implorasse
does-it-seem itself the-thing public both of-the-consul the-help to-have-implored

et senatus fidem? Atquin utrumque fuisse perspicuum
and of-the-senate the-faith and-yet both to-have-been clear
est; difficultatem annonae summamque inopiam rei
is the-difficulty of-the-grain-supply and-the-highest scarcity of-the-thing
frumentariae, ut homines non iam diuturnam caritatem, sed
of-grain so-that men not now long-lasting dearness but
ut famem plane timerent, nemo negat: hanc istum oti et
as famine plainly they-feared no-one denies this that-man of-leisure and
pacis hostem causam arrepturum fuisse ad incendia caedis
peace the-enemy as-pretext going-to-seize to-have-been for fires slaughter
rapinas nolo, pontifices, suspicemini, nisi videritis.
plunder I-do-not-wish pontiffs you-should-suspect unless you-shall-have-seen

II · THE CHARGES ANSWERED

Clodius's own gangs, led by Sergius and Lollius, raised the stone-throwing and named Cicero as the man to supply grain. Called to the senate, Cicero proposed a grain command for Pompey. Against Clodius's claim that nothing should be granted outside the regular order, he lists Clodius's own extraordinary grants: Cyprus to Cato, Syria to Gabinius, and free peoples to Piso.

Qui sunt homines a Q. Metello, fratre tuo, consule 13
who are the-men by Quintus Metellus brother your the-consul
in senatu palam nominati, a quibus ille se lapidibus
in the-senate openly named by whom he himself with-stones
adpetitum, etiam percussum esse dixit? L. Sergium
attacked even struck to-have-been said Lucius Sergius
et M. Lollium nominavit. Quis est iste Lollius? qui
and Marcus Lollius he-named who is that Lollius who
sine ferro ne nunc quidem tecum est, qui te tribuno
without a-sword not now even with-you is who with-you as-tribune

plebis, nihil de me dicam, sed qui Cn. Pompeium
of-the-plebs nothing about me I-shall-say but who Gnaeus Pompey
interficiendum depoposcit. Quis est Sergius? armiger
to-be-killed demanded who is Sergius the-armor-bearer
Catilinae, stipator tui corporis, signifer seditionis,
of-Catiline the-bodyguard of-your body the-standard-bearer of-sedition
concitator tabernariorum, damnatus iniuriarum, percussor,
the-rouser of-shopkeepers condemned of-assault the-assassin
lapidator, fori depopulator, obsessor curiae. His
the-stoner of-the-forum the-devastator the-besieger of-the-senate-house with-these
atque eius modi ducibus cum tu in annonae caritate in
and of-that kind leaders when you in the-grain-supply's dearness against
consules, in senatum, in bona fortunasque locupletium
the-consuls against the-senate against the-goods and-fortunes of-the-rich
per causam inopum atque imperitorum repentinos impetus
through the-pretext of-the-needy and ignorant sudden attacks
comparares, cum tibi salus esse in otio nulla posset, cum
were-preparing when for-you safety to-be in leisure none could when
desperatis ducibus decuriatos ac descriptos haberes exercitus
with-desperate leaders divided-into-squads and enrolled you-had armies
perditorum, nonne providendum senatui fuit ne in hanc
of-ruined-men surely to-be-provided by-the-senate was lest to this
tantam materiem seditionis ista funesta fax adhaeresceret?
so-great material of-sedition that deadly torch should-cling

14 Fuit igitur causa capiendi novi consili: videte nunc
there-was therefore a-reason of-taking new counsel see now
fuerintne partes meae paene praecipuae. Quem tum Sergius
whether-were parts my almost principal whom then Sergius
ille tuus, quem Lollius, quem ceterae pestes in lapidatione
that your whom Lollius whom the-other plagues in stoning
illa nominabant? quem annonam praestare oportere dicebant?
that named whom the-grain-supply to-guarantee to-behoove they-said

nonne me? Quid? operarum illa concursatio nocturna non
surely me what of-the-gangs that running-about nocturnal not
a te ipso instituta me frumentum flagitabat? quasi vero
by you yourself instituted from-me grain demanded as-if indeed
ego aut rei frumentariae praefuissem, aut compressum
I either over-the-thing grain had-presided or pent-up
aliquod frumentum tenerem, aut in isto genere omnino
some grain was-holding or in that kind at-all
quicquam aut curatione aut potestate valuissem. Sed
anything either in-management or in-power had-availed but
homo ad caedem imminens meum nomen operis ediderat,
the-man at slaughter aiming my name to-the-gangs had-given
imperitis iniecerat. Cum de mea dignitate in templo
to-the-ignorant had-cast(-it) when about my dignity in the-temple
Iovis Optimi Maximi senatus frequentissimus uno isto
of-Jupiter Best Greatest the-senate fullest with-one that-man
dissentiente decrevisset, subito illo ipso die carissimam
dissenting had-decreed suddenly on-that very day the-dearest
annonam necopinata vilitas consecuta est.
grain-supply an-unexpected cheapness followed has
Erant qui deos immortalis — id quod ego sentio — 15
there-were who the-gods immortal that which I feel
numine suo reditum meum dicerent comprobasse; non
by-divine-power their-own return my said to-have-approved not
nulli autem illam rem ad illam rationem coniecturamque
none however that thing to that reasoning and-conjecture
revocabant, qui, quod in meo reditu spes oti et
referred who because in my return the-hope of-leisure and
concordiae sita videbatur, in discessu autem cotidianus
concord set seemed in my-departure however the-daily
seditionis timor, iam paene belli depulso metu commutatam
of-sedition fear now almost of-war repelled fear changed

annonam esse dicebant; quae quia rursus in meo reditu
the-grain-supply to-be said which because again at my return
facta erat durior, a me, cuius adventu fore vilitatem
made it-had-been harder from me at-whose arrival going-to-be cheapness
boni viri dictitabant, annona flagitabatur. Ego denique
good men kept-saying the-grain-supply was-demanded I finally
non solum ab operis tuis impulsu tuo nominabar, sed
not only by gangs your at-impulse your was-named but
etiam, depulsis ac dissipatis tuis copiis, a populo Romano
also with-repelled and scattered your forces by the-people Roman
universo, qui tum in Capitolium convenerat, cum illo
whole which then into the-Capitol had-assembled when on-that
die minus valerem, in senatum nominatim vocabar.
day less I-was-well into the-senate by-name I-was-called
16 Veni exspectatus; multis iam sententiis dictis rogatus
I-came awaited with-many already opinions spoken asked
sum sententiam; dixi rei publicae saluberrimam, mihi
I-was my-opinion I-spoke for-the-thing public most-salutary for-me
necessariam. Petebatur a me frumenti copia, annonae
necessary there-was-sought from me of-grain plenty of-the-grain-supply
vilitas: possem aliquid in ea re necne ratio non
cheapness whether-I-could anything in that matter or-not account not
habebatur. Flagitabar bonorum expostulatione: improborum
was-taken I-was-pressed by-the-good's demand of-the-wicked
convicia sustinere non poteram. Delegavi amico locupletiori,
the-abuse to-bear not I-could I-delegated(-it) to-a-friend wealthier
non quo illi ita de me merito onus illud imponerem —
not that on-him so about me having-deserved burden that I-might-impose
succubuissem enim potius ipse — sed quia videbam id
I-would-have-sunk for rather myself but because I-saw that
quod omnes, quod nos de Cn. Pompeio polliceremur,
which all that we about Gnaeus Pompey were-promising

id illum fide consilio virtute auctoritate felicitate denique
that he by-faith counsel courage authority good-fortune finally
sua facillime perfecturum.
his-own most-easily going-to-accomplish
Itaque sive hunc di immortales fructum mei reditus 17
and-so whether this the-gods immortal fruit of-my return
populo Romano tribuunt, ut, quem ad modum discessu
to-the-people Roman grant that in-what to manner by-departure
meo frugum inopia, fames, vastitas, caedes, incendia,
my of-crops scarcity famine devastation slaughter fires
rapinae, scelerum impunitas, fuga, formido, discordia fuisset,
plundering of-crimes impunity flight terror discord had-been
sic reditu ubertas agrorum, frugum copia, spes oti,
so by-return fertility of-the-fields of-crops plenty hope of-leisure
tranquillitas animorum, iudicia, leges, concordia populi,
tranquility of-minds courts laws concord of-the-people
senatus auctoritas mecum simul reducta videantur, sive
the-senate's authority with-me together brought-back may-seem or
egomet aliquid adventu meo, consilio, auctoritate, diligentia
I-myself something by-arrival my by-counsel authority diligence
pro tanto beneficio populi Romani praestare debui: praesto,
for so-great a-favor of-the-people Roman to-supply ought I-supply(-it)
promitto, spondeo, — nihil dico amplius, hoc quod satis est
I-promise I-pledge nothing I-say more this which enough is
huic tempori dico, — rem publicam annonae nomine
for-this time I-say the-thing public by-the-grain-supply's name
in id discrimen quo vocabatur non esse venturam.
into that crisis into-which it-was-being-called not to-be going-to-come
Num igitur in hoc officio, quod fuit praecipue meum, 18
surely-not therefore in this duty which was especially mine
sententia mea reprehenditur? Rem maximam fuisse
opinion my is-blamed the-thing very-great to-have-been

summique periculi, non solum a fame, sed etiam a
and-of-the-highest danger not only from famine but also from
caede incendiis vastitate, nemo negat, cum ad causam caritatis
slaughter fires devastation no-one denies when to the-cause of-dearness
accederet iste speculator communium miseriarum, qui semper
was-added that spy of-common miseries who always
ex rei publicae malis sceleris sui faces inflammaret.
from of-the-thing public the-evils of-crime his-own the-torches would-kindle
Negat oportuisse quicquam uni extra ordinem decerni.
he-denies to-have-behooved anything to-one-man outside the-order to-be-decreed
Non iam tibi sic respondebo ut ceteris, Cn. Pompeio
not now to-you so I-shall-answer as to-the-others to-Gnaeus Pompey
plurima, periculosissima, maxima mari terraque bella extra
very-many most-dangerous greatest by-sea and-land wars outside
ordinem esse commissa: quarum rerum si quem paeniteat,
the-order to-have-been entrusted of-which things if anyone repent
eum victoriae populi Romani paenitere.
him of-the-victory of-the-people Roman to-repent

19 Non ita tecum ago; cum his haec a me haberi oratio
not so with-you I-deal with these this from me to-be-held speech
potest qui ita disputant, se, si qua res ad unum
can who so argue themselves if any thing to one-man
deferenda sit, ad Cn. Pompeium delaturos potissimum;
to-be-conferred be to Gnaeus Pompey going-to-confer(-it) especially
sed se extra ordinem nihil cuiquam dare; cum Pompeio
but themselves outside the-order nothing to-anyone to-give when to-Pompey
datum sit, id se pro dignitate hominis ornare
given has-been that themselves in-keeping-with the-dignity of-the-man to-honor
et tueri solere. Horum ego sententiam ne laudem
and to-protect to-be-wont these I opinion that-not I-should-praise
impedior Cn. Pompei triumphis, quibus ille, cum esset
am-hindered by-Gnaeus Pompey's triumphs with-which he when he-had-been

extra ordinem ad patriam defendendam vocatus, auxit
outside the-order for the-fatherland being-defended called increased
nomen populi Romani imperiumque honestavit: constantiam
the-name of-the-people Roman and-the-empire honored the-constancy
probo, qua mihi quoque utendum fuit, quo ille auctore
I-approve which by-me also to-be-used it-was with-whom he as-sponsor
extra ordinem bellum cum Mithridate Tigraneque gessit.
outside the-order war with Mithridates and-Tigranes he-waged
Sed cum illis possum tamen aliquid disputare: tua vero quae 20
but with them I-can still something argue your indeed what
tanta impudentia est ut audeas dicere extra ordinem dari
so-great shamelessness is-it that you-dare to-say outside the-order to-be-given
nihil cuiquam oportere? qui cum lege nefaria Ptolomaeum,
nothing to-anyone to-behoove who when by-a-law wicked Ptolemy
regem Cypri, fratrem regis Alexandrini, eodem iure
king of-Cyprus brother of-the-king Alexandrian by-the-same right
regnantem causa incognita publicasses, populumque
reigning with-the-case unheard you-had-confiscated and-the-people
Romanum scelere obligasses, cum in eius regnum bona
Roman with-crime you-had-bound when into his kingdom goods
fortunas patrocinium huius imperi inmisisses, cuius cum
fortunes the-patronage of-this empire you-had-sent-in whose with
patre avo maioribus societas nobis et amicitia fuisset,
father grandfather ancestors alliance to-us and friendship had-been
huius pecuniae deportandae et, si ius suum defenderet,
over-his money being-brought-home and if right his-own he-should-defend
bello gerendo M. Catonem praefecisti.
war being-waged Marcus Cato you-placed
Dices: quem virum! sanctissimum, prudentissimum, 21
you-will-say what a-man most-upright most-prudent
fortissimum, amicissimum rei publicae, virtute, consilio,
most-brave most-friendly to-the-thing public in-courage counsel

ratione vitae mirabili ad laudem et prope singulari! Sed quid
method of-life admirable for praise and almost singular but what
ad te, qui negas esse verum quemquam ulli rei publicae
to you who deny to-be right anyone over-any matter public
extra ordinem praefici? Atque in hoc solum inconstantiam
outside the-order to-be-placed and in this alone the-inconsistency
redarguo tuam: quem tu in ea re non pro illius
I-refute your whom you in that matter not in-keeping-with his
dignitate produceres, sed pro tuo scelere subduceres,
dignity would-bring-forward but in-keeping-with your crime would-withdraw
quem tuis Sergiis, Lolliis, Titiis ceterisque caedis et
whom to-your Sergii Lollii Titii and-the-other of-slaughter and
incendiorum ducibus obieceras, quem carnificem civium, quem
of-fires leaders you-had-exposed whom the-executioner of-citizens whom
indemnatorum necis principem, quem crudelitatis auctorem
of-the-uncondemned of-the-death the-chief whom of-cruelty the-author
fuisse dixeras, ad hunc honorem et imperium extra ordinem
to-have-been you-had-said to this honor and command outside the-order
nominatim rogatione tua detulisti. Et tanta fuisti intemperantia
by-name by-bill your you-conferred and of-such you-were intemperance
ut illius tui sceleris rationem occultare non posses:
that that your crime's method to-hide not you-could
22 litteras in contione recitasti quas tibi a C. Caesare missas
a-letter in an-assembly you-read which to-you by Gaius Caesar sent
diceres Caesar Pulchro, cum etiam es argumentatus amoris
you-said Caesar to-Pulcher when even you-have argued of-love
esse hoc signum, quod cognominibus tantum uteretur neque
to-be this a-sign that by-surnames only he-used nor
adscriberet pro consule aut tribuno plebi; dein gratulari tibi
he-added as proconsul or tribune of-the-plebs then to-congratulate you
quod M. Catonem a tribunatu tuo removisses, et quod
that Marcus Cato from the-tribunate your you-had-removed and that

ei dicendi in posterum de extraordinariis potestatibus
from-him of-speaking for the-future about extraordinary powers
libertatem ademisses. Quas aut numquam tibi ille litteras
the-freedom you-had-taken-away which either never to-you he a-letter
misit, aut, si misit, in contione recitari noluit. At,
sent or if he-sent(-it) in an-assembly to-be-read he-did-not-wish but
sive ille misit sive tu finxisti, certe consilium tuum de
whether he sent(-it) or you invented(-it) certainly plan your about
Catonis honore illarum litterarum recitatione patefactum est.
Cato's honor by-that letter's reading revealed was
Sed omitto Catonem, cuius eximia virtus, dignitas, et in eo 23
but I-omit Cato whose exceptional virtue dignity and in that
negotio quod gessit fides et continentia tegere videretur
business which he-conducted faithfulness and restraint to-cover might-seem
improbitatem et legis et actionis tuae: quid? homini post
the-wickedness both of-the-law and of-the-action your what to-a-man since
homines natos turpissimo, sceleratissimo, contaminatissimo
men born the-most-shameful most-criminal most-polluted
quis illam opimam fertilemque Syriam, quis bellum cum
who that rich and-fertile Syria who war with
pacatissimis gentibus, quis pecuniam ad emendos agros
most-peaceful peoples who money for buying lands
constitutam, ereptam ex visceribus aerari, quis imperium
appointed snatched from the-vitals of-the-treasury who a-command
infinitum dedit? Cui quidem cum Ciliciam dedisses,
boundless gave to-whom indeed when Cilicia you-had-given
mutasti pactionem et Ciliciam ad praetorem item extra
you-changed the-bargain and Cilicia to a-praetor likewise outside
ordinem transtulisti: Gabinio pretio amplificato Syriam
the-order you-transferred to-Gabinius with-the-price increased Syria
nominatim dedisti. Quid? homini taeterrimo, crudelissimo,
by-name you-gave what to-a-man most-foul most-cruel

fallacissimo, omnium scelerum libidinumque maculis
most-deceitful of-all crimes and-lusts by-the-stains
notatissimo, L. Pisoni, nonne nominatim populos liberos,
most-marked Lucius Piso surely by-name peoples free
multis senatus consultis, etiam recenti lege generi ipsius
by-many of-the-senate decrees even by-a-recent law of-the-son-in-law his-own
liberatos, vinctos et constrictos tradidisti? Nonne, cum ab
freed bound and constrained you-handed-over surely when by
eo merces tui beneficii pretiumque provinciae meo sanguine
him the-wage of-your favor and-the-price of-the-province with-my blood
tibi esset persolutum, tamen aerarium cum eo partitus es?
to-you had-been paid still the-treasury with him shared you-have
24 Itane vero? tu provincias consularis, quas C. Gracchus, qui
is-it-so indeed you the-provinces consular which Gaius Gracchus who
unus maxime popularis fuit, non modo non abstulit a
alone most popular was not only not took-away from
senatu, sed etiam ut necesse esset quotannis constitui
the-senate but even that necessary it-should-be yearly to-be-appointed
per senatum lege sanxit, eas lege Sempronia per senatum
by the-senate by-law sanctioned those by-the-law Sempronian by the-senate
decretas rescidisti, extra ordinem sine sorte nominatim
decreed you-rescinded outside the-order without lot by-name
dedisti non consulibus, sed rei publicae pestibus: nos,
you-gave not to-consuls but of-the-thing public to-the-plagues we
quod nominatim rei maximae paene iam desperatae
because by-name over-a-thing very-great almost already despaired-of
summum virum saepe ad extrema rei publicae discrimina
a-very-great man often for the-extreme of-the-thing public crises
delectum praefecimus, a te reprehendemur? Quid tandem?
chosen we-placed by you shall-be-blamed what pray
si quae tum in illis rei publicae tenebris caecisque
if what-things then in those of-the-thing public darknesses and-blind

nubibus et procellis, cum senatum a gubernaculis deiecisses,
clouds and storms when the-senate from the-helm you-had-cast
populum e navi exturbasses, ipse archipirata cum grege
the-people from the-ship you-had-thrust yourself arch-pirate with a-herd
praedonum impurissimo plenissimis velis navigares — si
of-pirates most-impure with-fullest sails you-sailed if
quae tum promulgasti constituisti promisisti vendidisti
what-things then you-published established promised sold
perferre potuisses, ecqui locus orbi terrarum vacuus
to-carry-through you-had-been-able what place in-the-circle of-lands empty
extraordinariis fascibus atque imperio Clodiano fuisset?
of-extraordinary fasces and command Clodian would-have-been

III · POMPEY AND THE ADOPTION

Cicero defends his loyalty to Pompey and then asks whether Clodius was ever lawfully a tribune. Clodius was adopted by Fonteius, a man of twenty, younger than himself and able to have children, against every rule of the pontiffs. The adoption was made only so that Clodius could leave the patricians.

Sed excitatus aliquando Cn. Pompei — dicam ipso 25
but roused at-last of-Gnaeus Pompey I-shall-say him-himself
audiente quod sensi et sentio, quoquo animo auditurus
listening what I-felt and feel with-whatever mind going-to-hear(-it)
est — excitatus, inquam, aliquando Cn. Pompei nimium
he-is roused I-say at-last of-Gnaeus Pompey too
diu reconditus et penitus abstrusus animi dolor subvenit
long hidden and deeply concealed of-mind the-grief came-to-the-aid
subito rei publicae, civitatemque fractam malis,
suddenly to-the-thing public and-the-state broken by-evils
imminutam ac debilitatam, abiectam metu ad aliquam spem
diminished and weakened cast-down by-fear to some hope

libertatis et pristinae dignitatis erexit. Hic vir extra ordinem
of-liberty and of-former dignity raised this man outside the-order
rei frumentariae praeficiendus non fuit? Scilicet tu
over-the-thing of-grain to-be-set not was of-course you
helluoni spurcatissimo, praegustatori libidinum tuarum, homini
to-a-glutton most-befouled to-the-foretaster of-lusts your to-a-man
egentissimo et facinerosissimo, Sex. Clodio, socio tui
most-needy and most-villainous Sextus Clodius the-partner of-your
sanguinis, qui sua lingua etiam sororem tuam a te
blood who by-his-own tongue even sister your from you
abalienavit, omne frumentum privatum et publicum, omnis
estranged all grain private and public all
provincias frumentarias, omnis mancipes, omnis horreorum
provinces grain-producing all contractors all of-the-granaries
clavis lege tua tradidisti; qua ex lege primum caritas
the-keys by-law your handed-over which from law first dearness
nata est, deinde inopia. Impendebat fames, incendia, caedes,
born was then scarcity there-hung-over famine fires slaughter
direptio: imminebat tuus furor omnium fortunis et bonis.
plunder there-threatened your madness over-all-men's fortunes and goods
26 Queritur etiam importuna pestis ex ore impurissimo
complains also the-savage plague from the-mouth most-impure
Sex. Clodi rem frumentariam esse ereptam, summisque
of-Sextus Clodius the-thing of-grain to-have-been snatched and-highest
in periculis eius viri auxilium implorasse rem publicam a
in dangers of-that man the-help to-have-implored the-thing public by
quo saepe se et servatam et amplificatam esse meminisset!
whom often itself both preserved and enlarged to-have-been it-remembered
Extra ordinem ferri nihil placet Clodio. Quid? de me quod
outside the-order to-be-carried nothing pleases Clodius what about me which
tulisse te dicis, patricida, fratricida, sororicida, nonne extra
to-have-carried you you-say parricide fratricide sororicide surely outside

ordinem tulisti? An de peste civis, quem ad modum
the-order did-you-carry(-it) or about the-ruin of-a-citizen in-what to manner
omnes iam di atque homines iudicarunt, conservatoris rei
all now gods and men have-judged of-the-preserver of-the-thing
publicae, quem ad modum autem tute ipse confiteris, non modo
public in-what to manner however you yourself confess not only
indemnati sed ne accusati quidem, licuit tibi ferre non
uncondemned but not accused even was-it-allowed to-you to-carry not
legem sed nefarium privilegium, lugente senatu, maerentibus
a-law but a-wicked private-law with-mourning the-senate with-grieving
bonis omnibus, totius Italiae precibus repudiatis, oppressa
the-good all of-whole Italy with-the-prayers rejected with-crushed
captaque re publica: mihi populo Romano implorante,
and-captured the-thing public to-me with-the-people Roman imploring
senatu poscente, temporibus rei publicae flagitantibus,
with-the-senate demanding with-the-times of-the-thing public pressing
non licuit de salute populi Romani sententiam dicere?
not was-it-allowed about the-safety of-the-people Roman an-opinion to-speak
Qua quidem in sententia si Cn. Pompei dignitas aucta 27
in-which indeed in opinion if of-Gnaeus Pompey the-dignity increased
est coniuncta cum utilitate communi, certe laudandus
has-been joined with advantage common certainly to-be-praised
essem si eius dignitati suffragatus viderer qui meae saluti opem
I-would-be if to-his dignity to-have-voted-for I-seemed who to-my safety help
et auxilium tulisset. Desinant, desinant homines isdem
and aid had-brought let-them-cease let-them-cease men with-the-same
machinis sperare me restitutum posse labefactari quibus
engines to-hope me restored to-be-able to-be-shaken with-which
antea stantem perculerunt. Quod enim par amicitiae consularis
before standing they-struck-down what for pair of-friendship consular
fuit umquam in hac civitate coniunctius quam fuimus inter
was ever in this state more-closely-joined than we-were between

nos ego et Cn. Pompeius? quis apud populum Romanum
ourselves I and Gnaeus Pompey who before the-people Roman
de illius dignitate inlustrius, quis in senatu saepius dixit?
about his dignity more-illustriously who in the-senate more-often spoke
qui tantus fuit labor, quae simultas, quae contentio, quam
what so-great was the-labor what enmity what contest which
ego non pro illius dignitate susceperim? qui ab illo in
I not for his dignity undertook what by him toward
me honos, quae praedicatio de mea laude, quae remuneratio
me honor what proclaiming about my praise what repayment
benivolentiae praetermissa est? Hanc nostram coniunctionem,
of-goodwill omitted was this our union
28 hanc conspirationem in re publica bene gerenda, hanc
this conspiring in the-thing public well being-managed this
iucundissimam vitae atque officiorum omnium societatem
most-pleasant of-life and of-duties all fellowship
certi homines fictis sermonibus et falsis criminibus
certain men by-invented talk and false charges
diremerunt, cum idem illum ut me metueret, me
broke-off when the-same-men him that me be-should-fear me
caveret, monerent, idem apud me mihi illum uni
be-should-guard-against were-warning the-same with me to-me him to-one-man
esse inimicissimum dicerent, ut neque ego ab illo quae
to-be most-hostile were-saying so-that neither I from him what-things
mihi petenda essent satis audaciter petere possem, neque ille,
by-me to-be-sought were enough boldly to-seek could nor he
tot suspicionibus certorum hominum et scelere exulceratus,
by-so-many suspicions of-certain men and crime ulcerated
quae meum tempus postularet satis prolixe mihi polliceretur.
what-things my time demanded enough fully to-me might-promise

Data merces est erroris mei magna, pontifices, ut me non 29
paid the-price is of-error my great pontiffs that me not
solum pigeat stultitiae meae sed etiam pudeat, qui, cum me
only it-irks of-folly my but also it-shames who when me
non repentinum aliquod tempus meum, sed veteres multo ante
not sudden some time my but old long before
suscepti et provisi labores cum viro fortissimo et clarissimo
undertaken and foreseen labors with a-man most-brave and most-illustrious
coniunxissent, sim passus a tali amicitia distrahi me, neque
had-joined I-have allowed from such friendship to-be-separated me nor
intellexerim quibus aut ut apertis inimicis obsisterem aut ut
understood to-whom either as open enemies I-should-resist or as
insidiosis amicis non crederem. Proinde desinant aliquando me
treacherous friends not I-should-trust therefore let-them-cease at-last me
isdem inflare verbis: 'quid sibi iste vult? nescit
with-the-same to-puff-up words what for-himself that-man wishes he-does-not-know
quantum auctoritate valeat, quas res gesserit, qua dignitate
how-much in-authority he-avails what things he-has-done with-what dignity
sit restitutus? Cur ornat eum a quo desertus est?'
he-has-been restored why does-he-honor him by whom deserted he-was
Ego vero neque me tum desertum puto sed paene deditum, 30
I indeed neither myself then deserted think but almost surrendered
nec quae sint in illa rei publicae flamma gesta contra
nor what-things were in that of-the-thing public fire done against
me, neque quo modo, neque per quos, patefaciundum mihi
me nor in-what manner nor by whom to-be-revealed for-me
esse arbitror. Si utile rei publicae fuit haurire me unum
to-be think if useful to-the-thing public it-was to-drink me alone
pro omnibus illam indignissimam calamitatem, etiam hoc
for all that most-unworthy calamity also this
utile est, quorum id scelere conflatum sit, me occultare
useful is by-whose that crime kindled it-was me to-conceal

et tacere. Illud vero est hominis ingrati tacere,
and to-be-silent-about that indeed is of-a-man ungrateful to-keep-silent-about
itaque libentissime praedicabo Cn. Pompeium studio et
and-so most-gladly I-shall-proclaim Gnaeus Pompey by-zeal and
auctoritate aeque atque unum quemque vestrum, opibus,
authority equally as each one of-you by-resources
contentione, precibus, periculis denique praecipue pro salute
struggle prayers dangers finally especially for safety
mea laborasse. Hic tuis, P. Lentule, cum tu nihil aliud
my to-have-labored here in-your Publius Lentulus when you nothing else
dies et noctes nisi de salute mea cogitares, consiliis omnibus
days and nights except about safety my thought counsels all
interfuit; hic tibi gravissimus auctor ad instituendam,
he-took-part he for-you a-most-weighty sponsor for beginning(-it)
fidelissimus socius ad comparandam, fortissimus adiutor ad
a-most-faithful partner for preparing(-it) a-most-brave helper for
rem perficiendam fuit; hic municipia coloniasque adiit; hic
the-thing being-accomplished was he the-towns and-colonies visited he
Italiae totius auxilium cupientis imploravit, hic in senatu
of-Italy whole the-help desiring(-it) implored he in the-senate
princeps sententiae fuit; idemque cum sententiam dixisset,
the-first of-the-opinion was and-the-same when the-opinion he-had-spoken
tum etiam pro salute mea populum Romanum obsecravit.
then also for safety my the-people Roman besought
31 Qua re istam orationem qua es usus omittas
by-which thing that speech which you-have used you-may-omit
licet, post illam sententiam quam dixeram de annona
it-is-allowed after that opinion which I-had-spoken about the-grain-supply
pontificum animos esse mutatos; proinde quasi isti
of-the-pontiffs the-minds to-have-been changed just as-if those-men
aut de Cn. Pompeio aliter atque ego existimo sentiant,
either about Gnaeus Pompey otherwise than I think should-feel

aut quid mihi pro exspectatione populi Romani, pro
or what by-me for the-expectation of-the-people Roman for
Cn. Pompei meritis erga me, pro ratione mei temporis
of-Gnaeus Pompey the-merits toward me for the-method of-my time
faciendum fuerit ignorent, aut etiam, si cuius forte
to-be-done it-was they-did-not-know or even if any perhaps
pontificis animum, quod certo scio aliter esse, mea sententia
pontiff's mind which surely I-know otherwise to-be my opinion
offendit, alio modo sit constituturus aut de religione
has-offended in-another way he-would decide either about religion
pontifex aut de re publica civis quam eum aut
as-pontiff or about the-thing public as-citizen than him either
caerimoniarum ius aut civitatis salus coegerit.
of-the-ceremonies the-law or of-the-state the-safety shall-have-compelled
Intellego, pontifices, me plura extra causam dixisse quam 32
I-understand pontiffs me more-things outside the-case to-have-said than
aut opinio tulerit aut voluntas mea; sed cum me purgatum
either expectation allowed or wish my but while me cleared
vobis esse cuperem, tum etiam vestra in me attente audiendo
to-you to-be I-desired so also your toward me attentively by-listening
benignitas provexit orationem meam. Sed hoc compensabo
kindness has-carried-forward speech my but this I-shall-compensate
brevitate eius orationis quae pertinet ad ipsam causam
by-the-brevity of-that speech which pertains to the-very case
cognitionemque vestram; quae cum sit in ius religionis et in
and-cognizance your which since it-is into the-law of-religion and into
ius rei publicae distributa, religionis partem, quae multo
the-law of-the-thing public divided of-religion the-part which much
est verbosior, praetermittam, de iure rei publicae dicam.
is more-wordy I-shall-pass-over about the-law of-the-thing public I-shall-speak

33 Quid est enim aut tam adrogans quam de religione, de
what is for either so arrogant as about religion about
rebus divinis, caerimoniis, sacris pontificum conlegium docere
things divine ceremonies rites of-pontiffs the-college to-teach
conari, aut tam stultum quam, si quis quid in vestris libris
to-try or so foolish as if anyone anything in your books
invenerit, id narrare vobis, aut tam curiosum quam ea
he-has-found that to-narrate to-you or so meddlesome as those-things
scire velle de quibus maiores nostri vos solos et consuli
to-know to-wish about which ancestors our you alone both to-be-consulted
et scire voluerunt? Nego potuisse iure publico, legibus
and to-know wished I-deny to-have-been-able by-right public by-the-laws
iis quibus haec civitas utitur, quemquam civem ulla eius
those which this state uses any citizen by-any of-that
modi calamitate adfici sine iudicio: hoc iuris in hac
kind calamity to-be-affected without trial this right in this
civitate etiam tum cum reges essent dico fuisse, hoc nobis
state even then when kings there-were I-say to-have-been this to-us
esse a maioribus traditum, hoc esse denique proprium
to-have-been by ancestors handed-down this to-be finally proper
liberae civitatis, ut nihil de capite civis aut de
of-a-free state that nothing from the-civil-rights of-a-citizen or from
bonis sine iudicio senatus aut populi aut eorum qui
his-goods without the-judgment of-the-senate or of-the-people or of-those who
de quaque re constituti iudices sint detrahi possit.
about each matter appointed judges are to-be-taken-away can
34 Videsne me non radicitus evellere omnis actiones tuas neque
do-you-see me not by-the-roots to-tear-up all acts your nor
illud agere, quod apertum est, te omnino nihil gessisse iure,
that to-plead which open is you at-all nothing to-have-done by-right

non fuisse tribunum plebis, hodie esse patricium? Dico
not to-have-been tribune of-the-plebs today to-be a-patrician I-speak
apud pontifices, augures adsunt: versor in medio iure publico.
before the-pontiffs the-augurs are-present I-move in the-middle-of right public
Quod est, pontifices, ius adoptionis? Nempe ut is adoptet
what is pontiffs the-right of-adoption surely that he may-adopt
qui neque procreare iam liberos possit, et cum potuerit sit
who neither to-beget now children can and when he-could has
expertus. Quae deinde causa cuique sit adoptionis, quae ratio
tried(-it) what then reason to-each is of-adoption what account
generum ac dignitatis, quae sacrorum, quaeri a pontificum
of-families and dignity what of-rites to-be-sought by of-pontiffs
conlegio solet. Quid est horum in ista adoptione quaesitum?
the-college is-wont what is-there of-these in that adoption sought
Adoptat annos viginti natus, etiam minor, senatorem.
he-adopts years twenty old even younger a-senator
Liberorumne causa? At procreare potest; habet uxorem,
for-children's sake but to-beget he-can he-has a-wife
suscipiet ex ea liberos; exheredabit igitur pater filium.
he-will-raise from her children he-will-disinherit therefore the-father his-son
Quid? sacra Clodiae gentis cur intereunt, quod in te 35
what the-rites of-the-Claudian clan why do-they-perish as-far-as in you
est? quae omnis notio pontificum, cum adoptarere, esse
is which all cognizance of-the-pontiffs when you-were-adopted to-be
debuit: nisi forte ex te ita quaesitum est, num perturbare
ought-to-have unless perhaps of you so asked it-was whether to-disturb
rem publicam seditionibus velles et ob eam causam
the-thing public with-seditions you-wished and on-account-of that reason
adoptari, non ut eius filius esses, sed ut tribunus plebis
to-be-adopted not that his son you-might-be but that tribune of-the-plebs
fieres et funditus everteres civitatem. Respondisti, credo,
you-might-become and utterly overturn the-state you-answered I-suppose

te ita velle. Pontificibus bona causa visa est: adprobaverunt.
you so to-wish to-the-pontiffs a-good cause seemed has they-approved(-it)
Non aetas eius qui adoptabat est quaesita, ut in
not the-age of-him who was-adopting was asked as in-the-case-of
Cn. Aufidio, M. Pupio, quorum uterque nostra memoria
Gnaeus Aufidius Marcus Pupius of-whom each in-our memory
summa senectute alter Oresten, alter Pisonem adoptavit, quas
in-extreme old-age the-one Orestes the-other Piso adopted which
adoptiones sicut alias innumerabilis hereditates nominis pecuniae
adoptions as other countless inheritances of-name of-money
sacrorum secutae sunt. Tu neque Fonteius es, qui esse debebas,
of-rites followed have you neither a-Fonteius are which to-be you-ought
neque patris heres, neque amissis sacris paternis in haec
nor of-your-father heir nor with-lost rites paternal into these
adoptiva venisti. Ita perturbatis sacris, contaminatis gentibus,
adoptive you-came so with-confused rites polluted clans
et quam deseruisti et quam polluisti, iure Quiritium
both which you-deserted and which you-defiled with-the-right of-the-Quirites
legitimo tutelarum et hereditatium relicto, factus es eius
lawful of-guardianships and inheritances abandoned made you-are his
filius contra fas cuius per aetatem pater esse potuisti.
son against right of-whom by age the-father to-be you-could-have
36 Dico apud pontifices: nego istam adoptionem pontificio iure
I-say before the-pontiffs I-deny that adoption by-pontifical right
esse factam: primum quod eae vestrae sunt aetates ut is qui
to-have-been made first because those your are ages that he who
te adoptavit vel fili tibi loco per aetatem esse potuerit, vel
you adopted either of-a-son to-you in-place by age to-be could-have or
eo quo fuit: deinde quod causa quaeri solet adoptandi,
in-that in-which he-was then because the-reason to-be-asked is-wont of-adopting
ut et is adoptet qui quod natura iam adsequi non potest
so-that both he may-adopt who what by-nature now to-attain not can

legitimo et pontificio iure quaerat, et ita adoptet ut ne quid
by-lawful and pontifical right may-seek and so may-adopt that not anything
aut de dignitate generum aut de sacrorum religione minuatur:
either from the-dignity of-the-families or from of-the-rites the-religion be-diminished
illud in primis, ne qua calumnia, ne qua fraus, ne qui
that in first-things that-not any chicanery that-not any fraud that-not any
dolus adhibeatur: ut haec simulata adoptio fili quam maxime
deceit be-applied that this feigned adoption of-a-son as most
veritatem illam suscipiendorum liberorum imitata esse videatur.
the-reality that of-raising of-children imitated to-have may-seem

IV · AUSPICES, HASTE, AND THE PRIVATE LAW

Such adoptions would end the patrician priesthoods. The adoption was carried while Bibulus watched the sky, hours after Cicero's speech for Antonius, without the three market-days. The law against Cicero was a private law against a named citizen, which the sacred laws and the Twelve Tables forbid, and Sextus Clodius worded it to say he had been banished.

Quae maior calumnia est quam venire imberbum 37
what greater chicanery is-there than to-come a-beardless
adulescentulum, bene valentem ac maritum, dicere filium
young-man well in-health and married to-say a-son
senatorem populi Romani sibi velle adoptare; id autem
a-senator of-the-people Roman for-himself to-wish to-adopt that however
scire et videre omnis, non ut ille filius instituatur, sed ut
to-know and to-see all not that he as-a-son be-established but that
e patriciis exeat et tribunus plebis fieri possit,
from the-patricians he-may-go-out and tribune of-the-plebs to-become may-be-able
idcirco adoptari? neque id obscure; nam adoptatum
for-this-reason to-be-adopted nor that obscurely for the-adopted

emancipari statim, ne sit eius filius qui adoptarit. Cur
to-be-emancipated at-once lest he-be his son who adopted(-him) why
ergo adoptabat? Probate genus adoptionis: iam omnium
therefore was-he-adopting approve the-kind of-adoption now of-all
sacra interierint, quorum custodes vos esse debetis, iam
the-rites will-have-perished of-which guardians you to-be ought now
patricius nemo relinquetur. Cur enim quisquam vellet
patrician no-one will-be-left why for anyone would-wish
tribunum plebis se fieri non licere, angustiorem
tribune of-the-plebs himself to-become not to-be-allowed narrower
sibi esse petitionem consulatus, in sacerdotium cum
for-himself to-be the-candidacy for-the-consulship into a-priesthood when
possit venire, quia patricio non sit is locus, non venire?
he-could come because for-a-patrician not is that place not to-come
Ut cuique aliquid acciderit qua re commodius sit
as to-each something shall-have-happened by-which thing more-convenient it-be
esse plebeium, simili ratione adoptabitur.
to-be a-plebeian by-like method he-will-be-adopted

38 Ita populus Romanus brevi tempore neque regem sacrorum
so the-people Roman in-a-short time neither a-king of-rites
neque flamines nec Salios habebit, nec ex parte dimidia
nor flamens nor Salii will-have nor from part half
reliquos sacerdotes neque auctores centuriatorum et
the-remaining priests nor sponsors of-the-centuriate and
curiatorum comitiorum, auspiciaque populi Romani, si
curiate assemblies and-the-auspices of-the-people Roman if
magistratus patricii creati non sint, intereant necesse est,
magistrates patrician created not are to-perish necessary it-is
cum interrex nullus sit, quod et ipsum patricium esse et
since interrex none there-is because both himself patrician to-be and
a patriciis prodi necesse est. Dixi apud pontifices istam
by patricians to-be-named necessary it-is I-have-said before the-pontiffs that

adoptionem nullo decreto huius conlegi probatam, contra
adoption by-no decree of-this college approved against
omne pontificum ius factam, pro nihilo esse habendam;
all of-the-pontiffs the-right made for nothing to-be to-be-held
qua sublata intellegis totum tribunatum tuum concidisse.
with-which removed you-understand whole the-tribunate your to-have-collapsed
Venio ad augures, quorum ego libros, si qui sunt reconditi, 39
I-come to the-augurs whose I books if any are hidden
non scrutor; non sum in exquirendo iure augurum
not I-search not I-am in searching-out of-the-right of-the-augurs
curiosus; haec quae una cum populo didici, quae saepe
meddlesome these-things which together with the-people I-have-learned which often
in contionibus responsa sunt, novi. Negant fas esse agi
in assemblies answered have-been I-know they-deny right to-be to-be-dealt
cum populo cum de caelo servatum sit. Quo die de te
with the-people when from the-sky watched it-has-been on-what day about you
lex curiata lata esse dicatur, audes negare de caelo
the-law curiate carried to-have-been is-said do-you-dare to-deny from the-sky
esse servatum? Adest praesens vir singulari virtute,
to-have-been watched there-is-present present a-man of-singular courage
constantia, gravitate praeditus, M. Bibulus: hunc consulem
constancy gravity endowed Marcus Bibulus this-man as-consul
illo ipso die contendo servasse de caelo. ‘Infirmas
on-that very day I-contend to-have-watched from the-sky do-you-weaken
igitur tu acta C. Caesaris, viri fortissimi?’ Minime;
therefore you the-acts of-Gaius Caesar of-a-man most-brave by-no-means
neque enim mea iam quicquam interest, exceptis iis telis
nor for mine now anything matters except those weapons
quae ex illius actionibus in meum corpus inmissa sunt.
which from his actions into my body launched have-been

40 Sed haec de auspiciis, quae ego nunc perbreviter
but these-things about the-auspices which I now very-briefly
attingo, acta sunt a te. Tu tuo praecipitante iam et
touch done have-been by you you with-your falling-headlong now and
debilitato tribunatu auspiciorum patronus subito exstitisti; tu
weakened tribunate of-the-auspices as-patron suddenly stood-forth you
M. Bibulum in contionem, tu augures produxisti; tibi
Marcus Bibulus into an-assembly you the-augurs brought-forward to-you
interroganti augures responderunt, cum de caelo servatum
asking the-augurs answered when from the-sky watched
sit, cum populo agi non posse; tibi M. Bibulus
it-be with the-people to-be-dealt not to-be-able to-you Marcus Bibulus
quaerenti se de caelo servasse respondit, idemque in
asking himself from the-sky to-have-watched answered and-the-same in
contione dixit, ab Appio tuo fratre productus, te omnino,
an-assembly said by Appius your brother brought-forward you at-all
quod contra auspicia adoptatus esses, tribunum non
because against the-auspices adopted you-had-been tribune not
fuisse. Tua denique omnis actio posterioribus mensibus
to-have-been your finally whole action in-the-later months
fuit, omnia quae C. Caesar egisset, quod contra auspicia
was all-things which Gaius Caesar had-done because against the-auspices
essent acta, per senatum rescindi oportere; quod si
they-had-been done by the-senate to-be-rescinded to-behoove which if
fieret, dicebas te tuis umeris me custodem urbis
it-were-done you-said yourself on-your shoulders me the-guardian of-the-city
in urbem relaturum. Videte hominis amentiam ***
into the-city going-to-carry-back see of-the-man the-madness (lacuna)
per suum tribunatum Caesaris actis inligatus teneretur.
through his-own tribunate by-Caesar's acts bound was-held

Si et sacrorum iure pontifices et auspiciorum religione 41
if both of-rites by-the-right the-pontiffs and of-auspices by-the-religion
augures totum evertunt tribunatum tuum, quid quaeris
the-augurs wholly overturn tribunate your what do-you-seek
amplius? an etiam apertius aliquod ius populi atque legum?
more or even more-open some right of-the-people and of-the-laws
Hora fortasse sexta diei questus sum in iudicio, cum
at-the-hour perhaps sixth of-the-day complained I-have in court when
C. Antonium, conlegam meum, defenderem, quaedam de
Gaius Antonius colleague my I-was-defending certain-things about
re publica, quae mihi visa sunt ad illius miseri causam
the-thing public which to-me seemed have to his wretched cause
pertinere. Haec homines improbi ad quosdam viros fortis
to-pertain these-things men wicked to certain men brave
longe aliter atque a me dicta erant detulerunt. Hora nona
far otherwise than by me said had-been reported at-the-hour ninth
illo ipso die tu es adoptatus. Si quod in ceteris legibus
on-that very day you were adopted if what in the-other laws
trinum nundinum esse oportet, id in adoptione satis est trium
three market-days to-be it-behooves that in adoption enough is of-three
esse horarum, nihil reprehendo; sin eadem observanda
to-be hours nothing I-blame but-if the-same-things to-be-observed
sunt, iudicavit senatus M. Drusi legibus, quae contra legem
are judged the-senate by-Marcus Drusus' laws which against the-law
Caeciliam et Didiam latae essent, populum non teneri.
Caecilian and Didian carried had-been the-people not to-be-bound
Iam intellegis omni genere iuris, quod in sacris, quod 42
now you-understand by-every kind of-right which in rites which
in auspiciis, quod in legibus sit, te tribunum plebis non
in auspices which in laws is you tribune of-the-plebs not
fuisse. At ego hoc totum non sine causa relinquo. Video
to-have-been but I this whole not without cause leave I-see

enim quosdam clarissimos viros, principes civitatis, aliquot
for certain most-illustrious men leading-men of-the-state in-several
locis iudicasse te cum plebe iure agere potuisse; qui
places to-have-judged you with the-plebs by-right to-deal to-have-been-able who
etiam de me ipso, cum tua rogatione funere elatam rem
even about me myself when by-your bill by-funeral carried-out the-thing
publicam esse dicerent, tamen id funus, etsi miserum atque
public to-be said still that funeral although wretched and
acerbum fuisset, iure indictum esse dicebant; quod de me
bitter it-had-been by-right proclaimed to-be said because about me
civi ita de re publica merito tulisses, funus
a-citizen so of the-thing public having-deserved you-had-carried(-it) the-funeral
te indixisse rei publicae, quod salvis auspiciis
you to-have-proclaimed for-the-thing public because with-safe auspices
tulisses, iure egisse dicebant. Qua re licebit,
you-had-carried(-it) by-right to-have-acted they-said by-which thing it-will-be-allowed
ut opinor, nobis eas actiones non infirmare, quibus illi
as I-think for-us those actions not to-weaken by-which those-men
actionibus constitutum tribunatum tuum comprobaverunt.
actions established tribunate your approved
43 Fueris sane tribunus plebis tam iure legeque,
you-may-have-been by-all-means tribune of-the-plebs as by-right and-law
quam fuit hic ipse P. Servilius, vir omnibus rebus
as was this very Publius Servilius a-man in-all things
clarissimus atque amplissimus: quo iure, quo more,
most-illustrious and most-ample by-what right by-what custom
quo exemplo legem nominatim de capite civis
by-what precedent a-law by-name about the-civil-rights of-a-citizen
indemnati tulisti? Vetant leges sacratae, vetant xii
uncondemned did-you-carry forbid the-laws sacred forbid the-Twelve
tabulae leges privatis hominibus inrogari; id est enim
Tables laws on-private men to-be-imposed that is for

privilegium. Nemo umquam tulit; nihil est crudelius,
a-private-law no-one ever carried(-one) nothing is more-cruel
nihil perniciosius, nihil quod minus haec civitas ferre
nothing more-pernicious nothing which less this state to-bear
possit. Proscriptionis miserrimum nomen illud et omnis
could of-proscription the-most-wretched name that and all
acerbitas Sullani temporis quid habet quod maxime sit
the-bitterness of-the-Sullan time what does-it-have which most be
insigne ad memoriam crudelitatis? opinor, poenam in civis
signal for the-memory of-cruelty I-think punishment upon citizens
Romanos nominatim sine iudicio constitutam.
Roman by-name without trial established
Hanc vos igitur, pontifices, iudicio atque auctoritate vestra 44
this you therefore pontiffs by-judgment and authority your
tribuno plebis potestatem dabitis, ut proscribere possit
to-a-tribune of-the-plebs power will-give that to-proscribe he-may-be-able
quos velit? Quaero enim quid sit aliud nisi proscribere
whom he-wishes I-ask for what it-is else except to-proscribe
velitis iubeatis ut M. Tullius in civitate ne sit
may-you-wish may-you-order that Marcus Tullius in the-state not be
bonaque eius ut mea sint: ita enim re, etsi aliis verbis,
and-goods his that mine be so for in-fact although in-other words
tulit. Hoc plebei scitum est? haec lex, haec rogatio
he-carried(-it) this of-the-plebs ordinance is this a-law this a-bill
est? hoc vos pati potestis, hoc ferre civitas, ut singuli
is this you to-allow can this to-bear the-state that individual
cives singulis versiculis e civitate tollantur? Equidem iam
citizens by-single little-lines from the-state be-removed for-my-part now
perfunctus sum; nullam vim, nullum impetum metuo; explevi
discharged am no violence no attack I-fear I-have-filled
animos invidorum, placavi odia improborum, saturavi etiam
the-minds of-the-envious appeased the-hatreds of-the-wicked glutted even

perfidiam et scelus proditorum; denique de mea causa, quae
the-treachery and crime of-the-traitors finally about my cause which
videbatur perditis civibus ad invidiam esse proposita, iam omnes
seemed to-ruined citizens for odium to-be set-forth now all
urbes, omnes ordines, omnes di atque homines iudicaverunt.
cities all orders all gods and men have-judged
45 Vobismet ipsis, pontifices, et vestris liberis ceterisque civibus
for-you yourselves pontiffs and for-your children and-the-other citizens
pro vestra auctoritate et sapientia consulere debetis.
in-keeping-with your authority and wisdom to-take-thought you-ought
Nam cum tam moderata iudicia populi sint a maioribus
for since so moderate the-trials of-the-people have-been by your-ancestors
constituta, primum ut ne poena capitis cum pecunia
established first that not the-penalty of-life with money
coniungatur, deinde ne improdicta die quis accusetur,
be-joined then that-not with-an-unannounced day anyone be-accused
ut ter ante magistratus accuset intermissa die quam
that three-times before the-magistrate accuse intervening with-a-day than
multam inroget aut iudicet, quarta sit accusatio trinum
a-fine be-propose or adjudge the-fourth be the-accusation with-three
nundinum prodicta die, quo die iudicium sit futurum,
market-days' announced day on-which day the-trial is going-to-be
tum multa etiam ad placandum atque ad misericordiam
then many-things also for appeasing and for pity
reis concessa sunt, deinde exorabilis populus, facilis
to-the-defendants granted have-been then placable the-people easy
suffragatio pro salute, denique etiam, si qua res illum diem
the-voting for safety finally even if any thing that day
aut auspiciis aut excusatione sustulit, tota causa iudiciumque
either by-auspices or by-excuse removed the-whole case and-trial
sublatum est: haec cum ita sint in iure, ubi crimen est,
removed is these-things since so they-are in law where the-charge is

ubi accusator, ubi testes, quid indignius quam, qui
where the-accuser where the-witnesses what more-unworthy than about-him-who
neque adesse sit iussus neque citatus neque accusatus, de
neither to-be-present was ordered nor summoned nor accused about
eius capite, liberis, fortunis omnibus conductos et sicarios et
his life children fortunes all hirelings and assassins and
egentis et perditos suffragium ferre et eam legem putari?
the-needy and ruined a-vote to-cast and that a-law to-be-thought
Ac si hoc de me potuit, quem honos, quem dignitas, quem 46
and if this about me he-could whom honor whom dignity whom
causa, quem res publica tuebatur, cuius denique pecunia
my-cause whom the-thing public protected whose finally money
non expetebatur, cui nihil oberat praeter conversionem
not was-sought to-whom nothing stood-in-the-way except the-overturning
status et inclinationem communium temporum, quid tandem
of-the-state and the-leaning of-the-common times what pray
futurum est iis quorum vita remota ab honore populari
going-to-be is for-those whose life far from honor popular
et ab hac inlustri gratia est, pecuniae autem tantae sunt ut
and from this illustrious favor is riches however so-great are that
eas nimium multi egentes sumptuosi nobiles concupiscant?
them too many needy extravagant nobles covet
Date hanc tribuno plebis licentiam, et intuemini paulisper 47
give this to-a-tribune of-the-plebs license and look-upon for-a-little
animis iuventutem et eos maxime qui inminere iam
in-minds the-youth and those most who to-hang-over already
cupiditate videntur in tribuniciam potestatem: conlegia medius
with-greed seem over the-tribunician power colleges so-help-me
fidius tribunorum plebis tota reperientur, hoc iure
the-god-of-faith of-tribunes of-the-plebs whole will-be-found with-this right

firmato, quae coeant de hominum locupletissimorum bonis,
confirmed which may-combine about of-men most-wealthy the-goods
praeda praesertim populari et spe largitionis oblata.
with-booty especially popular and with-the-hope of-largess offered
At quid tulit legum scriptor peritus et callidus? Velitis
but what carried the-laws' writer skilled and crafty may-you-wish
iubeatis ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdicatur?
may-you-order that from-Marcus Tullius water and fire be-interdicted
Crudele, nefarium, ne in sceleratissimo quidem civi sine
cruel wicked not on the-most-criminal even citizen without
iudicio ferundum! Non tulit ut interdicatur. Quid ergo? Ut
trial to-be-carried not he-carried that it-be-interdicted what therefore that
interdictum sit. O caenum, o portentum, o scelus! hanc tibi
interdicted it-be O filth O portent O crime this for-you
legem Clodius scripsit spurciorem lingua sua, ut interdictum
law Clodius wrote fouler than-tongue his-own that interdicted
sit cui non sit interdictum? Sexte noster, bona venia,
it-be to-whom not it-has-been interdicted Sextus our with-good leave
quoniam iam dialecticus es et haec quoque liguris,
since now a-dialectician you-are and these-things also you-lick
quod factum non est, ut sit factum, ferri ad populum
what done not is that it-be done to-be-carried to the-people
aut verbis ullis sanciri aut suffragiis confirmari potest?
or by-words any to-be-sanctioned or by-votes to-be-confirmed can
48 Hoc tu scriptore, hoc consiliario, hoc ministro omnium
with-this you writer with-this adviser with-this agent of-all
non bipedum solum sed etiam quadrupedum impurissimo,
not two-footed only but also four-footed most-impure
rem publicam perdidisti; neque tu eras tam excors tamque
the-thing public you-ruined nor you were so senseless and-so
demens ut nescires Clodium esse qui contra leges
mad that you-did-not-know Clodius to-be one-who against the-laws

faceret, alios qui leges scribere solerent; sed neque eorum
acted others who laws to-write were-wont but neither of-them
neque ceterorum, in quibus esset aliquid modestiae, cuiusquam
nor of-the-others in whom was something of-modesty of-anyone
tibi potestas fuit; neque tu legum scriptoribus isdem potuisti
to-you power was nor you laws' writers the-same could
uti quibus ceteri, neque operum architectis, neque pontificem
use as the-others nor of-works architects nor a-pontiff
adhibere quem velles, postremo ne in praedae quidem
to-employ whom you-wished finally not in of-booty even
societate mancipem aut praedem extra tuorum gladiatorum
partnership a-contractor or a-surety outside of-your gladiators
numerum aut denique suffragi latorem in ista tua proscriptione
the-number or finally of-a-vote a-proposer in that your proscription
quemquam nisi furem ac sicarium reperire potuisti.
anyone except a-thief and assassin to-find could

V · WHY THE LAW WAS NO LAW

Clodius's law destroys itself, resting on the false charge that Cicero reported a forged decree; it never ordered him out, and it joined his house to his person, against the Caecilian and Didian law. It was carried by violence. Cicero did not leave for fear of a trial; his wife, children, and brother were hunted, and his house was torn down from hatred, not greed.

Itaque cum tu florens ac potens per medium forum 49
and-so when you flourishing and powerful through the-middle-of the-forum
scortum populare volitares, amici illi tui te uno amico tecti
a-harlot public flitted friends those your by-you one friend protected
et beati, qui se populo commiserant, ita repellebantur
and happy who themselves to-the-people had-entrusted so were-repulsed

ut etiam Palatinam tuam perderent; qui in iudicium
that even the-Palatine tribe-of-yours they-lost those-who into court
venerant, sive accusatores erant sive rei, te
had-come whether accusers they-were or defendants with-you
deprecante damnabantur. Denique etiam ille novicius Ligus,
interceding were-condemned finally even that new-slave Ligus
venalis adscriptor et subscriptor tuus, cum M. Papiri,
for-sale co-signer and seconder your when of-Marcus Papirius
sui fratris, esset testamento et iudicio improbatus,
his-own brother he-had-been by-the-will and judgment disapproved
mortem eius se velle persequi dixit: nomen Sex. Properti
the-death his himself to-wish to-avenge said the-name of-Sextus Propertius
detulit: accusare alienae dominationis scelerisque socius
he-indicted to-accuse(-him) of-another's despotism and-crime the-partner
propter calumniae metum non est ausus.
on-account-of of-false-accusation fear not has dared
50 De hac igitur lege dicimus, quasi iure rogata videatur, cuius
about this therefore law do-we-speak as-if by-right proposed it-may-seem of-which
quam quisque partem tetigit digito voce praeda suffragio,
what each-one part has-touched with-finger voice booty vote
quocumque venit, repudiatus convictusque discessit?
wherever he-has-come rejected and-convicted he-has-departed
Quid si iis verbis scripta est ista proscriptio ut se
what if in-those words written is that proscription that itself
ipsa dissolvat? est enim: quod M. Tullius falsum senatus
itself it-dissolves it-is for that Marcus Tullius a-false of-the-senate
consultum rettulerit. Si igitur rettulit falsum senatus
decree reported if therefore he-reported a-false of-the-senate
consultum, tum est rogatio: si non rettulit, nulla est.
decree then it-is a-bill if not he-reported(-one) none it-is
Satisne tibi videtur a senatu iudicatum me non modo non
enough to-you does-it-seem by the-senate judged me not only not

ementitum esse auctoritatem eius ordinis, sed etiam unum
falsified to-have the-authority of-that order but also alone
post urbem conditam diligentissime senatui paruisse? Quot
since the-city founded most-diligently the-senate to-have-obeyed in-how-many
modis doceo legem istam, quam vocas, non esse legem? Quid?
ways do-I-show the-law that which you-call not to-be a-law what
si etiam pluribus de rebus uno sortitore tulisti, tamenne
if even several about things with-one lot-drawer you-carried(-it) still
arbitraris id quod M. Drusus in legibus suis plerisque,
do-you-think that which Marcus Drusus in laws his-own most
perbonus ille vir, M. Scauro et L. Crasso consiliariis
very-good that man with-Marcus Scaurus and Lucius Crassus as-advisers
non obtinuerit, id te posse, omnium facinorum et stuprorum
not obtained that you to-be-able of-all crimes and debaucheries
hominem, Decumis et Clodiis auctoribus obtinere?
a-man with-the-Decumi and Clodii as-sponsors to-obtain
Tulisti de me ne reciperer, non ut exirem, quem tu 51
you-carried about me that-not I-be-received not that I-should-go-out whom you
ipse non poteras dicere non licere esse Romae. Quid enim
yourself not could say not to-be-allowed to-be at-Rome what for
diceres? Damnatum? certe non. Expulsum? qui licuit? Sed
would-you-say condemned certainly not expelled how was-it-allowed but
tamen ne id quidem est scriptum, ut exirem; poena est,
still not that even is written that I-should-go-out the-penalty is
qui receperit, quam omnes neglexerunt; eiectio
for-him-who shall-have-received(-me) which all have-neglected an-expulsion
nusquam est. Verum sit: quid? operum publicorum exactio,
nowhere is but let-it-be what of-public works the-exacting
quid? nominis inscriptio tibi num aliud videtur esse ac
what of-a-name the-inscribing to-you surely-not else does-it-seem to-be than
meorum bonorum direptio? praeterquam quod ne id quidem
of-my goods the-plundering except that not that even

per legem Liciniam, ut ipse tibi curationem ferres,
by the-law Licinian that yourself to-yourself the-commission you-should-carry
facere potuisti. Quid? hoc ipsum quod nunc apud pontifices
to-do you-could what this very-thing which now before the-pontiffs
agis, te meam domum consecrasse, te monumentum
you-plead you my house to-have-consecrated you a-monument
fecisse in meis aedibus, te signum dedicasse, eaque
to-have-made in my house you a-statue to-have-dedicated and-these-things
te ex una rogatiuncula fecisse, unum et idem videtur
you from one little-bill to-have-done one and the-same does-it-seem
esse atque id quod de me ipso nominatim tulisti?
to-be as that which about me myself by-name you-carried
52 Tam hercule est unum quam quod idem tu lege una tulisti,
just-as by-Hercules it-is one as that the-same you by-law one carried
ut Cyprius rex, cuius maiores huic populo socii atque amici
that the-Cyprian king whose ancestors to-this people allies and friends
semper fuerunt, cum bonis omnibus sub praeconem subiceretur
always were with goods all under the-auctioneer should-be-put
et exsules Byzantium reducerentur. 'Eidem,' inquit, 'utraque
and exiles to-Byzantium should-be-brought-back to-the-same he-says each
de re negotium dedi.' Quid? si eidem negotium dedisset
about matter the-business I-gave what if to-the-same the-business he-had-given
ut in Asia cistophorum flagitaret, inde iret in Hispaniam,
that in Asia the-cistophorus he-should-demand thence should-go into Spain
cum Romam decessisset, consulatum ei petere liceret,
when to-Rome he-had-departed the-consulship for-him to-seek it-should-be-allowed
cum factus esset, provinciam Syriam obtineret, — quoniam
when made he-had-been the-province Syria he-should-hold since
de uno homine scriberet, una res esset?
about one man he-wrote one matter it-would-be

Quod si iam populus Romanus de ista re consultus 53
but if now the-people Roman about that matter consulted
esset et non omnia per servos latronesque gessisses, nonne
had-been and not all-things through slaves and-brigands you-had-done surely
fieri poterat ut populo de Cyprio rege placeret, de
to-happen could-it that the-people about the-Cyprian king it-should-please about
exsulibus Byzantiis displiceret? Quae est, quaeso, alia vis,
the-exiles Byzantine it-should-displease what is I-beg other the-force
quae sententia Caeciliae legis et Didiae nisi haec, ne
what the-meaning of-the-Caecilian law and Didian except this that-not
populo necesse sit in coniunctis rebus compluribus aut id
for-the-people necessary it-be in joined matters several either that
quod nolit accipere aut id quod velit repudiare?
which it-would-not-wish to-accept or that which it-would-wish to-reject
Quid? si per vim tulisti, tamenne lex est? aut
what if by violence you-carried(-it) still a-law is-it or
quicquam iure gestum videri potest quod per vim gestum
anything by-right done to-seem can which by violence done
esse constet? An, si in ipsa latione tua capta
to-have-been is-established or if in the-very carrying your with-captured
iam urbe lapides iacti, si manus conlata non est,
already the-city stones were-thrown if hand-to-hand fighting not there-was
idcirco tu ad illam labem atque eluviem civitatis sine
for-that-reason you to that ruin and flood of-the-state without
summa vi pervenire potuisti?
the-highest violence to-arrive could
Cum in tribunali Aurelio conscribebas palam non modo 54
when at the-tribunal Aurelian you-were-enrolling openly not only
liberos sed etiam servos, ex omnibus vicis concitatos, vim
free-men but also slaves from all quarters roused violence
tum videlicet non parabas; cum edictis tuis tabernas
then of-course not you-were-preparing when by-edicts your the-shops

claudi iubebas, non vim imperitae multitudinis, sed
to-be-closed you-ordered not the-violence of-an-inexperienced multitude but
hominum honestorum modestiam prudentiamque quaerebas;
of-men honorable the-modesty and-prudence you-sought
cum arma in aedem Castoris comportabas, nihil aliud nisi
when arms into the-temple of-Castor you-were-carrying nothing else except
uti ne quid per vim agi posset machinabare; cum vero
that not anything by violence to-be-done could you-contrived when indeed
gradus Castoris convellisti ac removisti, tum, ut modeste tibi
the-steps of-Castor you-tore-up and removed then that modestly for-you
agere liceret, homines audacis ab eius templi aditu
to-deal it-might-be-allowed men audacious from of-that temple the-approach
atque ascensu reppulisti; cum eos qui in conventu virorum
and ascent you-repelled when those who in a-gathering of-men
bonorum verba de salute mea fecerant adesse iussisti,
good words about safety my had-made to-be-present you-ordered
eorumque advocationem manibus ferro lapidibus discussisti,
and-their advocacy with-hands sword stones you-scattered
tum profecto ostendisti vim tibi maxime displicere.
then surely you-showed violence to-you most to-displease
55 Verum haec furiosa vis vaesani tribuni plebis facile
but this frantic violence of-an-insane tribune of-the-plebs easily
superari frangique potuit virorum bonorum vel virtute vel
to-be-overcome and-broken could of-men good either by-courage or
multitudine. Quid? cum Gabinio Syria dabatur, Macedonia
by-numbers what when to-Gabinius Syria was-given Macedonia
Pisoni, utrique infinitum imperium, ingens pecunia, ut tibi
to-Piso to-each boundless command huge money that to-you
omnia permitterent, te adiuvarent, tibi manum, copias, tibi
all-things they-might-permit you might-help for-you a-band forces for-you
suos spectatos centuriones, tibi pecuniam, tibi familias
their-own tested centurions for-you money for-you slave-households

compararent, te suis sceleratis contionibus sublevarent,
might-procure you by-their-own criminal assemblies might-support
senatus auctoritatem inriderent, equitibus Romanis mortem
the-senate's authority might-mock to-the-knights Roman death
proscriptionemque minitarentur, me terrerent minis, mihi
and-proscription might-threaten me might-terrify with-threats to-me
caedem et dimicationem denuntiarent, meam domum refertam
slaughter and combat might-announce my house stuffed
viris bonis per amicos suos complerent proscriptionis
with-men good through friends their-own might-fill-up of-proscription
metu, me frequentia nudarent virorum bonorum, me
with-fear me of-the-crowd might-strip of-men good me
praesidio spoliarent senatus, pro me non modo pugnare
of-the-protection might-despoil of-the-senate for me not only to-fight
amplissimum ordinem, sed etiam plorare et supplicare
the-most-ample order but also to-weep and to-supplicate
mutata veste prohiberent, ne tum quidem vis erat?
with-changed dress might-prevent not then even was-there violence
Quid igitur ego cessi, aut qui timor fuit? non dicam in 56
why therefore did-I withdraw or what fear was-there not I-shall-say in
me: fac me timidum esse natura: quid? illa tot virorum
me suppose me timid to-be by-nature what those so-many of-men
fortissimorum milia, quid? nostri equites Romani, quid?
most-brave thousands what our knights Roman what
senatus, quid? denique omnes boni, si nulla erat vis, cur me
the-senate what finally all the-good if no there-was violence why me
flentes potius prosecuti sunt quam aut increpantes retinuerunt
weeping rather escorted have-they than either chiding held-back
aut irati reliquerunt? An hoc timebam, si mecum ageretur
or angry left or this did-I-fear if with-me it-were-dealt
more institutoque maiorum, ut possem praesens sustinere?
by-the-custom and-institution of-our-ancestors that I-could present withstand(-it)

57 Utrum, si dies dicta esset, iudicium mihi fuit pertimescendum
whether if a-day named had-been a-trial for-me was to-be-dreaded
an sine iudicio privilegium? Iudiciumne? Causa tam turpis
or without trial a-private-law a-trial a-cause so shameful
scilicet, homo qui eam, si iam esset ignota, dicendo non
of-course a-man who it if even it-were unknown by-speaking not
possem explicare. An quia causam probare non poteram?
I-could explain or because the-cause to-prove not I-could
cuius tanta bonitas est ut ea ipsa non modo se, sed
whose so-great goodness is that it itself not only itself but
etiam me absentem per se probarit. An senatus, an ordines
also me absent by itself has-proved or the-senate or the-orders
omnes, an ii qui cuncta ex Italia ad me revocandum
all or those who all from Italy for me being-recalled
convolaverunt, segniores me praesente ad me retinendum
flew-together more-sluggish with-me present for me being-kept
et conservandum fuissent, in ea causa quam ipse iam
and preserved would-have-been in that cause which himself now
parricida talem dicat fuisse ut me ab omnibus ad meam
the-parricide such may-say to-have-been that me by all to my
pristinam dignitatem exspectatum atque revocatum queratur?
former dignity awaited and recalled be-may-complain
58 An vero in iudicio periculi nihil fuit: privilegium pertimui,
or indeed in a-trial of-danger none was-there the-private-law I-dreaded
ne, mihi praesenti si multa inrogaretur, nemo intercederet?
lest for-me present if a-fine were-proposed no-one would-veto
Tam inops autem ego eram ab amicis aut tam nuda res
so needy however I was of friends or so bare the-thing
publica a magistratibus? Quid? si vocatae tribus essent,
public of magistrates what if called the-tribes had-been
proscriptionem non dicam in me, ita de sua salute
a-proscription not I-shall-say on me so of their-own safety

merito, sed omnino in ullo civi comprobavissent? An,
having-deserved but at-all on any citizen would-they-have-approved or
si ego praesens fuissem, veteres illae copiae coniuratorum
if I present had-been old those forces of-conspirators
tuique perditi milites atque egentes et nova manus
and-your ruined soldiers and needy-men and the-new band
sceleratissimorum consulum corpori meo pepercissent? qui
of-the-most-criminal consuls the-body my would-have-spared who
cum eorum omnium crudelitati scelerique cessissem, ne
when to-their all cruelty and-crime I-had-yielded not
absens quidem luctu meo mentis eorum satiare potui.
absent even by-mourning my the-minds their to-satisfy could
Quid enim vos uxor mea misera violarat, quam vexavistis, 59
what for you wife my wretched had-wronged whom you-harassed
raptavistis, omni crudelitate lacerastis? quid mea filia, cuius
dragged with-all cruelty tore what my daughter whose
fletus adsiduus sordesque lugubres vobis erant iucundae,
weeping constant and-squalor mournful to-you were pleasant
ceterorum omnium mentis oculosque flectebant? quid parvus
of-the-others all the-minds and-eyes turned what small
filius, quem, quam diu afui, nemo nisi lacrimantem
son whom as long-as I-was-absent no-one except weeping
confectumque vidit: quid fecerat quod eum totiens per
and-worn-out saw what had-he-done that him so-often through
insidias interficere voluistis? Quid frater meus? qui cum
snares to-kill you-wished what brother my who when
aliquanto post meum discessum ex provincia venisset neque
somewhat after my departure from the-province he-had-come and-not
sibi vivendum nisi me restituto putaret, cum eius maeror,
for-himself to-be-lived except with-me restored he-thought when his grief

squalor incredibilis et inauditus omnibus mortalibus miserabilis
squalor incredible and unheard-of to-all mortals pitiable
videbatur, quotiens est ex vestro ferro ac manibus elapsus!
seemed how-often he-has from your steel and hands slipped-away
60 Sed quid ego vestram crudelitatem exprobro quam in ipsum
but why I your cruelty reproach which against me
me ac meos adhibuistis, qui parietibus, qui tectis, qui
myself and my-family you-applied you-who on-the-walls who on-the-roofs who
columnis ac postibus meis hostificum quoddam et nefarium
on-the-columns and doorposts my a-hostile certain and wicked
omni imbutum odio bellum intulistis? Non enim te arbitror,
with-all steeped hatred war brought not for you I-think
cum post meum discessum omnium locupletium fortunas,
when after my departure of-all the-rich the-fortunes
omnium provinciarum fructus, tetrarcharum ac regum bona
of-all provinces the-produce of-tetrarchs and of-kings the-goods
spe atque avaritia devorasses, argenti et supellectilis meae
by-hope and avarice you-had-devoured of-silver and furniture my
cupiditate esse caecatum: non existimo Campanum illum
by-desire to-be blinded not I-think Campanian that
consulem cum saltatore conlega, cum alteri totam Achaiam,
consul with his-dancer colleague when to-the-one whole Achaea
Thessaliam, Boeotiam, Graeciam, Macedoniam omnemque
Thessaly Boeotia Greece Macedonia and-all
barbariam, bona civium Romanorum condonasses, alteri
barbarian-land the-goods of-citizens Roman you-had-given-away to-the-other
Syriam, Babylonem, Persas, integerrimas pacatissimasque
Syria Babylon the-Persians most-unharmed and-most-peaceful
gentis, ad diripiendum tradidisses, illos tam cupidos
peoples for plundering you-had-handed-over those so desirous
liminum meorum et columnarum et valvarum fuisse.
of-the-thresholds my and of-the-columns and of-the-folding-doors to-have-been

Neque porro illa manus copiaeque Catilinae caementis ac 61
nor further that band and-forces of-Catiline with-the-rubble and
testis tectorum meorum se famem suam expleturas
potsherds of-roofs my themselves hunger their-own going-to-satisfy
putaverunt; sed ut hostium urbes, nec omnium hostium,
thought but as of-enemies cities nor of-all enemies
verum eorum quibuscum acerbum bellum internecivumque
but of-those with-whom bitter war and-internecine
suscepimus, non praeda adducti sed odio solemus
we-have-undertaken not by-plunder led but by-hatred we-are-wont
exscindere, quod, in quos propter eorum crudelitatem
to-raze because against whom on-account-of their cruelty
inflammatae mentes nostrae fuerunt, cum horum etiam tectis
inflamed minds our were since of-these even in-the-roofs
et sedibus residere aliquod bellum semper videtur ***
and seats to-remain some war always seems (lacuna)

VI · THE SPOILING OF HIS HOUSE

While the consuls feasted, Cicero's Palatine house burned, its columns taken to a consul's mother-in-law, and his Tusculan villa was razed, its trees moved to the other consul's land. He took the violence on himself, Cato was sent to Cyprus, and Clodius turned on Pompey. Cotta, Pompey, the pontiffs, Lentulus, and the senate held the law null; exile without crime or verdict is no disgrace, and every order voted decrees for him.

Nihil erat latum de me; non adesse eram iussus, non 62
Nothing had-been carried about me not to-be-present had-I-been ordered not
citatus afueram; eram etiam tuo iudicio civis incolumis,
summoned I-had-been-absent I-was even by-your judgment a-citizen unharmed
cum domus in Palatio, villa in Tusculano, altera ad alterum
when the-house on the-Palatine the-villa at Tusculum the-one to the-other

consulem transferebatur — scilicet eos consules vocabant —
consul was-transferred of-course those consuls they-called(-them)
columnae marmoreae ex aedibus meis inspectante populo
the-columns marble from house my with-looking-on the-people
Romano ad socrum consulis portabantur, in fundum
Roman to the-mother-in-law of-the-consul were-carried to the-farm
autem vicini consulis non instrumentum aut ornamenta
however of-the-neighboring consul not the-equipment or the-ornaments
villae, sed etiam arbores transferebantur, cum ipsa villa non
of-the-villa but even the-trees were-transferred when itself the-villa not
praedae cupiditate — quid enim erat praedae? — Sed odio
of-booty from-desire what for was-there of-booty but from-hatred
et crudelitate funditus everteretur. Domus ardebat in Palatio
and cruelty utterly was-overturned the-house burned on the-Palatine
non fortuito, sed oblato incendio; consules epulabantur et
not by-chance but by-applied fire the-consuls feasted and
in coniuratorum gratulatione versabantur, cum alter se
among the-conspirators' congratulation moved when the-one himself
Catilinae delicias, alter Cethegi consobrinum fuisse diceret.
of-Catiline the-darling the-other of-Cethegus the-cousin to-have-been said
63 Hanc ego vim, pontifices, hoc scelus, hunc furorem meo
this I violence pontiffs this crime this madness with-my
corpore opposito ab omnium bonorum cervicibus depuli,
body set-against from of-all the-good the-necks drove-off
omnemque impetum discordiarum, omnem diu conlectam
and-all the-onset of-discords all long gathered
vim improborum, quae inveterata compresso odio atque
the-violence of-the-wicked which grown-old with-repressed hatred and
tacito iam erumpebat nancta tam audacis duces, excepi
silent now was-bursting-out having-found such audacious leaders I-received
meo corpore. In me uno consulares faces iactae manibus
on-my body upon me alone consular torches were-thrown by-hands

tribuniciis, in me omnia, quae ego quondam rettuderam,
tribunician upon me all-things which I once had-beaten-back
coniurationis nefaria tela adhaeserunt. Quod si, ut multis
of-the-conspiracy the-wicked weapons stuck but if as to-many
fortissimis viris placuit, vi et armis contra vim decertare
most-brave men it-pleased by-force and arms against force to-fight-it-out
voluissem, aut vicissem cum magna internecione
I-had-wished either I-would-have-conquered with great slaughter
improborum, sed tamen civium, aut interfectis bonis omnibus,
of-the-wicked but still citizens or with-killed the-good all
quod illis optatissimum erat, una cum re publica
which to-them most-desired was together with the-thing public
concidissem.
I-would-have-fallen
Videbam vivo senatu populoque Romano celerem mihi 64
I-saw with-a-living senate and-people Roman a-speedy for-me
summa cum dignitate reditum, nec intellegebam fieri
the-highest with dignity return nor I-understood to-come-about
diutius posse ut mihi non liceret esse in ea re publica
longer to-be-able that for-me not it-be-allowed to-be in that thing public
quam ipse servassem. Quod si non liceret, audieram
which I-myself had-saved but if not it-were-allowed I-had-heard
et legeram clarissimos nostrae civitatis viros se in
and had-read most-illustrious of-our state men themselves into
medios hostis ad perspicuam mortem pro salute exercitus
the-midst-of enemies to manifest death for the-safety of-the-army
iniecisse: ego pro salute universae rei publicae dubitarem
to-have-thrown I for the-safety of-the-whole thing public should-I-hesitate
hoc meliore condicione esse quam Decii, quod illi ne
by-this in-better condition to-be than the-Decii because they not
auditores quidem suae gloriae, ego etiam spectator meae
hearers even of-their-own glory I also a-spectator of-my

laudis esse potuissem? Itaque infractus furor tuus inanis
praise to-be could-have and-so broken madness your empty
faciebat impetus; omnem enim vim omnium sceleratorum
was-making onsets all for the-violence of-all criminals
acerbitas mei casus exceperat; non erat in tam immani
the-bitterness of-my fall had-received not was-there in so monstrous
iniuria tantisque ruinis novae crudelitati locus.
an-injury and-such-great ruins for-new cruelty a-place
65 Cato fuerat proximus. Quid ageres? non erat ut, qui
Cato had-been next what could-you-do not it-was so-that what
modus amoribus fuerat, idem esset iniuriae. Quid posses?
limit to-your-loves had-been the-same were to-your-injury what could-you
extrudere ad Cypriam pecuniam? Praeda perierit. Alia
to-thrust-out(-him) to the-Cyprian money the-booty will-have-perished another
non deerit; hinc modo amandandus est. Sic M. Cato
not will-be-lacking hence only to-be-sent-away he-is so Marcus Cato
invisus quasi per beneficium Cyprum relegatur. Eiciuntur
hated as-if through a-favor to-Cyprus is-banished are-cast-out
duo, quos videre improbi non poterant, alter per honorem
two whom to-see the-wicked not could the-one through honor
turpissimum, alter per honestissimam calamitatem.
most-shameful the-other through most-honorable calamity
66 Atque ut sciatis non hominibus istum sed virtutibus
and that you-may-know not to-men that-man but to-virtues
hostem semper fuisse, me expulso, Catone amandato,
an-enemy always to-have-been with-me expelled with-Cato sent-away
in eum ipsum se convertit quo auctore, quo
against him himself himself he-turned with-whom as-sponsor with-whom
adiutore in contionibus ea quae gerebat omnia
as-helper in assemblies those-things which he-was-doing all
quaeque gesserat se et fecisse et facere dicebat:
and-what he-had-done himself both to-have-done and to-do he-said

Cn. Pompeium, quem omnium iudicio longe principem esse
Gnaeus Pompey whom by-all-men's judgment by-far the-leading-man to-be
civitatis videbat, diutius furori suo veniam daturum non
of-the-state he-saw longer to-madness his-own pardon going-to-give not
arbitrabatur. Qui ex eius custodia per insidias regis amici
he-thought who from his custody by snares of-a-king friendly
filium hostem captivum surripuisset, et ea iniuria virum
the-son an-enemy captive had-stolen and by-that injury a-man
fortissimum lacessisset, speravit isdem se copiis cum
most-brave had-provoked he-hoped with-the-same himself forces with
illo posse confligere quibuscum ego noluissem bonorum
him to-be-able to-clash with-which I had-been-unwilling of-the-good
periculo dimicare, et primo quidem adiutoribus consulibus;
at-the-danger to-fight and at-first indeed as-helpers with-the-consuls
postea fregit foedus Gabinius, Piso tamen in fide mansit.
afterward broke the-pact Gabinius Piso still in faith remained
Quas iste tum caedis, quas lapidationes, quas fugas 67
what that-man then slaughters what stonings what flights
fecerit, quam facile ferro cotidianisque insidiis, cum iam
made how easily by-sword and-daily snares when already
a firmissimo robore copiarum suarum relictus esset,
by the-firmest strength of-forces his-own abandoned he-had-been
Cn. Pompeium foro curiaque privarit domique
Gnaeus Pompey of-the-forum and-senate-house deprived and-at-home
continuerit, vidistis: ex quo iudicare potestis quanta vis
confined you-saw from which to-judge you-can how-great violence
illa fuerit oriens et congregata, cum haec Cn. Pompeium
that was rising and gathered when this Gnaeus Pompey
terruerit iam distracta et exstincta.
terrified already torn-apart and extinguished

68 Haec vidit in sententia dicenda Kalendis Ianuariis vir
these-things saw in his-opinion being-spoken on-the-Kalends of-January a-man
prudentissimus et cum rei publicae, cum mihi, tum
most-prudent and both to-the-thing public and to-me and
etiam veritati amicissimus, L. Cotta, qui legem de meo
also to-the-truth most-friendly Lucius Cotta who a-law about my
reditu ferendam non censuit; qui me consuluisse rei
return to-be-carried not voted who me to-have-taken-thought for-the-thing
publicae, cessisse tempestati, amiciorem vobis ceterisque
public to-have-yielded to-the-storm more-friendly to-you and-to-the-other
civibus quam mihi exstitisse, vi, armis, dissensione
citizens than to-myself to-have-proved by-force arms dissension
hominum et caede instituta novoque dominatu pulsum
of-men and slaughter instituted and-by-a-new despotism driven-out
esse dixit; nihil de meo capite potuisse ferri,
to-have-been said nothing about my civil-rights to-have-been-able to-be-carried
nihil esse iure scriptum aut posse valere, omnia contra
nothing to-be by-right written or to-be-able to-be-valid all-things against
leges moremque maiorum temere, turbulente, per vim, per
the-laws and-the-custom of-our-ancestors rashly turbulently by violence by
furorem esse gesta. Quod si illa lex esset, nec referre
madness to-have-been done but if that a-law were neither to-refer
ad senatum consulibus nec sententiam dicere sibi licere;
to the-senate for-the-consuls nor an-opinion to-speak for-himself to-be-allowed
quorum utrumque cum fieret, non oportere ut de me
of-which each since it-was-being-done not to-behoove that about me
lex ferretur decerni, ne illa quae nulla esset esse lex
a-law should-be-carried to-be-decreed lest that which none was to-be a-law
iudicaretur. Sententia verior, gravior, melior, utilior rei
should-be-judged an-opinion truer weightier better more-useful to-the-thing

publicae nulla esse potuit; hominis enim scelere et furore
public none be could of-the-man for by-the-crime and madness
notato similis a re publica labes in posterum demovebatur.
branded a-like from the-thing public stain for the-future was-removed
Neque hoc Cn. Pompeius, qui ornatissimam de me 69
nor this Gnaeus Pompey who a-most-honoring about me
sententiam dixit, vosque, pontifices, qui me vestris sententiis
opinion spoke and-you pontiffs who me by-your opinions
auctoritatibusque defendistis, non vidistis, legem illam esse
and-authorities defended not you-saw the-law that to-be
nullam, atque esse potius flammam temporis, interdictum
none and to-be rather a-flame of-the-time an-interdict
sceleris, vocem furoris; sed prospexistis ne quae popularis
of-crime a-voice of-madness but you-took-care lest any popular
in nos aliquando invidia redundaret, si sine populi
against us sometime odium should-overflow if without the-people's
iudicio restituti videremur. Eodemque consilio M. Bibuli,
judgment restored we-seemed and-by-the-same counsel of-Marcus Bibulus
fortissimi viri, senatus sententiam secutus est, ut vos de
a-most-brave man the-senate the-opinion followed has that you about
mea domo statueretis, non quo dubitaret quin ab isto
my house should-decide not because he-doubted that by that-man
nihil legibus, nihil religionibus, nihil iure esset actum, sed
nothing by-laws nothing by-religion nothing by-right had-been done but
ne quis oreretur aliquando in tanta ubertate improborum
lest anyone should-arise sometime in so-great an-abundance of-wicked-men
qui in meis aedibus aliquam religionem residere diceret.
who in my house some religious-scruple to-remain should-say
Nam legem quidem istam nullam esse, quotienscumque
for the-law indeed that none to-be however-often

de me senatus sententiam dixit, totiens iudicavit. Quoniam
about me the-senate an-opinion spoke so-often it-judged since
quidem scripto illo istius sententiam dicere vetabatur,
indeed by-the-writing that of-that-man an-opinion to-speak it-was-forbidden
70 atque hanc rem par illud simile, Piso et Gabinius, vidit,
and this thing pair that like Piso and Gabinius saw
homines legum iudiciorumque metuentes, cum frequentissimus
men of-laws and-courts fearing when the-fullest
senatus eos ut de me referrent cotidie flagitaret, non se
senate them that about me they-should-refer daily demanded not themselves
rem improbare dicebant, sed lege istius impediri. Erat
the-matter to-disapprove they-said but by-the-law of-that-man to-be-hindered was
hoc verum; nam impediebantur, verum ea lege quam idem
this true for they-were-hindered but by-that law which the-same
iste de Macedonia Syriaque tulerat. Hanc tu, P. Lentule,
that-man about Macedonia and-Syria had-carried this you Publius Lentulus
neque privatus neque consul legem esse umquam putasti.
neither as-private-man nor as-consul a-law to-be ever thought
Nam tribunis plebis referentibus sententiam de me
for with-the-tribunes of-the-plebs referring an-opinion about me
designatus consul saepe dixisti; ex Kalendis Ianuariis, quoad
as-designate consul often you-spoke from the-Kalends of-January until
perfecta res est, de me rettulisti, legem promulgasti,
accomplished the-matter was about me you-referred a-law you-published
tulisti; quorum tibi, si esset illa lex, nihil liceret. At
carried of-which for-you if were that a-law nothing would-be-allowed but
etiam Q. Metellus, conlega tuus, clarissimus vir, quam
also Quintus Metellus colleague your a-most-illustrious man what
legem esse homines alienissimi a P. Clodio iudicarent,
law to-be men most-estranged from Publius Clodius judged

Piso et Gabinius, eam nullam esse frater P. Clodi,
Piso and Gabinius it none to-be the-brother of-Publius Clodius
cum de me ad senatum tecum una rettulit, iudicavit.
when about me to the-senate with-you together he-referred judged
Sed vero isti qui Clodi leges timuerunt, quem ad modum ceteras 71
but indeed those who Clodius' laws feared in-what to manner the-others
observarunt? Senatus quidem, cuius est gravissimum iudicium
did-they-observe the-senate indeed whose is the-weightiest judgment
de iure legum, quotienscumque de me consultus est,
about the-right of-laws however-often about me consulted it-was
totiens eam nullam esse iudicavit. Quod idem tu, Lentule,
so-often it none to-be judged which same-thing you Lentulus
vidisti in ea lege quam de me tulisti. Nam non est ita
saw in that law which about me you-carried for not it-was so
latum ut mihi Romam venire liceret, sed ut venirem; non
carried that for-me to-Rome to-come it-be-allowed but that I-should-come not
enim voluisti id quod licebat ferre ut liceret, sed me ita
for you-wished that which was-allowed to-carry that it-be-allowed but me so
esse in re publica magis ut arcessitus imperio populi
to-be in the-thing public more as summoned by-the-command of-the-people
Romani viderer quam ad administrandam civitatem restitutus.
Roman I-might-seem than for administering the-state restored
Hunc tu etiam, portentosa pestis, exsulem appellare ausus 72
this-man you even portentous plague an-exile to-call dared
es, cum tantis sceleribus esses et flagitiis notatus ut
have since by-so-great crimes you-were and outrages branded that
omnem locum quo adisses exsili simillimum redderes?
every place to-which you-had-gone of-exile most-like you-would-render
Quid est enim exsul? Ipsum per se nomen calamitatis,
what is for an-exile in-itself by itself a-name of-calamity
non turpitudinis. Quando igitur est turpe? Re vera, cum
not of-disgrace when therefore is-it shameful in-thing true when

est poena peccati, opinione autem hominum etiam, si
it-is the-penalty of-wrongdoing in-the-opinion however of-men even if
est poena damnati. Utrum igitur peccato meo nomen
it-is the-penalty of-the-condemned whether therefore by-wrongdoing my the-name
subeo an re iudicata? Peccato? Iam neque tu id
do-I-undergo or by-a-thing judged by-wrongdoing now neither you that
dicere audes, quem isti satellites tui 'felicem Catilinam'
to-say dare whom those henchmen your lucky Catiline
nominant, neque quisquam eorum qui solebant. Non modo iam
name nor anyone of-those who used-to not only now
nemo est tam imperitus qui ea quae gessi in consulatu
no-one is so ignorant who those-things which I-did in the-consulship
peccata esse dicat, sed nemo est tam inimicus patriae
wrongdoings to-be may-say but no-one is so hostile to-the-fatherland
qui non meis consiliis patriam conservatam esse fateatur.
who not by-my counsels the-fatherland preserved to-have-been may-confess
73 Quod enim est in terris commune tantum tantulumve
what for is-there on earth common so-great or-so-small
consilium, quod non de meis rebus gestis ea quae
council which not about my things done those-things which
mihi essent optatissima et pulcherrima iudicarit? Summum
to-me were most-desired and most-splendid has-judged the-highest
est populi Romani populorumque et gentium omnium
is of-the-people Roman and-of-peoples and nations all
ac regum consilium senatus: decrevit ut omnes qui rem
and kings the-council the-senate decreed that all who the-thing
publicam salvam esse vellent ad me unum defendendum
public safe to-be wished for me one-man being-defended
venirent, ostenditque nec stare potuisse rem publicam
should-come and-showed neither to-stand to-have-been-able the-thing public
si ego non fuissem, nec futuram esse ullam si non redissem.
if I not had-been nor going-to-be to-be any if not I-had-returned

Proximus est huic dignitati ordo equester: omnes omnium 74
next is to-this dignity the-order equestrian all of-all
publicorum societates de meo consulatu ac de meis rebus
public-revenues companies about my consulship and about my things
gestis amplissima atque ornatissima decreta fecerunt. Scribae,
done most-ample and most-honoring decrees made the-clerks
qui nobiscum in rationibus monumentisque publicis versantur,
who with-us in the-accounts and-records public are-engaged
non obscurum de meis in rem publicam beneficiis
not obscure about my toward the-thing public favors
suum iudicium decretumque esse voluerunt. Nullum est
their-own judgment and-decree to-be wished no is-there
in hac urbe conlegium, nulli pagani aut montani, quoniam
in this city college no villagers or hill-dwellers since
plebei quoque urbanae maiores nostri conventicula et
for-the-plebs also urban ancestors our gatherings and
quasi concilia quaedam esse voluerunt, qui non amplissime
as-it-were councils certain to-be wished who not most-amply
non modo de salute mea sed etiam de dignitate decreverint.
not only about safety my but also about dignity have-decreed

The day of Cicero's return showed the people's judgment of him. No Roman can lose his citizenship against his will, and Clodius's law, voted by hired men led by Fidulius, who says he was not in Rome, could not take it. Philippus as censor passed over Clodius's father, whom no one called an exile, but Cotta swore he would have enrolled the absent Cicero, and the senate always held him a citizen.

75 Nam quid ego illa divina atque immortalia municipiorum et
for why I those divine and immortal of-the-towns and
coloniarum et totius Italiae decreta commemorem, quibus
of-the-colonies and of-whole Italy decrees should-recount by-which
tamquam gradibus mihi videor in caelum ascendisse, non
as-if by-steps to-myself seem into heaven to-have-ascended not
solum in patriam revertisse? Ille vero dies qui fuit cum
only into the-fatherland to-have-returned that indeed day which was when
te, P. Lentule, legem de me ferente populus Romanus
with-you Publius Lentulus a-law about me carrying the-people Roman
ipse vidit sensitque quantus et quanta dignitate esset!
itself saw and-felt how-great and with-how-great dignity it-was
Constat enim nullis umquam comitiis campum Martium
it-is-established for at-no ever election the-field of-Mars
tanta celebritate, tanto splendore omnis generis hominum
with-such throng with-such splendor of-every kind of-men
aetatum ordinum floruisse. Omitto civitatium, nationum,
ages orders to-have-flourished I-omit of-states of-nations
provinciarum, regum, orbis denique terrarum de meis in
of-provinces of-kings of-the-circle finally of-the-earth about my toward
omnis mortalis meritis unum iudicium unumque consensum:
all mortals merits the-one judgment and-one agreement
adventus meus atque introitus in urbem qui fuit? Utrum
the-arrival my and entry into the-city what-sort was-it whether

me patria sic accepit ut lucem salutemque redditam sibi
me the-fatherland so received as light and-safety given-back to-itself
ac restitutam accipere debuit, an ut crudelem tyrannum,
and restored to-receive it-ought or as a-cruel tyrant
quod vos Catilinae gregales de me dicere solebatis?
which you Catiline's herd-mates about me to-say were-wont
Itaque ille unus dies, quo die me populus Romanus a 76
and-so that one day on-which day me the-people Roman from
porta in Capitolium atque inde domum sua celebritate
the-gate to the-Capitol and thence home with-its-own throng
laetitiaque comitatum honestavit, tantae mihi iucunditati fuit
and-joy accompanied honored so-great to-me for-pleasure was
ut tua mihi conscelerata illa vis non modo non propulsanda,
that your to-me criminal that violence not only not to-be-repelled
sed etiam excitanda fuisse videatur. Qua re illa calamitas,
but even to-be-roused to-have-been may-seem by-which thing that calamity
si ita est appellanda, exussit hoc genus totum maledicti,
if so it-is to-be-called has-burned-out this kind whole of-abuse
ne quisquam iam audeat reprehendere consulatum meum
so-that-not anyone now dare to-blame consulship my
tot tantis tam ornatis iudiciis, testimoniis, auctoritatibus
by-so-many so-great so honoring judgments testimonies authorities
comprobatum. Quod si in isto tuo maledicto probrum non
approved but if in that your abuse a-disgrace not
modo mihi nullum obiectas, sed etiam laudem inlustras meam,
only to-me none you-cast-up but even the-praise you-illuminate my
quid te aut fieri aut fingi dementius potest? Uno
what than-you either to-be-made or to-be-imagined more-insane can by-one
enim maledicto bis a me patriam servatam esse concedis:
for abuse twice by me the-fatherland saved to-have-been you-concede
semel, cum id feci quod omnes non negant immortalitati, si
once when that I-did which all not deny to-immortality if

fieri potest, mandandum, tu supplicio puniendum putasti,
to-be-done it-can to-be-committed you with-punishment to-be-punished thought
iterum, cum tuum multorumque praeter te inflammatum in
again when your and-of-many besides you inflamed against
bonos omnis impetum meo corpore excepi, ne eam civitatem
the-good all onset on-my body I-received lest that state
quam servassem inermis armatus in discrimen adducerem.
which I-had-saved unarmed armed into crisis I-should-bring
77 Esto, non fuit in me poena ulla peccati; at fuit
let-it-be not was-there in me penalty any of-wrongdoing but there-was
iudici. Cuius? quis me umquam ulla lege interrogavit? quis
of-judgment whose who me ever by-any law questioned who
postulavit? quis diem dixit? Potest igitur damnati poenam
prosecuted who a-day named can therefore of-a-condemned-man the-penalty
sustinere indemnatus? est hoc tribunicium, est populare?
to-bear an-uncondemned is this tribunician is popular
Quamquam ubi tu te popularem, nisi cum pro populo
although where you yourself popular except when for the-people
fecisti, potes dicere? Sed, cum hoc iuris a maioribus proditum
you-acted can say but since this of-right by our-ancestors handed-down
sit, ut nemo civis Romanus aut libertatem aut civitatem
has-been that no citizen Roman either liberty or citizenship
possit amittere, nisi ipse auctor factus sit, quod tu
can lose unless himself the-sponsor made he-has-been which you
ipse potuisti in tua causa discere (credo enim, quamquam in
yourself could in your case learn I-believe for although in
illa adoptatione legitime factum est nihil, tamen te esse
that adoption lawfully done it-was nothing still you to-have-been
interrogatum auctorne esses, ut in te P. Fonteius
asked whether-the-sponsor you-were that over you Publius Fonteius
vitae necisque potestatem haberet, ut in filio), quaero, si aut
of-life and-death the-power should-have as over a-son I-ask if either

negasses aut tacuisses, si tamen id xxx curiae iussissent,
you-had-denied or had-been-silent if still that thirty curiae had-ordered
num id iussum esset ratum? certe non. Quid ita?
surely-not that order would-have-been valid certainly not why so
quia ius a maioribus nostris, qui non ficte et fallaciter
because the-right by ancestors our who not feignedly and deceitfully
populares sed vere et sapienter fuerunt, ita comparatum est
popular but truly and wisely were so devised is
ut civis Romanus libertatem nemo possit invitus amittere.
that a-citizen Roman his-liberty no-one can unwilling lose
Quin etiam si decemviri sacramentum in libertatem iniustum 78
nay even if the-decemvirs the-oath into liberty unjust
iudicassent, tamen, quotienscumque vellet quis, hoc in genere
had-judged still as-often-as wished anyone this in kind
solo rem iudicatam referri posse voluerunt; civitatem vero
alone a-thing judged to-be-referred to-be-able they-wished citizenship indeed
nemo umquam ullo populi iussu amittet invitus. Qui
no-one ever by-any of-the-people order will-lose unwilling those-who
cives Romani in colonias Latinas proficiscebantur fieri non
citizens Roman to colonies Latin set-out to-become not
poterant Latini, nisi erant auctores facti nomenque dederant:
could Latins unless they-had sponsors become and-the-name had-given
qui erant rerum capitalium condemnati non prius hanc
those-who were of-things capital condemned not before this
civitatem amittebant quam erant in eam recepti, quo
citizenship lost than they-had-been into that received to-which
vertendi, hoc est mutandi, soli causa venerant. Id autem
of-turning that is of-changing soil for-the-sake they-had-come that however
ut esset faciundum, non ademptione civitatis, sed tecti
that it-should-be to-be-done not by-taking-away of-citizenship but of-roof
et aquae et ignis interdictione faciebant.
and water and fire by-interdiction they-did

79 Populus Romanus L. Sulla dictatore ferente comitiis
the-people Roman with-Lucius Sulla dictator proposing at-the-assembly
centuriatis municipiis civitatem ademit: ademit eisdem
centuriate from-the-towns citizenship took-away took-away from-the-same
agros. De agris ratum est; fuit enim populi potestas; de
lands about the-lands valid it-is was for the-people's power about
civitate ne tam diu quidem valuit quam diu illa Sullani
citizenship not so long even it-held as long-as those of-the-Sullan
temporis arma valuerunt. An vero Volaterranis, cum etiam
time arms held or indeed from-the-Volaterrani when even
tum essent in armis, L. Sulla victor re publica
then they-were in arms Lucius Sulla victor with-the-thing public
reciperata comitiis centuriatis civitatem eripere non potuit,
recovered at-the-assembly centuriate citizenship to-snatch not could
hodieque Volaterrani non modo cives, sed etiam optimi
and-today the-Volaterrani not only citizens but even the-best
cives fruuntur nobiscum simul hac civitate: consulari
citizens enjoy with-us together this citizenship from-a-consular
homini P. Clodius eversa re publica civitatem
man Publius Clodius with-overturned the-thing public citizenship
adimere potuit concilio advocato, conductis operis non
to-take-away could with-a-council summoned with-hired gangs not
solum egentium, sed etiam servorum, Fidulio principe, qui
only of-the-needy but even of-slaves with-Fidulius as-the-first who
se illo die confirmat Romae non fuisse?
himself on-that day affirms at-Rome not to-have-been
80 Quod si non fuit, quid te audacius, qui eius nomen
but if not he-was what than-you more-audacious who his name
incideris? quid desperatius, qui ne ementiendo quidem
have-inscribed what more-desperate who not by-lying even
potueris auctorem adumbrare meliorem? Sin autem is primus
could a-sponsor sketch better but-if however he first

scivit, quod facile potuit, qui propter inopiam tecti in
voted which easily he-could who on-account-of lack of-roof in
foro pernoctasset, cur non iuret se Gadibus
the-forum had-spent-the-night why not should-he-swear himself at-Gades
fuisse, cum tu te fuisse Interamnae probaveris? Hoc
to-have-been when you yourself to-have-been at-Interamna have-proved by-this
tu igitur, homo popularis, iure munitam civitatem et
you therefore a-man popular by-right fortified citizenship and
libertatem nostram putas esse oportere, ut, si tribuno
liberty our do-you-think to-be to-behoove that if with-a-tribune
plebis rogante 'velitis iubeatisne' Fidulii centum se
of-the-plebs asking do-you-wish and-order Fidulii a-hundred themselves
velle et iubere dixerint, possit unus quisque nostrum
to-wish and to-order should-say could each one of-us
amittere civitatem? Tum igitur maiores nostri populares non
lose citizenship then therefore ancestors our popular not
fuerunt, qui de civitate et libertate ea iura sanxerunt
were who about citizenship and liberty those rights sanctioned
quae nec vis temporum nec potentia magistratuum
which neither the-violence of-times nor the-power of-magistrates
nec praetorum decreta nec denique universi populi Romani
nor of-praetors the-decrees nor finally of-the-whole people Roman
potestas, quae ceteris in rebus est maxima, labefactare possit.
the-power which other in things is greatest to-shake could
At tu etiam, ereptor civitatis, legem de iniuriis publicis 81
but you also the-snatcher of-citizenship a-law about wrongs public
tulisti Anagnino nescio cui Menullae pergratam, qui tibi
carried for-an-Anagnian I-know-not whom Menulla very-welcome who for-you
ob eam legem statuam in meis aedibus posuit, ut
on-account-of that law a-statue in my house set-up so-that
locus ipse in tanta tua iniuria legem et inscriptionem statuae
the-place itself in so-great your injury the-law and inscription of-the-statue

refelleret; quae res municipibus Anagninis multo maiori dolori
might-refute which thing to-the-townsmen Anagnian for-much greater grief
fuit quam quae idem ille gladiator scelera Anagniae fecerat.
was than what-things the-same that gladiator crimes at-Anagnia had-done
82 Quid? si ne scriptum quidem umquam est in ista ipsa
what if not written even ever is in that very
rogatione, quam se Fidulius negat scivisse, tu autem, ut
bill which himself Fidulius denies to-have-voted you however that
acta tui praeclari tribunatus hominis dignitate cohonestes,
the-acts of-your splendid tribunate by-the-man's dignity you-might-grace
auctorem amplexeris — sed tamen, si nihil de me tulisti
a-sponsor have-embraced but still if nothing about me you-carried
quo minus essem non modo in civium numero, sed etiam
by-which less I-should-be not only in of-citizens the-number but even
in eo loco in quo me honores populi Romani conlocarunt,
in that place in which me the-honors of-the-people Roman placed
tamenne eum tua voce violabis quem post nefarium
still him with-your voice will-you-violate whom after the-wicked
scelus consulum superiorum tot vides iudiciis senatus,
crime of-the-consuls earlier by-so-many you-see judgments of-the-senate
populi Romani, Italiae totius honestatum, quem ne tunc
of-the-people Roman of-Italy whole honored whom not then
quidem cum aberam negare poteras esse tua lege senatorem?
even when I-was-absent to-deny could-you to-be by-your law a-senator
Ubi enim tuleras ut mihi aqua et igni interdiceretur?
where for had-you-carried that from-me water and fire should-be-interdicted
quod C. Gracchus de P. Popilio, Saturninus de Metello
which Gaius Gracchus about Publius Popilius Saturninus about Metellus
tulit, homines seditiosissimi de optimis ac fortissimis civibus:
carried men most-seditious about the-best and most-brave citizens
non ut esset interdictum, quod ferri non poterat,
not that it-should-have-been interdicted which to-be-carried not could

tulerunt, sed ut interdiceretur. Ubi cavisti ne meo me
carried but that it-should-be-interdicted where did-you-provide that-not in-my me
loco censor in senatum legeret? quod de omnibus, etiam
place a-censor into the-senate should-enroll which about all even
quibus damnatis interdictum est, scriptum est in legibus.
to-whom condemned interdicted it-has-been written is in the-laws
Quaere haec ex Clodio, scriptore legum tuarum, iube 83
ask these-things of Clodius the-writer of-laws your order(-him)
adesse; latitat omnino, sed, si requiri iusseris,
to-be-present he-is-hiding altogether but if to-be-sought you-shall-have-ordered
invenient hominem apud sororem tuam occultantem se
they-will-find the-man at sister your concealing himself
capite demisso. Sed si patrem tuum, civem medius
with-head lowered but if father your a-citizen so-help-me
fidius egregium dissimilemque vestri, nemo umquam
the-god-of-faith outstanding and-unlike-to you no-one ever
sanus exsulem appellavit, qui, cum de eo tribunus plebis
sane an-exile called who when about him a-tribune of-the-plebs
promulgasset, adesse propter iniquitatem illius Cinnani
had-published(-a-bill) to-be-present on-account-of the-unfairness of-that Cinnan
temporis noluit, eique imperium est abrogatum — si
time was-unwilling and-from-him command was abrogated if
in illo poena legitima turpitudinem non habuit propter
in his-case a-penalty legal disgrace not had on-account-of
vim temporum, in me, cui dies dicta numquam est,
the-violence of-the-times in my-case to-whom a-day named never was
qui reus non fui, qui numquam sum a tribuno plebis
who a-defendant not was who never was by a-tribune of-the-plebs
citatus, damnati poena esse potuit, ea praesertim
summoned of-a-condemned-man the-penalty to-be could that especially
quae ne in ipsa quidem rogatione praescripta est?
which not in the-very even bill prescribed has-been

84 Ac vide quid intersit inter illum iniquissimum patris tui
and see what differs between that most-unjust of-father your
casum et hanc fortunam condicionemque nostram. Patrem
fall and this fortune and-condition our father
tuum, civem optimum, clarissimi viri filium, qui si
your a-citizen best of-a-most-illustrious man the-son who if
viveret, qua severitate fuit, tu profecto non viveres,
he-were-alive with-what severity he-was you surely not would-be-alive
L. Philippus censor avunculum suum praeteriit in recitando
Lucius Philippus as-censor uncle his-own passed-over in reading-out
senatu. Nihil enim poterat dicere qua re rata non essent
the-senate nothing for he-could say by-which thing valid not should-be
quae erant acta in ea re publica, in qua se illis ipsis
what-things had-been done in that thing public in which himself in-those very
temporibus censorem esse voluisset: me L. Cotta, homo
times censor to-be he-had-wished me Lucius Cotta a-man
censorius, in senatu iuratus dixit se, si censor tum esset
ex-censor in the-senate on-oath said himself if censor then he-had-been
cum ego aberam, meo loco senatorem recitaturum fuisse.
when I was-absent in-my place as-senator going-to-read-out to-have-been
85 Quis in meum locum iudicem subdidit? quis meorum
who into my place as-juror substituted who of-my
amicorum testamentum discessu meo fecit qui mihi non idem
friends a-will at-departure my made who to-me not the-same
tribuerit quod si adessem? quis me non modo civis, sed
assigned as if I-were-present who me not only a-citizen but
socius recipere contra tuam legem et iuvare dubitavit? Denique
an-ally to-receive against your law and to-help hesitated finally
universus senatus, multo ante quam est lata lex de me,
the-whole senate much before than was carried the-law about me
gratias agendas censuit civitatibus iis quae M. Tullium —
thanks to-be-given voted to-the-states those which Marcus Tullius

tantumne? Immo etiam — civem optime de re publica
so-much-only nay even a-citizen best of the-thing public
meritum, recepissent. Et tu unus pestifer civis eum
having-deserved had-received and you alone pestilent citizen him
restitutum negas esse civem quem eiectum universus senatus
restored deny to-be a-citizen whom cast-out the-whole senate
non modo civem, sed etiam egregium civem semper putavit?
not only a-citizen but even an-outstanding citizen always thought

VIII · EXILE AND THE TRUE PEOPLE

Camillus, Ahala, Popilius, and Metellus were exiled and restored to greater glory. Clodius's people is a hired mob, not the Roman people, which showed itself on the Campus Martius on the day of the vote. Cicero explains why he would not fight with arms, answers the mockery that he calls himself Jupiter, and shows that he left Rome not from guilt or fear but to save the state, grieving as any man would.

At vero, ut annales populi Romani et monumenta vetustatis 86
but indeed as the-annals of-the-people Roman and the-monuments of-antiquity
loquuntur, Kaeso ille Quinctius et M. Furius Camillus
speak Kaeso that Quinctius and Marcus Furius Camillus
et C. Servilius Ahala, cum essent optime de re
and Gaius Servilius Ahala though they-had best of the-thing
publica meriti, tamen populi incitati vim iracundiamque
public deserved still of-the-people roused the-violence and-anger
subierunt, damnatique comitiis centuriatis cum in exsilium
underwent and-condemned at-the-assembly centuriate when into exile
profugissent, rursus ab eodem populo placato sunt in suam
they-had-fled again by the-same people appeased were into their-own
pristinam dignitatem restituti. Quod si his damnatis non
former dignity restored but if for-these condemned not

modo non imminuit calamitas clarissimi nominis gloriam,
only not diminished the-calamity of-a-most-illustrious name the-glory
sed etiam honestavit (nam etsi optabilius est cursum
but even honored(-it) for although more-desirable it-is the-course
vitae conficere sine dolore et sine iniuria, tamen ad
of-life to-complete without pain and without injury still for
immortalitatem gloriae plus adfert desideratum esse a suis
the-immortality of-glory more it-brings longed-for to-have-been by one's
civibus quam omnino numquam esse violatum), mihi sine
citizens than at-all never to-have-been wronged for-me without
ullo iudicio populi profecto, cum amplissimis omnium
any judgment of-the-people having-departed with the-most-ample of-all
iudiciis restituto, maledicti locum aut criminis obtinebit?
judgments restored of-abuse a-place or of-charge will-it-hold

87 Fortis et constans in optima ratione civis P. Popilius
brave and steadfast in the-best course a-citizen Publius Popilius
semper fuit; tamen eius in omni vita nihil est ad laudem
always was still his in whole life nothing is for praise
inlustrius quam calamitas ipsa; quis enim iam meminisset
more-illustrious than the-calamity itself who for now would-remember
eum bene de re publica meritum, nisi et ab improbis
him well of the-thing public having-deserved unless both by the-wicked
expulsus esset et per bonos restitutus? Q. Metelli
expelled he-had-been and by the-good restored Quintus Metellus'
praeclarum imperium in re militari fuit, egregia censura,
splendid command in the-thing military was outstanding his-censorship
omnis vita plena gravitatis; tamen huius viri laudem
whole his-life full of-gravity still of-this man the-praise
ad sempiternam memoriam temporis calamitas propagavit.
to the-everlasting memory of-time the-calamity prolonged
Quod si illis, qui expulsi sunt inique, sed tamen legibus,
but if to-those who expelled were unjustly but still by-the-laws

reducti inimicis interfectis rogationibus tribuniciis, non
led-back with-their-enemies killed by-bills tribunician not
auctoritate senatus, non comitiis centuriatis, non decretis
by-the-authority of-the-senate not by-the-assembly centuriate not by-the-decrees
Italiae, non desiderio civitatis, iniuria inimicorum probro
of-Italy not by-the-longing of-the-state the-injury of-their-enemies for-a-disgrace
non fuit, in me, qui profectus sum integer, afui simul
not was to me who set-out have unharmed was-absent together
cum re publica, redii cum maxima dignitate te
with the-thing public returned with the-greatest dignity with-you
vivo, fratre tuo alieno, altero consule reducente, altero
alive with-brother your estranged the-one consul leading-back the-other
patiente, tuum scelus meum probrum putas esse oportere?
allowing your crime my disgrace do-you-think to-be to-behoove
Ac si me populus Romanus, incitatus iracundia aut invidia, 88
and if me the-people Roman roused by-anger or envy
e civitate eiecisset idemque postea mea in rem
from the-state had-cast-out and-the-same afterward my toward the-thing
publicam beneficia recordatus se conlegisset, temeritatem atque
public favors recalling itself had-collected the-rashness and
iniuriam suam restitutione mea reprehendisset, tamen profecto
injury its-own by-restoration my had-blamed still surely
nemo tam esset amens qui mihi tale populi iudicium non
no-one so would-be mad who for-me such of-the-people a-judgment not
dignitati potius quam dedecori putaret esse oportere. Nunc
for-dignity rather than for-dishonor would-think to-be to-behoove now
vero cum me in iudicium populi nemo omnium vocarit,
indeed since me into the-judgment of-the-people no-one of-all has-summoned
condemnari non potuerim qui accusatus non sim, denique
condemned not could-I-be who accused not I-have-been finally
ne pulsus quidem ita sim ut, si contenderem, superare
not driven-out even so I-have-been that if I-contended to-overcome

non possem, contraque a populo Romano semper
not I-could and-on-the-contrary by the-people Roman always
sim defensus, amplificatus, ornatus, quid est qua re
I-have-been defended enlarged honored what is-there by-which thing
quisquam mihi se ipsa populari ratione anteponat?
anyone to-me himself by-the-very popular method should-prefer
89 An tu populum Romanum esse illum putas qui constat
or you the-people Roman to-be that do-you-think which consists
ex iis qui mercede conducuntur, qui impelluntur ut vim
of those who for-pay are-hired who are-driven that violence
adferant magistratibus, ut obsideant senatum, optent
they-may-bring on-the-magistrates that they-may-besiege the-senate may-wish
cotidie caedem, incendia, rapinas? quem tu tamen populum
daily slaughter fires plunder which you still people
nisi tabernis clausis frequentare non poteras, cui populo
except with-the-shops closed to-assemble not could to-which people
duces Lentidios, Lollios, Plaguleios, Sergios praefeceras.
as-leaders Lentidii Lollii Plaguleii Sergii you-had-set
O speciem dignitatemque populi Romani, quam reges,
O the-appearance and-dignity of-the-people Roman which kings
quam nationes exterae, quam gentes ultimae pertimescant,
which nations foreign which peoples farthest may-dread
multitudinem hominum ex servis, ex conductis, ex
a-multitude of-men from slaves from hirelings from
facinerosis, ex egentibus congregatam!
villains from the-needy gathered
90 Illa fuit pulchritudo populi Romani, illa forma quam in
that was the-beauty of-the-people Roman that the-form which in
campo vidisti tum cum etiam tibi contra senatus totiusque
the-field you-saw then when even to-you against of-the-senate and-of-whole
Italiae auctoritatem et studium dicendi potestas fuit. Ille
Italy the-authority and zeal of-speaking the-power was that

populus est dominus regum, victor atque imperator omnium
people is the-master of-kings victor and commander of-all
gentium, quem illo clarissimo die, scelerate, vidisti tum
peoples which on-that most-illustrious day criminal you-saw then
cum omnes principes civitatis, omnes homines ordinum atque
when all leading-men of-the-state all men of-orders and
aetatum omnium suffragium se non de civis sed
ages all a-vote themselves not about a-citizen's but
de civitatis salute ferre censebant, cum denique homines
about the-state's safety to-cast thought when finally men
in campum non tabernis sed municipiis clausis venerant.
into the-field not with-the-shops but with-the-towns closed had-come
Hoc ego populo, si tum consules aut fuissent in re 91
with-this I people if then consuls either had-been in the-thing
publica aut omnino non fuissent, nullo labore tuo praecipiti
public or at-all not had-been with-no labor your headlong
furori atque impio sceleri restitissem. Sed publicam causam
madness and impious crime would-have-resisted but the-public cause
contra vim armatam sine publico praesidio suscipere
against violence armed without public protection to-undertake
nolui, non quo mihi P. Scipionis, fortissimi viri,
I-was-unwilling not that to-me of-Publius Scipio a-most-brave man
vis in Ti. Graccho, privati hominis, displiceret,
the-violence against Tiberius Gracchus of-a-private man displeased
sed Scipionis factum statim P. Mucius consul, qui in
but Scipio's deed at-once Publius Mucius the-consul who in
gerenda re putabatur fuisse segnior, gesta multis
conducting the-thing was-thought to-have-been rather-slow done by-many
senatus consultis non modo defendit, sed etiam ornavit:
of-the-senate decrees not only defended but also honored

mihi aut te interfecto cum consulibus, aut te vivo
for-me either with-you killed with the-consuls or with-you alive
et tecum et cum illis armis decertandum fuit.
both with-you and with them by-arms to-be-fought-out it-was
92 Erant eo tempore multa etiam alia metuenda.
there-were at-that time many also other-things to-be-feared
Ad servos medius fidius res publica venisset;
to the-slaves so-help-me the-god-of-faith the-thing public would-have-come
tantum homines impios ex vetere illa coniuratione inustum
so-great men impious from old that conspiracy branded
nefariis mentibus bonorum odium tenebat.
on-their-wicked minds of-the-good the-hatred held
Hic tu me etiam gloriari vetas; negas esse ferenda quae
here you me even to-boast forbid you-deny to-be to-be-borne what-things
soleam de me praedicare, et homo facetus inducis
I-am-wont about myself to-proclaim and a-man witty you-introduce
etiam sermonem urbanum ac venustum, me dicere solere
even a-saying urbane and charming me to-say to-be-wont
esse me Iovem, eundemque dictitare Minervam esse sororem
to-be me Jupiter and-the-same to-keep-saying Minerva to-be sister
meam. Non tam insolens sum, quod Iovem esse me
my not so insolent I-am because Jupiter to-be myself
dico, quam ineruditus, quod Minervam sororem Iovis esse
I-say as ignorant because Minerva the-sister of-Jupiter to-be
existimo; sed tamen ego mihi sororem virginem adscisco,
I-think but still I for-myself a-sister virgin claim
tu sororem tuam virginem esse non sisti. Sed vide
you sister your a-virgin to-be not you-allowed but see
ne tu te soleas Iovem dicere, quod tu iure eandem
lest you yourself be-wont Jupiter to-call because you by-right the-same
sororem et uxorem appellare possis.
sister and wife to-call you-could

Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod solere me dicas de me 93
and since this you-blame that to-be-wont me you-say about me
ipso gloriosius praedicare, quis umquam audivit cum ego
myself rather-boastfully to-proclaim who ever heard when I
de me nisi coactus ac necessario dicerem? Nam si, cum
about myself except compelled and necessarily spoke for if when
mihi furta largitiones libidines obiciuntur, ego respondere
on-me thefts largesses lusts are-cast-up I to-answer
soleo meis consiliis periculis laboribus patriam esse
am-wont by-my counsels dangers labors the-fatherland to-have-been
servatam, non tam sum existimandus de gestis rebus
saved not so-much I-am to-be-thought about done things
gloriari quam de obiectis confiteri. Sed si mihi ante
to-boast as about the-things-cast-up to-confess but if against-me before
haec durissima rei publicae tempora nihil umquam aliud
these harshest of-the-thing public times nothing ever else
obiectum est nisi crudelitas eius unius temporis, cum
cast-up has-been except the-cruelty of-that one time when
a patria perniciem depuli, quid? me huic maledicto
from the-fatherland ruin I-repelled what me to-this abuse
utrum non respondere an demisse respondere decuit?
whether not to-answer or humbly to-answer did-it-befit
Ego vero etiam rei publicae semper interesse putavi me 94
I indeed even for-the-thing public always to-matter thought me
illius pulcherrimi facti, quod ex auctoritate senatus consensu
of-that most-splendid deed which by the-authority of-the-senate by-the-agreement
bonorum omnium pro salute patriae gessissem, splendorem
of-the-good all for the-safety of-the-fatherland I-had-done the-splendor
verbis dignitatemque retinere, praesertim cum mihi uni in hac
in-words and-dignity to-keep especially since for-me alone in this
re publica audiente populo Romano opera mea hanc urbem
thing public with-hearing the-people Roman by-effort my this city

et hanc rem publicam esse salvam iurato dicere fas fuisset.
and this thing public to-be safe on-oath to-say right it-had-been
Exstinctum est iam illud maledictum crudelitatis, quod me non
extinguished is now that abuse of-cruelty because me not
ut crudelem tyrannum, sed ut mitissimum parentem omnium
as a-cruel tyrant but as a-most-mild parent by-all
civium studiis desideratum, repetitum, arcessitum vident.
citizens' zeal longed-for sought-back summoned they-see
95 Aliud exortum est: obicitur mihi meus ille discessus:
another arisen has is-cast-up to-me my that departure
cui ego crimini respondere sine mea maxima laude
to-which I charge to-answer without my greatest praise
non possum. Quid enim, pontifices, debeo dicere? Peccatine
not can what for pontiffs ought-I to-say of-wrongdoing
conscientia me profugisse? at id quod mihi crimini dabatur
by-consciousness me to-have-fled but that which to-me as-a-charge was-given
non modo peccatum non erat, sed erat res post natos
not only wrongdoing not was but was the-thing since born
homines pulcherrima. Iudicium populi pertimuisse? at id
men most-splendid the-judgment of-the-people to-have-dreaded but that
nec propositum ullum fuit, et, si fuisset, duplicata gloria
neither proposed any was and if it-had-been with-doubled glory
discessissem. Bonorum mihi praesidium defuisse? falsum
I-would-have-departed of-the-good for-me the-protection to-have-failed false
est. Me mortem timuisse? turpe est.
it-is me death to-have-feared shameful it-is
96 Dicendum igitur est id, quod non dicerem nisi coactus, —
to-be-said therefore is that which not I-would-say unless compelled
nihil enim umquam de me dixi sublatius adsciscendae
nothing for ever about myself I-have-said rather-loftily being-claimed
laudis causa potius quam criminis depellendi, — dico
of-praise for-the-sake rather than of-a-charge being-repelled I-say

igitur, et quam possum maxima voce dico: cum omnium
therefore and as I-can loudest voice I-say when of-all
perditorum et coniuratorum incitata vis, duce tribuno
ruined-men and conspirators the-roused violence with-as-leader a-tribune
plebis, consulibus auctoribus, adflicto senatu, perterritis
of-the-plebs with-the-consuls as-sponsors with-stricken the-senate with-terrified
equitibus Romanis, suspensa ac sollicita tota civitate,
knights Roman with-held-in-suspense and anxious the-whole state
non tam in me impetum faceret quam per me in
not so-much against me an-attack it-made as through me against
omnis bonos, me vidisse, si vicissem, tenuis rei
all the-good me to-have-seen if I-had-conquered slender of-the-thing
publicae reliquias, si victus essem, nullas futuras. Quod cum
public remains if conquered I-had-been none going-to-be which when
iudicassem, deflevi coniugis miserae discidium, liberorum
I-had-judged I-wept-over of-my-wife wretched the-separation of-my-children
carissimorum solitudinem, fratris absentis amantissimi
most-dear the-loneliness of-my-brother absent most-loving
atque optimi casum, subitas fundatissimae familiae ruinas;
and best the-fall the-sudden of-a-most-firmly-founded family ruins
sed his omnibus rebus vitam anteposui meorum civium,
but to-these all things the-life I-preferred of-my citizens
remque publicam concidere unius discessu quam omnium
and-the-thing public to-fall by-one's departure than by-all's
interitu occidere malui. Speravi, id quod accidit, me
destruction to-perish I-preferred I-hoped that which happened me
iacentem posse vivis viris fortibus excitari; si una cum
lying to-be-able by-living men brave to-be-raised if together with
bonis interissem, nullo modo posse rem publicam recreari.
the-good I-had-perished in-no way to-be-able the-thing public to-be-revived

97 Accepi, pontifices, magnum atque incredibilem dolorem: non
I-received pontiffs a-great and incredible grief not
nego, neque istam mihi adscisco sapientiam quam non nulli
I-deny nor that for-myself I-claim wisdom which not none
in me requirebant, qui me animo nimis fracto esse atque
in me looked-for who me in-mind too broken to-be and
adflicto loquebantur. An ego poteram, cum a tot rerum
stricken said or I could when from so-many things'
tanta varietate divellerer, quas idcirco praetereo quod ne nunc
so-great variety I-was-torn which therefore I-pass-over because not now
quidem sine fletu commemorare possum, infitiari me esse
even without weeping to-recount I-can to-deny me to-be
hominem et communem naturae sensum repudiare? Tum vero
a-man and the-common of-nature feeling to-reject then indeed
neque illud meum factum laudabile nec beneficium ullum a
neither that my deed praiseworthy nor favor any from
me in rem publicam profectum dicerem, si quidem ea
me toward the-thing public proceeded I-would-say if indeed those-things
rei publicae causa reliquissem quibus aequo animo
of-the-thing public for-the-sake I-had-left which with-calm mind
carerem, eamque animi duritiam, sicut corporis, quod cum
I-could-do-without and-that of-mind hardness as of-the-body which when
uritur non sentit, stuporem potius quam virtutem putarem.
it-is-burned not feels stupor rather than virtue I-would-think
98 Suscipere tantos animi dolores, atque ea quae capta
to-undertake such-great of-mind pains and those-things which in-a-captured
urbe accidunt victis stante urbe unum perpeti, et
city happen to-the-conquered with-standing the-city alone to-endure and
iam se videre distrahi a complexu suorum, disturbari
already oneself to-see torn from the-embrace of-one's-own to-be-wrecked
tecta, diripi fortunas, patriae denique causa
one's-roofs to-be-plundered one's-fortunes of-the-fatherland finally for-the-sake

patriam ipsam amittere, spoliari populi Romani beneficiis
the-fatherland itself to-lose to-be-stripped of-the-people Roman favors
amplissimis, praecipitari ex altissimo dignitatis gradu, videre
most-ample to-be-hurled from the-highest of-dignity step to-see
praetextatos inimicos nondum morte complorata arbitria
bordered-togaed enemies not-yet the-death lamented the-fees
petentis funeris: haec omnia subire conservandorum
demanding of-the-funeral these-things all to-undergo of-preserving
civium causa, atque id cum dolenter adsis non tam
citizens for-the-sake and that when grievingly you-are-present not so
sapiens quam ii qui nihil curant, sed tam amans tuorum
wise as those who nothing care but as loving of-your-own
ac tui quam communis humanitas postulat, ea laus
and of-yourself as common humanity demands that praise
praeclara atque divina est. Nam qui ea quae numquam
splendid and divine is for he-who those-things which never
cara ac iucunda duxit animo aequo rei publicae causa
dear and pleasant he-held with-calm mind of-the-thing public for-the-sake
deserit, nullam benivolentiam insignem in rem publicam
deserts no goodwill signal toward the-thing public
declarat; qui autem ea relinquit rei publicae
declares he-who however those-things leaves of-the-thing public
causa a quibus cum summo dolore divellitur, ei cara
for-the-sake from which with the-highest grief he-is-torn to-him dear
patria est, cuius salutem caritati anteponit suorum.
the-fatherland is whose safety to-the-love he-prefers of-his-own

Cicero has twice saved the state, as consul and by yielding, and the pontiffs' verdict on his house decides his return. Left as it is, the house stands as a monument of his enemy's crime, like the houses of Maelius, Cassius, Vaccus, and Manlius, razed for treason, and Clodius has joined it to Flaccus's. Clodius, who profaned the rites of the Good Goddess, now poses as a man of religion, though a citizen's house is the holiest of places, and he has set up a statue of Liberty there.

99 Qua re dirumpatur licet ista furia atque pestis, audiet
by-which thing let-him-burst may that fury and plague he-shall-hear
haec ex me, quoniam lacessivit: bis servavi rem
these-things from me since he-has-provoked(-me) twice I-saved the-thing
publicam, qui consul togatus armatos vicerim, privatus
public who as-consul in-the-toga the-armed conquered as-a-private-man
consulibus armatis cesserim. Utriusque temporis fructum
to-the-consuls armed yielded of-each time the-fruit
tuli maximum: superioris, quod ex senatus auctoritate et
I-bore greatest of-the-former because by the-senate's authority both
senatum et omnis bonos meae salutis causa mutata veste
the-senate and all the-good for-my safety's sake with-changed dress
vidi, posterioris, quod et senatus et populus Romanus
I-saw of-the-latter because both the-senate and the-people Roman
et omnes mortales et privatim et publice iudicarunt sine
and all mortals both privately and publicly judged without
meo reditu rem publicam salvam esse non posse.
my return the-thing public safe to-be not to-be-able
100 Sed hic meus reditus, pontifices, vestro iudicio continetur.
but this my return pontiffs in-your judgment is-contained
Nam si vos me in meis aedibus conlocatis, id quod in omni
for if you me in my house place that which in all
mea causa semper studiis consiliis auctoritatibus sententiisque
my case always by-zeal counsels authorities and-opinions

fecistis, video me plane ac sentio restitutum; sin mea domus
you-did I-see me plainly and feel restored but-if my house
non modo mihi non redditur, sed etiam monumentum praebet
not only to-me not is-given-back but even a-monument offers
inimico doloris mei, sceleris sui, publicae calamitatis, quis
to-my-enemy of-the-grief my of-the-crime his-own of-the-public calamity who
erit qui hunc reditum potius quam poenam sempiternam
will-there-be who this a-return rather than a-punishment everlasting
putet? In conspectu prope totius urbis domus est mea,
may-think in the-sight nearly of-the-whole city the-house is mine
pontifices; in qua si manet illud non monumentum virtutis,
pontiffs in which if remains that not a-monument of-virtue
sed sepulcrum inimico nomine inscriptum, demigrandum
but a-tomb with-my-enemy's name inscribed to-be-moved
potius aliquo est quam habitandum in ea urbe in qua
rather somewhere it-is than to-be-dwelt in that city in which
tropaea de me et de re publica videam constituta.
trophies over me and over the-thing public I-may-see set-up
An ego tantam aut animi duritiam habere aut oculorum 101
or I such either of-mind hardness have or of-eyes
impudentiam possim ut, cuius urbis servatorem me esse
shamelessness could that of-which city the-preserver me to-be
senatus omnium adsensu totiens iudicarit, in ea possim
the-senate with-all's assent so-often has-judged in it I-could
intueri domum meam eversam, non ab inimico meo sed ab
look-at house my overturned not by enemy my but by
hoste communi, et ab eodem aedem exstructam et positam
the-enemy common and by the-same a-sbrine built and placed
in oculis civitatis, ne umquam conquiescere possit
in the-eyes of-the-state so-that-not ever to-rest can
fletus bonorum? Sp. Maeli regnum adpetentis domus
the-weeping of-the-good of-Spurius Maelius the-kingship seeking the-house

est complanata, et, quia illud 'aequum' accidisse populus
was leveled and because that justly to-have-happened the-people
Romanus 'Maelio' iudicavit, nomine ipso 'Aequimaeli' iustitia
Roman to-Maelius judged by-the-name itself of-Aequimaelium the-justice
poenae comprobata est. Sp. Cassi domus ob eandem
of-the-penalty approved was Spurius Cassius' house on-account-of the-same
causam est eversa atque in eo loco aedis posita Telluris.
cause was overturned and in that place a-shrine set of-Tellus
In Vacci pratis domus fuit M. Vacci, quae publicata
in of-Vaccus the-meadows the-house was of-Marcus Vaccus which confiscated
est et eversa ut illius facinus memoria et nomine
was and overturned that his crime by-the-memory and name
loci notaretur. M. Manlius cum ab ascensu Capitoli
of-the-place might-be-branded Marcus Manlius when from the-ascent of-the-Capitol
Gallorum impetum reppulisset, non fuit contentus benefici
of-the-Gauls the-attack he-had-repelled not was content of-the-favor
sui gloria; regnum adpetisse est iudicatus; ergo eius
his-own with-the-glory the-kingship to-have-sought he-was judged therefore his
domum eversam duobus lucis convestitam videtis. Quam igitur
house overturned with-two groves clothed you-see what therefore
maiores nostri sceleratis ac nefariis civibus maximam poenam
ancestors our for-criminal and wicked citizens the-greatest penalty
constitui posse arbitrati sunt, eandem ego subibo
to-be-established to-be-able thought have the-same I shall-undergo
ac sustinebo, ut apud posteros nostros non exstinctor
and endure that among posterity our not the-extinguisher
coniurationis et sceleris sed auctor et dux fuisse videar?
of-the-conspiracy and of-crime but the-instigator and leader to-have-been I-may-seem
102 Hanc vero, pontifices, labem turpitudinis et inconstantiae
this indeed pontiffs stain of-disgrace and of-inconstancy
poterit populi Romani dignitas sustinere, vivo senatu,
will-be-able of-the-people Roman the-dignity to-bear with-living senate

vobis principibus publici consili, ut domus M. Tulli
with-you as-leaders of-the-public council that the-house of-Marcus Tullius
Ciceronis cum domo Fulvi Flacci ad memoriam poenae
Cicero with the-house of-Fulvius Flaccus for the-memory of-a-penalty
publice constitutae coniuncta esse videatur? M. Flaccus quia
publicly established joined to-be may-seem Marcus Flaccus because
cum C. Graccho contra salutem rei publicae fecerat
with Gaius Gracchus against the-safety of-the-thing public he-had-acted
ex senatus sententia est interfectus; eius domus eversa et
by the-senate's opinion was killed his house overturned and
publicata est; in qua porticum post aliquanto Q. Catulus
confiscated was on which a-portico afterward by-somewhat Quintus Catulus
de manubiis Cimbricis fecit. Ista autem fax ac furia
from the-spoils Cimbrian made that however torch and fury
patriae cum urbem Pisone et Gabinio ducibus cepisset,
of-the-fatherland when the-city with-Piso and Gabinius as-leaders he-had-taken
occupasset, teneret, uno eodemque tempore et clarissimi
had-seized was-holding at-one and-the-same time both of-a-most-illustrious
viri mortui monumenta delebat et meam domum cum
man dead the-monuments he-was-destroying and my house with
Flacci domo coniungebat, ut, qua poena senatus adfecerat
Flaccus' house he-was-joining that with-what penalty the-senate had-visited
eversorem civitatis, eadem iste oppresso senatu adficeret
the-overturner of-the-state with-the-same that-man with-crushed senate might-visit
eum quem patres conscripti custodem patriae iudicassent.
him whom fathers enrolled the-guardian of-the-fatherland had-judged
Hanc vero in Palatio atque in pulcherrimo urbis loco 103
this indeed on the-Palatine and in the-most-beautiful of-the-city place
porticum esse patiemini, furoris tribunici, sceleris consularis,
a-portico to-be will-you-allow of-madness tribunician of-crime consular
crudelitatis coniuratorum, calamitatis rei publicae, doloris
of-cruelty of-the-conspirators of-the-calamity of-the-thing public of-grief

mei defixum indicium ad memoriam omnium gentium
my fixed a-token for the-memory of-all nations
sempiternam? quam porticum, pro amore quem habetis in
everlasting which portico for the-love which you-have toward
rem publicam et semper habuistis, non modo sententiis sed,
the-thing public and always have-had not only with-opinions but
si opus esset, manibus vestris disturbare cuperetis, nisi quem
if need were with-hands your to-pull-down you-would-desire unless anyone
forte illius castissimi sacerdotis superstitiosa dedicatio deterret.
perhaps of-that most-chaste priest the-superstitious dedication deters
104 O rem quam homines soluti ridere non desinant,
O thing which men unrestrained to-laugh-at not would-cease
tristiores autem sine maximo dolore audire non possint!
the-graver however without the-greatest pain to-hear not could
Publiusne Clodius, qui ex pontificis maximi domo religionem
Publius Clodius who from of-the-pontiff chief house religion
eripuit, is in meam intulit? Huncin vos, qui estis antistites
snatched-away he into mine brought(-it) this-man you who are overseers
caerimoniarum et sacrorum, auctorem habetis et magistrum
of-ceremonies and of-rites as-sponsor do-you-have and master
publicae religionis? O di immortales! — Vos enim haec
of-public religion O gods immortal you for these-things
audire cupio — P. Clodius vestra sacra curat, vestrum numen
to-hear I-desire Publius Clodius your rites cares-for your divinity
horret, res omnis humanas religione vestra contineri putat?
dreads things all human by-religion your to-be-held-together thinks
Hic non inludit auctoritati horum omnium qui adsunt
this-man not mocks the-authority of-these all who are-present
summorum virorum, non vestra, pontifices, gravitate abutitur?
of-the-highest men not your pontiffs' gravity abuses
Ex isto ore religionis verbum excidere aut elabi potest?
from that mouth of-religion a-word to-fall or to-slip can

Quam tu eodem ore, accusando senatum quod severe
which you with-the-same mouth by-accusing the-senate because severely
de religione decerneret, impurissime taeterrimeque violasti.
about religion it-decreed most-impurely and-most-foully have-violated
Aspicite, pontifices, hominem religiosum et, si vobis videtur, 105
behold pontiffs a-man religious and if to-you it-seems
quod est bonorum pontificum, monete eum modum quendam
which is of-good pontiffs warn him a-limit certain
esse religionis: nimium esse superstitiosum non oportere. Quid
to-be of-religion too to-be superstitious not to-behoove what
tibi necesse fuit anili superstitione, homo fanatice,
for-you necessary was with-an-old-woman's superstition man fanatical
sacrificium quod alienae domi fieret invisere? quae autem te
a-sacrifice which in-another's house was-done to-visit what however you
tanta mentis imbecillitas tenuit ut non putares deos satis
so-great of-mind weakness held that not you-thought the-gods enough
posse placari nisi etiam muliebribus religionibus te
to-be-able to-be-appeased unless even in-women's rites yourself
implicuisses? Quem umquam audisti maiorum tuorum, qui
you-had-entangled whom ever have-you-heard of-ancestors your who
et sacra privata coluerunt et publicis sacerdotiis praefuerunt,
both the-rites private worshiped and over-public priesthoods presided
cum sacrificium Bonae Deae fieret interfuisse? neminem,
when the-sacrifice of-the-Good Goddess was-held to-have-been-present no-one
ne illum quidem qui caecus est factus. Ex quo intellegitur
not that-one even who blind was made from which it-is-understood
multa in vita falso homines opinari, cum ille, qui nihil
many-things in life falsely men to-suppose since he who nothing
viderat sciens quod nefas esset, lumina amisit, istius, qui
had-seen knowingly which forbidden was his-sight lost of-that-man who
non solum aspectu sed etiam incesto flagitio et stupro
not only by-looking but even by-incestuous outrage and debauchery

caerimonias polluit, poena omnis oculorum ad caecitatem
the-ceremonies polluted the-penalty whole of-the-eyes to blindness
mentis est conversa. Hoc auctore tam casto, tam religioso,
of-mind has-been turned with-this sponsor so chaste so religious
tam sancto, tam pio potestis, pontifices, non commoveri,
so holy so pious can-you pontiffs not be-moved
cum suis dicat se manibus domum civis optimi
when with-his-own he-says himself hands the-house of-a-citizen best
evertisse et eam isdem manibus consecrasse?
to-have-overturned and it with-the-same hands to-have-consecrated
106 Quae tua fuit consecratio? 'Tuleram,' inquit, 'ut mihi
what your was the-consecration I-had-carried he-says that for-me
liceret.' Quid? non exceperas ut, si quid ius non
it-be-allowed what not had-you-excepted that if anything right not
esset rogari, ne esset rogatum? Ius igitur statuetis esse
were to-be-asked not it-be asked right therefore will-you-decide it-to-be
unius cuiusque vestrum sedis, aras, focos, deos penatis
of-each one of-you the-seats altars hearths gods household
subiectos esse libidini tribuniciae? in quem quisque per
subjected to-be to-the-lust tribunician against whom each-one through
homines concitatos inruerit, quem impetu perculerit, huius
men roused has-rushed whom by-onset he-has-struck-down his
domum non solum adfligere, quod est praesentis insaniae
house not only to-wreck which is of-present insanity
quasi tempestatis repentinae, sed etiam in posterum tempus
as-of a-storm sudden but even into the-future time
sempiterna religione obligare?
with-everlasting religious-scruple to-bind
107 Equidem sic accepi, pontifices, in religionibus suscipiendis
for-my-part so have-received pontiffs in religious-duties being-undertaken
caput esse interpretari quae voluntas deorum immortalium esse
the-head to-be to-interpret what the-will of-the-gods immortal to-be

videatur; nec est ulla erga deos pietas nisi sit honesta
may-seem nor is-there any toward the-gods piety unless there-be an-honorable
de numine eorum ac mente opinio, ut expeti nihil ab
about divinity their and mind opinion that to-be-sought nothing from
iis, quod sit iniustum atque inhonestum, iustum aut honestum
them which be unjust and dishonorable just or honorable
arbitrere. Hominem invenire ista labes, tum cum omnia
you-think a-man to-find that stain then when all-things
tenebat, neminem potuit cui meas aedis addiceret, cui
he-held no-one could to-whom my house he-might-assign to-whom
traderet, cui donaret. Ipse cum loci illius, cum aedium
hand-over to-whom give himself when for-the-place that when for-the-house
cupiditate flagraret ob eamque causam unam funesta illa
with-desire he-burned on-account-of and-that cause alone deadly in-that
rogatione sua vir bonus dominum se in meis bonis esse
bill his-own a-man good master himself in my goods to-be
voluisset, tamen illo ipso in furore suo non est ausus meam
had-wished still that very in madness his-own not he-has dared my
domum, cuius cupiditate inflammatus erat, possidere: deos
house of-which with-desire inflamed he-was to-possess the-gods
immortalis existimatis, cuius labore et consilio sua ipsi
immortal do-you-think by-whose labor and counsel their-own themselves
templa tenuerunt, in eius domum adflictam et eversam per
temples they-have-held into his house wrecked and overturned by
hominis sceleratissimi nefarium latrocinium inmigrare voluisse?
of-a-man most-criminal wicked brigandage to-move-in to-have-wished
Civis est nemo tanto in populo, extra contaminatam illam 108
citizen there-is no-one so-great in a-people outside contaminated that
et cruentam P. Clodi manum, qui rem ullam de meis
and bloody of-Publius Clodius band who thing any of my
bonis attigerit, qui non pro suis opibus in illa tempestate
goods has-touched who not for his-own resources in that storm

me defenderit. At qui aliqua se contagione praedae,
me defended but those-who by-any themselves contagion of-booty
societatis, emptionis contaminaverunt, nullius neque privati
of-partnership of-purchase contaminated of-no either private
neque publici iudici poenam effugere potuerunt. Ex his
or public judgment the-penalty to-escape could from these
igitur bonis, ex quibus nemo rem ullam attigit qui non
therefore goods from which no-one thing any touched who not
omnium iudicio sceleratissimus haberetur, di immortales
in-all's judgment most-criminal was-held the-gods immortal
domum meam concupiverunt? Ista tua pulchra Libertas
house my coveted that your beautiful Liberty
deos penatis et familiaris meos lares expulit, ut se ipsa
the-gods household and family my lares drove-out that herself she
tamquam in captivis sedibus conlocaret?
as-if in captive seats might-place
109 Quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius quam domus
what is more-holy what by-all religion more-fortified than the-house
unius cuiusque civium? Hic arae sunt, hic foci, hic di penates,
of-each one of-the-citizens here altars are here hearths here gods household
hic sacra, religiones, caerimoniae continentur; hoc perfugium
here rites religious-duties ceremonies are-contained this refuge
est ita sanctum omnibus ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.
is so holy to-all that from-there to-be-dragged no-one right be
Quo magis est istius furor ab auribus vestris repellendus
by-which the-more is of-that-man the-madness from ears your to-be-repelled
qui, quae maiores nostri religionibus tuta nobis et sancta
who what-things ancestors our by-religious-duties safe for-us and holy
esse voluerunt, ea iste non solum contra religionem
to-be wished those-things that-man not only against religion
labefactavit, sed etiam ipsius religionis nomine evertit.
shook but even of-the-very religion in-the-name overturned

At quae dea est? Bonam esse oportet, quoniam quidem est 110
but what goddess is-it good to-be it-behooves since indeed it-is
abs te dedicata. 'Libertas,' inquit, 'est.' Tu igitur domi meae
by you dedicated Liberty he-says it-is you therefore in-house my
conlocasti, quam ex urbe tota sustulisti? Tu cum conlegas
placed whom from the-city whole you-removed you when colleagues
tuos summa potestate praeditos negares liberos esse, cum
your with-the-highest power endowed you-denied free to-be when
in templum Castoris aditus esset apertus nemini, cum hunc
into the-temple of-Castor access was open to-no-one when this
clarissimum virum, summo genere natum, summis populi
most-illustrious man of-the-highest family born of-the-highest of-the-people
beneficiis usum, pontificem et consularem et singulari
favors having-enjoyed a-pontiff and consular and with-singular
bonitate et modestia praeditum, quem satis mirari quibus
goodness and modesty endowed whom enough to-wonder with-what
oculis aspicere audeas non queo, audiente populo Romano a
eyes to-look-at you-dare not I-can with-hearing the-people Roman by
pedisequis conculcari iuberes, cum indemnatum me exturbares
footmen to-be-trampled you-ordered when uncondemned me you-thrust-out
privilegiis tyrannicis inrogatis, cum principem orbis terrae
with-private-laws tyrannical imposed when the-leading of-the-circle of-the-earth
virum inclusum domi contineres, cum forum armatis catervis
man shut-in at-home you-confined when the-forum with-armed bands
perditorum hominum possideres, Libertatis simulacrum in ea
of-ruined men you-held of-Liberty the-image in that
domo conlocabas, quae domus erat ipsa indicium crudelissimi
house you-were-placing which house was itself the-token of-the-cruelest
tui dominatus et miserrimae populi Romani servitutis?
your despotism and of-the-most-wretched of-the-people Roman slavery

Eumne potissimum Libertas domo sua debuit pellere, qui
him most-of-all Liberty from-house his-own ought to-drive who
nisi fuisset in servorum potestatem civitas tota venisset?
unless he-had-been into of-slaves the-power the-state whole would-have-come

X · THE STATUE AND THE DEDICATION

The statue of Liberty was taken from the tomb of a courtesan at Tanagra. Clodius pulled down Catulus's portico and wanted Cicero's site for a promenade and a portico of his own, and he bought the house of Seius after poisoning him. Only one young pontiff, his brother-in-law, was present at the dedication, and he held the doorpost, which belongs to a temple, not a promenade. If such a dedication stands, any citizen's house can be consecrated.

111 At unde est ista inventa Libertas? quaesivi enim diligenter.
but whence was that found Liberty I-have-inquired for diligently
Tanagraea quaedam meretrix fuisse dicitur. Eius non longe
a-Tanagraean certain harlot to-have-been is-said of-her not far
a Tanagra simulacrum e marmore in sepulcro positum
from Tanagra a-statue of marble on a-tomb placed
fuit. Hoc quidam homo nobilis, non alienus ab hoc religioso
was this a-certain man noble not unrelated to this religious
Libertatis sacerdote, ad ornatum aedilitatis suae deportavit;
of-Liberty priest for the-adornment of-the-aedileship his-own carried-off
etenim cogitarat omnis superiores muneris splendore
for-indeed he-had-planned all predecessors in-the-show's splendor
superare. Itaque omnia signa, tabulas, ornamentorum quod
to-surpass and-so all statues paintings of-ornaments what
superfuit in fanis et locis communibus in tota Graecia
was-left in shrines and places common in all Greece

atque insulis omnibus honoris populi Romani causa
and islands all of-honor of-the-people Roman for-the-sake
sane frugaliter domum suam deportavit.
very frugally to-his-house his-own carried-off
Is postea quam intellexit posse se interversa aedilitate a 112
he after that he-understood to-be-able himself with-skipped aedileship by
L. Pisone consule praetorem renuntiari, si modo eadem
Lucius Piso the-consul praetor to-be-declared if only with-the-same
prima littera competitorem habuisset aliquem, aedilitatem
first letter a-competitor he-had-had any the-aedileship
duobus in locis, partim in arca, partim in hortis suis
two in places partly in his-strongbox partly in his-gardens his-own
conlocavit: signum de busto meretricis ablatum isti
placed the-statue from the-tomb of-the-harlot removed to-that-man
dedit, quod esset signum magis istorum quam publicae
he-gave because it-was a-statue more of-them than of-public
libertatis. Hanc deam quisquam violare audeat, imaginem
liberty this goddess would-anyone to-violate dare the-image
meretricis, ornamentum sepulcri, a fure sublatam, a sacrilego
of-a-harlot the-ornament of-a-tomb by a-thief removed by a-temple-robber
conlocatam? haec me domo mea pellet? haec victrix
placed this-one me from-house my will-drive this-one victor
adflictae civitatis rei publicae spoliis ornabitur? Haec
over-the-stricken state of-the-thing public with-the-spoils will-be-adorned this-one
erit in eo monumento quod positum est ut esset indicium
will-be in that monument which placed was that it-might-be a-token
oppressi senatus ad memoriam sempiternae turpitudinis?
of-the-crushed senate for the-memory of-everlasting disgrace
O Q. Catule! — Patremne appellem ante an filium? 113
O Quintus Catulus the-father shall-I-call first or the-son
Recentior enim memoria fili est et cum meis rebus
more-recent for the-memory of-the-son is and with my things

gestis coniunctior — tantumne te fefellit, cum mihi
done more-joined so-much you did-it-deceive when for-me
summa et cotidie maiora praemia in re publica fore
the-highest and daily greater rewards in the-thing public to-be
putabas? Negabas fas esse duo consules esse in hac civitate
you-thought you-denied right to-be two consuls to-be in this state
inimicos rei publicae: sunt inventi qui senatum
enemies to-the-thing public there-have-been found who the-senate
tribuno furenti constrictum traderent, qui pro me patres
to-a-tribune raving bound might-hand-over who for me the-fathers
conscriptos deprecari et populo supplices esse edictis
enrolled to-intercede and to-the-people suppliants to-be by-edicts
atque imperio vetarent, quibus inspectantibus domus mea
and command forbade with-whom looking-on house my
disturbaretur, diriperetur, qui denique ambustas fortunarum
was-pulled-down was-plundered who finally the-scorched of-fortunes
mearum reliquias suas domos comportari iuberent.
my remains to-their-own houses to-be-carried ordered

114 Venio nunc ad patrem. Tu, Q. Catule, M. Fulvi
I-come now to the-father you Quintus Catulus of-Marcus Fulvius
domum, cum is fratris tui socer fuisset, monumentum
the-house though he of-brother your the-father-in-law had-been the-monument
tuarum manubiarum esse voluisti, ut eius qui perniciosa
of-your spoils to-be wished that of-him who pernicious
rei publicae consilia cepisset omnis memoria funditus ex
for-the-thing public counsels had-taken all memory utterly from
oculis hominum ac mentibus tolleretur. Hoc si quis tibi
the-eyes of-men and minds might-be-removed this if anyone to-you
aedificanti illam porticum diceret, fore tempus cum is
building that portico were-to-say going-to-be a-time when that
tribunus plebis, qui auctoritatem senatus, iudicium bonorum
tribune of-the-plebs who the-authority of-the-senate the-judgment of-the-good

omnium neglexisset, tuum monumentum consulibus non
all had-neglected your monument with-the-consuls not
modo inspectantibus verum adiuvantibus disturbaret, everteret,
only looking-on but helping would-pull-down would-overturn
idque cum eius civis qui rem publicam ex senatus
and-that with of-that citizen who the-thing public by the-senate's
auctoritate consul defendisset domo coniungeret, nonne
authority as-consul had-defended the-house would-join surely
responderes id nisi eversa civitate accidere non posse?
would-you-answer that unless with-overturned the-state to-happen not to-be-able
At videte hominis intolerabilem audaciam cum proiecta 115
but see of-the-man the-intolerable audacity with outflung
quadam et effrenata cupiditate. Monumentum iste
a-certain and unbridled desire a-monument that-man
umquam aut religionem ullam excogitavit? Habitare laxe
ever or religion any devised to-dwell spaciously
et magnifice voluit duasque et magnas et nobilis domos
and magnificently he-wished and-two both great and noble houses
coniungere. Eodem puncto temporis quo meus discessus
to-join at-the-same point of-time in-which my departure
isti causam caedis eripuit, a Q. Seio contendit
from-that-man the-cause of-slaughter snatched from Quintus Seius he-pressed
ut sibi domum venderet: cum ille id negaret, primo se
that to-him the-house he-should-sell when he that refused first himself
luminibus eius esse obstructurum minabatur. Adfirmabat
to-the-lights his to-be going-to-block he-threatened affirmed
Postumus se vivo illam domum istius numquam
Postumus with-himself alive that house his never
futuram. Acutus adulescens ex ipsius sermone intellexit
going-to-be the-sharp young-man from his-own talk understood
quid fieri oporteret; hominem veneno apertissime sustulit;
what to-be-done it-behooved the-man by-poison most-openly he-removed

emit domum licitatoribus defatigatis prope dimidio carius
bought the-house with-the-bidders worn-out nearly by-half dearer
quam aestimabatur. Quorsum igitur haec oratio pertinet?
than it-was-valued to-what therefore this speech does-it-pertain
116 Domus illa mea prope tota vacua est; vix pars aedium mearum
house that my nearly whole empty is scarcely a-part of-house my
decima ad Catuli porticum accessit. Causa fuit ambulatio et
tenth to Catulus' portico has-been-added the-cause was a-promenade and
monumentum et ista Tanagraea oppressa libertate Libertas. In
a-monument and that Tanagraean with-crushed liberty Liberty on
Palatio pulcherrimo prospectu porticum cum conclavibus
the-Palatine with-a-most-beautiful view a-portico with rooms
pavimentatam trecentum pedum concupierat, amplissimum
paved of-three-hundred feet he-had-coveted a-most-ample
peristylum, cetera eius modi facile ut omnium domos et
peristyle the-rest of-that kind easily so-that of-all the-houses both
laxitate et dignitate superaret. Et homo religiosus cum
in-spaciousness and in-dignity he-might-surpass and the-man religious though
aedis meas idem emeret et venderet, tamen illis tantis
house my the-same-man bought and sold still in-those so-great
tenebris non est ausus suum nomen emptioni illi adscribere.
darknesses not he-has dared his-own name to-the-purchase that to-ascribe
Posuit Scatonem illum, hominem sua virtute egentem,
he-set-up Scato that a-man by-his-own virtue needy
ut is qui in Marsis, ubi natus est, tectum quo
that he who among the-Marsi where born he-was a-roof under-which
imbris vitandi causa succederet iam nullum haberet, aedis
of-rain avoiding for-the-sake he-might-go now none had a-house
in Palatio nobilissimas emisse se diceret. Inferiorem
on the-Palatine most-noble to-have-bought himself might-say the-lower
aedium partem adsignavit non suae genti Fonteiae, sed
of-the-house part he-assigned not to-his-own clan Fonteian but

Clodiae, quam reliquit, quem in numerum ex multis Clodiis
Clodian which he-left which into number of the-many Clodii
nemo nomen dedit nisi aut egestate aut scelere perditus.
no-one his-name gave except either by-need or by-crime ruined
Hanc vos, pontifices, tam variam, tam novam in omni genere
this you pontiffs so varied so new in every kind
voluntatem, impudentiam, audaciam, cupiditatem comprobabitis?
will impudence audacity desire will-you-approve
'Pontifex,' inquit, 'adfuit.' Non te pudet, cum apud 117
a-pontiff he-says was-present not to-you is-it-shameful when before
pontifices res agatur, pontificem dicere et non conlegium
pontiffs a-matter is-pleaded a-pontiff to-say and not the-college
pontificum adfuisse, praesertim cum tribunus plebis vel
of-pontiffs to-have-been-present especially since as-tribune of-the-plebs either
denuntiare potueris vel etiam cogere? Esto, conlegium non
to-summon you-could or even to-compel let-it-be the-college not
adhibuisti: quid? de conlegio quis tandem adfuit? Opus erat
you-employed what about the-college who pray was-present need there-was
enim auctoritate, quae est in his omnibus, sed tamen auget et
for of-authority which is in these all but still increases both
aetas et honos dignitatem; opus erat etiam scientia, quam si
age and honor dignity need there-was also of-knowledge which if
omnes consecuti sunt, tamen certe peritiores vetustas facit.
all attained have still certainly more-skilled long-experience makes
Quis ergo adfuit? 'Frater,' inquit, 'uxoris meae.' Si 118
who therefore was-present the-brother he-says of-wife my if
auctoritatem quaerimus, etsi id est aetatis ut nondum
authority we-seek although that he-is of-age that not-yet
consecutus sit, tamen, quanta est in adulescente auctoritas, ea
attained he-has still how-great is in a-young-man authority it
propter tantam coniunctionem adfinitatis minor est putanda;
because-of so-great a-connection of-kinship less is to-be-thought

sin autem scientia est quaesita, quis erat minus peritus
but-if however knowledge is sought who was less skilled
quam is qui paucis illis diebus in conlegium venerat? qui
than he who in-few those days into the-college had-come who
etiam tibi erat magis obstrictus beneficio recenti, cum se
even to-you was more bound by-a-favor recent when himself
fratrem uxoris tuae fratri tuo germano antelatum videbat.
the-brother of-wife your to-the-brother your full preferred he-saw
Etsi in eo providisti ne frater te accusare possit. Hanc
although in that you-took-care that-not the-brother you to-accuse could this
tu igitur dedicationem appellas, ad quam non conlegium,
you therefore a-dedication call for which not the-college
non honoribus populi Romani ornatum pontificem, non
not by-the-honors of-the-people Roman adorned a-pontiff not
denique adulescentem quemquam†, cum haberes in conlegio
finally young-man anyone(corrupt) though you-had in the-college
familiarissimos, adhibere potuisti? Adfuit is, si modo
most-intimate to-employ could-you was-present he if indeed
adfuit, quem tu impulisti, soror rogavit, mater coegit.
he-was-present whom you drove (his)-sister asked (his)-mother compelled
119 Videte igitur, pontifices, quid statuatis in mea causa
see therefore pontiffs what you-decide in my case
de omnium fortunis: verbone pontificis putetis, si is
about of-all the-fortunes by-the-word of-a-pontiff you-think if he
postem tenuerit et aliquid dixerit, domum unius cuiusque
the-doorpost shall-have-held and something said the-house of-each one
consecrari posse, an istae dedicationes et templorum et
to-be-consecrated to-be-able or those dedications both of-temples and
delubrorum religiones ad honorem deorum immortalium sine
of-shrines religious-rites for the-honor of-the-gods immortal without
ulla civium calamitate a maioribus nostris constitutae sint.
any citizens' calamity by ancestors our established have-been

Est inventus tribunus plebis qui, consularibus copiis
there-has-been found a-tribune of-the-plebs who with-consular forces
instructus, omni impetu furoris in eum civem inruerit
equipped with-all the-onset of-madness against that citizen rushed
quem perculsum ipsa res publica suis manibus extolleret.
whom struck-down the-very thing public with-its-own hands would-raise-up
Quid? si qui similis istius — neque enim iam deerunt 120
what if someone like that-man not for now will-be-lacking
qui imitari velint — aliquem mei dissimilem, cui
those-who to-imitate may-wish someone from-me unlike to-whom
res publica non tantum debeat, per vim adflixerit,
the-thing public not so-much owes by violence shall-have-wrecked
domum eius per pontificem dedicaverit, id vos ista
the-house his through a-pontiff shall-have-dedicated that you by-that
auctoritate constituetis ratum esse oportere? Dicitis: 'quem
authority will-establish valid to-be to-behoove you-say whom
reperiet pontificem?' Quid? Pontifex et tribunus plebis
will-be-find as-pontiff what a-pontiff and tribune of-the-plebs
idem esse non potest? M. Drusus, ille clarissimus vir,
the-same to-be not can Marcus Drusus that most-illustrious man
tribunus plebis, pontifex fuit. Ergo si is Q. Caepionis,
tribune of-the-plebs a-pontiff was therefore if he of-Quintus Caepio
inimici sui, postem aedium tenuisset et pauca verba
enemy his-own the-doorpost of-the-house had-held and few words
fecisset, aedes Caepionis essent dedicatae?
had-made the-house of-Caepio would-have-been dedicated
Nihil loquor de pontificio iure, nihil de ipsius verbis 121
nothing I-say about pontifical law nothing about the-very words
dedicationis, nihil de religione, caerimoniis; non dissimulo
of-the-dedication nothing about religion ceremonies not I-hide
me nescire ea quae, etiam si scirem, dissimularem, ne
myself not-to-know those-things which even if I-knew I-would-hide lest

aliis molestus, vobis etiam curiosus viderer; etsi effluunt
to-others tiresome to-you even meddlesome I-should-seem although flow-out
multa ex vestra disciplina quae etiam ad nostras auris saepe
many-things from your discipline which even to our ears often
permanant. Postem teneri in dedicatione oportere videor
seep the-doorpost to-be-held in dedication to-behoove I-seem
audisse templi; ibi enim postis est ubi templi aditus
to-have-heard of-a-temple there for the-doorpost is where of-the-temple the-approach
et valvae. Ambulationis postis nemo umquam tenuit
and the-folding-doors of-a-promenade the-doorpost no-one ever held
in dedicando; simulacrum autem aut aram si dedicasti, sine
in dedicating a-statue however or altar if you-dedicated without
religione loco moveri potest. Sed iam hoc dicere tibi
religious-scruple from-its-place to-be-moved can but now this to-say to-you
non licebit, quoniam pontificem postem tenuisse dixisti.
not it-will-be-allowed since a-pontiff the-doorpost to-have-held you-said
122 Quamquam quid ego de dedicatione loquor, aut quid
although why I about the-dedication speak or why
de vestro iure et religione contra quam proposueram
about your law and religion against what I-had-proposed
disputo? Ego vero, si omnia sollemnibus verbis, veteribus
do-I-argue I indeed if all-things with-solemn words with-ancient
et traditis institutis acta esse dicerem, tamen me
and handed-down institutions done to-have-been I-said still myself
rei publicae iure defenderem. An cum tu, eius civis
of-the-thing public by-right would-defend or when you of-that citizen
discessu cuius unius opera senatus atque omnes boni
at-the-departure by-whose alone effort the-senate and all the-good
civitatem esse incolumem totiens iudicassent, oppressam
the-state to-be unharmed so-often had-judged crushed
taeterrimo latrocinio cum duobus sceleratissimis consulibus
by-the-foulest brigandage with two most-criminal consuls

rem publicam teneres, domum eius qui patriam a se
the-thing public you-held the-house of-him who the-fatherland by himself
servatam perire suo nomine noluisset per pontificem
saved to-perish in-his-own name had-been-unwilling through a-pontiff
aliquem dedicasses, posset recreata res publica sustinere?
some you-had-dedicated could restored the-thing public bear(-it)

XI · CONSECRATIONS AND THE PAPIRIAN LAW

If a pontiff's words can consecrate, so can a tribune's: Atinius once consecrated the goods of Metellus, Clodius those of Gabinius, and Ninnius Clodius's own. The Papirian law forbids consecrating a building without the order of the plebs. Cicero cites the censor Cassius, who asked the college before dedicating a statue of Concord, while Clodius consulted none of the senior pontiffs and brought only a young kinsman, who did nothing duly.

Date huic religioni aditum, pontifices: iam nullum fortunis 123
give to-this religious-scruple access pontiffs now no for-fortunes
communibus exitum reperietis. An si postem tenuerit
common way-out you-will-find or if the-doorpost shall-have-held
pontifex et verba ad religionem deorum immortalium composita
a-pontiff and words for the-worship of-the-gods immortal composed
ad perniciem civium transtulerit, valebit in iniuria
to the-ruin of-citizens shall-have-transferred will-it-prevail in injury
nomen sanctissimum religionis: si tribunus plebis verbis
the-name most-holy of-religion if a-tribune of-the-plebs with-words
non minus priscis et aeque sollemnibus bona cuiuspiam
not less ancient and equally solemn the-goods of-anyone
consecrarit, non valebit? Atqui C. Atinius patrum
shall-have-consecrated not will-it-prevail and-yet Gaius Atinius of-the-fathers
memoria bona Q. Metelli, qui eum ex senatu censor
in-the-memory the-goods of-Quintus Metellus who him from the-senate as-censor

eiecerat, avi tui, Q. Metelle, et tui, P. Servili,
had-expelled of-grandfather your Quintus Metellus and of-yours Publius Servilius
et proavi tui, P. Scipio, consecravit foculo posito
and of-great-grandfather your Publius Scipio consecrated with-a-brazier placed
in rostris adhibitoque tibicine. Quid tum? num ille furor
on the-rostra and-employed a-flute-player what then surely-not that madness
tribuni plebis ductus ex non nullis perveterum temporum
of-a-tribune of-the-plebs drawn from not none very-old times'
exemplis fraudi Metello fuit, summo illi et clarissimo viro?
precedents for-harm to-Metellus was highest to-that and most-illustrious man
124 Certe non fuit. Vidimus hoc idem Cn. Lentulo censori
certainly not it-was we-saw this same-thing to-Gnaeus Lentulus as-censor
tribunum plebis facere: num qua igitur is bona
a-tribune of-the-plebs do surely-not in-any-way therefore did-he the-goods
Lentuli religione obligavit? Sed quid ego ceteros? Tu, tu,
of-Lentulus by-religion bind but why I the-others you you
inquam, capite velato, contione advocata, foculo posito
I-say with-head veiled with-an-assembly summoned with-a-brazier placed
bona tui Gabini, cui regna omnia Syrorum Arabum
the-goods of-your Gabinius to-whom the-kingdoms all of-the-Syrians of-the-Arabs
Persarumque donaras, consecrasti. Quod si tum nihil est
and-of-the-Persians you-had-given consecrated but if then nothing was
actum, quid in meis bonis agi potuit? sin est ratum,
done what in my goods to-be-done could but-if it-is valid
cur ille gurges, helluatus tecum simul rei publicae
why that whirlpool having-gorged with-you together of-the-thing public
sanguine, ad caelum tamen exstruit villam in Tusculano
on-the-blood to the-sky still builds-up a-villa at Tusculum
visceribus aerari, mihi meas ruinas, quarum ego similem
from-the-bowels of-the-treasury for-me my ruins of-which I like
totam urbem esse passus non sum, aspicere non licuit?
the-whole city to-be allowed not have to-look-at not was-it-allowed

Omitto Gabinium; quid? Exemplo tuo bona tua nonne 125
I-omit Gabinius what by-precedent your the-goods your surely
L. Ninnius, vir omnium fortissimus atque optimus,
Lucius Ninnius a-man of-all most-brave and best
consecravit? Quod si, quia ad te pertinet, ratum esse negas
consecrated but if because to you it-pertains valid to-be you-deny
oportere, ea iura constituisti in praeclaro tribunatu tuo
to-behoove those rights you-established in splendid tribunate your
quibus in te conversis recusares, alios everteres; sin
which against you turned you-would-reject others you-would-overturn but-if
ista consecratio legitima est, quid est quod profanum in tuis
that consecration lawful is what is-there that profane in your
bonis esse possit? An consecratio nullum habet ius, dedicatio
goods to-be can or a-consecration no has right a-dedication
est religiosa? Quid ergo illa tua tum obtestatio tibicinis,
is binding what therefore that your then solemn-appeal of-the-flute-player
quid foculus, quid preces, quid verba prisca valuerunt? ementiri,
what the-brazier what the-prayers what words ancient did-they-avail to-lie
fallere, abuti deorum immortalium numine ad hominum
to-deceive to-abuse of-the-gods immortal the-divinity for men's
timorem quid voluisti? Nam si est illud ratum — mitto
fear what did-you-wish for if is that valid I-pass-over
Gabinium — tua domus certe et quicquid habes aliud Cereri
Gabinius your house certainly and whatever you-have else to-Ceres
est consecratum; sin ille ludus fuit, quid te impurius,
is consecrated but-if that a-game was what than-you more-impure
qui religiones omnis pollueris aut ementiundo aut stuprando?
who religions all have-polluted either by-lying or by-debauching
'Iam fateor,' inquit, 'me in Gabinio nefarium fuisse.' 126
now I-confess he-says myself in-the-case-of Gabinius wicked to-have-been
Quippe vides poenam illam a te in alium institutam in
of-course you-see the-penalty that by you against another instituted against

te ipsum esse conversam. Sed, homo omnium scelerum
you yourself to-have-been turned but man of-all crimes
flagitiorumque documentum, quod in Gabinio fateris,
and-outrages the-pattern what in-the-case-of Gabinius you-confess
cuius impudicitiam pueritiae, libidines adulescentiae, dedecus
whose unchastity of-boyhood lusts of-youth disgrace
et egestatem reliquae vitae, latrocinium consulatus vidimus,
and need of-the-rest of-life brigandage of-consulship we-have-seen
cui ne ista quidem ipsa calamitas iniuria potuit accidere,
to-whom not that even very calamity as-an-injury could happen
id in me infirmas, et gravius esse dicis quod uno
that in my-case you-weaken and weightier to-be you-say what with-one
adulescente quam quod contione tota teste fecisti?
young-man than what with-the-assembly whole as-witness you-did
127 'Dedicatio magnam,' inquit, 'habet religionem.' Nonne vobis
the-dedication great he-says has religious-force surely to-you
Numa Pompilius videtur loqui? Discite orationem, pontifices,
Numa Pompilius seems to-speak learn the-speech pontiffs
et vos, flamines; etiam tu, rex, disce a gentili tuo,
and you flamens even you king learn from clansman your
quamquam ille gentem istam reliquit, sed tamen disce ab
although he clan that has-left but still learn from
homine religionibus dedito ius totum omnium religionum.
a-man to-religion devoted the-law whole of-all religions
Quid? in dedicatione nonne et quis dedicet et quid et
what in dedication surely both who dedicates and what and
quo modo quaeritur? An tu haec ita confundis et
in-what manner is-asked or you these-things so confuse and
perturbas ut, quicumque velit, quod velit quo modo
disturb that whoever wishes what he-wishes in-what manner
velit possit dedicare? Quis eras tu qui dedicabas? Quo
he-wishes can dedicate who were you who were-dedicating by-what

iure? qua lege? quo exemplo? qua potestate? Ubi te
right by-what law by-what precedent by-what power where you
isti rei populus Romanus praefecerat? Video enim
over-that matter had-the-people Roman set I-see for
esse legem veterem tribuniciam quae vetet iniussu
to-be a-law old tribunician which forbids without-the-order
plebis aedis, terram, aram consecrari; neque tum hoc
of-the-plebs a-building land an-altar to-be-consecrated nor then this
ille Q. Papirius, qui hanc legem rogavit, sensit, neque
that Quintus Papirius who this law proposed felt nor
suspicatus est fore periculum ne domicilia aut possessiones
suspected has going-to-be a-danger lest the-dwellings or possessions
indemnatorum civium consecrarentur. Neque enim id fieri
of-uncondemned citizens be-consecrated nor for that to-be-done
fas erat, neque quisquam fecerat, neque erat causa cur
right was nor anyone had-done(-it) nor was-there a-reason why
prohibendo non tam deterrere videretur quam admonere.
by-prohibiting not so-much to-deter he-should-seem as to-remind
Sed quia consecrabantur aedes, non privatorum domicilia, 128
but because were-consecrated buildings not of-private-men dwellings
sed quae sacrae nominantur, consecrabantur agri, non ita
but those-which sacred are-called were-consecrated lands not so
ut nostra praedia, si qui vellet, sed ut imperator agros de
as our estates if anyone wished but as a-commander lands from
hostibus captos consecraret, statuebantur arae, quae religionem
the-enemy captured might-consecrate were-set-up altars which religious-scruple
adferrent ipsi ei loco quo essent consecratae, haec
would-bring to-the-very that place in-which they-had-been consecrated these-things
nisi plebs iussisset fieri vetuit. Quae si tu interpretaris
unless the-plebs had-ordered to-be-done it-forbade which if you interpret
de nostris aedibus atque agris scripta esse, non repugno; sed
about our houses and lands written to-be not I-resist but

quaero quae lex lata sit ut tu aedis meas consecrares,
I-ask what law carried has-been that you house my should-consecrate
ubi tibi haec potestas data sit, quo iure feceris. Neque
where to-you this power given has-been by-what right you-did(-it) nor
ego nunc de religione sed de bonis omnium nostrum,
I now about religion but about the-goods of-all of-us
nec de pontificio sed de iure publico disputo. Lex Papiria
nor about pontifical but about law public argue the-law Papirian
vetat aedis iniussu plebis consecrari. Sit sane
forbids buildings without-the-order of-the-plebs to-be-consecrated let-it-be by-all-means
hoc de nostris aedibus ac non de publicis templis: unum
this about our houses and not about public temples one
ostende verbum consecrationis in ipsa tua lege, si illa lex
show word of-consecration in the-very your law if that a-law
est ac non vox sceleris et crudelitatis tuae.
is and not the-voice of-crime and of-cruelty your
129 Quod si tibi tum in illo rei publicae naufragio omnia
but if to-you then in that of-the-thing public shipwreck all-things
in mentem venire potuissent, aut si tuus scriptor in illo
into mind to-come had-been-able or if your writer in that
incendio civitatis non syngraphas cum Byzantiis exsulibus et
burning of-the-state not bonds with the-Byzantine exiles and
cum legatis Brogitari faceret, sed vacuo animo tibi
with the-envoys of-Brogitarus had-been-making but with-a-free mind for-you
ista non scita sed portenta conscriberet, esses omnia,
those not ordinances but portents had-been-drafting you-would-have all-things
si minus re, at verbis legitimis consecutus. Sed uno
if not in-fact at-least in-words lawful attained but at-one
tempore cautiones fiebant pecuniarum, foedera feriebantur
time securities were-being-given for-moneys treaties were-being-struck
provinciarum, regum appellationes venales erant, servorum
of-provinces of-kings titles for-sale were of-slaves

omnium vicatim celebrabatur tota urbe discriptio,
all street-by-street was-being-held through-the-whole city an-enrollment
inimici in gratiam reconciliabantur, imperia scribebantur nova
enemies into favor were-being-reconciled commands were-being-written new
iuventuti, Q. Seio venenum misero parabatur, de
for-the-youth for-Quintus Seius poison wretched was-being-prepared about
Cn. Pompeio, propugnatore et custode imperi, interficiendo
Gnaeus Pompey the-champion and guardian of-the-empire to-be-killed
consilia inibantur, senatus ne quid esset, ut
plans were-being-entered the-senate that-not anything it-should-be so-that
lugerent semper boni, ut capta res publica consulum
might-mourn always the-good that captured the-thing public by-the-consuls'
proditione vi tribunicia teneretur. Haec cum tot
treachery by-violence tribunician might-be-held these-things when so-many
tantaque agerentur, non mirum est, praesertim in furore
and-so-great were-being-done not strange it-is especially in the-madness
animi et caecitate, multa illum et te fefellisse.
of-the-mind and blindness many-things him and you to-have-escaped
At videte quanta sit vis huius Papiriae legis in re 130
but see how-great is the-force of-this Papirian law in a-thing
tali, non qualem tu adfers sceleris plenam et furoris.
such not such-as you bring of-crime full and of-madness
Q. Marcius censor signum Concordiae fecerat idque in
Quintus Marcius as-censor a-statue of-Concord had-made and-it in
publico conlocarat. Hoc signum C. Cassius censor cum in
public had-placed this statue Gaius Cassius as-censor when into
curiam transtulisset, conlegium vestrum consuluit num
the-senate-house he-had-transferred the-college your consulted whether
quid esse causae videretur quin id signum curiamque
anything to-be of-cause it-seemed why-not that statue and-the-senate-house
Concordiae dedicaret. Quaeso, pontifices, et hominem
to-Concord he-should-dedicate I-beg pontiffs both the-man

cum homine et tempus cum tempore et rem cum
with the-man and the-time with the-time and the-thing with
re comparate. Ille erat summa modestia et gravitate
the-thing compare he was of-the-highest modesty and gravity
censor: hic tribunus plebis scelere et audacia singulari.
a-censor this-one a-tribune of-the-plebs in-crime and audacity singular
Tempus illud erat tranquillum et in libertate populi et
time that was tranquil and in the-liberty of-the-people and
gubernatione positum senatus: tuum porro tempus libertate
the-governance placed of-the-senate your moreover time with-the-liberty
populi Romani oppressa, senatus auctoritate deleta.
of-the-people Roman crushed with-the-senate's authority destroyed
131 Res illa plena iustitiae, sapientiae, dignitatis (censor enim,
Thing that full of-justice of-wisdom of-dignity the-censor for
penes quem maiores nostri, id quod tu sustulisti, iudicium
in-hands whom ancestors our that which you removed the-judgment
senatus de dignitate esse voluerunt, Concordiae signum
of-the-senate about dignity to-be wished of-Concord a-statue
volebat in curia curiamque ei deae dedicare),
he-wished in the-senate-house and-the-senate-house to-that goddess to-dedicate
praeclara voluntas atque omni laude digna; praescribere enim
a-splendid wish and with-all praise worthy to-prescribe for
se arbitrabatur ut sine studiis dissensionis sententiae
himself he-thought that without partisanship of-dissension opinions
dicerentur, si sedem ipsam ac templum publici consili religione
should-be-spoken if the-seat itself and temple of-public counsel by-the-religion
Concordiae devinxisset. Tu cum ferro, cum metu, cum
of-Concord he-had-bound you when with-the-sword with fear with
edictis, cum privilegiis, cum praesentibus copiis perditorum,
edicts with private-laws with present forces of-ruined-men
absentis exercitus terrore et minis, consulum societate
of-the-absent army by-terror and threats by-the-consuls' partnership

et nefario foedere servitute oppressam civitatem teneres,
and wicked pact by-slavery crushed the-state you-held
Libertatis signum posuisti magis ad ludibrium impudentiae
of-Liberty a-statue you-set-up more for the-mockery of-impudence
quam ad simulationem religionis. Ille in curia quae
than for a-pretense of-religion he in the-senate-house which
poterat sine cuiusquam incommodo dedicari, tu in civis
could without anyone's inconvenience be-dedicated you on of-a-citizen
optime de re publica meriti cruore ac paene ossibus
best of the-thing public having-deserved the-blood and almost the-bones
simulacrum non libertatis publicae, sed licentiae conlocasti.
an-image not of-liberty public but of-license placed
Atque ille tamen ad conlegium rettulit, tu ad quem 132
and he still to the-college referred you to whom
rettulisti? Si quid deliberares, si quid tibi aut
did-you-refer if anything you-were-deliberating if anything for-you either
piandum aut instituendum fuisset religione domestica, tamen
to-be-expiated or to-be-instituted had-been by-religion domestic still
instituto ceterorum vetere ad pontificem detulisses:
by-the-practice of-the-others old to a-pontiff you-would-have-brought(-it)
novum delubrum cum in urbis clarissimo loco nefando
a-new shrine when in of-the-city the-most-illustrious place by-unspeakable
quodam atque inaudito instituto inchoares, referendum ad
a-certain and unheard-of institution you-were-beginning to-be-referred to
sacerdotes publicos non putasti? At si conlegium pontificum
the-priests public not you-thought but if the-college of-pontiffs
adhibendum non videbatur, nemone horum tibi idoneus
to-be-employed not it-seemed no-one of-these to-you suitable
visus est, qui aetate honore auctoritate antecellunt, cum quo
seemed has who in-age honor authority excel with whom
de dedicatione communicares? Quorum quidem tu non
about the-dedication you-might-share of-whom indeed you not

contempsisti sed pertimuisti dignitatem. An tu auderes
despised but dreaded the-dignity or would-you dare
quaerere ex P. Servilio aut ex M. Lucullo, quorum ego
to-ask of Publius Servilius or of Marcus Lucullus by-whose I
consilio atque auctoritate rem publicam consul ex vestris
counsel and authority the-thing public as-consul from your
manibus ac faucibus eripui, quibusnam verbis aut quo
hands and jaws snatched with-what words or by-what
ritu — primum hoc dico — civis domum consecrares,
rite first this I-say a-citizen's house you-should-consecrate
deinde civis eius cui princeps senatus, tum autem
then of-a-citizen that to-whom the-first-man of-the-senate then however
ordines omnes, deinde Italia tota, post cunctae gentes
the-orders all then Italy whole afterward all nations
testimonium huius urbis atque imperi conservati dedissent?
the-testimony of-this city and empire preserved had-given
133 Quid diceres, o nefanda et perniciosa labes civitatis?
what would-you-say O wicked and pernicious stain of-the-state
'Ades, Luculle, ades Servili, dum dedico domum Ciceronis,
be-present Lucullus be-present Servilius while I-dedicate the-house of-Cicero
ut mihi praeeatis postemque teneatis!' Es tu quidem
that for-me you-may-dictate and-the-doorpost may-hold you-are you indeed
cum audacia tum impudentia singulari, sed tibi tamen
both in-audacity and in-impudence singular but to-you still
oculi, vultus, verba cecidissent, cum te viri, qui sua
eyes face words would-have-fallen when you men who by-their-own
dignitate personam populi Romani atque auctoritatem
dignity the-person of-the-people Roman and the-authority
imperi sustinerent, verbis gravissimis proterruissent, neque
of-the-empire sustained with-words most-weighty had-scared-off and-not

sibi fas esse dixissent furori interesse tuo atque
for-themselves right to-be had-said to-the-madness to-be-present-at your and
in patriae parricidio exsultare.
in the-fatherland's parricide to-exult
Quae cum videres, tum te ad tuum adfinem non delectum 134
which-things when you-saw then you to your kinsman not chosen
a te, sed relictum a ceteris contulisti. Quem ego tamen
by you but left by the-others betook whom I still
credo, si est ortus ab illis quos memoriae proditum est
believe if he-is sprung from those who in-memory handed-down it-is
ab ipso Hercule perfuncto iam laboribus sacra didicisse,
from himself Hercules having-finished already his-labors the-rites to-have-learned
in viri fortis aerumnis non ita crudelem fuisse ut
in of-a-man brave hardships not so cruel to-have-been that
in vivi etiam et spirantis capite bustum suis
on of-one-living even and breathing the-head a-pyre with-his-own
manibus imponeret; qui aut nihil dixit nec fecit omnino,
hands he-would-place who either nothing said nor did at-all
poenamque hanc maternae temeritatis tulit ut mutam in
and-the-penalty this of-his-mother's rashness bore that a-mute in
delicto personam nomenque praeberet, aut, si dixit aliquid
the-offense role and-name he-offered or if he-said anything
verbis haesitantibus postemque tremebunda manu tetigit,
with-words hesitating and-the-doorpost with-trembling hand touched
certe nihil rite, nihil caste, nihil more institutoque
certainly nothing duly nothing purely nothing by-custom and-practice
perfecit. Viderat ille Murenam, vitricum suum, consulem
accomplished he-had-seen he Murena stepfather his-own consul
designatum, ad me consulem cum Allobrogibus communis
designate to me consul with the-Allobroges of-common

exiti indicia adferre, audierat ex illo se a me bis
ruin the-evidence bring he-had-heard from him himself from me twice
salutem accepisse, separatim semel, iterum cum universis.
safety to-have-received separately once again with all

XII · LICINIA'S ALTAR AND THE PRAYER

The young pontiff could scarcely speak for fear, and nothing was done by rite. When the Vestal Licinia dedicated an altar without the people's order, the pontiffs and the senate had it removed. Cicero prays to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Vesta, and the household gods, and asks the pontiffs to restore him to his home.

135 Qua re quis est qui existimare possit huic novo
by-which thing who is-there who to-think could to-this new
pontifici, primam hanc post sacerdotium initum religionem
pontiff first this after the-priesthood entered a-religious-rite
instituenti vocemque mittenti, non et linguam obmutuisse
instituting and-his-voice sending-forth not both his-tongue to-have-gone-dumb
et manum obtorpuisse et mentem debilitatam metu
and his-hand to-have-gone-numb and his-mind weakened by-fear
concidisse, praesertim cum ex conlegio tanto non regem,
to-have-collapsed especially since from the-college so-great not the-king
non flaminem, non pontificem videret, fierique particeps
not a-flamen not a-pontiff he-saw and-to-become a-partner
invitus alieni sceleris cogeretur, et gravissimas poenas
unwilling of-another's crime he-was-compelled and the-heaviest penalties
adfinitatis impurissimae sustineret?
of-kinship most-impure endured

136 Sed ut revertar ad ius publicum dedicandi, quod ipsi
but that I-may-return to the-law public of-dedicating which themselves
pontifices semper non solum ad suas caerimonias sed etiam
the-pontiffs always not only to their-own ceremonies but also

ad populi iussa adcommodaverunt, habetis in commentariis
to the-people's orders have-adapted you-have in records
vestris C. Cassium censorem de signo Concordiae dedicando
your Gaius Cassius as-censor about the-statue of-Concord being-dedicated
ad pontificum conlegium rettulisse, eique M. Aemilium
to the-pontiffs' college to-have-referred and-to-him Marcus Aemilius
pontificem maximum pro conlegio respondisse, nisi eum
the-pontiff chief for the-college to-have-answered unless him
populus Romanus nominatim praefecisset atque eius iussu
the-people Roman by-name had-put-in-charge and its by-order
faceret, non videri eam posse recte dedicari. Quid? cum
he-acted not to-seem it to-be-able rightly to-be-dedicated what when
Licinia, virgo Vestalis summo loco nata, sanctissimo sacerdotio
Licinia a-virgin Vestal in-the-highest rank born with-the-holiest priesthood
praedita, T. Flaminio Q. Metello consulibus aram
endowed with-Titus Flamininus with-Quintus Metellus as-consuls an-altar
et aediculam et pulvinar sub Saxo dedicasset, nonne eam
and a-shrine and a-couch under the-Rock had-dedicated surely that
rem ex auctoritate senatus ad hoc conlegium Sex. Iulius
matter by the-authority of-the-senate to this college Sextus Julius
praetor rettulit? Cum P. Scaevola pontifex maximus pro
the-praetor referred when Publius Scaevola the-pontiff chief for
conlegio respondit, 'quod in loco publico Licinia, Gai
the-college answered what in a-place public Licinia of-Gaius
filia, iniussu populi dedicasset, sacrum non viderier.'
the-daughter without-the-order of-the-people had-dedicated sacred not to-seem
Quam quidem rem quanta tractaverit severitate quantaque
which indeed matter with-how-great it-handled severity and-how-great
diligentia senatus, ex ipso senatus consulto facile cognoscetis.
diligence the-senate from the-very of-the-senate decree easily you-will-learn

137 Videtisne praetori urbano negotium datum ut curaret
do-you-see to-the-praetor urban the-business given that he-should-see-to
ne id sacrum esset, et ut, si quae essent incisae aut
that-not that sacred were and that if any were cut or
inscriptae litterae, tollerentur? O tempora, o mores! Tum
inscribed letters they-should-be-removed O the-times O the-customs then
censorem, hominem sanctissimum, simulacrum Concordiae
a-censor a-man most-holy a-statue of-Concord
dedicare pontifices in templo inaugurato prohibuerunt, post
to-dedicate the-pontiffs in a-temple inaugurated forbade afterward
autem senatus in loco augusto consecratam iam aram
however the-senate in a-place hallowed consecrated already an-altar
tollendam ex auctoritate pontificum censuit neque ullum est
to-be-removed by the-authority of-the-pontiffs voted nor any has
passus ex ea dedicatione litterarum exstare monumentum:
allowed from that dedication of-letters to-stand a-record
tu, procella patriae, turbo ac tempestas pacis atque
you storm of-the-fatherland whirlwind and tempest of-peace and
oti, quod in naufragio rei publicae, tenebris offusis,
of-quiet what in the-shipwreck of-the-thing public with-darkness spread
demerso populo Romano, everso atque eiecto senatu
with-sunk the-people Roman with-overturned and cast-out the-senate
dirueris, aedificaris, religione omni violata religionis tamen
you-tore-down you-built-up with-religion all violated of-religion still
nomine contaminaris, in visceribus eius qui urbem suis
in-the-name you-defiled in the-bowels of-him who the-city by-his-own
laboribus ac periculis conservasset monumentum deletae
labors and dangers had-preserved a-monument of-the-destroyed
rei publicae conlocaris, †ab aequitum nota doloris bonorum
thing public you-placed from the-knights' brand of-the-grief of-the-good
omnium sublato Q. Catuli nomine incideris, id
all with-removed of-Quintus Catulus the-name you-cut that

sperasti rem publicam diutius quam quoad mecum simul
did-you-hope the-thing public longer than as-long-as with-me together
expulsa careret his moenibus esse laturam?
expelled it-was-without these walls to-be going-to-bear
Ac si, pontifices, neque is cui licuit, neque id quod 138
and if pontiffs neither he to-whom it-was-allowed nor that which
fas fuit dedicavit, quid me attinet iam illud tertium quod
right was dedicated what me concerns now that third-point which
proposueram docere, non iis institutis ac verbis quibus
I-had-proposed to-show not with-those institutions and words which
caerimoniae postulant dedicasse? Dixi a principio nihil
the-ceremonies demand to-have-dedicated I-said from the-beginning nothing
me de scientia vestra, nihil de sacris, nihil de abscondito
myself about knowledge your nothing about rites nothing about the-hidden
pontificum iure dicturum. Quae sunt adhuc a me de
of-the-pontiffs law going-to-say what-things have-been so-far by me about
iure dedicandi disputata, non sunt quaesita ex occulto
the-law of-dedicating argued not have-been sought from a-hidden
aliquo genere litterarum, sed sumpta de medio, ex rebus
some kind of-literature but taken from the-middle from things
palam per magistratus actis ad conlegiumque delatis, ex
openly by magistrates done to and-the-college brought from
senatus consulto, ex lege. Illa interiora iam vestra sunt, quid
of-the-senate decree from law those inner-matters now yours are what
dici, quid praeiri, quid tangi, quid teneri ius fuerit.
to-be-said what to-be-dictated what to-be-touched what to-be-held right was
Quae si omnia e Ti. Coruncani scientia, qui peritissimus 139
which if all from Tiberius Coruncanius' knowledge who a-most-skilled
pontifex fuisse dicitur, acta esse constaret, aut
pontiff to-have-been is-said done to-have-been were-established or
si M. Horatius ille Pulvillus, qui, cum eum multi
if Marcus Horatius that Pulvillus who when him many

propter invidiam fictis religionibus impedirent, restitit et
on-account-of envy by-feigned religious-objections hindered withstood and
constantissima mente Capitolium dedicavit, huius modi alicui
with-most-steadfast mind the-Capitol dedicated of-this kind some
dedicationi praefuisset, tamen in scelere religio non valeret,
dedication had-presided-over still in crime religion not would-prevail
ne valeat id quod imperitus adulescens, novus sacerdos,
not let-prevail that which an-ignorant young-man a-new priest
sororis precibus, matris minis adductus, ignarus, invitus,
by-his-sister's prayers by-his-mother's threats led ignorant unwilling
sine conlegis, sine libris, sine auctore, sine fictore,
without colleagues without books without sponsor without a-sacrificial-baker
furtim, mente ac lingua titubante fecisse dicatur: praesertim
by-stealth with-mind and tongue stammering to-have-done is-said especially
cum iste impurus atque impius hostis omnium religionum,
since that-man impure and impious enemy of-all religions
qui contra fas et inter viros saepe mulier et inter mulieres
who against right both among men often a-woman and among women
vir fuisset, ageret illam rem ita raptim et turbulente
a-man had-been was-conducting that matter so hastily and turbulently
uti neque mens neque vox neque lingua consisteret?
that neither mind nor voice nor tongue held-firm
140 Delata tum sunt ea ad vos, pontifices, et post
reported then were those-things to you pontiffs and afterward
omnium sermone celebrata, quem ad modum iste
by-all's talk made-public in-what to manner that-man
praeposteris verbis, ominibus obscenis, identidem se ipse
with-preposterous words with-omens ill-boding again-and-again himself himself
revocans, dubitans, timens, haesitans omnia aliter ac vos in
correcting doubting fearing hesitating all-things otherwise than you in
monumentis habetis et pronuntiarit et fecerit. Quod quidem
the-records have both pronounced and did which indeed

minime mirum est, in tanto scelere tantaque dementia ne
least strange is in so-great a-crime and-so-great madness not
audaciae quidem locum ad timorem comprimendum fuisse.
for-audacity even a-place for fear to-be-repressed to-have-been
Etenim si nemo umquam praedo tam barbarus atque immanis
for-indeed if no-one ever pirate so barbarous and monstrous
fuit, qui cum fana spoliasset, deinde aram aliquam
was who when shrines he-had-plundered then an-altar some
in litore deserto somniis stimulatus aut religione aliqua
on a-shore deserted by-dreams goaded or by-religion some
consecraret, non horreret animo cum divinum numen scelere
would-consecrate not would-shudder in-mind when the-divine power by-crime
violatum placare precibus cogeretur, qua tandem istum
violated to-appease with-prayers he-was-compelled by-what pray that-man
perturbatione mentis omnium templorum atque tectorum
perturbation of-mind of-all temples and houses
totiusque urbis praedonem fuisse censetis, cum pro
and-of-the-whole city the-pirate to-have-been do-you-think when for
detestatione tot scelerum unam aram nefarie consecraret?
the-atonement of-so-many crimes one altar wickedly he-was-consecrating
Non potuit ullo modo — quamquam et insolentia dominatus 141
not he-could in-any way although both the-insolence of-despotism
extulerat animos et erat incredibili armatus audacia — non
had-raised his-spirit and he-was with-incredible armed audacity not
in agendo ruere ac saepe peccare, praesertim illo pontifice
in acting to-rush and often to-err especially with-that pontiff
et magistro qui cogeretur docere ante quam ipse didicisset.
and master who was-compelled to-teach before than himself he-had-learned
Magna vis est cum in deorum immortalium numine tum vero
great power is both in of-the-gods immortal the-divinity and indeed
in ipsa re publica. Di immortales, suorum templorum
in the-very thing public the-gods immortal of-their-own temples

custodem ac praesidem sceleratissime pulsum cum viderent,
the-guardian and protector most-criminally driven-out when they-saw
ex suis templis in eius aedis immigrare nolebant, itaque
from their-own temples into his house to-move were-unwilling and-so
istius vaecordissimi mentem cura metuque terrebant;
of-that-man most-frenzied the-mind with-anxiety and-fear they-terrified
res vero publica quamquam erat exterminata mecum,
the-thing indeed public although it-was banished with-me
tamen obversabatur ante oculos exstinctoris sui, et ab
still hovered before the-eyes of-extinguisher its-own and from
istius inflammato atque indomito furore iam tum se meque
his inflamed and untamed madness already then itself and-me
repetebat. Qua re quid est mirum si iste metu exagitatus,
sought-back by-which thing what is strange if that-man by-fear driven
furore instinctus, scelere praeceps, neque institutas caerimonias
by-madness impelled by-crime headlong neither the-instituted ceremonies
persequi neque verbum ullum sollemne potuit effari?
to-follow nor word any solemn could utter
142 Quae cum ita sint, pontifices, revocate iam animos vestros
which-things since so they-are pontiffs call-back now the-minds your
ab hac subtili nostra disputatione ad universam rem publicam,
from this subtle our disputation to the-whole thing public
quam antea cum viris fortibus multis, in hac vero causa solis
which before with men brave many in this indeed case alone
vestris cervicibus sustinetis. Vobis universi senatus perpetua
on-your necks you-sustain on-you of-the-whole senate the-perpetual
auctoritas, cui vosmet ipsi praestantissime semper
authority over-which you yourselves most-outstandingly always
in mea causa praefuistis, vobis Italiae magnificentissimus
in my case have-presided on-you of-Italy most-magnificent
ille motus municipiorumque concursus, vobis campus
that movement and-of-the-towns the-concourse on-you the-field

centuriarumque una vox omnium, quarum vos principes
and-of-the-centuries the-one voice of-all of-which you the-leaders
atque auctores fuistis, vobis omnes societates, omnes ordines,
and sponsors were on-you all companies all orders
omnes qui aut re aut spe denique sunt bona, omne
all who either in-fact or in-hope finally are good all
suum erga meam dignitatem studium et iudicium non modo
their-own toward my dignity zeal and judgment not only
commissum verum etiam commendatum esse arbitrabuntur.
entrusted but also commended to-be will-think
Denique ipsi di immortales qui hanc urbem atque 143
finally the-very gods immortal who this city and
hoc imperium tuentur, ut esset omnibus gentibus
this empire protect so-that it-might-be to-all nations
posteritatique perspicuum divino me numine esse rei
and-to-posterity plain by-divine me power to-have-been to-the-thing
publicae redditum, idcirco mihi videntur fructum reditus
public restored for-that-reason to-me seem the-fruit of-the-return
et gratulationis meae ad suorum sacerdotum potestatem
and of-congratulation my to their-own priests' power
iudiciumque revocasse. Hic est enim reditus, pontifices,
and-judgment to-have-referred this is for the-return pontiffs
haec restitutio in domo, in sedibus, in aris, in focis,
this the-restoration in the-house in the-seats in the-altars in the-hearths
in dis penatibus reciperandis; quorum si iste suis
in the-gods household being-recovered of-whom if that-man with-his-own
sceleratissimis manibus tecta sedisque convellit, ducibusque
most-criminal hands the-roofs and-seats tore-up and-as-leaders
consulibus tamquam urbe capta hanc unam domum
with-the-consuls as-if with-the-city captured this one house
quasi acerrimi propugnatoris sibi delendam putavit, iam
as of-the-keenest champion for-himself to-be-destroyed thought now

illi di penates ac familiares mei per vos in meam
those gods household and familiar my through you into my
domum mecum erunt restituti.
house with-me will-be restored
144 Quocirca te, Capitoline, quem propter beneficia populus
wherefore you Capitoline whom on-account-of favors the-people
Romanus Optimum, propter vim Maximum nominavit, teque,
Roman Best on-account-of power Greatest named and-you
Iuno Regina, et te, custos urbis, Minerva, quae semper
Juno Queen and you guardian of-the-city Minerva who always
adiutrix consiliorum meorum, testis laborum exstitisti,
the-helper of-counsels my the-witness of-labors have-stood-forth
precor atque quaeso, vosque qui maxime me repetistis atque
I-pray and beseech and-you who most me sought-back and
revocastis, quorum de sedibus haec mihi est proposita
recalled whose about seats this to-me is proposed
contentio, patrii penates familiaresque, qui huic urbi et
contention ancestral household-gods and-family-gods who over-this city and
rei publicae praesidetis, vos obtestor, quorum ego a
the-thing public preside you I-adjure whose I from
templis atque delubris pestiferam illam et nefariam flammam
temples and shrines pestilent that and wicked flame
depuli, teque, Vesta mater, cuius castissimas sacerdotes ab
drove-off and-you Vesta mother whose most-chaste priestesses from
hominum amentium furore et scelere defendi, cuiusque
of-men demented the-madness and crime I-defended and-whose
ignem illum sempiternum non sum passus aut sanguine
fire that everlasting not have allowed either with-the-blood
civium restingui aut cum totius urbis incendio commisceri,
of-citizens to-be-quenched or with of-the-whole city the-burning to-be-mingled

ut, si in illo paene fato rei publicae obieci meum 145
that if in that almost doom of-the-thing public I-exposed my
caput pro vestris caerimoniis atque templis perditissimorum
head for your ceremonies and temples of-the-most-ruined
civium furori atque ferro, et si iterum, cum ex mea
citizens to-the-madness and sword and if again when from my
contentione interitus bonorum omnium quaereretur, vos sum
contending the-destruction of-the-good all was-sought you I
testatus, vobis me ac meos commendavi, meque atque
called-to-witness to-you myself and my-family commended and-myself and
meum caput ea condicione devovi ut, si et eo ipso
my head on-that condition devoted that if both at-that very
tempore et ante in consulatu meo commodis meis omnibus,
time and before in consulship my with-advantages my all
emolumentis, praemiis praetermissis cura, cogitatione, vigiliis
profits rewards passed-over with-care thought vigils
omnibus nihil nisi de salute meorum civium laborassem,
all nothing except about the-safety of-my citizens I-had-labored
tum mihi re publica aliquando restituta liceret
then for-me with-the-thing public sometime restored it-might-be-allowed
frui, sin autem mea consilia patriae non profuissent,
to-enjoy(-it) but-if however my counsels to-the-fatherland not had-profited
ut perpetuum dolorem avulsus a meis sustinerem: hanc
that perpetual grief torn-away from my-family I-might-endure this
ego devotionem capitis mei, cum ero in meas sedis
I devotion of-head my when I-shall-be into my seats
restitutus, tum denique convictam esse et commissam putabo.
restored then at-last proved to-be and fulfilled shall-think
Nam nunc quidem, pontifices, non solum domo, de qua 146
for now indeed pontiffs not only the-house about which
cognostis, sed tota urbe careo, in quam videor esse
you-have-inquired but the-whole city I-lack into which I-seem to-be

restitutus. Urbis enim celeberrimae et maximae partes
restored of-the-city for most-frequented and greatest the-parts
adversum illud non monumentum, sed vulnus patriae
toward that not monument but wound of-the-fatherland
contuentur. Quem cum mihi conspectum morte magis
gaze which when to-me sight by-death rather
vitandum fugiendumque esse videatis, nolite, quaeso, eum
to-be-avoided and-to-be-fled to-be you-see do-not-wish I-beg him
cuius reditu restitutam rem publicam fore putastis non
by-whose return restored the-thing public going-to-be you-thought not
solum dignitatis ornamentis, sed etiam urbis patriae
only of-dignity of-the-ornaments but also of-the-city of-the-fatherland
usu velle esse privatum. Non me bonorum direptio, non
of-the-use to-wish to-be deprived not me of-goods the-plundering not
tectorum excisio, non depopulatio praediorum, non praeda
of-roofs the-cutting-down not the-ravaging of-estates not the-booty
consulum ex meis fortunis crudelissime capta permovet:
of-the-consuls from my fortunes most-cruelly taken moves
caduca semper et mobilia haec esse duxi, non virtutis
perishable always and movable these-things to-be I-have-held not of-virtue
atque ingeni, sed fortunae et temporum munera, quorum ego
and of-talent but of-fortune and of-the-times gifts of-which I
non tam facultatem umquam et copiam expetendam putavi
not so-much the-means ever and abundance to-be-sought have-thought
quam et in utendo rationem et in carendo patientiam.
as both in using reason and in lacking endurance
147 Etenim ad nostrum usum prope modum iam est definita
for-indeed for our use nearly in-measure now is defined
moderatio rei familiaris, liberis autem nostris satis
the-measure of-the-thing familial to-children however our enough
amplum patrimonium paterni nominis ac memoriae nostrae
ample a-patrimony of-paternal name and memory our

relinquemus: domo per scelus erepta, per latrocinium
we-shall-leave of-the-house by crime snatched by brigandage
occupata, per religionis vim sceleratius etiam aedificata quam
seized by of-religion force more-criminally even built than
eversa, carere sine maxima ignominia rei publicae,
overturned to-be-deprived without the-greatest disgrace of-the-thing public
meo dedecore ac dolore non possum. Quapropter si dis
my dishonor and grief not I-can wherefore if to-the-gods
immortalibus, si senatui, si populo Romano, si cunctae
immortal if to-the-senate if to-the-people Roman if to-all
Italiae, si provinciis, si exteris nationibus, si vobismet ipsis,
Italy if to-the-provinces if to-foreign nations if to-you yourselves
qui in mea salute principem semper locum auctoritatemque
who in my safety the-first always place and-authority
tenuistis, gratum et iucundum meum reditum intellegitis
have-held welcome and pleasant my return you-understand
esse, quaeso obtestorque vos, pontifices, ut me, quem
to-be I-beg and-adjure you pontiffs that me whom
auctoritate studio sententiis restituistis, nunc, quoniam senatus
by-authority zeal opinions you-restored now since the-senate
ita vult, manibus quoque vestris in sedibus meis conlocetis.
so wishes with-hands also your in seats my you-may-place

CICERO

De Haruspicum Responso

On the Responses of the Soothsayers

DE HARUSPICUM RESPONSO

I · CLODIUS IN THE SENATE

The day before, Cicero silenced Clodius in the senate with two words, and Clodius rushed out. Cicero acted not in anger: his war is with the two former consuls, and he leaves Clodius to Milo. Clodius has since held an assembly on religion and read out the haruspices' answer about a rumbling, which he claimed meant Cicero's house. Cicero will gladly obey the gods if any scruple remains, though his house alone in Rome has been freed by every judgment.

Hesterno die, patres conscripti, cum me et vestra dignitas 1
yesterday on-the-day fathers enrolled when me both your dignity
et frequentia equitum Romanorum praesentium, quibus
and the-throng of-the-knights Roman present to-whom
senatus dabatur, magno opere commosset, putavi mihi
the-senate was-being-granted in-great measure had-moved I-thought by-me
reprimendam esse P. Clodi impudicam impudentiam,
to-be-checked to-be of-Publius Clodius the-unchaste impudence
cum is publicanorum causam stultissimis interrogationibus
when he the-tax-farmers' case with-most-foolish questionings
impediret, P. Tullioni Syro navaret operam atque
was-hindering for-Publius Tullio the-Syrian was-zealously-giving effort and
ei se, cui totus venierat, etiam vobis inspectantibus
to-him himself to-whom wholly he-had-been-sold even with-you looking-on
venditaret. Itaque hominem furentem exsultantemque continui
was-peddling and-so the-man raving and-exulting I-checked
simul ac periculum iudici intendi: duobus inceptis verbis
as-soon as the-danger of-a-trial I-held-over-him with-two begun words
omnem impetum gladiatoris ferociamque compressi.
all the-onset of-the-gladiator and-ferocity I-crushed

2 Ac tamen ignarus ille qui consules essent, exsanguis atque
and still ignorant he who consuls were bloodless and
aestuans se ex curia repente proripuit, cum quibusdam
seething himself from the-senate-house suddenly rushed with certain
fractis iam atque inanibus minis et cum illius Pisoniani
broken already and empty threats and with of-that Pisonian
temporis Gabinianique terroribus: quem cum egredientem
time and-Gabinian terrors whom when going-out
insequi coepissem, cepi equidem fructum maximum et ex
to-follow I-had-begun I-reaped for-my-part the-fruit greatest both from
consurrectione omnium vestrum et ex comitatu publicanorum.
the-rising-together of-all of-you and from the-escort of-the-tax-farmers
Sed vaecors repente sine suo vultu, sine colore, sine
but frenzied suddenly without his-own face without color without
voce constitit; deinde respexit et, simul atque Cn. Lentulum
voice he-stopped then looked-back and as-soon as Gnaeus Lentulus
consulem aspexit, concidit in curiae paene limine;
the-consul he-saw collapsed on of-the-senate-house almost the-threshold
recordatione, credo, Gabini sui desiderioque Pisonis.
from-the-recollection I-believe of-Gabinius his-own and-longing-for Piso
Cuius ego de ecfrenato et praecipiti furore quid dicam? An
whose I about unbridled and headlong madness what shall-I-say or
potest gravioribus a me verbis vulnerari quam est statim
can-he with-weightier by me words be-wounded than he-was at-once
in facto ipso a gravissimo viro, P. Servilio, confectus ac
in the-deed itself by a-most-weighty man Publius Servilius finished-off and
trucidatus? cuius si iam vim et gravitatem illam singularem
slaughtered whose if now the-force and gravity that singular
ac paene divinam adsequi possem, tamen non dubito quin
and almost divine to-attain I-could still not I-doubt that

ea tela quae coniecerit inimicus quam ea quae conlega
those weapons which has-thrown an-enemy than those which the-colleague
patris emisit leviora atque hebetiora esse videantur.
of-his-father sent lighter and blunter to-be would-seem
Sed tamen mei facti rationem exponere illis volo qui 3
but still of-my deed the-reason to-set-forth to-those I-wish who
hesterno die dolore me elatum et iracundia longius
yesterday on-the-day by-resentment me carried-away and by-anger farther
prope progressum arbitrabantur quam sapientis hominis
almost to-have-gone thought than of-a-wise man
cogitata ratio postulasset. Nihil feci iratus, nihil
the-considered reasoning would-have-demanded nothing I-did angry nothing
impotenti animo, nihil non diu consideratum ac multo
with-uncontrolled mind nothing not long considered and much
ante meditatum. Ego enim me, patres conscripti, inimicum
before meditated I for myself fathers enrolled an-enemy
semper esse professus sum duobus, qui me, qui rem
always to-be professed have to-two who me who the-thing
publicam cum defendere deberent, servare possent, cumque ad
public when to-defend they-ought to-save could and-when to
consulare officium ipsis insignibus illius imperi, ad meam
consular duty by-the-very insignia of-that command to my
salutem non solum auctoritate sed etiam precibus vestris
safety not only by-authority but also by-prayers your
vocarentur, primo reliquerunt, deinde prodiderunt, postremo
they-were-called first abandoned then betrayed finally
oppugnarunt, praemiisque nefariae pactionis funditus una
attacked and-by-the-rewards of-a-wicked pact utterly together
cum re publica oppressum exstinctumque voluerunt;
with the-thing public crushed and-extinguished(-me) wished
qui quae suo ductu et imperio cruento illo atque
who what under-their leadership and command bloody that and

funesto supplicia neque a sociorum moenibus prohibere
deadly punishments neither from the-allies' walls to-ward-off
neque hostium urbibus inferre potuerunt, excisionem,
nor on-the-enemies' cities to-bring could the-cutting-down
inflammationem, eversionem, depopulationem, vastitatem, ea
the-burning the-overturning the-ravaging the-devastation those
sua cum praeda meis omnibus tectis atque agris intulerunt.
their-own with booty on-my all roofs and lands brought
4 Cum his furiis et facibus, cum his, inquam, exitiosis
with these furies and firebrands with these I-say deadly
prodigiis ac paene huius imperi pestibus bellum mihi
portents and almost of-this empire plagues war for-me
inexpiabile dico esse susceptum, neque id tamen ipsum
inexpiable I-say to-have-been undertaken and-not that still itself
tantum quantum meus ac meorum, sed tantum quantum
so-great as my and my-family's but so-great as
vester atque omnium bonorum dolor postulavit. In Clodium
your and of-all the-good grief demanded against Clodius
vero non est hodie meum maius odium quam illo die fuit
indeed not is today my greater hatred than on-that day it-was
cum illum ambustum religiosissimis ignibus cognovi muliebri
when him scorched by-the-most-sacred fires I-learned in-women's
ornatu ex incesto stupro atque ex domo pontificis maximi
dress from incestuous debauchery and from the-house of-the-pontiff chief
emissum. Tum, inquam, tum vidi ac multo ante prospexi
sent-out then I-say then I-saw and much before foresaw
quanta tempestas excitaretur, quanta impenderet procella
how-great a-storm was-being-roused how-great was-hanging a-tempest
rei publicae. Videbam illud scelus tam importunum,
over-the-thing public I-saw that crime so outrageous
audaciam tam immanem adulescentis furentis, nobilis,
audacity so monstrous of-a-young-man raving noble

vulnerati non posse arceri oti finibus: erupturum
wounded not to-be-able to-be-confined of-quiet by-the-bounds going-to-burst-out
illud malum aliquando, si impunitum fuisset, ad perniciem
that evil sometime if unpunished it-had-been to the-ruin
civitatis. Non multum mihi sane post ad odium accessit.
of-the-state not much to-me indeed afterward to the-hatred was-added
Nihil enim contra me fecit odio mei, sed odio severitatis,
nothing for against me he-did from-hatred of-me but from-hatred of-severity
odio dignitatis, odio rei publicae: non me magis
from-hatred of-dignity from-hatred of-the-thing public not me more
violavit quam senatum, quam equites Romanos, quam omnis
he-violated than the-senate than the-knights Roman than all
bonos, quam Italiam cunctam: non denique in me sceleratior
the-good than Italy whole not finally against me more-criminal
fuit quam in ipsos deos immortalis. Etenim illos eo
he-was than against the-very gods immortal for-indeed them by-that
scelere violavit quo nemo antea: in me fuit eodem animo
crime he-violated by-which no-one before against me he-was of-the-same mind
quo etiam eius familiaris Catilina, si vicisset, fuisset.
of-which even his intimate Catiline if he-had-conquered would-have-been
Itaque eum numquam a me esse accusandum putavi, non plus
and-so him never by me to-be to-be-prosecuted I-thought not more
quam stipitem illum qui quorum hominum esset nesciremus,
than blockhead that who of-what men he-was we-would-not-know
nisi se Ligurem ipse esse diceret. Quid enim hunc
unless himself a-Ligurian himself to-be said why for this-one
persequar, pecudem ac beluam, pabulo inimicorum meorum
should-I-pursue a-beast and brute with-the-fodder of-enemies my
et glande corruptum? qui si sensit quo se scelere
and with-acorns corrupted who if he-has-perceived by-what himself crime

devinxerit, non dubito quin sit miserrimus; sin autem id
he-has-bound not I-doubt that he-is most-wretched but-if however that
non videt, periculum est ne se stuporis excusatione defendat.
not he-sees the-danger is lest himself of-stupidity by-the-excuse he-defend
6 Accedit etiam quod exspectatione omnium fortissimo et
there-is-added also that in-the-expectation of-all for-the-most-brave and
clarissimo viro, T. Annio, devota et constituta ista hostia
most-illustrious man Titus Annius devoted and set-apart that victim
esse videtur; cui me praeripere desponsam iam et
to-be seems from-whom me to-snatch-away the-betrothed already and
destinatam laudem, cum ipse eius opera et dignitatem et
destined praise when I-myself by-his effort both dignity and
salutem reciperarim, valde est iniquum. Etenim ut P. ille
safety have-recovered very is unfair for-indeed as Publius that
Scipio natus mihi videtur ad interitum exitiumque Carthaginis,
Scipio born to-me seems for the-death and-destruction of-Carthage
qui illam a multis imperatoribus obsessam, oppugnatam,
who it by many commanders besieged attacked
labefactam, paene captam aliquando quasi fatali adventu
shaken almost captured at-last as-if by-a-fated arrival
solus evertit, sic T. Annius ad illam pestem comprimendam,
alone overturned so Titus Annius for that plague being-crushed
exstinguendam, funditus delendam natus esse videtur et quasi
being-extinguished utterly being-destroyed born to-be seems and as-if
divino munere donatus rei publicae. Solus ille cognovit
by-a-divine gift given to-the-thing public alone he learned
quem ad modum armatum civem, qui lapidibus, qui ferro
in-what to manner an-armed citizen who with-stones who with-the-sword
alios fugaret, alios domi contineret, qui urbem totam, qui
some put-to-flight others at-home confined who the-city whole who

curiam, qui forum, qui templa omnia caede incendiisque
the-senate-house who the-forum who the-temples all with-slaughter and-fires
terreret, non modo vinci verum etiam vinciri oporteret.
terrified not only to-be-conquered but even to-be-chained it-behooved
Huic ego et tali et ita de me ac de patria 7
from-this-man I both such and so of me and of the-fatherland
merito viro numquam mea voluntate praeripiam eum
having-deserved a-man never by-my will shall-snatch-away him
praesertim reum cuius ille inimicitias non solum suscepit
especially as-defendant whose he enmities not only undertook
propter salutem meam, verum etiam adpetivit. Sed si etiam
on-account-of safety my but even sought but if even
nunc inlaqueatus iam omnium legum periculis, inretitus
now ensnared already of-all laws by-the-dangers entangled
odio bonorum omnium, exspectatione supplici iam non
by-the-hatred of-the-good all by-the-expectation of-punishment now not
diuturna implicatus, feretur tamen haesitans et in
long-delayed enmeshed he-will-be-borne still faltering and against
me impetum impeditus facere conabitur, resistam et aut
me an-attack hampered to-make will-try I-shall-resist and either
concedente aut etiam adiuvante Milone eius conatum refutabo:
yielding or even helping Milo his attempt I-shall-repel
velut hesterno die cum mihi stanti tacens minaretur,
as yesterday on-the-day when to-me standing silent he-threatened
voce tantum attigi legum initium et iudici. Consedit
with-voice only I-touched of-the-laws the-beginning and of-a-trial he-sat-down
ille: conticui. Diem dixisset, ut iecerat: fecissem
he I-fell-silent a-day he-had-named as he-had-thrown-out I-would-have-done(-it)
ut ei statim tertius a praetore dies diceretur. Atque
so-that for-him at-once the-third from the-praetor day should-be-named and
hoc sic moderetur et cogitet, si contentus sit iis
this so let-him-moderate and consider if content he-be with-those

sceleribus quae commisit, esse se iam consecratum
crimes which he-has-committed to-be himself already consecrated
Miloni: si quod in me telum intenderit, statim me
to-Milo if any against me a-weapon he-shall-have-aimed at-once me
esse arrepturum arma iudiciorum atque legum.
to-be going-to-seize the-arms of-the-courts and of-the-laws
8 Atque paulo ante, patres conscripti, contionem habuit quae
and a-little before fathers enrolled an-assembly he-held which
est ad me tota delata; cuius contionis primum universum
was to me whole reported of-which assembly first the-whole
argumentum sententiamque audite; cum riseritis
argument and-the-gist hear when you-have-laughed-at
impudentiam hominis, tum a me de tota contione
the-impudence of-the-man then from me about the-whole assembly
audietis. De religionibus sacris et caerimoniis est
you-will-hear about religious-duties rites and ceremonies has
contionatus, patres conscripti, Clodius: Publius, inquam,
harangued fathers enrolled Clodius Publius I-say
Clodius sacra et religiones neglegi violari pollui questus
Clodius the-rites and religions to-be-neglected violated polluted complained
est! Non mirum si hoc vobis ridiculum videtur: etiam sua
has not strange if this to-you ridiculous seems even his-own
contio risit hominem, quo modo ipse gloriari solet,
assembly laughed the-man in-which manner himself to-boast is-wont
ducentis confixum senati consultis, quae sunt omnia
by-two-hundred pierced of-the-senate decrees which are all
contra illum pro religionibus facta, hominemque eum qui
against him for religion made and-the-man that who
pulvinaribus Bonae Deae stuprum intulerit, eaque sacra
to-the-couches of-the-Good Goddess debauchery brought and-those rites
quae viri oculis ne imprudentis quidem aspici fas est
which by-a-man's eyes not unwitting even to-be-seen right is

non solum aspectu virili sed flagitio stuproque violarit, in
not only by-a-look male but by-outrage and-debauchery violated in
contione de religionibus neglectis conqueri.
an-assembly about religions neglected to-complain
Itaque nunc proxima contio eius exspectatur de pudicitia. 9
and-so now the-next assembly his is-awaited about chastity
Quid enim interest utrum ab altaribus religiosissimis
what for does-it-matter whether from the-altars most-sacred
fugatus de sacris et religionibus conqueratur, an ex
put-to-flight about rites and religions he-complain or from
sororum cubiculo egressus pudorem pudicitiamque defendat?
of-his-sisters the-bedroom having-gone-out modesty and-chastity he-defend
Responsum haruspicum hoc recens de fremitu in contione
the-answer of-the-haruspices this recent about the-rumbling in the-assembly
recitavit, in quo cum aliis multis scriptum etiam illud est,
he-read-out in which with others many written also that is
id quod audistis, loca sacra et religiosa profana haberi: in
that which you-have-heard places sacred and holy profane to-be-held in
ea causa esse dixit domum meam a religiosissimo sacerdote,
that case to-be he-said house my by a-most-religious priest
P. Clodio, consecratam.
Publius Clodius consecrated
Gaudeo mihi de toto hoc ostento, quod haud scio an 10
I-rejoice for-me about whole this portent which not I-know whether
gravissimum multis his annis huic ordini nuntiatum sit,
the-weightiest in-many these years to-this order announced has-been
datam non modo iustam sed etiam necessariam causam
given not only a-just but also a-necessary cause
esse dicendi; reperietis enim ex hoc toto prodigio
to-have-been of-speaking you-will-find for from this whole prodigy
atque responso nos de istius scelere ac furore ac de
and answer us about that-man's crime and madness and about

impendentibus periculis maximis prope iam voce Iovis
the-impending dangers greatest almost already by-the-voice of-Jupiter
Optimi Maximi praemoneri.
Best Greatest to-be-forewarned

11 Sed primum expiabo religionem aedium mearum, si id
but first I-shall-expiate the-religious-scruple of-house my if that
facere vere ac sine cuiusquam dubitatione potero; sin
to-do truly and without anyone's doubt I-shall-be-able but-if
scrupulus tenuissimus residere alicui videbitur, non modo
a-scruple most-slender to-remain to-anyone shall-seem not only
patienti sed etiam libenti animo portentis deorum
with-an-enduring but even with-a-willing mind to-the-portents of-the-gods
immortalium religionique parebo.
immortal and-to-religion I-shall-submit
Sed quae tandem est in hac urbe tanta domus ab ista
but what pray is-there in this city so-great a-house from that
suspicione religionis tam vacua atque pura? Quamquam
suspicion of-religious-scruple so empty and pure although
vestrae domus, patres conscripti, ceterorumque civium multo
your houses fathers enrolled and-of-the-other citizens by-much
maxima ex parte sunt liberae religione, tamen una mea
the-greatest by part are free from-scruple still alone my
domus iudiciis omnibus liberata in hac urbe sola est. Te
house by-judgments all freed in this city alone is you
enim appello, Lentule, et te, Philippe. Ex hoc haruspicum
for I-address Lentulus and you Philippus from this of-the-haruspices
responso decrevit senatus ut de locis sacris religiosis ad
answer decreed the-senate that about places sacred holy to
hunc ordinem referretis. Potestisne referre de mea domo,
this order you-should-refer can-you refer about my house
quae, ut dixi, sola in hac urbe omni religione omnibus
which as I-said alone in this city from-all scruple by-all

iudiciis liberata est? Quam primum inimicus ipse in illa
judgments freed is which first the-enemy himself in that
tempestate ac nocte rei publicae, cum cetera scelera
storm and night of-the-thing public when the-other crimes
stilo illo impuro Sex. Clodi ore tincto conscripsisset,
with-pen that impure of-Sextus Clodius with-mouth dipped he-had-written-up
ne una quidem attigit littera religionis; deinde eandem
not one even touched letter of-religious-scruple then the-same
domum populus Romanus, cuius est summa potestas omnium
house the-people Roman whose is the-supreme power of-all
rerum, comitiis centuriatis omnium aetatum ordinumque
things at-the-assembly centuriate with-all ages' and-orders'
suffragiis eodem iure esse iussit quo fuisset; postea
votes by-the-same right to-be ordered by-which it-had-been afterward
vos, patres conscripti, non quo dubia res esset, sed
you fathers enrolled not because doubtful the-matter was but
ut huic furiae, si diutius in hac urbe quam delere cuperet
that to-this fury if longer in this city which to-destroy he-desired
maneret, vox interdiceretur, decrevistis ut de mearum
he-remained the-voice might-be-forbidden decreed that about of-my
aedium religione ad pontificum conlegium referretur.
house the-scruple to the-pontiffs' college it-should-be-referred

A full college of pontiffs freed Cicero's house of every religious scruple, and the senate confirmed it; no house in Rome is so protected by public law. Cicero affirms his piety and Rome's supremacy in religion, and turns to the portent: a din of arms heard in the countryside near Rome.

12 Quae tanta religio est qua non in nostris
what so-great religious-scruple is-there from-which not in our
dubitationibus atque in maximis superstitionibus unius
doubts and in the-greatest superstitions by-one
P. Servili aut M. Luculli responso ac verbo liberemur?
of-Publius Servilius or of-Marcus Lucullus answer and word we-may-be-freed
De sacris publicis, de ludis maximis, de deorum penatium
about rites public about the-games greatest about of-the-gods household
Vestaeque matris caerimoniis, de illo ipso sacrificio quod fit
and-of-Vesta mother the-ceremonies about that very sacrifice which is-made
pro salute populi Romani, quod post Romam conditam
for the-safety of-the-people Roman which since Rome founded
huius unius casti tutoris religionum scelere violatum est, quod
by-this one chaste guardian's of-religions crime violated was what
tres pontifices statuissent, id semper populo Romano, semper
three pontiffs had-decided that always to-the-people Roman always
senatui, semper ipsis dis immortalibus satis sanctum, satis
to-the-senate always to-the-very gods immortal enough holy enough
augustum, satis religiosum esse visum est. At vero meam
hallowed enough sacred to-be seemed has but indeed my
domum P. Lentulus, consul et pontifex, P. Servilius,
house Publius Lentulus consul and pontiff Publius Servilius
M. Lucullus, Q. Metellus, M'. Glabrio, M. Messalla,
Marcus Lucullus Quintus Metellus Manius Glabrio Marcus Messalla

L. Lentulus, flamen Martialis, P. Galba, Q. Metellus
Lucius Lentulus flamen of-Mars Publius Galba Quintus Metellus
Scipio, C. Fannius, M. Lepidus, L. Claudius rex sacrorum,
Scipio Gaius Fannius Marcus Lepidus Lucius Claudius king of-rites
M. Scaurus, M. Crassus, C. Curio, Sex. Caesar flamen
Marcus Scaurus Marcus Crassus Gaius Curio Sextus Caesar flamen
Quirinalis, Q. Cornelius, P. Albinovanus, Q. Terentius,
of-Quirinus Quintus Cornelius Publius Albinovanus Quintus Terentius
pontifices minores, causa cognita, duobus locis dicta,
pontiffs lesser with-the-case heard in-two places pleaded
maxima frequentia amplissimorum ac sapientissimorum
with-the-greatest throng of-the-most-ample and most-wise
civium adstante, omni religione una mente omnes liberaverunt.
citizens standing-by with-all scruple with-one mind all freed
Nego umquam post sacra constituta, quorum eadem est 13
I-deny ever since the-rites established of-which the-same is
antiquitas quae ipsius urbis, ulla de re, ne de
the-antiquity as of-the-very city any about matter not about
capite quidem virginum Vestalium, tam frequens conlegium
the-civil-life even of-the-virgins Vestal so full a-college
iudicasse. Quamquam ad facinoris disquisitionem interest
to-have-judged although for of-a-crime the-inquiry it-matters
adesse quam plurimos (ita est enim interpretatio illa
to-be-present as many-as-possible so is for interpretation that
pontificum, ut eidem potestatem habeant iudicum), religionis
of-the-pontiffs that the-same the-power have of-judges of-religion
explanatio vel ab uno pontifice perito recte fieri potest
the-explanation even by one pontiff skilled rightly to-be-done can
(quod idem in iudicio capitis durum atque iniquum est),
which same in a-trial of-civil-life harsh and unjust is
tamen sic reperietis, frequentiores pontifices de mea domo
still so you-will-find in-greater-numbers pontiffs about my house

quam umquam de caerimoniis virginum iudicasse. Postero
than ever about the-ceremonies of-the-virgins to-have-judged the-next
die frequentissimus senatus te consule designato, Lentule,
day the-fullest senate with-you consul designate Lentulus
sententiae principe, P. Lentulo et Q. Metello
of-the-opinion as-leader with-Publius Lentulus and Quintus Metellus
consulibus referentibus statuit, cum omnes pontifices qui
as-consuls referring decided when all pontiffs who
erant huius ordinis adessent, cumque alii qui honoribus
were of-this order were-present and-when others who in-the-honors
populi Romani antecedebant multa de conlegi iudicio
of-the-people Roman were-foremost many about the-college's judgment
verba fecissent, omnesque idem scribendo adessent, domum
words had-made and-all the-same at-the-writing were-present house
meam iudicio pontificum religione liberatam videri.
my by-the-judgment of-the-pontiffs from-scruple freed to-seem

14 De hoc igitur loco sacro potissimum videntur haruspices
about this therefore place sacred most-of-all seem the-haruspices
dicere, qui locus solus ex privatis locis omnibus hoc praecipue
to-speak which place alone of private places all this especially
iuris habet, ut ab ipsis qui sacris praesunt sacer non
of-right has that by those-very who over-the-rites preside sacred not
esse iudicatus sit? Verum referte, quod ex senatus consulto
to-be judged it-has-been but refer which by the-senate's decree
facere debetis. Aut vobis cognitio dabitur, qui primi de hac
to-do you-ought either to-you the-inquiry will-be-given who first about this
domo sententiam dixistis et eam religione omni liberastis, aut
house an-opinion spoke and it from-scruple all freed or
senatus ipse iudicabit, qui uno illo solo antistite sacrorum
the-senate itself will-judge which with-one that alone overseer of-rites
dissentiente frequentissimus antea iudicavit, aut, — id quod
dissenting most-full before judged or that which

certe fiet, — ad pontifices reicietur, quorum auctoritati
certainly will-happen to the-pontiffs it-will-be-referred to-whose authority
fidei prudentiae maiores nostri sacra religionesque et privatas
faith prudence ancestors our the-rites and-religions both private
et publicas commendarunt. Quid ergo ii possunt aliud
and public entrusted what therefore they can else
iudicare ac iudicaverunt? Multae sunt domus in hac urbe,
judge than they-have-judged many are the-houses in this city
patres conscripti, atque haud scio an paene cunctae iure
fathers enrolled and not I-know whether almost all by-right
optimo, sed tamen iure privato, iure hereditario, iure
best but still by-right private by-right of-inheritance by-right
auctoritatis, iure mancipi, iure nexi: nego esse ullam
of-ownership by-right of-purchase by-right of-bond I-deny to-be any
domum aliam privato eodem quo quae optima lege, publico
house other by-private the-same by-which which best by-law by-public
vero omni praecipuo et humano et divino iure munitam;
indeed all special both human and divine right fortified
quae primum aedificatur ex auctoritate senatus pecunia 15
which first is-built by the-authority of-the-senate with-money
publica, deinde contra vim nefariam huius gladiatoris
public then against the-violence wicked of-this gladiator
tot senati consultis munita atque saepta est. Primum
by-so-many of-the-senate decrees fortified and fenced is first
negotium isdem magistratibus est datum anno superiore,
the-business to-the-same magistrates was given in-the-year previous
ut curarent ut sine vi aedificare mihi liceret, quibus
that they-should-see that without violence to-build for-me it-be-allowed to-whom
in maximis periculis universa res publica commendari solet;
in the-greatest dangers the-whole thing public to-be-entrusted is-wont
deinde, cum ille saxis et ignibus et ferro vastitatem
then when he with-stones and fires and sword devastation

meis sedibus intulisset, decrevit senatus eos qui id fecissent
on-my seats had-brought decreed the-senate those who that had-done
lege de vi, quae est in eos qui universam rem
by-the-law about violence which is against those who the-whole thing
publicam oppugnassent, teneri. Vobis vero referentibus, o
public had-attacked to-be-held with-you indeed referring O
post hominum memoriam fortissimi atque optimi consules!
since men's memory most-brave and best consuls
decrevit idem senatus frequentissimus qui meam domum
decreed the-same senate most-full who my house
violasset contra rem publicam esse facturum.
should-have-violated against the-thing public to-be going-to-act
16 Nego ullo de opere publico, de monumento, de templo
I-deny any about work public about monument about temple
tot senatus exstare consulta quot de mea domo, quam
so-many of-the-senate to-stand decrees as about my house which
senatus unam post hanc urbem constitutam ex aerario
the-senate alone since this city founded from the-treasury
aedificandam, a pontificibus liberandam, a magistratibus
to-be-built by the-pontiffs to-be-freed by the-magistrates
defendendam, a iudicibus puniendam putarit. P. Valerio
to-be-defended by the-judges to-be-avenged thought to-Publius Valerius
pro maximis in rem publicam beneficiis data domus est
for greatest toward the-thing public services given a-house was
in Velia publice, at mihi in Palatio restituta; illi locus,
on the-Velia publicly but to-me on the-Palatine restored to-him the-site
at mihi etiam parietes atque tectum; illi quam ipse
but to-me also the-walls and roof to-him which he-himself
privato iure tueretur, mihi quam publice magistratus omnes
by-private right should-protect to-me which publicly the-magistrates all
defenderent. Quae quidem ego si aut per me aut ab aliis
should-defend which indeed I if either through myself or from others

haberem, non praedicarem apud vos, ne nimis gloriari viderer;
I-held not I-would-proclaim before you lest too-much to-boast I-should-seem
sed cum sint mihi data a vobis, cum ea attemptentur eius
but since they-are to-me given by you since they are-assailed of-him
lingua cuius ante manu eversa vos mihi et liberis meis
by-the-tongue by-whose before hand overturned you to-me and to-children my
manibus vestris reddidistis, non ego de meis sed de vestris
with-hands your gave-back not I about my but about your
factis loquor, nec vereor ne haec mea vestrorum beneficiorum
deeds speak nor I-fear lest this my of-your favors
praedicatio non grata potius quam adrogans videatur.
proclaiming not welcome rather than arrogant seem
Quamquam si me tantis laboribus pro communi salute 17
although if me with-so-great labors for the-common safety
perfunctum ecferret aliquando ad gloriam in refutandis
having-gone-through should-carry-away sometime to boasting in refuting
maledictis hominum improborum animi quidam dolor, quis
the-abuses of-men wicked of-mind some grief who
non ignosceret? Vidi enim hesterno die quendam
not would-pardon(-me) I-saw for yesterday on-the-day a-certain-man
murmurantem, quem aiebant negare ferri me posse, quia,
murmuring who they-said to-deny to-be-borne me to-be-able because
cum ab hoc eodem impurissimo parricida rogarer cuius essem
when by this same most-impure parricide I-was-asked of-what I-was
civitatis, respondi me, probantibus et vobis et equitibus
state I-answered myself with-approving both you and the-knights
Romanis, eius esse quae carere me non potuisset. Ille,
Roman of-that to-be which to-do-without me not had-been-able he
ut opinor, ingemuit. Quid igitur responderem? quaero
as I-think groaned what therefore should-I-have-answered I-ask
ex eo ipso qui ferre me non potest. Me civem esse
of him himself who to-bear me not can myself a-citizen to-be

Romanum? litterate respondissem. An tacuissem?
Roman in-scholarly-fashion should-I-have-answered or should-I-have-been-silent
desertum negotium. Potest quisquam vir in rebus magnis
abandoned the-matter can anyone a-man in affairs great
cum invidia versatus satis graviter inimici contumeliis
with odium having-been-engaged enough weightily to-an-enemy's insults
sine sua laude respondere? At ipse non modo respondet
without his-own praise answer but he-himself not only answers
quidquid potest, cum est lacessitus, sed etiam gaudet se
whatever he-can when he-is provoked but even rejoices himself
ab amicis quid respondeat admoneri.
by friends what he-should-answer to-be-reminded

18 Sed quoniam mea causa expedita est, videamus nunc quid
but since my case settled is let-us-see now what
haruspices dicant. Ego enim fateor me et magnitudine
the-haruspices say I for confess myself both by-the-greatness
ostenti et gravitate responsi et una atque constanti
of-the-portent and by-the-gravity of-the-answer and by-the-one and steadfast
haruspicum voce vehementer esse commotum; neque
of-the-haruspices voice vehemently to-have-been moved nor
is sum qui, si cui forte videor plus quam ceteri qui
that-man I-am who if to-anyone perhaps I-seem more than the-others who
aeque atque ego sunt occupati versari in studio litterarum,
equally as I are occupied to-be-engaged in the-study of-letters
his delecter aut utar omnino litteris quae nostros animos
by-these I-should-delight or use at-all letters which our minds
deterrent atque avocant a religione. Ego vero primum habeo
deter and call-away from religion I indeed first have
auctores ac magistros religionum colendarum maiores nostros,
as-sponsors and masters of-religions being-worshiped ancestors our
quorum mihi tanta fuisse sapientia videtur ut satis
of-whom to-me so-great to-have-been the-wisdom seems that enough

superque prudentes sint qui illorum prudentiam non
and-more-than-enough wise they-are who their wisdom not
dicam adsequi, sed quanta fuerit perspicere possint; qui statas
I-shall-say to-attain but how-great it-was to-see-through can who the-fixed
sollemnisque caerimonias pontificatu, rerum bene gerundarum
and-solemn ceremonies by-the-pontificate of-things well being-done
auctoritates augurio, fatorum veteres praedictiones Apollinis
the-sanctions by-augury of-the-fates the-old predictions of-Apollo's
vatum libris, portentorum expiationes Etruscorum disciplina
prophets by-the-books of-portents the-expiations by-the-Etruscans' discipline
contineri putaverunt; quae quidem tanta est ut nostra
to-be-contained thought which indeed so-great is that in-our
memoria primum Italici belli funesta illa principia, post
memory first of-the-Italian war deadly those beginnings afterward
Sullani Cinnanique temporis extremum paene discrimen, tum
of-the-Sullan and-Cinnan time the-final almost crisis then
hanc recentem urbis inflammandae delendique imperi
this recent of-the-city to-be-burned and-to-be-destroyed of-the-empire
coniurationem non obscure nobis paulo ante praedixerint.
conspiracy not obscurely to-us a-little before they-foretold
Deinde, si quid habui oti, etiam cognovi multa homines 19
then if any I-had of-leisure even I-learned many-things men
doctos sapientisque et dixisse et scripta de deorum
learned and-wise both to-have-said and written about of-the-gods
immortalium numine reliquisse; quae quamquam divinitus
immortal the-divinity to-have-left which although divinely
perscripta video, tamen eius modi sunt ut ea maiores nostri
written-out I-see still of-such kind are that them ancestors our
docuisse illos, non ab illis didicisse videantur. Etenim
to-have-taught them not from them to-have-learned may-seem for-indeed
quis est tam vaecors qui aut, cum suspexit in caelum, deos
who is so senseless who either when he-has-looked-up to the-sky gods

esse non sentiat, et ea quae tanta mente fiunt ut
to-be not may-feel and those-things which with-such mind are-made that
vix quisquam arte ulla ordinem rerum ac necessitudinem
scarcely anyone by-skill any the-order of-things and connection
persequi possit casu fieri putet, aut, cum deos esse
follow can by-chance to-be-made may-think or when gods to-be
intellexerit, non intellegat eorum numine hoc tantum
he-has-understood not may-understand by-their divine-power this so-great
imperium esse natum et auctum et retentum? Quam
empire to-have-been born and increased and kept however-much
volumus licet, patres conscripti, ipsi nos amemus, tamen
we-wish we-may fathers enrolled ourselves we love still
nec numero Hispanos nec robore Gallos nec calliditate
neither in-number the-Spaniards nor in-strength the-Gauls nor in-cunning
Poenos nec artibus Graecos nec denique hoc ipso
the-Carthaginians nor in-arts the-Greeks nor finally by-this very
huius gentis ac terrae domestico nativoque sensu Italos
of-this people and land domestic and-native sense the-Italians
ipsos ac Latinos, sed pietate ac religione atque hac una
themselves and Latins but by-piety and religion and by-this one
sapientia, quod deorum numine omnia regi gubernarique
wisdom that by-the-gods' power all-things to-be-ruled and-governed
perspeximus, omnis gentis nationesque superavimus.
we-have-perceived all peoples and-nations we-have-surpassed
20 Qua re, ne plura de re minime loquar dubia,
by-which thing that-not more about a-thing least I-may-speak doubtful
adhibete animos, et mentis vestras, non solum auris,
apply minds and understandings your not only ears
ad haruspicum vocem admovete: quod in agro Latiniensi
to the-haruspices' voice move that in the-field Latiniensian
auditus est strepitus cum fremitu. Mitto haruspices, mitto
heard was a-din with rumbling I-pass-over the-haruspices I-pass-over

illam veterem ab ipsis dis immortalibus, ut hominum fama
that old by the-very gods immortal as of-men the-report
est, Etruriae traditam disciplinam: nos nonne haruspices esse
is to-Etruria handed-down discipline we surely haruspices to-be
possumus? Exauditus in agro propinquo et suburbano est
can heard in a-field near and suburban was
strepitus quidam reconditus et horribilis fremitus armorum.
a-din certain hidden and horrible a-clashing of-arms
Quis est ex gigantibus illis, quos poetae ferunt bellum
who is of giants those whom the-poets report war
dis immortalibus intulisse, tam impius qui hoc tam
on-the-gods immortal to-have-brought so impious who by-this so
novo tantoque motu non magnum aliquid deos populo
new and-so-great movement not great something the-gods to-the-people
Romano praemonstrare et praecinere fateatur? De ea re
Roman to-foreshow and to-forewarn may-confess about that matter
scriptum est: postiliones esse Iovi, Saturno, Neptuno,
written is due-propitiations to-be to-Jupiter to-Saturn to-Neptune
Telluri, dis caelestibus.
to-Tellus to-the-gods celestial

The games the haruspices call polluted are the Megalesia, which Clodius as aedile turned over to a mob of slaves. Clodius also sold Pessinus, the seat of the Great Mother, to Brogitarus, though Deiotarus protected it. The profaned holy places are those in Clodius's own house, where Seius had a chapel.

21 Audio quibus dis violatis expiatio debeatur, sed hominum
I-hear to-which gods violated expiation is-owed but of-men
quae ob delicta quaero. Ludos minus diligenter factos
which on-account-of offenses I-ask games less diligently performed
pollutosque. Quos ludos? Te appello, Lentule, — tui
and-polluted what games you I-address Lentulus of-your
sacerdoti sunt tensae, curricula, praecentio, ludi, libationes
priesthood are the-cars the-races the-prelude the-games the-libations
epulaeque ludorum, — vosque, pontifices, ad quos epulones
and-feasts of-the-games and-you pontiffs to whom the-feast-masters
Iovis Optimi Maximi, si quid est praetermissum aut
of-Jupiter Best Greatest if anything is passed-over or
commissum, adferunt, quorum de sententia illa eadem renovata
committed report of-whom by opinion those same renewed
atque instaurata celebrantur. Qui sunt ludi minus diligenter
and restored are-celebrated what are the-games less diligently
facti, quando aut quo scelere polluti? Respondebis et pro
performed when or by-what crime polluted you-will-answer both for
te et pro conlegis tuis, etiam pro pontificum conlegio,
yourself and for colleagues your also for the-pontiffs' college
nihil cuiusquam aut neglegentia contemptum aut scelere
nothing by-anyone's either negligence slighted or by-crime

esse pollutum: omnia sollemnia ac iusta ludorum omnibus
to-have-been polluted all solemnities and dues of-the-games with-all
rebus observatis summa cum caerimonia esse servata.
things observed the-highest with ceremony to-have-been kept
Quos igitur haruspices ludos minus diligenter factos 22
what therefore the-haruspices games less diligently performed
pollutosque esse dicunt? Eos quorum ipsi di immortales
and-polluted to-be do-they-say those of-which the-very gods immortal
atque illa mater Idaea te, — te, Cn. Lentule, cuius
and that mother Idaean you you Gnaeus Lentulus by-whose
abavi manibus esset accepta, — spectatorem
great-great-grandfather's hands she-had-been received the-spectator
esse voluit. Quod ni tu Megalesia illo die spectare
to-be wished but unless you the-Megalesia on-that day to-watch
voluisses, haud scio an vivere nobis atque his de
had-wished not I-know whether to-live for-us and these about
rebus iam queri non liceret. Vis enim innumerabilis
matters now to-complain not would-be-allowed a-force for countless
incitata ex omnibus vicis conlecta servorum ab hoc aedile
roused from all quarters gathered of-slaves by this aedile
religioso repente e fornicibus ostiisque omnibus in scaenam
religious suddenly from the-arches and-doors all onto the-stage
signo dato inmissa inrupit. Tua tum, tua, Cn. Lentule,
with-the-signal given let-in burst your then your Gnaeus Lentulus
eadem virtus fuit quae in privato quondam tuo proavo;
the-same virtue was which in private once your great-grandfather
te, nomen, imperium, vocem, aspectum, impetum tuum stans
you your-name command voice look onset your standing
senatus equitesque Romani et omnes boni sequebantur, cum
the-senate and-the-knights Roman and all the-good followed when
ille servorum eludentium multitudini senatum populumque
he to-the-slaves' mocking multitude the-senate and-the-people

Romanum vinctum ipso consessu et constrictum spectaculis
Roman bound by-the-very seating and hemmed by-the-shows
atque impeditum turba et angustiis tradidisset.
and hampered by-the-crowd and narrow-spaces had-handed-over
23 An si ludius constitit, aut tibicen repente conticuit, aut
or if a-dancer stopped or a-flute-player suddenly fell-silent or
puer ille patrimus et matrimus si tensam non tenuit,
a-boy that with-father-living and with-mother-living if the-car not held
si lorum omisit, aut si aedilis verbo aut simpuvio aberravit,
if the-rein he-let-go or if the-aedile in-a-word or in-the-ladle erred
ludi sunt non rite facti, eaque errata expiantur, et
the-games are not duly performed and-those errors are-expiated and
mentes deorum immortalium ludorum instauratione placantur:
the-minds of-the-gods immortal by-the-games' restoration are-appeased
si ludi ab laetitia ad metum traducti, si non intermissi
if the-games from joy to fear transferred if not interrupted
sed perempti atque sublati sunt, si civitati universae,
but destroyed and removed were if for-the-state whole
scelere eius qui ludos ad luctum conferre voluit,
by-the-crime of-him who the-games to mourning to-turn wished
exstiterunt dies illi pro festis paene funesti, dubitabimus
came-forth days those instead-of festal almost funereal shall-we-doubt
quos ille fremitus nuntiet ludos esse pollutos?
what-games that rumbling announces the-games to-have-been polluted
24 Ac si volumus ea quae de quoque deo nobis tradita
and if we-wish those-things which about each god to-us handed-down
sunt recordari, hanc Matrem Magnam, cuius ludi violati,
have-been to-recall this Mother Great whose games violated
polluti, paene ad caedem et ad funus civitatis conversi
polluted almost to slaughter and to the-funeral of-the-state turned
sunt, hanc, inquam, accepimus agros et nemora cum
were this-one I-say we-have-received the-fields and groves with

quodam strepitu fremituque peragrare. Haec igitur vobis,
a-certain din and-rumbling to-traverse this-one therefore to-you
haec populo Romano et scelerum indicia ostendit et
this-one to-the-people Roman both of-crimes the-tokens has-shown and
periculorum signa patefecit. Nam quid ego de illis ludis
of-dangers the-signs laid-open for why I about those games
loquar quos in Palatio nostri maiores ante templum in
should-speak which on the-Palatine our ancestors before the-temple in
ipso Matris Magnae conspectu Megalesibus fieri
the-very of-the-Mother Great sight at-the-Megalesia to-be-performed
celebrarique voluerunt? qui sunt more institutisque maxime
and-celebrated wished which are by-custom and-institutions most
casti, sollemnes, religiosi; quibus ludis primum ante populi
chaste solemn religious at-which games first before the-people's
consessum senatui locum P. Africanus iterum consul
seating to-the-senate a-place Publius Africanus for-the-second-time consul
ille maior dedit, ut eos ludos haec lues impura pollueret!
that elder gave so-that those games this plague impure should-pollute
quo si qui liber aut spectandi aut etiam religionis
to-which if any free-man either of-watching or even of-religion
causa accesserat, manus adferebantur, quo matrona nulla
for-the-sake had-come hands were-laid-on to-which matron none
adiit propter vim consessumque servorum. Ita ludos eos,
came on-account-of the-violence and-seating of-the-slaves so games those
quorum religio tanta est ut ex ultimis terris arcessita
whose religious-force so-great is that from the-farthest lands summoned
in hac urbe consederit, qui uni ludi ne verbo quidem
in this city it-has-settled which alone games not by-a-word even
appellantur Latino, ut vocabulo ipso et appetita religio
are-called Latin that by-the-name itself both the-sought-after religion
externa et Matris Magnae nomine suscepta declaretur —
foreign and of-the-Mother Great in-the-name undertaken be-declared

hos ludos servi fecerunt, servi spectaverunt, tota denique
these games slaves performed slaves watched whole finally
hoc aedile servorum Megalesia fuerunt.
with-this aedile of-the-slaves the-Megalesia were
25 Pro di immortales! qui magis nobiscum loqui possetis,
O gods immortal how more with-us to-speak could-you
si essetis versareminique nobiscum? Ludos esse pollutos
if you-were and-were-dwelling with-us the-games to-be polluted
significastis ac plane dicitis. Quid magis inquinatum,
you-have-signified and plainly say what more defiled
deformatum, perversum, conturbatum dici potest quam
deformed perverted confounded to-be-called can than
omne servitium, permissu magistratus liberatum, in alteram
the-whole slave-body by-permission of-the-magistrate freed onto the-one
scaenam inmissum, alteri praepositum, ut alter consessus
stage let-in over-the-other set-over so-that the-one seating
potestati servorum obiceretur, alter servorum totus esset?
to-the-power of-the-slaves should-be-exposed the-other of-the-slaves wholly should-be
Si examen apium ludis in scaenam caveamve venisset,
if a-swarm of-bees at-the-games onto the-stage or-the-auditorium had-come
haruspices acciendos ex Etruria putaremus: videmus universi
haruspices to-be-summoned from Etruria we-would-think we-see all
repente examina tanta servorum inmissa in populum
suddenly swarms so-great of-slaves let-in upon the-people
Romanum saeptum atque inclusum, et non commovemur?
Roman fenced and shut-in and not are-we-moved
Atque in apium fortasse examine nos ex Etruscorum scriptis
and-yet in of-bees perhaps a-swarm us from the-Etruscans' writings
haruspices ut a servitio caveremus monerent.
the-haruspices that against slavedom we-should-beware would-warn

Quod igitur ex aliquo diiuncto diversoque monstro significatum 26
what therefore from some separate and-different prodigy signified
caveremus, id cum ipsum sibi monstrum est, et cum in
we-would-beware that when itself to-itself the-prodigy is and when in
eo ipso periculum est ex quo periculum portenditur, non
that very-thing the-danger is from which danger is-portended not
pertimescemus? Istius modi Megalesia fecit pater tuus, istius
shall-we-dread of-that kind the-Megalesia made father your of-that
modi patruus? Is mihi etiam generis sui mentionem facit, cum
kind (your)-uncle he to-me even of-family his-own mention makes when
Athenionis aut Spartaci exemplo ludos facere maluerit quam
after-Athenio's or Spartacus' precedent games to-give he-has-preferred than
C. aut Appi Claudiorum? Illi cum ludos facerent, servos de
Gaius' or Appius' of-the-Claudii they when games they-gave the-slaves from
cavea exire iubebant: tu in alteram servos inmisisti, ex
the-auditorium to-go-out ordered you onto the-one slaves let-in from
altera liberos eiecisti. Itaque qui antea voce praeconis a
the-other free-men cast-out and-so those-who before by-the-voice of-the-herald from
liberis semovebantur, tuis ludis non voce sed manu liberos a
the-free were-separated at-your games not by-voice but by-hand the-free from
se segregabant. Ne hoc quidem tibi in mentem veniebat,
themselves were-segregating not this even to-you to mind came
Sibyllino sacerdoti, haec sacra maiores nostros ex vestris
to-the-Sibylline priest these rites ancestors our from your
libris expetisse? si illi sunt vestri quos tu impia mente
books to-have-sought if those are yours which you with-impious mind
conquiris, violatis oculis legis, contaminatis manibus attrectas.
search-out with-violated eyes read with-contaminated hands handle
Hac igitur vate suadente quondam, defessa Italia 27
by-this therefore prophetess urging once with-exhausted Italy
Punico bello atque ab Hannibale vexata, sacra ista nostri
by-the-Punic war and by Hannibal harassed rites those our

maiores adscita ex Phrygia Romae conlocarunt; quae vir
ancestors adopted from Phrygia at-Rome established which a-man
is accepit qui est optimus populi Romani iudicatus,
that received who is the-best of-the-people Roman judged
P. Scipio, femina autem quae matronarum castissima
Publius Scipio a-woman however who of-matrons the-most-chaste
putabatur, Q. Claudia, cuius priscam illam severitatem
was-thought Quinta Claudia whose ancient that severity
mirifice tua soror existimatur imitata. Nihil te igitur
wonderfully your sister is-thought to-have-imitated nothing you therefore
neque maiores tui coniuncti cum his religionibus, neque
neither ancestors your joined with these religions nor
sacerdotium ipsum, quo est haec tota religio constituta,
the-priesthood itself by-which is this whole religion established
neque curulis aedilitas, quae maxime hanc tueri religionem
nor the-curule aedileship which most this to-protect religion
solet, permovit quo minus castissimos ludos omni flagitio
is-wont moved by-which less the-most-chaste games with-every outrage
pollueres, dedecore maculares, scelere obligares?
you-should-pollute with-disgrace should-stain with-crime should-bind
28 Sed quid ego id admiror? qui accepta pecunia Pessinuntem
but why I that wonder-at who with-received money Pessinus
ipsum, sedem domiciliumque Matris deorum, vastaris,
itself the-seat and-dwelling of-the-Mother of-the-gods you-have-ravaged
et Brogitaro Gallograeco, impuro homini ac nefario, cuius
and to-Brogitarus the-Gallo-Greek an-impure man and wicked whose
legati te tribuno dividere in aede Castoris tuis operis
envoys with-you as-tribune to-distribute in the-temple of-Castor to-your gangs
nummos solebant, totum illum locum fanumque vendideris,
coins were-wont whole that place and-shrine have-sold
sacerdotem ab ipsis aris pulvinaribusque detraxeris,
the-priest from the-very altars and-couches have-dragged-away

omnia illa quae vetustas, quae Persae, quae Syri,
all those-things which antiquity which the-Persians which the-Syrians
quae reges omnes qui Europam Asiamque tenuerunt semper
which the-kings all who Europe and-Asia held always
summa religione coluerunt, perverteris; quae denique
with-the-highest religion worshiped have-overthrown which finally
nostri maiores tam sancta duxerunt ut, cum refertam urbem
our ancestors so holy held that though crammed the-city
atque Italiam fanorum haberemus, tamen nostri imperatores
and Italy with-shrines we-had still our commanders
maximis et periculosissimis bellis huic deae vota facerent,
in-the-greatest and most-dangerous wars to-this goddess vows made
eaque in ipso Pessinunte ad illam ipsam principem aram
and-them in the-very Pessinus at that very principal altar
et in illo loco fanoque persolverent.
and in that place and-shrine fulfilled
Quod cum Deiotarus religione sua castissime tueretur, 29
which when Deiotarus with-religion his-own most-chastely protected
quem unum habemus in orbe terrarum fidelissimum huic
whom alone we-have in the-circle of-lands most-faithful to-this
imperio atque amantissimum nostri nominis, Brogitaro,
empire and most-loving of-our name to-Brogitarus
ut ante dixi, addictum pecunia tradidisti. Atque hunc
as before I-said knocked-down for-money you-handed-over and this
tamen Deiotarum saepe a senatu regali nomine dignum
still Deiotarus often by the-senate of-the-royal name worthy
existimatum, clarissimorum imperatorum testimoniis ornatum,
judged by-the-most-illustrious commanders' testimonies honored
tu etiam regem appellari cum Brogitaro iubes. Sed alter est
you also king to-be-called with Brogitarus order but the-one is
rex iudicio senatus per nos, pecunia Brogitarus per te
king by-the-judgment of-the-senate through us for-money Brogitarus by you

appellatus *** alterum putabo regem, si habuerit unde
called (lacuna) the-other I-shall-think a-king if he-shall-have whence
tibi solvat quod ei per syngrapham credidisti. Nam
to-you he-may-pay what to-him by bond you-lent for
cum multa regia sunt in Deiotaro tum illa maxime, quod
though many-things royal are in Deiotarus then this most that
tibi nummum nullum dedit, quod eam partem legis tuae
to-you coin none he-gave that that part of-law your
quae congruebat cum iudicio senatus, ut ipse rex esset,
which agreed with the-judgment of-the-senate that himself king he-should-be
non repudiavit, quod Pessinuntem per scelus a te violatum
not he-rejected that Pessinus through crime by you violated
et sacerdote sacrisque spoliatum reciperavit, ut in pristina
and of-priest and-rites despoiled he-recovered that in its-former
religione servaret, quod caerimonias ab omni vetustate
religion he-might-keep(-it) that the-ceremonies from all antiquity
acceptas a Brogitaro pollui non sinit, mavultque generum
received by Brogitarus to-be-polluted not he-allows and-prefers son-in-law
suum munere tuo quam illud fanum antiquitate religionis
his-own by-gift your than that shrine of-the-antiquity of-religion
carere. Sed ut ad haec haruspicum responsa redeam, ex
to-be-deprived but that to these of-the-haruspices answers I-may-return of
quibus est primum de ludis, quis est qui id non totum
which is the-first about the-games who is-there who that not wholly
in istius ludos praedictum et responsum esse fateatur?
against that-man's games foretold and answered to-be may-confess
30 Sequitur de locis sacris, religiosis. O impudentiam miram!
follows about places sacred holy O impudence wondrous
de mea domo dicere audes? Committe vel consulibus
about my house to-speak do-you-dare entrust either to-the-consuls
vel senatui vel conlegio pontificum tuam. Ac mea quidem
or to-the-senate or to-the-college of-pontiffs your-own and mine indeed

his tribus omnibus iudiciis, ut dixi antea, liberata est; at
by-these three all judgments as I-said before freed is but
in iis aedibus quas tu, Q. Seio, equite Romano, viro
in that house which you with-Quintus Seius a-knight Roman a-man
optimo, per te apertissime interfecto, tenes, sacellum dico
best by you most-openly killed hold a-chapel I-say
fuisse et aras. Tabulis hoc censoriis, memoria multorum
to-have-been and altars by-the-tables this censorial by-the-memory of-many
firmabo ac docebo: agatur modo haec res, quod ex
I-shall-confirm and show let-it-be-pleaded only this matter since by
eo senatus consulto quod nuper est factum referri ad vos
that of-the-senate decree which recently was made to-be-referred to you
necesse est, habeo quae de locis religiosis velim dicere.
necessary it-is I-have what-things about places holy I-would-wish to-say
Cum de domo tua dixero, in qua tamen ita est 31
when about house your I-shall-have-spoken in which still so is
inaedificatum sacellum ut alius fecerit, tibi tantum modo
built-over a-chapel that another made(-it) for-you only merely
sit demoliendum, tum videbo num mihi necesse sit de aliis
it-is to-be-demolished then I-shall-see whether for-me necessary it-be about others
etiam aliquid dicere. Putant enim ad me non nulli pertinere
also something to-say they-think for to me not none to-pertain
magmentarium Telluris aperire. Nuper id patuisse dicunt,
the-offering-place of-Tellus to-open recently it to-have-lain-open they-say
et ego recordor. Nunc sanctissimam partem ac sedem
and I remember now the-holiest part and seat
maximae religionis privato dicunt vestibulo contineri. Multa
of-the-greatest religion by-a-private they-say forecourt to-be-enclosed many-things
me movent: quod aedes Telluris est curationis meae, quod
me move that the-temple of-Tellus is in-the-charge of-mine that
is qui illud magmentarium sustulit mea domo pontificum
he who that offering-place removed with-my house by-the-pontiffs'

iudicio liberata secundum fratrem suum iudicatum esse
judgment freed in-favor-of brother his-own judged to-have-been
dicebat; movet me etiam in hac caritate annonae, sterilitate
said moves me also in this dearness of-the-grain-price the-barrenness
agrorum, inopia frugum religio Telluris, et eo magis
of-the-fields the-lack of-crops the-religion of-Tellus and so much-more
quod eodem ostento Telluri postilio deberi dicitur.
because by-the-same portent to-Tellus a-due-propitiation to-be-owed is-said

IV · ENVOYS, OATHS, AND SECRET RITES

Piso destroyed a chapel of Diana, and Serranus profaned others, while Clodius claims to have made Cicero's house sacred. Envoys have been killed, among them Theodosius and Plator, and oaths broken by the jurors who acquitted Clodius. The ancient and secret rites are the Good Goddess's, which Clodius violated, and the gods have punished him with madness. The haruspices warn of discord among the optimates, which Clodius stirs by their error and not by any talent like that of the Gracchi, Saturninus, and Sulpicius.

32 Vetera fortasse loquimur; quamquam hoc si minus civili
old-things perhaps we-speak although this if less by-civil
iure perscriptum est, lege tamen naturae, communi iure
law written-out is by-the-law still of-nature by-the-common right
gentium sanctum est ut nihil mortales a dis immortalibus
of-nations sanctioned it-is that nothing mortals from the-gods immortal
usu capere possint. Verum tamen antiqua neglegimus:
by-use to-acquire can but still ancient-things we-neglect
etiamne ea neglegemus quae fiunt cum maxime, quae
even those-things shall-we-neglect which are-done just-when most which
videmus? L. Pisonem quis nescit his temporibus ipsis
we-see Lucius Piso who does-not-know in-these times very

maximum et sanctissimum Dianae sacellum in Caeliculo
the-greatest and holiest of-Diana chapel on the-Caeliculus
sustulisse? Adsunt vicini eius loci; multi sunt etiam in
to-have-removed are-present the-neighbors of-that place many there-are even in
hoc ordine qui sacrificia gentilicia illo ipso in sacello stato
this order who sacrifices of-their-clan that very in chapel at-a-fixed
loco anniversaria factitarint. Et quaerimus di immortales
place yearly have-performed and we-ask the-gods immortal
quae loca desiderent, quid significent, de quo loquantur? A
what places they-miss what they-signify about what they-speak by
Sex. Serrano sanctissima sacella suffossa, inaedificata, oppressa,
Sextus Serranus most-holy chapels undermined built-over crushed
summa denique turpitudine foedata esse nescimus?
with-the-highest finally baseness befouled to-have-been do-we-not-know
Tu meam domum religiosam facere potuisti? Qua mente? 33
you my house religious to-make could with-what mind
quam amiseras. Qua manu? qua disturbaras. Qua
which you-had-lost with-what hand with-which you-had-pulled-down(-it) with-what
voce? qua incendi iusseras. Qua lege? quam ne in
voice with-which to-be-burned you-had-ordered(-it) by-what law which not in
illa quidem impunitate tua scripseras. Quo pulvinari? quod
that even impunity your you-had-written on-what couch which
stupraras. Quo simulacro? quod ereptum ex meretricis
you-had-debauched with-what image which snatched from a-harlot's
sepulcro in imperatoris monumento conlocaras. Quid habet
tomb on a-commander's monument you-had-placed what has
mea domus religiosi nisi quod impuri et sacrilegi
my house of-religious-scruple except that of-an-impure and sacrilegious-man
parietem tangit? Itaque ne quis meorum imprudens
the-wall it-touches and-so lest any of-my-household unwitting
introspicere tuam domum possit ac te sacra illa tua facientem
to-look-into your house could and you rites those your performing

videre, tollam altius tectum, non ut ego te despiciam,
to-see I-shall-raise higher the-roof not that I you may-look-down-on
sed tu ne aspicias urbem eam quam delere voluisti.
but you that-not may-look-at the-city that which to-destroy you-wished
34 Sed iam haruspicum reliqua responsa videamus. Oratores
but now of-the-haruspices the-remaining answers let-us-see envoys
contra ius fasque interfectos. Quid est hoc? De
against right and-divine-law killed what is this about
Alexandrinis esse video sermonem; quem ego non refuto.
the-Alexandrians to-be I-see the-talk which I not refute
Sic enim sentio, ius legatorum, cum hominum praesidio
so for I-feel the-right of-envoys both by-men's protection
munitum sit, tum etiam divino iure esse vallatum. Sed
fortified it-be and also by-divine law to-be palisaded but
quaero ab illo qui omnis indices tribunus e carcere in
I-ask of him who all informers as-tribune from the-prison into
forum effudit, cuius arbitrio sicae nunc omnes atque omnia
the-forum poured-out by-whose choice daggers now all and all
venena tractantur, qui cum Hermarcho Chio syngraphas fecit,
poisons are-handled who with Hermarchus of-Chios bonds made
ecquid sciat unum acerrimum adversarium Hermarchi,
whether-at-all he-knows the-one keenest opponent of-Hermarchus
Theodosium, legatum ad senatum a civitate libera missum
Theodosius as-envoy to the-senate by a-state free sent
sica percussum? quod non minus quam de Alexandrinis
with-a-dagger stabbed which not less than about the-Alexandrians
indignum dis immortalibus esse visum certo scio.
unworthy to-the-gods immortal to-have seemed surely I-know
35 Nec confero nunc in te unum omnia. Spes maior esset
nor I-heap now upon you alone all-things hope greater would-be
salutis, si praeter te nemo esset impurus; plures sunt;
of-safety if besides you no-one were impure more are-there

hoc et tu tibi confidis magis et nos prope iure
by-this both you in-yourself trust more and we almost by-right
diffidimus. Quis Platorem ex Orestide, quae pars Macedoniae
distrust who Plator from Orestis which part of-Macedonia
libera est, hominem in illis locis clarum ac nobilem,
free is a-man in those places illustrious and noble
legatum Thessalonicam ad nostrum, ut se ipse appellavit,
as-envoy to-Thessalonica to our as himself himself called
'imperatorem' venisse nescit? quem ille propter pecuniam,
commander to-have-come does-not-know whom he on-account-of money
quam ab eo extorquere non poterat, in vincla coniecit, et
which from him to-extort not he-could into chains threw and
medicum intromisit suum qui legato socio amico libero
a-doctor sent-in his-own who for-an-envoy ally friend free
foedissime et crudelissime venas incideret. Securis suas
most-foully and most-cruelly the-veins should-cut axes his-own
cruentari scelere noluit: nomen quidem populi Romani
to-be-bloodied by-crime he-was-unwilling the-name indeed of-the-people Roman
tanto scelere contaminavit ut id nulla re possit nisi ipsius
by-so-great a-crime he-contaminated that it by-no thing can except by-his-own
supplicio expiari. Qualis hunc carnifices putamus habere, qui
punishment be-expiated what-sort this-man executioners do-we-think to-have who
etiam medicis suis non ad salutem sed ad necem utatur?
even doctors his-own not for health but for killing uses
Sed recitemus quid sequatur. Fidem iusque iurandum 36
but let-us-read-out what follows faith and-right sworn
neglectum. Hoc quid sit per se ipsum non facile interpretor,
neglected this what it-be by itself itself not easily I-interpret
sed ex eo quod sequitur suspicor de tuorum iudicum
but from that which follows I-suspect about your jurors'
manifesto periurio dici, quibus olim erepti essent
manifest perjury to-be-said from-whom long-ago snatched would-have-been

nummi nisi a senatu praesidium postulassent. Qua re
the-coins unless from the-senate protection they-had-demanded by-which thing
autem de iis dici suspicer haec causa est, quod sic
however about them to-be-said I-suspect this the-cause is that so
statuo, et illud in hac civitate esse maxime inlustre atque
I-decide both that in this state to-be most illustrious and
insigne periurium, et te ipsum tamen in periuri crimen
signal perjury and you yourself still to of-perjury the-charge
ab iis quibuscum coniurasti non vocari.
by those with-whom you-have-sworn-together not to-be-summoned

37 Et video in haruspicum responsum haec esse subiuncta:
and I-see to the-haruspices' answer these-things to-be subjoined
sacrificia vetusta occultaque minus diligenter facta pollutaque.
sacrifices ancient and-secret less diligently performed and-polluted
Haruspices haec loquuntur an patrii penatesque di?
the-haruspices these-things speak or the-ancestral and-household gods
Multi enim sunt, credo, in quos huius malefici suspicio
many for are-there I-believe on whom of-this crime the-suspicion
cadat. Quis praeter hunc unum? Obscure dicitur quae sacra
may-fall who besides this one obscurely it-is-said what rites
polluta sint? Quid planius, quid religiosius, quid gravius dici
polluted were what plainer what more-religious what weightier to-be-said
potest? Vetusta occultaque. Nego ulla verba Lentulum, gravem
can ancient and-secret I-deny any words Lentulus a-weighty
oratorem ac disertum, saepius, cum te accusaret, usurpasse
orator and eloquent more-often when you he-was-accusing to-have-used
quam haec quae nunc ex Etruscis libris in te conversa
than these which now from the-Etruscan books against you turned
atque interpretata dicuntur. Etenim quod sacrificium tam
and interpreted are-spoken for-indeed what sacrifice so
vetustum est quam hoc quod a regibus aequale huius urbis
ancient is as this which from the-kings coeval with-this city

accepimus? quod autem tam occultum quam id quod non
we-have-received what however so secret as that which not
solum curiosos oculos excludit sed etiam errantis, quo non
only curious eyes shuts-out but even straying-ones where not
modo improbitas sed ne imprudentia quidem possit intrare?
only wickedness but not imprudence even can enter
quod quidem sacrificium nemo ante P. Clodium omni
which indeed sacrifice no-one before Publius Clodius in-all
memoria violavit, nemo umquam adiit, nemo neglexit, nemo
memory violated no-one ever approached no-one neglected no-one
vir aspicere non horruit, quod fit per virgines Vestalis,
a-man to-look-at(-it) not shuddered which is-performed by the-virgins Vestal
fit pro populo Romano, fit in ea domo quae est
is-performed for the-people Roman is-performed in that house which is
in imperio, fit incredibili caerimonia, fit ei deae
in command is-performed with-incredible ceremony is-performed for-that goddess
cuius ne nomen quidem viros scire fas est, quam iste
whose not the-name even men to-know right is whom that-man
idcirco Bonam dicit quod in tanto sibi scelere ignoverit.
for-that-reason Good calls because in so-great to-himself a-crime she-pardoned
Non ignovit, mihi crede, non: nisi forte tibi esse
not she-pardoned to-me believe not unless perhaps to-you to-have-been
ignotum putas, quod te iudices emiserunt excussum et
pardoned you-think that you the-jurors let-go shaken-out and
exhaustum, suo iudicio absolutum, omnium condemnatum,
drained by-their-own judgment acquitted by-all's condemned
aut quod oculos, ut opinio illius religionis est, non perdidisti.
or that the-eyes as the-belief of-that religion is not you-lost
Quis enim ante te sacra illa vir sciens viderat, ut 38
who for before you rites those a-man knowingly had-seen so-that
quisquam poenam quae sequeretur id scelus scire posset? An
anyone the-penalty which would-follow that crime know could or

tibi luminis obesset caecitas plus quam libidinis? Ne
to-you of-sight would-be-a-hindrance blindness more than of-lust not
id quidem sentis, coniventis illos oculos abavi tui
that even do-you-feel blinking those eyes of-great-great-grandfather your
magis optandos fuisse quam hos flagrantis sororis? Tibi
more to-be-wished to-have-been than these blazing of-your-sister to-you
vero, si diligenter attendes, intelleges hominum poenas
indeed if diligently you-attend you-will-understand of-men the-penalties
deesse adhuc, non deorum. Homines te in re foedissima
to-be-lacking so-far not of-gods men you in a-thing most-foul
defenderunt, homines turpissimum nocentissimumque laudarunt,
defended men the-most-shameful and-most-guilty praised
homines prope confitentem iudicio liberaverunt, hominibus
men almost confessing by-a-verdict freed to-men
iniuria tui stupri inlata in ipsos dolori non fuit,
the-injury of-your debauchery done against themselves for-grief not was
homines tibi arma alii in me, alii post in illum
men to-you arms some against me others afterward against that
invictum civem dederunt, hominum beneficia prorsus concedo
unconquered citizen gave of-men the-favors altogether I-concede
tibi iam maiora non esse quaerenda:
for-you now greater not to-be to-be-sought
39 a dis quidem immortalibus quae potest homini maior
from the-gods indeed immortal what can for-a-man greater
esse poena furore atque dementia? nisi forte in tragoediis
be penalty than-madness and insanity unless perhaps in tragedies
quos vulnere ac dolore corporis cruciari et consumi vides,
those-whom by-wound and pain of-body to-be-tortured and consumed you-see
graviores deorum immortalium iras subire quam illos qui
heavier of-the-gods immortal angers to-undergo than those who
furentes inducuntur putas. Non sunt illi eiulatus et gemitus
raving are-brought-on you-think not are those wailings and groans

Philoctetae tam miseri, quamquam sunt acerbi, quam illa
of-Philoctetes so wretched although they-are bitter as that
exsultatio Athamantis et quam senium matricidarum. Tu
exultation of-Athamas and as the-decrepitude of-the-matricides you
cum furialis in contionibus voces mittis, cum domos civium
when frenzied in assemblies cries you-send-forth when the-houses of-citizens
evertis, cum lapidibus optimos viros foro pellis, cum
you-overturn when with-stones the-best men from-the-forum you-drive when
ardentis faces in vicinorum tecta iactas, cum aedis sacras
burning firebrands on neighbors' roofs you-throw when temples sacred
inflammas, cum servos concitas, cum sacra ludosque conturbas,
you-set-on-fire when slaves you-rouse when rites and-games you-disturb
cum uxorem sororemque non discernis, cum quod ineas cubile
when wife and-sister not you-distinguish when what you-enter couch
non sentis, tum baccharis, tum furis, tum das eas
not you-perceive then you-rave-like-a-bacchant then you-rage then you-pay those
poenas quae solae sunt hominum sceleri a dis immortalibus
penalties which alone are for-men's crime by the-gods immortal
constitutae. Nam corporis quidem nostri infirmitas multos
established for of-the-body indeed our the-weakness many
subit casus per se, denique ipsum corpus tenuissima de
undergoes mishaps by itself finally the-very body the-slightest from
causa saepe conficitur: deorum tela in impiorum mentibus
cause often is-finished-off the-gods' weapons in of-the-impious minds
figuntur. Qua re miserior es cum in omnem fraudem
are-fixed by-which thing more-wretched you-are when into every fraud
raperis oculis quam si omnino oculos non haberes.
you-are-carried with-eyes than if at-all eyes not you-had
Sed quoniam de iis omnibus quae haruspices commissa 40
but since about those all which the-haruspices committed
esse dicunt satis est dictum, videamus quid idem
to-be say enough has-been said let-us-see what the-same

haruspices a dis iam immortalibus dicant moneri. Monent
haruspices by the-gods now immortal they-say to-be-warned they-warn
ne per optimatium discordiam dissensionemque patribus
that-not through the-optimates' discord and-dissension for-the-fathers
principibusque caedes periculaque creentur auxilioque divini
and-leading-men slaughter and-dangers be-created and-of-the-help of-divine
numinis deficiantur, †qua re ad unum imperium pecuniae
power they-be-forsaken by-which thing to one command the-funds
redeant exercitusque apulsus deminutioque accedat. Haruspicum
return and-the-army driven-off and-a-diminution come of-the-haruspices
verba sunt haec omnia: nihil addo de meo. Quis igitur
words are these all nothing I-add of my-own who therefore
optimatium discordiam molitur? Idem iste, nec ulla vi
of-the-optimates discord contrives the-same that-man nor by-any force
ingeni aut consili sui, sed quodam errore nostro; quem
of-intellect or counsel his-own but by-a-certain error our which
quidem ille, quod obscurus non erat, facile perspexit. Hoc enim
indeed he because obscure not it-was easily saw-through this for
etiam turpius adflictatur res publica quod ne ab eo
even more-shamefully is-buffeted the-thing public that not by him
quidem vexatur, ut tamquam fortis in pugna vir acceptis
even it-is-harassed so-that as-it-were a-brave in battle man with-received
a forti adversario vulneribus adversis honeste cadere videatur.
from a-brave opponent wounds in-front honorably to-fall it-may-seem
41 Ti. Gracchus convellit statum civitatis, qua gravitate
Tiberius Gracchus shook the-condition of-the-state of-what gravity
vir, qua eloquentia, qua dignitate! nihil ut a
a-man of-what eloquence of-what dignity nothing so-that from
patris avique Africani praestabili insignique virtute,
his-father's and-grandfather's Africanus outstanding and-signal virtue
praeterquam quod a senatu desciverat, deflexisset. Secutus
except that from the-senate he-had-revolted he-had-swerved followed

est C. Gracchus, quo ingenio, qua eloquentia, quanta vi,
has Gaius Gracchus of-what genius of-what eloquence how-great force
quanta gravitate dicendi! ut dolerent boni non illa tanta
how-great gravity of-speaking so-that grieved the-good not those so-great
ornamenta ad meliorem mentem voluntatemque esse
ornaments to a-better mind and-will to-have-been
conversa. Ipse Saturninus ita fuit effrenatus et paene
turned himself Saturninus so was unbridled and almost
demens ut actor esset egregius et ad animos imperitorum
insane that a-performer he-was outstanding and for the-minds of-the-ignorant
excitandos inflammandosque perfectus. Nam quid ego de
being-roused and-inflamed perfect for why I about
Sulpicio loquar? Cuius tanta in dicendo gravitas, tanta
Sulpicius should-speak whose so-great in speaking gravity so-great
iucunditas, tanta brevitas fuit, ut posset vel ut prudentes
charm so-great brevity was that he-could either that the-prudent
errarent, vel ut boni minus bene sentirent perficere dicendo.
should-err or that the-good less well should-think accomplish by-speaking
Cum his conflictari et pro salute patriae cotidie dimicare
with these to-struggle and for the-safety of-the-fatherland daily to-fight
erat omnino illis qui tum rem publicam gubernabant
was altogether for-those who then the-thing public were-steering
molestum; sed habebat ea molestia quandam tamen dignitatem.
troublesome but had that trouble a-certain still dignity

Cicero traces Clodius's life from a youth of debauchery to service in the East, where he roused Lucullus's army, and on to fraud in Gaul and at Rome. The Gracchi, Saturninus, and Sulpicius had grievances that gave their actions some dignity, but Clodius became popular in a woman's dress, and the discord of the leading men made him a tribune. Some optimates fostered him while he turned on Pompey, who was shut up in his house, and Cicero bore the attack and left his home.

42 Hic vero de quo ego ipse tam multa nunc dico, pro
this-one indeed about whom I myself so many-things now say O
di immortales! quid est, quid valet, quid adfert, ut
gods immortal what is-he what is-he-worth what does-he-bring that
tanta civitas, si cadet, — quod di omen obruant! — a
so-great a-state if it-shall-fall which the-gods the-omen may-bury by
viro tamen confecta videatur? Qui post patris mortem
a-man still finished-off may-seem who after his-father's death
primam illam aetatulam suam ad scurrarum locupletium
first that little-age his-own to of-buffoons rich
libidines detulit, quorum intemperantia expleta in
the-lusts brought whose intemperance having-been-satisfied in
domesticis est germanitatis stupris volutatus; deinde iam
domestic he-was of-kinship debaucheries wallowed then now
robustus provinciae se ac rei militari dedit, atque ibi
grown-strong to-the-province himself and to-the-thing military he-gave and there
piratarum contumelias perpessus etiam Cilicum libidines
of-the-pirates the-outrages having-endured even of-the-Cilicians the-lusts
barbarorumque satiavit; post exercitu L. Luculli
and-of-the-barbarians he-sated afterward with-the-army of-Lucius Lucullus
sollicitato per nefandum scelus fugit illim, Romaeque
stirred-up through an-unspeakable crime he-fled thence and-at-Rome
recenti adventu suo cum propinquis suis decidit
at-the-recent arrival his-own with relatives his-own he-settled-for-a-price

ne reos faceret, a Catilina pecuniam accepit
that-not defendants he-should-make(-them) from Catiline money he-received
ut turpissime praevaricaretur. Inde cum Murena se in
that most-shamefully he-should-collude then with Murena himself into
Galliam contulit, in qua provincia mortuorum testamenta
Gaul he-betook in which province of-the-dead the-wills
conscripsit, pupillos necavit, nefarias cum multis scelerum
he-forged wards he-killed wicked with many of-crimes
pactiones societatesque conflavit; unde ut rediit, quaestum
compacts and-partnerships he-forged whence when he-returned the-profit
illum maxime fecundum uberemque campestrem totum ad
that most fertile and-rich of-the-field whole to
se ita redegit ut homo popularis fraudaret improbissime
himself so he-brought-back that a-man popular cheated most-wickedly
populum, idemque vir clemens divisores omnium tribuum
the-people and-the-same man merciful the-distributors of-all tribes
domi ipse suae crudelissima morte mactaret.
at-home himself his-own by-the-cruelest death slaughtered
Exorta est illa rei publicae, sacris, religionibus, auctoritati 43
arose was that for-the-thing public for-rites religions for-authority
vestrae, iudiciis publicis funesta quaestura, in qua idem iste
your for-courts public deadly quaestorship in which the-same that-man
deos hominesque, pudorem, pudicitiam, senatus auctoritatem,
gods and-men modesty chastity the-senate's authority
ius, fas, leges, iudicia violavit. Atque hic ei gradus — o
right divine-law laws courts violated and this to-him the-step O
misera tempora stultasque nostras discordias! — P. Clodio
wretched times and-foolish our discords to-Publius Clodius
gradus ad rem publicam hic primus fuit et aditus ad
the-step to the-thing public this first was and the-approach to
popularem iactationem atque adscensus. Nam Ti. Graccho
popular display and the-ascent for to-Tiberius Gracchus

invidia Numantini foederis, cui feriendo, quaestor
the-odium of-the-Numantine treaty at-which being-struck as-quaestor
C. Mancini consulis cum esset, interfuerat, et in eo
of-Gaius Mancinus the-consul when he-was he-had-been-present and in that
foedere improbando senatus severitas dolori et timori fuit,
treaty being-disapproved the-senate's severity for-grief and for-fear was
eaque res illum fortem et clarum virum a gravitate patrum
and-that thing that brave and illustrious man from the-gravity of-the-fathers
desciscere coegit; C. autem Gracchum mors fraterna,
to-revolt compelled Gaius however Gracchus the-death of-his-brother
pietas, dolor, magnitudo animi ad expetendas domestici
piety grief greatness of-mind for being-sought of-domestic
sanguinis poenas excitavit; Saturninum, quod in annonae
blood penalties roused Saturninus because in the-grain-price's
caritate quaestorem a sua frumentaria procuratione senatus
dearness as-quaestor from his-own grain charge the-senate
amovit eique rei M. Scaurum praefecit, scimus dolore
removed and-over-that matter Marcus Scaurus set we-know by-grief
factum esse popularem; Sulpicium ab optima causa
made to-have-been popular Sulpicius from the-best cause
profectum Gaioque Iulio consulatum contra leges petenti
having-set-out and-to-Gaius Julius the-consulship against the-laws seeking
resistentem longius quam voluit popularis aura provexit.
resisting further than he-wished the-popular breeze carried

44 Fuit in his omnibus etsi non iusta, — nulla enim potest
there-was in these all though not a-just no for can
cuiquam male de re publica merendi iusta esse causa, —
for-anyone ill of the-thing public deserving just be the-cause
gravis tamen et cum aliquo animi virilis dolore coniuncta:
a-weighty still and with some of-mind manly grief joined
P. Clodius a crocota, a mitra, a muliebribus
Publius Clodius from the-saffron-gown from the-headdress from the-women's

soleis purpureisque fasceolis, a strophio, a psalterio,
slippers and-purple ribbons from the-breast-band from the-harp
a flagitio, a stupro est factus repente popularis. Nisi
from outrage from debauchery was made suddenly popular unless
eum mulieres exornatum ita deprendissent, nisi ex eo loco
him the-women adorned so had-caught unless from that place
quo eum adire fas non fuerat ancillarum beneficio
to-which him to-approach right not had-been by-the-maidservants' favor
emissus esset, populari homine populus Romanus, res
sent-out be-had-been of-a-popular man the-people Roman the-thing
publica cive tali careret. Hanc ob amentiam in
public of-a-citizen such would-be-deprived this on-account-of madness in
discordiis nostris, de quibus ipsis his prodigiis recentibus
discords our about which very by-these prodigies recent
a dis immortalibus admonemur, arreptus est unus ex
by the-gods immortal we-are-warned snatched was one of
patriciis cui tribuno plebis fieri non liceret.
the-patricians to-whom tribune of-the-plebs to-become not it-was-allowed
Quod anno ante frater Metellus et concors etiam 45
what in-the-year before his-brother Metellus and harmonious still
tum senatus, senatus principe Cn. Pompeio sententiam
then the-senate with-the-senate's leading-man Gnaeus Pompey his-opinion
dicente, excluserat acerrimeque una voce ac mente restiterat,
speaking had-shut-out and-most-keenly with-one voice and mind had-resisted
id post discidium optimatium, de quo ipso nunc monemur,
that after the-split of-the-optimates about which itself now we-are-warned
ita perturbatum itaque permutatum est ut, quod frater
so disturbed and-so changed was that what his-brother
consul ne fieret obstiterat, quod adfinis et sodalis
as-consul that-not it-should-be-done had-opposed what his-kinsman and comrade
clarissimus vir, qui illum reum non laudarat, excluserat, id
a-most-illustrious man who him as-defendant not had-praised had-shut-out that

is consul efficeret in discordiis principum qui illi unus
he as-consul brought-about in the-discords of-the-leading-men who to-him alone
inimicissimus esse debuerat, eo fecisse auctore se diceret
most-hostile to-be ought-to-have by-that-one done-it as-sponsor himself he-said
cuius auctoritatis neminem posset paenitere. Iniecta fax
of-whose authority no-one could repent thrown a-firebrand
est foeda ac luctuosa rei publicae; petita est auctoritas
was foul and mournful for-the-thing public attacked was authority
vestra, gravitas amplissimorum ordinum, consensio bonorum
your the-gravity of-the-most-ample orders the-agreement of-the-good
omnium, totus denique civitatis status. Haec enim certe
all whole finally of-the-state the-condition these-things for certainly
petebantur, cum in me cognitorem harum omnium rerum
were-being-attacked when upon me the-advocate of-these all things
illa flamma illorum temporum coniciebatur. Excepi et pro
that flame of-those times was-being-hurled I-received(-it) and for
patria solus exarsi, sic tamen ut vos isdem ignibus
the-fatherland alone blazed so still that you by-the-same fires
circumsaepti me primum ictum pro vobis et fumantem videretis.
hemmed-round me first struck for you and smoking might-see
46 Non sedabantur discordiae, sed etiam crescebat in eos
not were-calmed the-discords but even grew against those
odium a quibus nos defendi putabamur. Ecce isdem
the-hatred by whom we to-be-defended were-thought behold with-the-same
auctoribus, Pompeio principe, qui cupientem Italiam, flagitantis
as-sponsors with-Pompey as-leader who desiring Italy demanding
vos, populum Romanum desiderantem non auctoritate sua
you the-people Roman longing not by-authority his-own
solum, sed etiam precibus ad meam salutem excitavit, restituti
only but also by-prayers for my safety roused restored
sumus. Sit discordiarum finis aliquando, a diuturnis
we-were let-there-be of-discords an-end sometime from long-lasting

dissensionibus conquiescamus. Non sinit eadem ista labes;
dissensions let-us-rest not allows the-same that plague
eas habet contiones, ea miscet ac turbat ut modo se
such has assemblies such-things mixes and disturbs that now himself
his, modo vendat illis, nec tamen ita ut se quisquam,
to-these now he-sells to-those nor still so that himself anyone
si ab isto laudatus sit, laudatiorem putet, sed ut
if by that-man praised he-be more-praised may-think but so-that
eos quos non amant ab eodem gaudeant vituperari. Atque
those whom not they-love by the-same they-may-rejoice to-be-reviled and
ego hunc non miror — quid enim faciat aliud?—: illos
I this-man not wonder-at what for may-be-do else those
homines sapientissimos gravissimosque miror, primum quod
men most-wise and-most-weighty I-wonder-at first that
quemquam clarum hominem atque optime de re publica
any illustrious man and best of the-thing public
saepe meritum impurissimi voce hominis violari facile
often having-deserved of-a-most-impure by-the-voice man to-be-violated easily
patiuntur, deinde si existimant perditi hominis profligatique
they-allow then if they-think of-a-ruined man and-profligate
maledictis posse, id quod minime conducit ipsis, cuiusquam
by-the-abuses to-be-able that which least profits themselves anyone's
gloriam dignitatemque violari, postremo quod non sentiunt,
glory and-dignity to-be-violated finally that not they-perceive
id quod tamen mihi iam suspicari videntur, illius furentis
that which still to-me already to-suspect they-seem of-that raving-man
ac volaticos impetus in se ipsos posse converti.
and flighty onsets against themselves themselves to-be-able to-be-turned
Atque ex hac nimia non nullorum alienatione a quibusdam 47
and from this excessive of-not none estrangement from certain-men
haerent ea tela in re publica quae, quam diu
stick those weapons in the-thing public which as long-as

haerebant in uno me, graviter equidem sed aliquanto levius
they-stuck in one me heavily for-my-part but somewhat more-lightly
ferebam. An iste nisi primo se dedisset iis quorum
I-bore(-them) or that-man unless first himself he-had-given to-those whose
animos a vestra auctoritate seiunctos esse arbitrabatur, nisi
minds from your authority separated to-be he-thought unless
eos in caelum suis laudibus praeclarus auctor extolleret,
them to the-sky with-his-own praises a-splendid sponsor he-had-raised
nisi exercitum C. Caesaris — in quo fallebat, sed eum
unless the-army of-Gaius Caesar in which he-was-deceiving but him
nemo redarguebat — nisi eum, inquam, exercitum signis
no-one refuted unless that I-say army with-standards
infestis in curiam se inmissurum minitaretur, nisi se
hostile into the-senate-house himself going-to-send-in he-had-threatened unless himself
Cn. Pompeio adiutore, M. Crasso auctore, quae
with-Gnaeus Pompey as-helper with-Marcus Crassus as-sponsor what
faciebat facere clamaret, nisi consules causam coniunxisse
he-was-doing to-do he-had-shouted unless the-consuls their-cause to-have-joined
secum, in quo uno non mentiebatur, confirmaret, tam
with-himself in which one-thing not he-was-lying he-had-affirmed so
crudelis mei, tam sceleratus rei publicae vexator esse
cruel of-me so criminal of-the-thing public a-harasser to-be
potuisset?
could-have

48 Idem postea quam respirare vos a metu caedis, emergere
the-same after that to-breathe you from fear of-slaughter to-emerge
auctoritatem vestram e fluctibus illis servitutis, reviviscere
authority your from waves those of-slavery to-revive
memoriam ac desiderium mei vidit, vobis se coepit subito
the-memory and longing of-me he-saw to-you himself he-began suddenly
fallacissime venditare; tum leges Iulias contra auspicia latas
most-deceitfully to-peddle then the-laws Julian against the-auspices carried

et hic et in contionibus dicere, in quibus legibus inerat
both here and in assemblies to-say in which laws was-contained
curiata illa lex quae totum eius tribunatum continebat,
curiate that law which whole his tribunate held
quam caecus amentia non videbat. Producebat fortissimum
which blind by-madness not he-saw he-brought-forward a-most-brave
virum, M. Bibulum; quaerebat ex eo, C. Caesare
man Marcus Bibulus he-asked of him with-Gaius Caesar
leges ferente de caelo semperne servasset; semper se
laws carrying from the-sky whether-always he-had-watched always himself
ille servasse dicebat. Augures interrogabat, quae ita lata
he to-have-watched said the-augurs he-questioned what so carried
essent rectene lata essent; illi vitio lata esse
had-been whether-rightly carried they-had-been they with-flaw carried to-be
dicebant. Ferebant in oculis hominem quidam boni viri et
said bore in their-eyes the-man certain good men and
de me optime meriti, sed illius, ut ego arbitror, furoris
of me best having-deserved but of-his as I think madness
ignari. Longius processit; in ipsum Cn. Pompeium,
ignorant further he-went against himself Gnaeus Pompey
auctorem, ut praedicare est solitus, consiliorum suorum,
the-sponsor as to-proclaim he-was wont of-counsels his-own
invehi coepit; inibat gratiam a non nullis.
to-inveigh he-began he-entered-into favor with not none
Tum vero elatus est spe posse se, quoniam togatum 49
then indeed carried-away he-was by-hope to-be-able himself since the-togaed
domestici belli exstinctorem nefario scelere foedasset, illum
of-domestic war extinguisher by-wicked crime he-had-befouled him
etiam, illum externorum bellorum hostiumque victorem
also him of-foreign wars and-of-enemies the-victor
adfligere; tum est illa in templo Castoris scelerata et
to-strike-down then was that in the-temple of-Castor criminal and

paene deletrix huius imperi sica deprensa; tum ille cui
almost destroyer of-this empire dagger caught then he to-whom
nulla hostium diutius urbs umquam fuit clausa, qui omnis
no of-enemies longer city ever was closed who all
angustias, omnis altitudines moenium obiectas semper vi
narrow-passes all heights of-walls set-against-him always by-force
ac virtute perfregit, obsessus ipse est domi meque non
and courage broke-through besieged himself was at-home and-me by-not
nulla imperitorum vituperatione timiditatis meae consilio
none of-the-ignorant reproach of-timidity my by-the-counsel
et facto suo liberavit. Nam si Cn. Pompeio, viro uni
and deed his-own freed for if for-Gnaeus Pompey a-man alone
omnium fortissimo quicumque nati sunt, miserum magis
of-all the-bravest whoever born have-been wretched more
fuit quam turpe, quam diu ille tribunus plebis fuit,
it-was than shameful as long-as he tribune of-the-plebs was
lucem non aspicere, carere publico, minas eius perferre,
the-light not to-see to-be-deprived of-public-life threats his to-endure
cum in contionibus diceret velle se in Carinis aedificare
when in assemblies he-said to-wish himself on the-Carinae to-build
alteram porticum, quae Palatio responderet, certe mihi
a-second portico which to-the-Palatine would-answer certainly for-me
exire domo mea ad privatum dolorem fuit luctuosum,
to-go-out from-house my for private grief was mournful
ad rationem rei publicae gloriosum.
for the-reckoning of-the-thing public glorious

50 Videtis igitur hominem per se ipsum iam pridem
you-see therefore the-man by himself himself long ago
adflictum ac iacentem perniciosis optimatium discordiis
stricken and lying by-the-pernicious of-the-optimates discords
excitari, cuius initia furoris dissensionibus eorum qui tum
to-be-roused whose beginnings of-madness by-the-dissensions of-those who then

a vobis seiuncti videbantur sustentata sunt. Reliqua iam
from you separated seemed sustained were the-rest now
praecipitantis tribunatus etiam post tribunatum obtrectatores
of-the-headlong-falling tribunate even after the-tribunate the-detractors
eorum atque adversarii defenderunt; ne a re publica
of-them and opponents defended that-not from the-thing public
rei publicae pestis removeretur restiterunt, etiam ne
of-the-thing public the-plague should-be-removed they-resisted even that-not
causam diceret, etiam ne privatus esset. Etiamne
his-case he-should-plead even that-not a-private-man he-should-be even
in sinu atque in deliciis quidam optimi viri viperam illam
in the-bosom and in pets certain best men viper that
venenatam ac pestiferam habere potuerunt? quo tandem
poisonous and pestilent to-have could by-what pray
decepti munere? 'Volo,' inquiunt, 'esse qui in contione
deceived gift I-wish they-say there-to-be one-who in the-assembly
detrahat de Pompeio.' Detrahat ille vituperando? Velim
may-disparage about Pompey let-him-disparage he by-reviling I-would-wish
sic hoc vir summus atque optime de mea salute meritus
so this man highest and best about my safety having-deserved
accipiat ut a me dicitur; dicam quidem certe quod sentio.
may-receive as by me it-is-said I-shall-say indeed certainly what I-feel
Mihi me dius fidius tum de illius amplissima dignitate
to-me so-help-me the-god of-faith then from his most-ample dignity
detrahere cum illum maximis laudibus ecferebat videbatur.
to-detract when him with-the-greatest praises he-was-extolling he-seemed

Clodius now praises Pompey, and the optimates who enjoyed his attacks should see how fast he turned. The haruspices warn against discord among the leading men, which ends in ruin or one man's rule, as with Marius, Sulla, and Cinna; against hidden counsels, like Clodius's call to close the courts; against honor for the rejected and the worse, whose leader he is; and against a change in the state. Cicero urges concord, since the gods have spoken through a strange sound and an earthquake.

51 Utrum tandem C. Marius splendidior cum eum C. Glaucia
whether pray Gaius Marius more-splendid when him Gaius Glaucia
laudabat, an cum eundem iratus postea vituperabat? An
praised or when the-same angry afterward he-reviled or
ille demens et iam pridem ad poenam exitiumque
that madman and already long-ago to punishment and-destruction
praeceps foedior aut inquinatior in Cn. Pompeio accusando
headlong fouler or more-defiled in Gnaeus Pompey accusing
quam in universo senatu vituperando fuit? quod quidem
than in the-whole senate reviling was which indeed
miror, cum alterum gratum sit iratis, alterum esse
I-wonder-at since the-one welcome be to-the-angry the-other to-be
tam bonis civibus non acerbum. Sed ne id viros
so to-good citizens not bitter but that-not that men
optimos diutius delectet, legant hanc eius contionem
best longer delight let-them-read this his assembly-speech
de qua loquor; in qua Pompeium ornat, — an potius
about which I-speak in which Pompey he-adorns or rather
deformat? certe laudat, et unum esse in hac civitate
disfigures certainly he-praises and alone to-be in this state
dignum huius imperi gloria dicit, et significat se
worthy of-this empire's glory he-says and signifies himself

illi esse amicissimum et reconciliationem esse gratiae
to-him to-be most-friendly and a-reconciliation to-be of-favor
factam.
made
Quod ego quamquam quid sit nescio, tamen hoc 52
which I although what it-be I-know-not still this
statuo, hunc, si amicus esset Pompeio, laudaturum illum
I-decide this-man if a-friend he-were to-Pompey going-to-praise him
non fuisse. Quid enim, si illi inimicissimus esset,
not to-have-been what for if to-him most-hostile he-were
amplius ad eius laudem minuendam facere potuisset?
more for his praise being-diminished to-do could-he
Videant ii qui illum Pompeio inimicum esse gaudebant,
let-them-see those who him to-Pompey hostile to-be rejoiced
ob eamque causam in tot tantisque sceleribus
on-account-of and-that cause at so-many and-so-great crimes
conivebant, et non numquam eius indomitos atque
connived and not never his untamed and
ecfrenatos furores plausu etiam suo prosequebantur,
unbridled madnesses with-applause even their-own attended
quam se cito inverterit. Nunc enim iam laudat
how himself quickly he-has-turned-round now for already he-praises
illum: in eos invehitur quibus se antea venditabat.
him against those he-inveighs to-whom himself before he-was-peddling
Quid existimatis eum, si reditus ei gratiae patuerit,
what do-you-think him if a-return to-him to-favor shall-have-lain-open
esse facturum, qui tam libenter in opinionem gratiae
to-be going-to-do who so gladly into a-reputation of-favor
inrepat?
creeps

53 Quas ego alias optimatium discordias a dis immortalibus
what I other of-the-optimates discords by the-gods immortal
definiri putem? nam hoc quidem verbo neque P. Clodius
to-be-defined should-think for by-this indeed word neither Publius Clodius
neque quisquam de gregalibus eius aut de consiliariis
nor anyone of the-herd-mates his or of the-advisers
designatur. Habent Etrusci libri certa nomina quae in
is-designated have the-Etruscan books fixed names which upon
id genus civium cadere possint: deteriores, repulsos,
that kind of-citizens to-fall can the-worse the-rejected
quod iam audietis, hos appellant quorum et mentes
which now you-will-hear these they-call of-whom both the-minds
et res sunt perditae longeque a communi salute
and the-fortunes are ruined and-far from the-common safety
diiunctae. Qua re cum di immortales monent de
separated by-which thing when the-gods immortal warn about
optimatium discordia, de clarissimorum et optime meritorum
the-optimates' discord about of-the-most-illustrious and best having-deserved
civium dissensione praedicunt; cum principibus periculum
citizens dissension foretell when to-the-leading-men danger
caedemque portendunt, in tuto conlocant Clodium, qui
and-slaughter portend in safety they-place Clodius who
tantum abest a principibus quantum a puris, quantum
so-much is-distant from the-leading-men as from the-pure as
ab religiosis.
from the-religious

54 Vobis, o carissimi atque optimi cives, et vestrae saluti
for-you O dearest and best citizens and for-your safety
consulendum et prospiciendum vident. Caedes principum
to-be-consulted and to-be-provided they-see the-slaughter of-leading-men
ostenditur; id quod interitum optimatium sequi necesse
is-shown that which the-destruction of-the-optimates to-follow necessary

est adiungitur; ne in unius imperium res recidat
it-is is-added that-not into one-man's command the-thing fall-back
admonemur. Ad quem metum si deorum monitis non
we-are-warned to which fear if by-the-gods' warnings not
duceremur, tamen ipsi nostro sensu coniecturaque
we-were-led still by-ourselves our sense and-conjecture
raperemur; neque enim ullus alius discordiarum solet esse
we-would-be-hurried nor for any other of-discords is-wont to-be
exitus inter claros et potentis viros nisi aut universus
outcome between illustrious and powerful men except either universal
interitus aut victoris dominatus ac regnum. Dissensit cum
destruction or the-victor's despotism and kingship disagreed with
Mario, clarissimo civi, consul nobilissimus et fortissimus,
Marius a-most-illustrious citizen a-consul most-noble and bravest
L. Sulla; horum uterque ita cecidit victus ut victor
Lucius Sulla of-these each so fell conquered that the-victor
idem regnaverit. Cum Octavio conlega Cinna dissedit;
the-same reigned with Octavius colleague Cinna disagreed
utrique horum secunda fortuna regnum est largita, adversa
to-each of-these favorable fortune kingship has granted adverse
mortem. Idem iterum Sulla superavit; tum sine dubio
death the-same again Sulla overcame then without doubt
habuit regalem potestatem, quamquam rem publicam
he-had royal power although the-thing public
reciperarat.
he-had-recovered
Inest hoc tempore haud obscurum odium, atque id insitum 55
there-is at-this time not obscure hatred and that implanted
penitus et inustum animis hominum amplissimorum;
deeply and branded in-the-minds of-men most-ample
dissident principes; captatur occasio. Qui non tantum
disagree the-leading-men is-seized-upon the-occasion those-who not so-much

opibus valent nescio quam fortunam tamen ac tempus
in-resources are-strong I-know-not what fortune still and time
exspectant: qui sine controversia plus possunt, ii
await those-who without controversy more can they
fortasse non numquam consilia ac sententias inimicorum
perhaps not never the-counsels and opinions of-enemies
suorum extimescunt. Tollatur haec e civitate discordia:
their-own dread let-be-removed this from the-state discord
iam omnes isti qui portenduntur metus exstinguentur, iam
now all those which are-portended fears will-be-extinguished now
ista serpens, quae tum hic delitiscit, tum se emergit
that serpent which now here lurks now itself emerges
et fertur illuc, compressa atque inlisa morietur. Monent
and is-borne there crushed and dashed will-die they-warn
enim eidem ne occultis consiliis res publica laedatur.
for the-same that-not by-hidden counsels the-thing public be-harmed
Quae sunt occultiora quam eius qui in contione ausus est
what are more-hidden than of-him who in an-assembly dared has
dicere iustitium edici oportere, iuris dictionem
to-say a-cessation-of-business to-be-proclaimed to-behoove of-law the-pronouncing
intermitti, claudi aerarium, iudicia tolli? Nisi forte
to-be-interrupted to-be-closed the-treasury the-courts to-be-removed unless perhaps
existimatis hanc tantam conluvionem illi tantamque
you-think this so-great a-cesspool to-him and-so-great
eversionem civitatis in mentem subito in rostris cogitanti
overturning of-the-state into mind suddenly on the-rostra thinking
venire potuisse. Est quidem ille plenus vini stupri
to-come to-have-been-able is indeed he full of-wine of-debauchery
somni, plenusque inconsideratissimae ac dementissimae
of-sleep and-full of-most-inconsiderate and most-insane
temeritatis; verum tamen nocturnis vigiliis, etiam coitione
rashness but still in-night watches even by-a-combination

hominum, iustitium illud concoctum atque meditatum est.
of-men cessation that cooked-up and planned has-been
Mementote, patres conscripti, verbo illo nefario temptatas
remember fathers enrolled by-word that wicked tried
auris nostras et perniciosam viam audiendi consuetudine
ears our and a-pernicious road of-hearing by-the-habit
esse munitam.
to-have-been built
Sequitur illud, ne deterioribus repulsisque honos augeatur. 56
follows that that-not for-the-worse and-rejected honor be-increased
Repulsos videamus, nam deteriores qui sint, post docebo.
the-rejected let-us-see for the-worse who they-be afterward I-shall-show
Sed tamen in eum cadere hoc verbum maxime qui sit
but still upon him to-fall this word most who is
unus omnium mortalium sine ulla dubitatione deterrimus,
alone of-all mortals without any doubt the-worst
concedendum est. Qui sunt igitur repulsi? Non, ut opinor,
to-be-conceded is who are therefore the-rejected not as I-think
ii qui aliquando honorem vitio civitatis, non suo,
those who sometime office by-the-fault of-the-state not their-own
non sunt adsecuti; nam id quidem multis saepe optimis
not have attained for that indeed to-many often best
civibus atque honestissimis viris accidit. Repulsi sunt ii
citizens and most-honorable men has-happened rejected are those
quos ad omnia progredientis, quos munera contra leges
whom to all-things proceeding whom shows against the-laws
gladiatoria parantis, quos apertissime largientis non solum
gladiatorial preparing whom most-openly bribing not only
alieni sed etiam sui, vicini, tribules, urbani, rustici
strangers but also their-own neighbors tribesmen urban rustic
reppulerunt: hi ne honore augeantur monent. Debet esse
repulsed these that-not with-honor be-increased they-warn ought to-be

gratum quod praedicunt, sed tamen huic malo populus
welcome what they-foretell but still against-this evil the-people
Romanus ipse nullo haruspicum admonitu sua sponte
Roman itself with-no of-the-haruspices warning of-its-own accord
prospexit.
has-provided
57 Deteriores cavete; quorum quidem est magna natio, sed
the-worse beware of-whom indeed is a-great nation but
tamen eorum omnium hic dux est atque princeps;
still of-them all this-man the-leader is and chief
etenim si unum hominem deterrimum poeta praestanti
for-indeed if one man worst a-poet of-outstanding
aliquis ingenio fictis conquisitisque vitiis deformatum
some genius with-feigned and-gathered vices disfigured
vellet inducere, nullum profecto dedecus reperire posset
wished to-bring-on no surely disgrace find could
quod in hoc non inesset, multaque in eo penitus
which in this-man not was-present and-many-things in him deeply
defixa atque haerentia praeteriret. Parentibus et dis
fixed and clinging he-would-pass-over to-parents and to-the-gods
immortalibus et patriae nos primum natura conciliat;
immortal and to-the-fatherland us first nature unites
eodem enim tempore et suscipimur in lucem et hoc
at-the-same for time both we-are-taken-up into the-light and with-this
caelesti spiritu augemur et certam in sedem civitatis
heavenly breath we-are-endowed and fixed into seat of-the-state
ac libertatis adscribimur. Iste parentum nomen, sacra,
and of-liberty we-are-enrolled that-man of-parents the-name the-rites
memoriam, gentem Fonteiano nomine obruit; deorum
the-memory the-clan with-the-Fonteian name buried of-the-gods
ignis, solia, mensas, abditos ac penetralis focos, occulta
the-fires the-thrones the-tables the-hidden and innermost hearths the-secret

et maribus non invisa solum, sed etiam inaudita sacra
and to-males not unseen only but even unheard-of rites
inexpiabili scelere pervertit, idemque earum templum
by-inexpiable crime overturned and-the-same of-those the-temple
inflammavit dearum quarum ope etiam aliis incendiis
set-on-fire of-goddesses by-whose help even to-other fires
subvenitur.
aid-is-given
Quid de patria loquar? Qui primum eum civem 58
what about the-fatherland shall-I-say who first that citizen
vi, ferro, periculis urbe, omnibus patriae praesidiis
by-force sword dangers from-the-city from-all of-the-fatherland protections
depulit quem vos patriae conservatorem esse saepissime
drove whom you of-the-fatherland the-preserver to-be most-often
iudicaritis, deinde everso senatus, ut ego semper
had-judged then with-overturned of-the-senate as I always
dixi, comite, duce, ut ille dicebat, senatum ipsum,
said the-companion the-leader as he used-to-say the-senate itself
principem salutis mentisque publicae, vi, caede
the-chief of-safety and-of-mind public by-violence slaughter
incendiisque pervertit; sustulit duas leges, Aeliam et
and-fires he-overturned he-removed two laws the-Aelian and
Fufiam, maxime rei publicae salutaris, censuram
Fufian most for-the-thing public salutary the-censorship
exstinxit, intercessionem removit, auspicia delevit, consules
he-extinguished the-veto he-removed the-auspices he-destroyed the-consuls
sceleris sui socios aerario, provinciis, exercitu armavit,
of-crime his-own partners with-the-treasury provinces army he-armed
reges qui erant vendidit, qui non erant appellavit,
kings who were he-sold who not were he-named
Cn. Pompeium ferro domum compulit, imperatorum
Gnaeus Pompey by-the-sword home he-drove commanders'

monumenta evertit, inimicorum domus disturbavit,
monuments he-overturned enemies' houses he-pulled-down
vestris monumentis suum nomen inscripsit. Infinita sunt
on-your monuments his-own name he-inscribed infinite are
scelera quae ab illo in patriam sunt edita.
the-crimes which by him against the-fatherland have-been brought-forth
Quid? quae in singulos civis quos necavit, socios
what those against individual citizens whom he-killed allies
quos diripuit, imperatores quos prodidit, exercitus quos
whom he-plundered commanders whom he-betrayed armies which
temptavit?
he-tampered-with
59 Quid vero? ea quanta sunt quae in ipsum se scelera,
what indeed those how-great are which against himself himself the-crimes
quae in suos edidit! Quis minus umquam pepercit
which against his-own he-brought-forth who less ever spared
hostium castris quam ille omnibus corporis sui partibus?
the-enemy's camp than he all of-body his-own parts
quae navis umquam in flumine publico tam vulgata omnibus
what ship ever on a-river public so common to-all
quam istius aetas fuit? quis umquam nepos tam libere
as that-man's youth was who ever a-spendthrift so freely
est cum scortis quam hic cum sororibus volutatus?
has with harlots as this-man with his-sisters wallowed
Quam denique tam immanem Charybdim poetae fingendo
what finally so monstrous Charybdis the-poets by-inventing
exprimere potuerunt, quae tantos exhauriret gurgites quantas
to-portray could which so-great would-drain whirlpools as-great-as
iste Byzantiorum Brogitarorumque praedas exsorbuit? aut
that-man of-the-Byzantines and-of-the-Brogitaruses booty has-swallowed or
tam eminentibus canibus Scyllam tamque ieiunis quam
with-so prominent dogs Scylla and-so hungry as

quibus istum videtis, Gelliis, Clodiis, Titiis, rostra ipsa
with-which that-man you-see with-Gellii Clodii Titii the-rostra itself
mandentem?
chewing
Qua re, id quod extremum est in haruspicum 60
by-which thing that which last is in of-the-haruspices
responso, providete ne rei publicae status
the-answer take-care that-not of-the-thing public the-condition
commutetur; etenim vix haec, si undique fulciamus
be-changed for-indeed scarcely these-things if from-everywhere we-prop-up
iam labefacta, vix, inquam, nixa in omnium nostrum
already shaken scarcely I-say leaning on of-all of-us
umeris cohaerebunt. Fuit quondam ita firma haec
the-shoulders will-hold-together there-was once so firm this
civitas et valens ut neglegentiam senatus vel
state and strong that the-negligence of-the-senate or
etiam iniurias civium ferre posset. Iam non potest.
even the-wrongs of-citizens to-bear it-could now not it-can
Aerarium nullum est, vectigalibus non fruuntur qui
a-treasury none there-is the-revenues not enjoy those-who
redemerunt, auctoritas principum cecidit, consensus
have-contracted the-authority of-the-leading-men has-fallen the-agreement
ordinum est divulsus, iudicia perierunt, suffragia descripta
of-the-orders is torn-apart the-courts have-perished the-votes allotted
tenentur a paucis, bonorum animus ad nutum nostri
are-held by few of-the-good the-spirit at the-nod of-our
ordinis expeditus iam non erit, civem qui se pro
order ready now not will-be a-citizen who himself for
patriae salute opponat invidiae frustra posthac
of-the-fatherland the-safety may-set-against odium in-vain hereafter
requiretis.
you-will-seek

61 Qua re hunc statum qui nunc est, qualiscumque
by-which thing this condition which now is of-whatever-sort
est, nulla alia re nisi concordia retinere possumus;
it-is by-no other thing except by-concord to-keep we-can
nam ut meliore simus loco ne optandum quidem est
for that in-a-better we-be place not to-be-wished even it-is
illo impunito; deteriore autem statu ut simus, unus
with-him unpunished in-a-worse however condition that we-be one
est inferior gradus aut interitus aut servitutis; quo
is a-lower step either of-destruction or of-slavery into-which
ne trudamur di immortales nos admonent, quoniam
that-not we-be-thrust the-gods immortal us warn since
iam pridem humana consilia ceciderunt. Atque ego hanc
already long-ago human counsels have-fallen and I this
orationem, patres conscripti, tam tristem, tam gravem non
speech fathers enrolled so sad so weighty not
suscepissem, non quin hanc personam et has partis,
would-have-undertaken not that this role and these parts
honoribus populi Romani, vestris plurimis ornamentis
with-the-honors of-the-people Roman your very-many ornaments
mihi tributis, deberem et possem sustinere, sed tamen
to-me bestowed I-ought and could sustain but still
facile tacentibus ceteris reticuissem; sed haec oratio
easily with-silent the-others I-would-have-kept-silent but this speech
omnis fuit non auctoritatis meae, sed publicae religionis.
whole was not of-authority my but of-public religion
Mea fuerunt verba fortasse plura, sententiae quidem
mine were the-words perhaps more the-opinions indeed
omnes haruspicum, ad quos aut referri nuntiata ostenta
all of-the-haruspices to whom either to-be-referred announced portents

non convenit aut eorum responsis commoveri necesse
not is-fitting or by-their answers to-be-moved necessary
est.
it-is
Quod si cetera magis pervulgata nos saepe et 62
but if other-things more widespread us often and
leviora moverunt, vox ipsa deorum immortalium
lighter have-moved the-voice itself of-the-gods immortal
non mentis omnium permovebit? Nolite enim id
not the-minds of-all will-move do-not for that
putare accidere posse quod in fabulis saepe videtis
think to-happen to-be-able what in plays often you-see
fieri, ut deus aliqui delapsus de caelo coetus
to-be-done that a-god some having-slipped-down from heaven the-gatherings
hominum adeat, versetur in terris, cum hominibus
of-men may-approach may-dwell on earth with men
conloquatur. Cogitate genus sonitus eius quem Latinienses
may-converse think-of the-kind of-sound that which the-Latinienses
nuntiarunt, recordamini illud etiam quod nondum est
announced recall that also which not-yet has-been
relatum, quod eodem fere tempore factus in agro
reported that at-the-same nearly time made in the-field
Piceno Potentiae nuntiatur terrae motus horribilis
Picene at-Potentia is-announced of-earth a-movement horrible
cum quibusdam † multis metuendisque rebus:
with certain (corrupt) many and-fearful things
haec eadem profecto quae prospicimus impendentia
these same surely which we-foresee impending
pertimescetis.
you-will-dread

63 Etenim haec deorum immortalium vox, haec paene
for-indeed this of-the-gods immortal the-voice this almost
oratio iudicanda est, cum ipse mundus, cum maria
speech to-be-judged is when itself the-world when the-seas
atque terrae motu quodam novo contremiscunt
and lands with-movement a-certain new tremble
et inusitato aliquid sono incredibilique praedicunt. In
and with-unusual something sound and-incredible foretell in
quo constituendae nobis quidem sunt procurationes et
which to-be-established by-us indeed are expiations and
obsecratio, quem ad modum monemur. Sed faciles sunt
entreaty in-what to manner we-are-warned but easy are
preces apud eos qui ultro nobis viam salutis
prayers with those who of-their-own-accord to-us the-way of-safety
ostendunt: nostrae nobis sunt inter nos irae discordiaeque
show our by-us are among ourselves angers and-discords
placandae.
to-be-appeased

CICERO

In Vatinium

Against Vatinius

IN VATINIUM

I · WHY CICERO QUESTIONS VATINIUS

Cicero will question Vatinius, a witness against Sestius, to check his insolence. Vatinius lied when he denied speaking with Albinovanus about the prosecution. Cicero answers the charge that he defended Cornelius and the taunts about his exile, then asks whether Vatinius remembers scraping into the quaestorship last, by a consul's favor.

Si tantum modo, Vatini, quid indignitas postularet spectare 1
if so-much only Vatinius what the-unworthiness demanded to-regard
voluissem, fecissem id quod his vehementer placebat, ut
I-had-wished I-would-have-done that which to-these vehemently was-pleasing that
te, cuius testimonium propter turpitudinem vitae sordisque
you whose testimony on-account-of the-baseness of-your-life and-squalor
domesticas nullius momenti putaretur, tacitus dimitterem; nemo
domestic of-no weight was-thought silent I-should-dismiss no-one
enim horum aut ita te refutandum ut gravem adversarium
for of-these either so you to-be-refuted as a-weighty adversary
aut ita rogandum ut religiosum testem arbitrabatur. Sed fui
or so to-be-questioned as a-scrupulous witness thought but I-was
paulo ante intemperantior fortasse quam debui; odio enim
a-little before more-intemperate perhaps than I-ought by-hatred for
tui, in quo etsi omnis propter tuum in me scelus
of-you in which although all on-account-of your against me crime
superare debeo, tamen ab omnibus paene vincor, sic sum
to-surpass I-ought still by all almost I-am-outdone so I-was
incitatus ut, cum te non minus contemnerem quam odissem,
roused that though you not less I-despised than I-hated
tamen vexatum potius quam despectum vellem dimittere.
still harassed rather than despised I-wished to-dismiss(-you)

2 Qua re ne tibi hunc honorem a me haberi forte mirere,
by-which thing lest to-you this honor by me to-be-paid perhaps you-may-wonder
quod interrogem quem nemo congressu, nemo aditu, nemo
that I-question one-whom no-one of-meeting no-one of-approach no-one
suffragio, nemo civitate, nemo luce dignum putet, nulla me
of-vote no-one of-citizenship no-one of-the-light worthy may-think no me
causa impulisset nisi ut ferocitatem istam tuam comprimerem
cause would-have-driven except that ferocity that your I-might-repress
et audaciam frangerem et loquacitatem paucis meis
and audacity break and loquacity with-few my
interrogationibus inretitam retardarem. Etenim debuisti, Vatini,
questions entangled I-might-slow for-indeed you-ought Vatinius
etiam si falso venisses in suspicionem P. Sestio, tamen
even if falsely you-had-come into suspicion with-Publius Sestius still
mihi ignoscere, si in tanto hominis de me optime meriti
me to-pardon if in so-great of-a-man of me best having-deserved
periculo et tempori eius et voluntati parere voluissem.
danger both to-the-crisis his and to-the-wish to-obey I-had-wished
3 Sed te hesterno die pro testimonio esse mentitum, cum
but you yesterday on-the-day in testimony to-have lied when
adfirmares nullum tibi omnino cum Albinovano sermonem
you-affirmed no to-you at-all with Albinovanus conversation
non modo de Sestio accusando, sed nulla umquam de re
not only about Sestius being-accused but no ever about matter
fuisse, paulo ante imprudens indicasti, qui et T. Claudium
to-have-been a-little before unwittingly you-revealed who both Titus Claudius
tecum communicasse et a te consilium P. Sesti
with-you to-have-conferred and from you counsel of-Publius Sestius
accusandi petisse, et Albinovanum, quem antea vix tibi
being-accused to-have-sought and Albinovanus whom before scarcely to-you
notum esse dixisses, domum tuam venisse, multa tecum
known to-be you-had-said to-house your to-have-come many-things with-you

locutum dixeris, denique contiones P. Sesti scriptas,
to-have-talked you-said finally the-speeches of-Publius Sestius written
quas neque nosset neque reperire posset, te Albinovano
which neither he-knew nor to-find could you to-Albinovanus
dedisse easque in hoc iudicio esse recitatas. In
to-have-given and-them in this trial to-have-been read-out in
quo alterum es confessus, a te accusatores esse
which the-one-thing you-have confessed by you the-accusers to-have-been
instructos et subornatos, in altero inconstantiam tuam cum
instructed and suborned in the-other the-inconstancy your both
levitate tum etiam periurio implicatam refellisti, cum,
with-levity and also with-perjury entangled you-refuted(-yourself) when
quem a te alienissimum esse dixisses, eum domi tuae
the-man-whom from you most-estranged to-be you-had-said him in-house your
fuisse, quem praevaricatorem esse ab initio iudicasses,
to-have-been whom a-collusive-prosecutor to-be from the-beginning you-had-judged
ei te quos rogasset ad accusandum libros dixeris dedisse.
to-him you which he-had-asked for accusing books you-said to-have-given
Nimium es vehemens feroxque natura: non putas 4
too you-are vehement and-ferocious by-nature not you-think
fas esse verbum ex ore exire cuiusquam quod non
right to-be a-word from the-mouth to-go-out of-anyone which not
iucundum et honorificum ad auris tuas accidat. Venisti iratus
pleasant and honoring to ears your may-fall you-came angry
omnibus; quod ego, simul ac te aspexi, prius quam loqui
with-all which I as-soon as you I-saw before that to-speak
coepisti, cum ante Gellius, nutricula seditiosorum omnium,
you-began when before Gellius the-little-nurse of-the-seditious all
testimonium diceret, sensi atque providi. Repente enim
testimony was-giving I-perceived and foresaw suddenly for
te tamquam serpens e latibulis oculis eminentibus,
you as-a serpent from its-lurking-places with-eyes bulging

inflato collo, tumidis cervicibus intulisti, ut mihi
with-inflated neck with-swollen nape brought-in so-that to-me
renovatus ille tuus in to ***
renewed that your in (fragment) (lacuna)
*** veterem meum amicum, sed tamen tuum familiarem,
(lacuna) old my friend but still your intimate
defenderim, cum in hac civitate oppugnatio soleat qua tu
I-defended though in this state attack is-wont which you
nunc uteris non numquam, defensio numquam vituperari.
now use not never defense never to-be-blamed
Sed quaero a te cur C. Cornelium non defenderem:
but I-ask of you why Gaius Cornelius not I-should-have-defended
num legem aliquam Cornelius contra auspicia tulerit,
surely-not law any Cornelius against the-auspices carried
num Aeliam, num Fufiam legem neglexerit, num
surely-not the-Aelian surely-not the-Fufian law he-neglected surely-not
consuli vim attulerit, num armatis hominibus templum
on-a-consul violence brought surely-not with-armed men a-temple
tenuerit, num intercessorem vi deiecerit, num religiones
held surely-not a-vetoer by-force cast-down surely-not religions
polluerit, aerarium exhauserit, rem publicam compilarit?
polluted the-treasury drained the-thing public plundered
Tua sunt, tua sunt haec omnia: Cornelio eius modi
yours are yours are these-things all against-Cornelius of-that kind
nihil obiectum est. Codicem legisse dicebatur: defendebat
nothing cast-up was the-codex to-have-read he-was-said he-defended-himself
testibus conlegis suis non se recitandi causa legisse,
with-witnesses colleagues his-own not himself of-reciting for-the-sake to-have-read
sed recognoscendi. Constabat tamen Cornelium concilium
but of-checking it-was-agreed still Cornelius the-assembly
illo die dimisisse, intercessioni paruisse. Tu vero, cui
on-that day to-have-dismissed to-the-veto to-have-obeyed you indeed to-whom

Corneli defensio displicet, quam causam ad patronos tuos
Cornelius' defense displeases what case to patrons your
aut quod os adferes? quibus iam praescribis quanto illis
or what face will-you-bring to-whom already you-prescribe how-much to-them
probro futurum sit si te defenderint, cum tu mihi
for-disgrace going-to-be it-is if you they-shall-have-defended since you to-me
Corneli defensionem in maledictis obiciendam putaris.
Cornelius' defense among abuses to-be-cast-up thought
Ac tamen hoc, Vatini, memento, paulo post istam defensionem 6
and still this Vatinius remember a-little after that defense
meam, quam tu bonis viris displicuisse dicis, me cum
my which you to-good men to-have-displeased say me both
universi populi Romani summa voluntate tum optimi
of-the-whole people Roman with-the-highest goodwill and of-the-best
cuiusque singulari studio magnificentissime post hominum
each singular zeal most-magnificently since men's
memoriam consulem factum, omniaque ea me pudenter
memory consul made and-all those-things me modestly
vivendo consecutum esse quae tu impudenter vaticinando
by-living attained to-have which you shamelessly by-prophesying
sperare te saepe dixisti.
to-hope yourself often said
Nam quod mihi discessum obiecisti meum, et quod
for that against-me departure you-cast-up my and that
horum, quibus ille dies acerbissimus fuit qui idem tibi
of-these to-whom that day most-bitter was which the-same to-you
laetissimus, luctum et gemitum renovare voluisti, tantum
most-joyful the-mourning and groaning to-renew you-wished only-so-much
tibi respondeo me, cum tu ceteraeque rei publicae pestes
to-you I-answer me when you and-the-other of-the-thing public plagues
armorum causam quaereretis, et cum per meum nomen
of-arms a-cause were-seeking and when through my name

fortunas locupletium diripere, sanguinem principum civitatis
the-fortunes of-the-rich to-plunder the-blood of-the-leading-men of-the-state
exsorbere, crudelitatem vestram odiumque diuturnum quod in
to-suck-up cruelty your and-hatred long-lasting which against
bonos iam inveteratum habebatis saturare cuperetis, scelus et
the-good already grown-old you-had to-satisfy you-desired the-crime and
furorem vestrum cedendo maluisse frangere quam resistendo.
madness your by-yielding to-have-preferred to-break than by-resisting
7 Qua re peto a te ut mihi ignoscas, Vatini, ei cum
by-which thing I-ask of you that me you-pardon Vatinius to-him since
patriae pepercerim quam servaram, et, si ego te perditorem
the-fatherland I-spared which I-had-saved and if I you the-destroyer
et vexatorem rei publicae fero, tu me conservatorem et
and harasser of-the-thing public bear you me the-preserver and
custodem feras. Deinde eius viri discessum increpas quem
guardian may-bear then of-that man the-departure you-chide whom
vides omnium civium desiderio, ipsius denique rei
you-see of-all of-the-citizens by-the-longing of-the-very finally of-the-thing
publicae luctu esse revocatum. At enim dixisti
public by-the-mourning to-have-been recalled but indeed you-said
non mea sed rei publicae causa homines de meo
not for-my but of-the-thing public for-the-sake men about my
reditu laborasse: quasi vero quisquam vir excellenti animo
return to-have-labored as-if indeed any man of-excellent mind
in rem publicam ingressus optabilius quicquam arbitretur
into the-thing public having-entered more-desirable anything may-think
quam se a suis civibus rei publicae causa diligi!
than himself by his-own citizens of-the-thing public for-the-sake to-be-loved
8 Scilicet aspera mea natura, difficilis aditus, gravis vultus,
of-course harsh my nature difficult approach stern face
superba responsa, insolens vita; nemo consuetudinem meam,
proud answers insolent life no-one the-company my

nemo humanitatem, nemo consilium, nemo auxilium requirebat;
no-one the-kindness no-one the-counsel no-one the-help missed
cuius desiderio, ut haec minima dicam, forum maestum, muta
of-whom by-longing that these least-things I-may-say the-forum sad dumb
curia, omnia denique bonarum artium studia siluerunt.
the-senate-house all finally of-good arts the-studies fell-silent
Sed nihil sit factum mea causa: omnia illa senatus
but nothing let-it-be done for-my sake all those of-the-senate
consulta, populi iussa, Italiae totius, cunctarum societatum,
decrees of-the-people orders of-Italy whole of-all companies
conlegiorum omnium decreta de me rei publicae causa
of-colleges all decrees about me of-the-thing public for-the-sake
esse facta fateamur. Quid ergo, homo imperitissime solidae
to-have-been made let-us-confess what therefore man most-ignorant of-solid
laudis ac verae dignitatis, praestantius mihi potuit accidere?
praise and true dignity more-excellent to-me could happen
quid optabilius ad immortalitatem gloriae atque in memoriam
what more-desirable for the-immortality of-glory and for the-memory
mei nominis sempiternam, quam omnis hoc civis meos iudicare,
of-my name everlasting than all this citizens my to-judge
civitatis salutem cum unius mea salute esse coniunctam?
of-the-state the-safety with of-one-man my safety to-be joined
Quod quidem ego tibi reddo tuum; nam ut tu me carum 9
which indeed I to-you give-back as-yours for as you me dear
esse dixisti senatui populoque Romano non tam mea causa
to-be said to-the-senate and-people Roman not so-much for-my sake
quam rei publicae, sic ego te, quamquam es omni
as for-the-thing public's so I you although you-are in-all
diritate atque immanitate taeterrimus, tamen dico esse odio
frightfulness and monstrousness most-foul still I-say to-be for-hatred
civitati non tam tuo quam rei publicae nomine.
to-the-state not so-much in-your-own as of-the-thing public in-the-name

Atque ut aliquando ad te veniam, de me hoc sit
and that at-last to you I-may-come about me this let-be
extremum. Quid quisque nostrum de se ipse loquatur,
the-last what each of-us about himself himself may-say
non est sane requirendum: boni viri quid dicant, id est
not is indeed to-be-sought good men what they-say that is
maximi momenti et ponderis.
of-greatest moment and weight
10 Duo sunt tempora quibus nostrorum civium spectentur
two are times in-which of-our citizens are-looked-at
iudicia de nobis, unum honoris, alterum salutis. Honos
the-judgments about us one of-office the-other of-safety office
tali populi Romani voluntate paucis est delatus ac
with-such of-the-people Roman goodwill to-few has-been conferred as
mihi, salus tanto studio civitatis nemini reddita. De te
to-me safety with-so-great zeal of-the-state to-no-one given-back about you
autem homines quid sentiant in honore experti sumus, in
however men what they-feel in office learned we-have in
salute exspectamus. Sed tamen ne me cum his principibus
safety we-await but still lest me with these leading-men
civitatis qui adsunt P. Sestio, sed ut tecum, cum homine
of-the-state who are-present for-Publius Sestius but that with-you with a-man
uno non solum impudentissimo sed etiam sordidissimo atque
one not only most-impudent but also most-sordid and
infimo, conferam, de te ipso, homine et adrogantissimo
lowest I-may-compare about you yourself a-man both most-arrogant
et mihi inimicissimo, quaero, Vatini, utrum tandem putes
and to-me most-hostile I-ask Vatinius whether pray you-think
huic civitati, huic rei publicae, huic urbi, his templis,
for-this state for-this thing public for-this city for-these temples
aerario, curiae, viris his quos vides, horum bonis
for-the-treasury for-the-senate-house for-men these whom you-see of-these for-the-goods

fortunis liberis, civibus ceteris, denique deorum immortalium
fortunes children for-citizens other finally for-the-gods' immortal
delubris auspiciis religionibus melius fuisse et praestabilius
shrines auspices religions better to-have-been and more-excellent
me civem in hac civitate nasci an te? Cum mihi hoc
me as-a-citizen in this state to-be-born or you when to-me this
responderis, aut ita impudenter ut manus a te
you-shall-have-answered either so impudently that their-hands from you
homines vix abstinere possint, aut ita dolenter ut aliquando
men scarcely to-keep-off can or so painfully that at-last
ista quae sunt inflata rumpantur, tum memoriter
those-things which are inflated may-burst then from-memory
respondeto ad ea quae te de te ipso rogaro.
answer to those-things which you about you yourself I-shall-have-asked
Atque illud tenebricosissimum tempus ineuntis aetatis tuae 11
and that most-shadowy time of-the-beginning age your
patiar latere. Licet impune per me parietes in
I-shall-allow to-lie-hidden it-is-allowed with-impunity through me walls in
adulescentia perfoderis, vicinos compilaris, matrem
your-youth you-may-have-dug-through neighbors robbed mother
verberaris: habeat hoc praemi tua indignitas, ut adulescentiae
beaten let-have this of-reward your unworthiness that of-youth
turpitudo obscuritate et sordibus tuis obtegatur.
the-baseness by-the-obscurity and squalor your be-covered
Quaesturam petisti cum P. Sestio, cum hic nihil
the-quaestorship you-sought with Publius Sestius when this-man nothing
loqueretur nisi quod agebat, tu de altero consulatu
said except what he-was-doing you about a-second consulship
gerendo te diceres cogitare. Quaero abs te teneasne
to-be-held yourself said to-be-thinking I-ask of you whether-you-hold
memoria, cum P. Sestius quaestor sit cunctis suffragiis
in-memory when Publius Sestius quaestor was with-all votes

factus, tunc te vix, invitis omnibus, non populi beneficio
made then you scarcely unwilling with-all not of-the-people by-the-favor
sed consulis, extremum adhaesisse?
but of-the-consul's last to-have-stuck

II · QUAESTORSHIP, LEGATESHIP, AND TRIBUNATE

As quaestor at Puteoli Vatinius searched merchants' houses and was mobbed. He went to Spain by way of Sardinia and Africa. As tribune he scorned the auspices and his nine colleagues, hoped to become an augur, and had the consul Bibulus dragged toward prison.

12 In eo magistratu cum tibi magno clamore aquaria provincia
in that magistracy when to-you with-great shouting the-water province
sorte obtigisset, missusne sis a me consule Puteolos,
by-lot had-fallen whether-sent you-were by me as-consul to-Puteoli
ut inde aurum exportari argentumque prohiberes? in eo
that thence gold to-be-exported and-silver you-might-prevent in that
negotio cum te non custodem ad continendas, sed portitorem
business when you not a-guardian for keeping but a-toll-collector
ad partiendas mercis missum putares, cumque omnium
for sharing goods sent thought and-when of-all
domos, apothecas, navis furacissime scrutarere, hominesque
the-houses storehouses ships most-thievishly you-searched and-men
negoti gerentis iudiciis iniquissimis inretires, mercatores e
business conducting with-trials most-unjust you-entangled merchants from
navi egredientis terreres, conscendentis morarere, teneasne
the-ship disembarking you-terrified embarking delayed whether-you-hold
memoria tibi in conventu Puteolis manus esse adlatas,
in-memory on-you in the-community at-Puteoli hands to-have-been laid
ad me consulem querelas Puteolanorum esse delatas? post
to me the-consul complaints of-the-Puteolans to-have-been brought after

quaesturam exierisne legatus in ulteriorem Hispaniam
the-quaestorship whether-you-went-out as-legate into further Spain
C. Cosconio pro consule? cum illud iter Hispaniense
with-Gaius Cosconius as proconsul when that journey Spanish
pedibus fere confici soleat, aut, si qui navigare velit,
on-foot generally to-be-completed is-wont or if anyone to-sail wishes
certa sit ratio navigandi, venerisne in Sardiniam atque
fixed is the-method of-sailing whether-you-came into Sardinia and
inde in Africam? fuerisne, quod sine senatus consulto
thence into Africa whether-you-were which without of-the-senate decree
tibi facere non licuit, in regno Hiempsalis, fuerisne
for-you to-do not was-allowed in the-kingdom of-Hiempsal whether-you-were
in regno Mastanesosi, venerisne ad fretum per
in the-kingdom of-Mastanesosus whether-you-came to the-strait through
Mauretaniam? quem scias umquam legatum Hispaniensem
Mauretania what do-you-know ever legate Spanish
istis itineribus in illam provinciam pervenisse?
by-those routes into that province to-have-arrived
Factus es tribunus plebis — quid enim te de 13
made you-were tribune of-the-plebs why for you about
Hispaniensibus flagitiis tuis sordidissimisque furtis interrogem?
Spanish outrages your and-most-sordid thefts should-I-question
Quaero abs te primum universe quod genus improbitatis et
I-ask of you first generally what kind of-wickedness and
sceleris in eo magistratu praetermiseris? Ac tibi iam inde
of-crime in that magistracy you-passed-over and to-you now from-there
praescribo ne tuas sordis cum clarissimorum virorum
I-prescribe that-not your squalor with of-most-illustrious men
splendore permisceas. Ego te quaecumque rogabo de te
the-splendor you-mix I you whatever-things I-shall-ask about you
ipso rogabo, neque te ex amplissimi viri dignitate, sed
yourself shall-ask nor you from of-a-most-ample man the-dignity but

ex tuis tenebris extraham; omniaque mea tela sic in
from your darkness I-shall-drag and-all my weapons so against
te conicientur ut nemo per tuum latus, quod soles
you will-be-hurled that no-one through your side as you-are-wont
dicere, saucietur; in tuis pulmonibus ac visceribus haerebunt.
to-say be-wounded in your lungs and bowels they-will-stick
14 Et quoniam omnium rerum magnarum ab dis immortalibus
and since of-all things great from the-gods immortal
principia ducuntur, volo ut mihi respondeas tu, qui te
the-beginnings are-drawn I-wish that to-me you-answer you who yourself
Pythagoreum soles dicere et hominis doctissimi nomen tuis
a-Pythagorean are-wont to-call and of-a-man most-learned the-name to-your
immanibus et barbaris moribus praetendere, quae te tanta
monstrous and barbarous ways to-hold-before what you so-great
pravitas mentis tenuerit, qui tantus furor ut, cum inaudita ac
perversity of-mind held what so-great madness that when unheard-of and
nefaria sacra susceperis, cum inferorum animas elicere, cum
wicked rites you-have-undertaken when of-those-below the-souls to-call-up when
puerorum extis deos manis mactare soleas, auspicia quibus
with-boys' entrails the-gods manes to-honor you-are-wont the-auspices by-which
haec urbs condita est, quibus omnis res publica atque
this city founded was by-which whole the-thing public and
imperium tenetur, contempseris, initioque tribunatus
empire is-held you-despised and-at-the-beginning of-tribunate
tui senatui denuntiaris tuis actionibus augurum responsa
your to-the-senate gave-notice for-your actions the-augurs' answers
atque eius conlegi adrogantiam impedimento non futura?
and of-that college the-arrogance for-hindrance not going-to-be
15 Secundum ea quaero servarisne in eo fidem? num
next-to these-things I-ask whether-you-kept in that faith whether-at-all
quando tibi moram attulerit quo minus concilium
ever to-you delay it-brought by-which less an-assembly

advocares legemque ferres, quod eo die scires de caelo
you-should-summon and-a-law carry because on-that day you-knew from the-sky
esse servatum? Et quoniam hic locus est unus quem tibi
to-have-been watched and since this point is the-one which to-you
cum Caesare communem esse dicas, seiungam te ab illo,
with Caesar common to-be you-say I-shall-separate you from him
non solum rei publicae causa verum etiam Caesaris, ne
not only of-the-thing public for-the-sake but also for-Caesar's lest
qua ex tua summa indignitate labes illius dignitati adspersa
any from your supreme unworthiness stain on-his dignity sprinkled
videatur. Primum quaero num tu senatui causam tuam
may-seem first I-ask whether you to-the-senate case your
permittas, quod facit Caesar? deinde, quae sit auctoritas eius
entrust which does Caesar then what be the-authority of-him
qui se alterius facto, non suo defendat? deinde, —
who himself by-another's deed not by-his-own defends then
erumpet enim aliquando ex me vera vox et dicam sine
will-burst-out for sometime from me a-true voice and I-shall-say without
cunctatione quod sentio, — si iam violentior aliqua in re
hesitation what I-feel if now rather-violent some in thing
C. Caesar fuisset, si eum magnitudo contentionis, studium
Gaius Caesar had-been if him the-greatness of-the-contention the-zeal
gloriae, praestans animus, excellens nobilitas aliquo impulisset,
for-glory outstanding spirit excellent nobility somewhere had-driven
quod in illo viro et tum ferendum esset et maximis rebus
what in that man both then to-be-borne would-be and by-the-greatest things
quas postea gessit oblitterandum, id tu tibi, furcifer,
which afterward he-did to-be-blotted-out that you for-yourself gallows-bird
sumes, et Vatini latronis ac sacrilegi vox audietur hoc
will-take and of-Vatinius a-brigand and temple-robber the-voice will-be-heard this
postulantis, ut idem sibi concedatur quod Caesari?
demanding that the-same to-himself be-conceded which to-Caesar

16 Sic enim ex te quaero. Tribunus plebis fuisti, — seiunge te
thus for of you I-ask tribune of-the-plebs you-were separate yourself
a consule: conlegas habuisti viros fortis novem. Ex iis tres
from the-consul colleagues you-had men brave nine of these three
erant quos tu cotidie sciebas servare de caelo, quos inridebas,
were whom you daily knew to-watch from the-sky whom you-mocked
quos privatos esse dicebas; de quibus duos praetextatos
whom private-men to-be you-said of whom two in-bordered-togas
sedentis vides, — te aediliciam praetextam togam, quam frustra
sitting you-see you the-aedile's bordered toga which in-vain
confeceras, vendidisse! — Tertium scis ex illo obsesso atque
you-had-made to-have-sold the-third you-know from that besieged and
adflicto tribunatu consularem auctoritatem hominem esse
stricken tribunate consular authority as-a-man to-have
adulescentem consecutum. Reliqui sex fuerunt, e quibus
young attained the-remaining six were of whom
partim plane tecum sentiebant, partim medium quendam cursum
partly plainly with-you thought partly a-middle certain course
tenebant: omnes habuerunt leges promulgatas, in iis multas
held all had laws published among them many
meus necessarius, etiam de mea sententia, C. Cosconius,
my close-friend even by my opinion Gaius Cosconius
iudex noster, quem tu dirumperis cum aedilicium vides.
juror our whom you burst when an-ex-aedile you-see
17 Volo uti mihi respondeas num quis ex toto conlegio
I-wish that to-me you-answer whether any of whole the-college
legem sit ausus ferre praeter unum te? quae tanta in te
a-law has dared to-carry besides one you what so-great in you
fuerit audacia, quae tanta vis ut, quod novem tui conlegae
was audacity what so-great force that what nine your colleagues
sibi timendum esse duxerint, id unus tu emersus e
for-themselves to-be-feared to-be thought that alone you having-emerged from

caeno, omnium facile omnibus rebus infimus contemnendum,
the-mud of-all easily in-all things lowest to-be-despised
despiciendum, inridendum putares? num quem post urbem
to-be-scorned to-be-mocked should-think whether anyone since the-city
conditam scias tribunum plebis egisse cum plebe, cum
founded you-know tribune of-the-plebs to-have-dealt with the-plebs when
constaret servatum esse de caelo.
it-was-agreed watched to-have-been from the-sky
Simul etiam illud volo uti respondeas, cum te tribuno 18
at-the-same-time also that I-wish that you-answer when with-you as-tribune
plebis esset etiam tum in re publica lex Aelia et
of-the-plebs there-was even then in the-thing public the-law Aelian and
Fufia, quae leges saepe numero tribunicios furores debilitarunt
Fufian which laws often in-number tribunician madnesses weakened
et represserunt, quas contra praeter te nemo umquam est
and repressed which against besides you no-one ever has
facere conatus, — quae quidem leges anno post, sedentibus in
to-act tried which indeed laws a-year later with-sitting in
templo duobus non consulibus sed proditoribus huius civitatis
the-temple two not consuls but traitors of-this state
ac pestibus, una cum auspiciis, cum intercessionibus, cum
and plagues together with the-auspices with the-vetoes with
omni iure publico conflagraverunt: ecquando dubitaris contra
all law public burned-up whether-ever you-hesitated against
eas leges cum plebe agere et concilium convocare? num
those laws with the-plebs to-deal and an-assembly to-convene whether
quem ex omnibus tribunis plebis, quicumque seditiosi
anyone of all tribunes of-the-plebs whoever seditious
fuerunt, tam audacem audieris fuisse ut umquam contra
were so audacious you-have-heard to-have-been that ever against
legem Aeliam aut Fufiam concilium advocaret?
the-law Aelian or Fufian an-assembly he-summoned

19 Quaero illud etiam ex te, conatusne sis, voluerisne, denique
I-ask that also of you whether-tried you-have whether-you-wished finally
cogitaris, — est enim res eius modi ut, si tibi in mentem
thought is for the-thing of-such kind that if to-you into mind
modo venit, nemo sit qui te ullo cruciatu esse indignum
only it-came no-one be-there who you of-any torture to-be unworthy
putet, — cogitarisne in illo tuo intolerabili non regno, —
may-think whether-you-thought in that your intolerable not kingship
nam cupis id audire, — sed latrocinio augur fieri in
for you-desire that to-hear but brigandage an-augur to-become in
Q. Metelli locum, ut, quicumque te aspexisset, duplicem
Quintus Metellus' place so-that whoever you had-looked-at a-double
dolorem gemitumque susciperet et ex desiderio clarissimi
grief and-groaning would-undertake both from longing for-a-most-illustrious
civis et ex honore turpissimi atque improbissimi? adeone
citizen and from the-honor of-a-most-shameful and most-wicked-man to-such-a-degree
non labefactatam rem publicam te tribuno neque
not shaken the-thing public with-you as-tribune nor
conquassatam civitatem, sed captam hanc urbem atque
shattered the-state but captured this city and
perversam putaris ut augurem Vatinium ferre possemus?
overturned you-thought that as-augur Vatinius to-bear we-could
20 Hoc loco quaero, si, id quod concupieras, augur factus
in-this place I-ask if that which you-had-coveted augur made
esses, — in qua tua cogitatione nos qui te oderamus vix
you-had-been in which your thought we who you hated scarcely
dolorem ferebamus, illi autem quibus eras in deliciis vix
the-grief bore they however to-whom you-were among pets scarcely
risum tenebant: sed quaero, si ad cetera vulnera, quibus rem
laughter kept but I-ask if to the-other wounds by-which the-thing
publicam putasti deleri, hanc quoque mortiferam plagam
public you-thought to-be-destroyed this also deadly blow

inflixisses auguratus tui, utrum decreturus fueris,
you-had-inflicted of-augurate your whether going-to-decree you-would-have-been
id quod augures omnes usque ab Romulo decreverunt,
that which augurs all right from Romulus decreed
Iove fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse, an, quia tu
with-Jupiter lightening with the-people to-deal impious to-be or because you
semper sic egisses, auspicia fueris augur dissoluturus?
always so had-dealt the-auspices you-would-have-been augur going-to-dissolve
Ac ne diutius loquar de auguratu tuo, — quod invitus 21
and that-not longer I-may-speak about augurate your which unwilling
facio ut recorder ruinas rei publicae; neque enim
I-do that I-recall the-ruins of-the-thing public nor for
tu umquam stante non modo maiestate horum, sed
you ever with-standing not only the-majesty of-these but
etiam urbe te augurem fore putasti: verum tamen
even the-city yourself augur going-to-be thought but still
ut somnia tua relinquam, ad scelera veniam, volo uti
that dreams your I-may-leave to crimes I-shall-come I-wish that
mihi respondeas, cum M. Bibulum consulem non dicam
to-me you-answer when Marcus Bibulus the-consul not I-shall-say
bene de re publica sentientem, ne tu mihi homo
well about the-thing public thinking lest you with-me man
potens irascare, qui ab eo dissensisti, sed hominem certe
powerful be-angry who from him disagreed but a-man certainly
nusquam progredientem, nihil in re publica molientem,
nowhere advancing nothing in the-thing public contriving
tantum animo ab actionibus tuis dissentientem, — cum
only in-mind from actions your disagreeing when
eum tu consulem in vincula duceres et ab tabula Valeria
him you as-consul into chains were-leading and from the-tabula Valeria
conlegae tui mitti iuberent, fecerisne ante rostra
colleagues your (him)-to-be-released ordered whether-you-made before the-rostra

pontem continuatis tribunalibus, per quem consul populi
a-bridge with-joined tribunals across which the-consul of-the-people
Romani moderatissimus et constantissimus, sublato auxilio,
Roman most-moderate and most-steadfast with-removed help
exclusis amicis, vi perditorum hominum incitata,
with-shut-out friends by-the-violence of-ruined men roused
turpissimo miserrimoque spectaculo non in carcerem, sed
in-a-most-shameful and-most-wretched spectacle not to prison but
ad supplicium et ad necem duceretur?
to punishment and to death might-be-led

22 Quaero num quis ante te tam fuerit nefarius qui id
I-ask whether anyone before you so was wicked who that
fecerit, ut sciamus utrum veterum facinorum sis imitator
did that we-may-know whether of-old crimes you-are an-imitator
an inventor novorum; idemque tu cum his atque
or the-inventor of-new and-the-same you when with-these and
huius modi consiliis ac facinoribus nomine C. Caesaris,
of-this kind counsels and crimes in-the-name of-Gaius Caesar
clementissimi atque optimi viri, scelere vero atque audacia
a-most-merciful and best man by-crime indeed and audacity
tua, M. Bibulum foro, curia, templis, locis publicis
your Marcus Bibulus from-the-forum senate-house temples places public
omnibus expulisses, inclusum domi contineres, cumque non
all had-expelled shut-in at-home you-confined and-when not
maiestate imperi, non iure legum, sed ianuae praesidio
by-the-majesty of-command not by-the-right of-the-laws but by-the-door's protection
et parietum custodiis consulis vita tegeretur, miserisne
and by-the-walls' guards of-the-consul the-life was-covered whether-you-sent
viatorem qui M. Bibulum domo vi extraheret, ut,
a-summoner who Marcus Bibulus from-house by-force should-drag so-that

quod in privatis semper est servatum, id te tribuno
what in private-men always has-been kept that with-you as-tribune
plebis consuli domus exsilium esse non posset?
of-the-plebs for-a-consul his-house an-exile to-be not could

III · VETTIUS AND THE BLACK TOGA

Vatinius brought Vettius forward to accuse the leading men of a plot against Pompey, then had him strangled in prison. He timed his law on jury rejection to harm Antonius, and grew rich as tribune. He dined at Arrius's public feast in a mourning toga.

Simulque mihi respondeto tu, qui nos qui de communi 23
and-at-the-same-time to-me answer you who us who about the-common
salute consentimus tyrannos vocas, fuerisne non tribunus
safety agree tyrants call whether-you-were not a-tribune
plebis, sed intolerandus ex caeno nescio qui atque ex
of-the-plebs but an-intolerable from the-mud I-know-not what and from
tenebris tyrannus, qui primum eam rem publicam quae
darkness tyrant who first that thing public which
auspiciis inventis constituta est isdem auspiciis sublatis
by-the-auspices found established was by-the-same auspices removed
conarere pervertere, deinde sanctissimas leges, Aeliam et
tried to-overturn then the-holiest laws the-Aelian and
Fufiam dico, quae in Gracchorum ferocitate et in audacia
Fufian I-mean which in the-Gracchi's ferocity and in the-audacity
Saturnini et in conluvione Drusi et in contentione Sulpici
of-Saturninus and in the-cesspool of-Drusus and in the-contention of-Sulpicius
et in cruore Cinnano, etiam inter Sullana arma vixerunt,
and in the-blood Cinnan even among the-Sullan arms lived
solus conculcaris ac pro nihilo putaris, qui consulem morti
alone trampled and as nothing thought who a-consul to-death

obieceris, inclusum obsederis, extrahere ex suis tectis
exposed shut-in besieged to-drag from his-own house
conatus sis, qui in eo magistratu non modo emerseris
tried you-have who in that magistracy not only have-emerged
ex mendicitate, sed etiam divitiis nos iam tuis terreas?
from beggary but even with-riches us now your may-terrify
24 Fuerisne tanta crudelitate ut delectos viros et principes
whether-you-were of-such cruelty that chosen men and leading-men
civitatis tollere et delere tua rogatione conareris, cum
of-the-state to-remove and to-destroy by-your bill you-tried when
L. Vettium, qui in senatu confessus esset se cum telo
Lucius Vettius who in the-senate confessed had himself with a-weapon
fuisse, mortem Cn. Pompeio, summo et clarissimo
to-have-been death to-Gnaeus Pompey a-highest and most-illustrious
civi, suis manibus offerre voluisse, in contionem
citizen with-his-own hands to-bring to-have-wished into an-assembly
produxeris, indicem in rostris, in illo, inquam, augurato
you-brought-forward as-informer on the-rostra in that I-say inaugurated
templo ac loco conlocaris, quo auctoritatis exquirendae
temple and place you-set where of-authority being-sought
causa ceteri tribuni plebis principes civitatis producere
for-the-sake the-other tribunes of-the-plebs the-leading-men of-the-state to-bring-forward
consuerunt? ibi tu indicem Vettium linguam et vocem
are-wont there you the-informer Vettius tongue and voice
suam sceleri et dementiae tuae praebere voluisti. Dixeritne
his-own to-the-crime and madness your to-offer wished whether-said
L. Vettius in contione tua rogatus a te sese auctores et
Lucius Vettius in assembly your asked by you himself as-sponsors and
impulsores et socios habuisse sceleris illius eos viros, quibus
instigators and partners to-have-had of-crime that those men with-whom
e civitate sublatis, quod tu eo tempore moliebare,
from the-state removed which you at-that time were-contriving

civitas stare non posset? M. Bibulum, cuius inclusione
the-state to-stand not could Marcus Bibulus with-whose shutting-in
contentus non eras, interficere volueras, spoliaras
content not you-were to-kill you-had-wished you-had-despoiled
consulatu, patria privare cupiebas; L. Lucullum, cuius
of-the-consulship of-the-fatherland to-deprive you-desired Lucius Lucullus whose
tu rebus gestis, quod ipse ad imperatorias laudes a puero
you things done because yourself to commanders' praises from boyhood
videlicet spectaras, vehementius invidebas, C. Curionem,
of-course you-had-looked more-vehemently envied Gaius Curio
perpetuum hostem improborum omnium, auctorem publici
perpetual enemy of-the-wicked all the-sponsor of-public
consili in libertate communi tuenda maxime liberum, cum
counsel in liberty common being-guarded most free with
filio principe iuventutis cum re publica coniunctiore
his-son the-leading-man of-the-youth with the-thing public more-joined
etiam quam ab illa aetate postulandum fuit, delere voluisti;
even than at that age to-be-demanded it-was to-destroy you-wished
L. Domitium, cuius dignitas et splendor praestringebat, 25
Lucius Domitius whose dignity and splendor dazzled
credo, oculos Vatini, — quem tu propter commune odium
I-believe the-eyes of-Vatinius whom you on-account-of common hatred
in bonos oderas, in posterum autem, propter omnium
against the-good hated for the-future however on-account-of all's
spem quae de illo est atque erat, ante aliquanto timebas,
hope which about him is and was before somewhat you-feared
L. Lentulum, hunc iudicem nostrum, flaminem Martialem,
Lucius Lentulus this juror our flamen of-Mars
quod erat eo tempore Gabini tui competitor, eiusdem
because he-was at-that time of-Gabinius your the-competitor by-the-same
Vetti indicio opprimere voluisti: qui si tum illam labem
Vettius' information to-crush you-wished who if then that stain

pestemque vicisset, quod ei tuo scelere non licuit,
and-plague he-had-conquered which to-him by-your crime not was-allowed
res publica victa non esset. Huius etiam filium
the-thing public conquered not would-have-been of-this-man also the-son
eodem indicio et crimine ad patris interitum adgregare
by-the-same information and charge to the-father's destruction to-add
voluisti: L. Paulum, qui tum quaestor Macedoniam
you-wished Lucius Paulus who then as-quaestor Macedonia
obtinebat, quem civem, quem virum! qui duo nefarios
held what a-citizen what a-man who two wicked
patriae proditores, domesticos hostis, legibus exterminarat,
of-the-fatherland traitors domestic enemies by-the-laws had-banished
hominem ad conservandam rem publicam natum, in idem
a-man for preserving the-thing public born into the-same
Vetti indicium atque in eundem hunc numerum congregasti.
Vettius' information and into the-same this number you-gathered
26 Quid ergo de me querar? qui etiam gratias tibi agere
why therefore about me should-I-complain who even thanks to-you to-give
debeo quod me ex fortissimorum civium numero seiungendum
ought because me from of-the-bravest citizens the-number to-be-separated
non putasti. Sed qui fuit tuus ille tantus furor ut, cum
not you-thought but what was your that so-great madness that when
iam Vettius ad arbitrium tuum perorasset et civitatis
already Vettius to the-pleasure your had-finished-speaking and of-the-state
lumina notasset descendissetque de rostris, eum repente
the-lights had-marked and-had-come-down from the-rostra him suddenly
revocares, conloquerere populo Romano vidente, deinde
you-called-back conversed with-the-people Roman seeing then
interrogares ecquosnam alios posset nominare? Inculcarisne
asked whether-any others he-could to-name whether-you-pressed
ut C. Pisonem, generum meum, nominaret, qui in summa
that Gaius Piso son-in-law my he-should-name who in the-greatest

copia optimorum adulescentium pari continentia, virtute,
abundance of-the-best young-men equal in-self-control virtue
pietate reliquit neminem, itemque M. Laterensem, hominem
piety has-left none and-likewise Marcus Laterensis a-man
dies atque noctes de laude et de re publica cogitantem?
days and nights about praise and about the-thing public thinking
promulgarisne, impurissime hostis, quaestionem de tot
whether-you-published most-impure enemy an-inquiry about so-many
amplissimis et talibus viris, indicium Vettio, praemia
most-ample and such men an-informer's-reward for-Vettius rewards
amplissima? Quibus rebus omnium mortalium non voluntate
most-ample which things of-all mortals not by-the-will
sed convicio repudiatis, fregerisne in carcere cervices
but by-the-outcry having-been-rejected whether-you-broke in the-prison the-neck
ipsi illi Vettio, ne quod indicium corrupti indici
to-the-very that Vettius lest any evidence of-the-corrupted information
exstaret eiusque sceleris in te ipsum quaestio flagitaretur?
should-stand-out and-of-that crime against you yourself an-inquiry be-demanded
Et quoniam crebro usurpas legem te de alternis consiliis 27
and since frequently you-cite a-law you about alternate juries
reiciendis tulisse, ut omnes intellegant te ne recte quidem
being-rejected to-have-carried that all may-understand you not rightly even
facere sine scelere potuisse, quaero, cum lex esset
to-act without crime to-have-been-able I-ask when the-law was
aequa promulgata initio magistratus, multas iam alias
fair published at-the-beginning of-the-magistracy many already other
tulisses, exspectarisne dum C. Antonius reus fieret apud
you-had-carried whether-you-waited until Gaius Antonius a-defendant became before
Cn. Lentulum Clodianum, et, postea quam ille est reus
Gnaeus Lentulus Clodianus and after that he was a-defendant
factus, statim tuleris in eum qui tuam post legem
made at-once you-carried(-it) against him who your after law

reus factus esset, ut homo consularis exclusus miser
a-defendant made had-been so-that a-man consular shut-out wretched
puncto temporis spoliaretur beneficio et aequitate legis tuae?
in-a-point of-time should-be-despoiled of-the-benefit and fairness of-law your
28 Dices familiaritatem tibi fuisse cum Q. Maximo.
you-will-say intimacy to-you to-have-been with Quintus Maximus
Praeclara defensio facinoris tui! Nam Maximi quidem
a-splendid defense of-crime your for of-Maximus indeed
summa laus est sumptis inimicitiis, suscepta causa,
the-highest praise is with-taken-up enmities with-undertaken the-case
quaesitore consilioque delecto, commodiorem inimico suo
with-the-president and-jury chosen a-more-convenient for-enemy his
condicionem reiectionis dare noluisse. Nihil Maximus
condition of-rejection to-give to-have-been-unwilling nothing Maximus
fecit alienum aut sua virtute aut illis viris clarissimis,
did foreign either to-his-own virtue or to-those men most-illustrious
Paulis, Maximis, Africanis, quorum gloriam huius virtute
the-Pauli the-Maximi the-Africani whose glory by-this-man's virtue
renovatam non modo speramus, verum etiam iam videmus;
renewed not only we-hope but also already we-see
tua fraus, tuum maleficium, tuum scelus illud est, te id
your fraud your misdeed your crime that is you that
quod promulgasses misericordiae nomine ad crudelitatis
which you-had-published of-mercy in-the-name to of-cruelty
tempus distulisse. Ac nunc quidem C. Antonius hac
the-time to-have-deferred and now indeed Gaius Antonius by-this
una re miseriam suam consolatur, quod imagines patris
one thing misery his-own consoles that the-masks of-his-father
et fratris sui fratrisque filiam non in familia sed
and of-brother his-own and-of-his-brother the-daughter not in the-family but
in carcere conlocatam audire maluit quam videre.
in the-prison placed to-hear he-preferred than to-see

Et quoniam pecunias aliorum despicis, de tuis divitiis 29
and since the-moneys of-others you-despise about your riches
intolerantissime gloriaris, volo uti mihi respondeas, fecerisne
most-intolerably you-boast I-wish that to-me you-answer whether-you-made
foedera tribunus plebis cum civitatibus, cum regibus, cum
treaties as-tribune of-the-plebs with states with kings with
tetrarchis; erogarisne pecunias ex aerario tuis legibus;
tetrarchs whether-you-paid-out moneys from the-treasury by-your laws
eripuerisne partis illo tempore carissimas partim a
whether-you-snatched shares at-that time most-dear partly from
Caesare, partim a publicanis? Quae cum ita sint, quaero
Caesar partly from the-tax-farmers which-things since so they-are I-ask
ex te sisne ex pauperrimo dives factus illo ipso anno
of you whether-you-are from most-poor rich made in-that very year
quo lex lata est de pecuniis repetundis acerrima, ut
in-which a-law carried was about moneys being-reclaimed most-severe so-that
omnes intellegere possent a te non modo nostra acta, quos
all to-understand could by you not only our acts whom
tyrannos vocas, sed etiam amicissimi tui legem esse
tyrants you-call but even of-the-most-friendly your the-law to-have-been
contemptam; apud quem tu etiam nos criminari soles,
despised before whom you even us to-accuse are-wont
qui illi sumus amicissimi, cum tu ei contumeliosissime
who to-him are most-friendly though you of-him most-insultingly
totiens male dicas quotiens te illi adfinem esse dicis.
so-often ill speak as-often-as you to-him a-kinsman to-be say
Atque etiam illud scire ex te cupio, quo consilio aut qua 30
and also that to-know from you I-desire with-what counsel or with-what
mente feceris ut in epulo Q. Arri, familiaris mei, cum
mind you-acted that at the-feast of-Quintus Arrius friend my in
toga pulla accumberes? quem umquam videris, quem audieris?
a-toga dark you-reclined whom ever have-you-seen whom heard

quo exemplo, quo more feceris? Dices supplicationes te
by-what precedent by-what custom did-you-do(-it) you-will-say thanksgivings you
illas non probasse. Optime: nullae fuerint supplicationes.
those not to-have-approved excellent no let-there-have-been thanksgivings
Videsne me nihil de anni illius causa, nihil de eo quod tibi
do-you-see me nothing about of-year that the-case nothing about that which to-you
commune cum summis viris esse videatur, sed de tuis propriis
common with highest men to-be may-seem but about your own
sceleribus ex te quaerere? Nulla supplicatio fuerit. Cedo
crimes from you to-ask no thanksgiving let-there-have-been tell-me
quis umquam cenarit atratus? Ita enim illud epulum est
who ever dined in-mourning thus for that feast is
funebre ut munus sit funeris, epulae quidem ipsae dignitatis.
funereal that the-show is of-the-funeral the-banquet indeed itself of-dignity
31 Sed omitto epulum populi Romani, festum diem argento,
but I-pass-over the-feast of-the-people Roman a-festal day with-silver
veste, omni apparatu ornatuque visendo: quis umquam
with-dress with-all apparatus and-adornment to-be-viewed who ever
in luctu domestico, quis in funere familiari cenavit cum
in mourning domestic who at a-funeral familial dined in
toga pulla? cui de balineis exeunti praeter te toga pulla
a-toga dark to-whom from the-baths going-out besides you a-toga dark
umquam data est? Cum tot hominum milia accumberent,
ever given was when so-many of-men thousands were-reclining
cum ipse epuli dominus, Q. Arrius, albatus esset, tu
when himself of-the-feast the-master Quintus Arrius in-white was you
in templum Castoris te cum C. Fibulo atrato ceterisque
into the-temple of-Castor yourself with Gaius Fibulus in-black and-the-other
tuis furiis funestum intulisti. Quis tum non ingemuit, quis
your furies deathly brought who then not groaned who
non doluit rei publicae casum? qui sermo alius in
not grieved-over of-the-thing public the-fall what talk other at

illo epulo fuit nisi hanc tantam et tam gravem civitatem
that feast was except this so-great and so weighty state
subiectam esse non modo furori, verum etiam inrisioni tuae?
subjected to-be not only to-madness but even to-mockery your
Hunc tu morem ignorabas? numquam epulum videras? 32
this you custom did-not-know never a-feast had-you-seen
numquam puer aut adulescens inter cocos fueras? Fausti,
never as-boy or young-man among cooks had-you-been of-Faustus
adulescentis nobilissimi, paulo ante ex epulo magnificentissimo
a-young-man most-noble a-little before from the-feast most-magnificent
famem illam veterem tuam non expleras? Quem accumbere
hunger that old your not had-you-satisfied whom to-recline
atratum videras? dominum cum toga pulla et eius amicos
in-black had-you-seen the-master with a-toga dark and his friends
ante convivium? Quae tanta te tenuit amentia ut, nisi
before the-banquet what so-great you held madness that unless
id fecisses quod fas non fuit, nisi violasses templum
that you-had-done which right not was unless you-had-violated the-temple
Castoris, nomen epuli, oculos civium, morem veterem, eius
of-Castor the-name of-the-feast the-eyes of-citizens the-custom old of-him
qui te invitarat auctoritatem, parum putares testificatum
who you had-invited the-authority too-little you-should-think attested
esse supplicationes te illas non putare?
to-be thanksgivings you those not to-think

Indicted under the Licinian and Junian law, Vatinius appealed to the tribunes and to Clodius, whose gangs broke up the court. He went as a legate without a senate decree, lost his own tribe, and gave gladiators in his canvass against Cicero's law; even Caesar says he deserves no office. Cicero ends by asking how Vatinius can praise Milo and still testify against Sestius.

33 Quaero etiam illud ex te, quod privatus admisisti, in quo
I-ask also that of you which as-a-private-man you-committed in which
certe iam tibi dicere non licebit cum clarissimis viris
certainly now for-you to-say not it-will-be-allowed with most-illustrious men
causam tuam esse coniunctam, postulatusne sis lege
case your to-be joined whether-prosecuted you-were under-the-law
Licinia et Iunia? Edixeritne C. Memmius praetor ex ea
Licinian and Junian whether-proclaimed Gaius Memmius the-praetor by that
lege ut adesses die tricensimo? cum is dies venisset,
law that you-be-present on-the-day thirtieth when that day had-come
fecerisne quod in hac re publica non modo factum antea
whether-you-did what in this thing public not only done before
numquam est, sed in omni memoria est omnino inauditum?
never has-been but in all memory is altogether unheard-of
appellarisne tribunos plebis ne causam diceres —
whether-you-appealed-to the-tribunes of-the-plebs that-not your-case you-should-plead
levius dixi; quamquam id ipsum esset et novum et non
too-lightly I-said although that itself would-be both new and not
ferendum — sed appellarisne nominatim pestem illius anni,
to-be-borne but whether-you-appealed-to by-name the-plague of-that year
furiam patriae, tempestatem rei publicae, Clodium. Qui
the-fury of-the-fatherland the-tempest of-the-thing public Clodius who
tamen cum iure, cum more, cum potestate iudicium impedire
still when by-right by custom by power the-trial to-hinder

non posset, rediit ad illam vim et furorem suum, ducemque
not could returned to that violence and madness his-own and-as-leader
se militibus tuis praebuit. In quo ne quid a me dictum
himself to-soldiers your offered in which lest anything by me said
in te potius putes quam abs te esse quaesitum,
against you rather you-should-think than by you to-have-been asked
nullum onus imponam mihi testimoni: quae mihi
no burden I-shall-impose on-myself of-testimony the-things-which by-me
brevi tempore ex eodem isto loco video esse dicenda servabo,
in-a-short time from the-same that place I-see to-be to-be-said I-shall-keep
teque non arguam, sed, ut in ceteris rebus feci, rogabo.
and-you not I-shall-accuse but as in other things I-did shall-question
Quaero ex te, Vatini, num quis in hac civitate post urbem 34
I-ask of you Vatinius whether anyone in this state since the-city
conditam tribunos plebis appellarit ne causam diceret?
founded the-tribunes of-the-plebs appealed-to that-not his-case he-should-plead
num quis reus in tribunal sui quaesitoris escenderit
whether any defendant onto the-tribunal of-his-own president climbed
eumque vi deturbarit, subsellia dissiparit, urnas deiecerit,
and-him by-force knocked-down the-benches scattered the-urns threw-down
eas denique omnis res in iudicio disturbando commiserit,
those finally all things in the-trial being-disturbed committed
quarum rerum causa iudicia sunt constituta? sciasne
of-which things for-the-sake trials have-been established whether-you-know
tum fugisse Memmium, accusatores esse tuos de tuis
then to-have-fled Memmius the-accusers to-have-been your from your
tuorumque manibus ereptos, iudices quaestionum de proximis
and-your-men's hands snatched-away the-jurors of-the-courts from the-nearest
tribunalibus esse depulsos, in foro, luce, inspectante
tribunals to-have-been driven-off in the-forum in-daylight with-looking-on
populo Romano quaestionem, magistratus, morem maiorum,
the-people Roman the-court the-magistrate the-custom of-the-ancestors

leges, iudices, reum, poenam esse sublatam? haec
the-laws the-jurors the-defendant the-penalty to-have-been removed these-things
omnia sciasne diligentia C. Memmi publicis tabulis
all whether-you-know by-the-diligence of-Gaius Memmius in-public records
esse notata atque testata? Atque illud etiam quaero, cum,
to-have-been noted and attested and that also I-ask when
postea quam es postulatus, ex legatione redieris, — ne quis
after that you-were prosecuted from the-legateship you-returned lest anyone
te iudicia defugere arbitretur, — teque, cum tibi utrum velles
you the-courts to-flee should-think and-you when to-you whichever you-wished
liceret, dictitaris causam dicere maluisse, qui consentaneum
it-was-allowed kept-saying your-case to-plead to-have-preferred how consistent
fuerit, cum legationis perfugio uti noluisses, appellatione
it-was when of-the-legateship the-refuge to-use you-had-been-unwilling by-an-appeal
improbissima te ad auxilium nefarium confugisse?
most-wicked you to help wicked to-have-fled
35 Et quoniam legationis tuae facta mentio est, volo audire
and since of-legateship your made mention has-been I-wish to-hear
de te quo tandem senatus consulto legatus sis. De
about you by-what pray of-the-senate decree a-legate you-were about
gestu intellego quid respondeas: tua lege, dicis. Esne igitur
gesture I-understand what you-answer by-your law you-say are-you therefore
patriae certissimus parricida? spectarasne id, ut patres
of-the-fatherland the-surest parricide had-you-aimed-at that that fathers
conscripti ex re publica funditus tollerentur? ne hoc
enrolled from the-thing public utterly should-be-removed not this
quidem senatui relinquebas, quod nemo umquam ademit,
even to-the-senate were-you-leaving which no-one ever took-away
ut legati ex eius ordinis auctoritate legarentur? Adeone
that legates by of-that order the-authority should-be-appointed so-much
tibi sordidum consilium publicum visum est, adeo adflictus
to-you sordid the-council public seemed has so stricken

senatus, adeo misera et prostrata res publica ut non
the-senate so wretched and prostrate the-thing public that not
nuntios pacis ac belli, non oratores, non interpretes, non
messengers of-peace and war not envoys not interpreters not
bellici consili auctores, non ministros muneris provincialis
of-war counsel sponsors not ministers of-duty provincial
senatus more maiorum deligere posset?
the-senate by-the-custom of-the-ancestors to-choose could
Eripueras senatui provinciae decernendae potestatem, 36
you-had-snatched from-the-senate of-a-province being-decreed the-power
imperatoris deligendi iudicium, aerari dispensationem: quae
of-a-commander being-chosen the-judgment of-the-treasury the-dispensing which
numquam sibi populus Romanus appetivit, qui numquam
never for-itself the-people Roman sought which never
senatui summi consili gubernationem auferre conatus est.
from-the-senate of-highest counsel the-steering to-take-away tried has
Age, factum est horum aliquid in aliis: raro, sed tamen
come-on done has-been of-these something in others rarely but still
factum est ut populus deligeret imperatorem: quis legatos
done it-has-been that the-people should-choose the-commander who legates
umquam audivit sine senatus consulto? Ante te nemo,
ever has-heard-of without of-the-senate decree before you no-one
post continuo fecit idem in duobus prodigiis rei
afterward at-once did the-same in two prodigies of-the-thing
publicae Clodius; quo etiam maiore es malo mactandus,
public Clodius by-which even greater you-are by-evil to-be-sacrificed
quod non solum facto tuo sed etiam exemplo rem
because not only by-deed your but also by-precedent the-thing
publicam vulnerasti, neque tantum ipse es improbus
public you-have-wounded nor only yourself you-are wicked
sed etiam alios docere voluisti. Ob hasce omnis
but also others to-teach you-have-wished on-account-of these all

res sciasne te severissimorum hominum Sabinorum,
things whether-you-know you of-the-most-severe men Sabines
fortissimorum virorum Marsorum et Paelignorum, tribulium
of-the-bravest men Marsi and Paeligni tribesmen
tuorum, iudicio notatum, nec post Romam conditam
your by-the-judgment branded nor since Rome founded
praeter te tribulem quemquam tribum Sergiam perdidisse?
besides you tribesman anyone the-tribe Sergian to-have-lost
37 Atque illud etiam audire de te cupio, qua re, cum
and that also to-hear about you I-desire by-which thing when
ego legem de ambitu tulerim ex senatus consulto, tulerim
I a-law about bribery carried by of-the-senate decree carried
sine vi, tulerim salvis auspiciis, tulerim salva lege
without violence carried with-safe auspices carried with-safe the-law
Aelia et Fufia, tu eam esse legem non putes, praesertim
Aelian and Fufian you it to-be a-law not you-think especially
cum ego legibus tuis, quoquo modo latae sunt, paream;
since I to-the-laws your in-whatever manner carried they-were obey
cum mea lex dilucide vetet biennio quo quis petat
since my law clearly forbids for-two-years in-which anyone seeks
petiturusve sit gladiatores dare nisi ex testamento praestituta
or-going-to-seek be gladiators to-give unless by a-will on-an-appointed
die, quae tanta in te sit amentia ut in ipsa petitione
day what so-great in you be madness that in the-very candidacy
gladiatores audeas dare? num quem putes illius tui certissimi
gladiators you-dare to-give whether anyone you-think of-that your surest
gladiatoris similem tribunum plebis posse reperiri qui
gladiator like tribune of-the-plebs to-be-able to-be-found who
se interponat quo minus reus mea lege fias?
himself may-interpose by-which less a-defendant under-my law you-become

Ac si haec omnia contemnis ac despicis, quod ita tibi 38
and if these all you-scorn and despise because so yourself
persuaseris, ut palam dictitas, te dis hominibusque
you-have-persuaded as openly you-keep-saying you with-the-gods and-men
invitis amore in te incredibili quodam C. Caesaris
unwilling by-the-love toward you incredible a-certain of-Gaius Caesar
omnia quae velis consecuturum, ecquid audieris,
all-things which you-wish going-to-attain whether-at-all you-have-heard
ecquisnam tibi dixerit C. Caesarem nuper Aquileiae, cum
whether-anyone to-you has-said Gaius Caesar recently at-Aquileia when
de quibusdam esset mentio facta, dixisse C. Alfium
about certain-men there-had-been mention made to-have-said Gaius Alfius
praeteritum permoleste tulisse, quod in homine summam
passed-over very-annoyingly to-have-borne because in the-man the-highest
fidem probitatemque cognosset, graviterque etiam se ferre
faith and-probity he-had-known and-heavily also himself to-bear
praetorem aliquem esse factum qui a suis rationibus
a-praetor someone to-have-been made who from his-own reckonings
dissensisset; tum quaesisse quendam, de Vatinio quem ad
had-dissented then to-have-asked someone about Vatinius in-what to
modum ferret; illum respondisse Vatinium in tribunatu
manner he-bore(-it) him to-have-answered Vatinius in the-tribunate
gratis nihil fecisse; qui omnia in pecunia posuisset honore
gratis nothing to-have-done who all-things in money had-placed of-office
animo aequo carere debere.
with-mind calm to-go-without to-be-bound
Quod si ipse, qui te suae dignitatis augendae causa, 39
but if he-himself who you his-own of-dignity being-increased for-the-sake
periculo tuo, nullo suo delicto, ferri praecipitem est
at-danger your with-no his-own offense to-be-borne headlong has
facile passus, tamen te omni honore indignissimum iudicat, si
easily allowed still you of-every office most-unworthy judges if

te vicini, si adfines, si tribules ita oderunt ut repulsam
you the-neighbors if the-kinsmen if the-tribesmen so hate that defeat
tuam triumphum suum duxerint, si nemo aspicit quin
your a-triumph their-own they-have-thought if no-one looks-at(-you) but
ingemescat, nemo mentionem facit quin exsecretur, si vitant,
he-groans no-one mention makes but he-curses if they-avoid
fugiunt, audire de te nolunt, cum viderunt, tamquam
flee to-hear about you are-unwilling when they-have-seen as-if
auspicium malum detestantur, si cognati respuunt, tribules
an-omen bad they-execrate if relatives spurn tribesmen
exsecrantur, vicini metuunt, adfines erubescunt, strumae
curse neighbors fear kinsmen blush the-swellings
denique ab ore improbo demigrarunt et aliis iam
finally from the-face wicked have-moved-away and in-other now
se locis conlocarunt, si es odium publicum populi,
themselves places have-settled if you-are the-hatred public of-the-people
senatus, universorum hominum rusticanorum, — quid est
of-the-senate of-all men rustic what is-there
quam ob rem praeturam potius exoptes quam
which on-account-of thing the-praetorship rather you-should-long-for than
mortem, praesertim cum popularem te velis esse neque
death especially since popular yourself you-wish to-be and-not
ulla re populo gratius facere possis?
by-any thing to-the-people more-pleasing to-do you-could
40 Sed ut aliquando audiamus quam copiose mihi ad rogata
but that at-last we-may-hear how copiously to-me to the-questions
respondeas, concludam iam interrogationem meam teque in
you-answer I-shall-conclude now questioning my and-you at
extremo pauca de ipsa causa rogabo. Quaero quae tanta in
the-end few-things about itself the-case shall-ask I-ask what so-great in
te vanitas, tanta levitas fuerit ut in hoc iudicio T. Annium
you vanity so-great levity was that in this trial Titus Annius

isdem verbis laudares quibus eum verbis laudare et
with-the-same words you-should-praise with-which him words to-praise both
boni viri et boni cives consuerunt, cum in eundem
good men and good citizens are-wont when against the-same-man
nuper ab eadem illa taeterrima furia productus ad populum
recently by the-same that most-foul fury brought-forward to the-people
cupidissime falsum testimonium dixeris? An erit haec optio
most-eagerly false testimony you-gave or will-there-be this choice
et potestas tua, ut, cum Clodianas operas et facinerosorum
and power your that when the-Clodian gangs and of-criminal
hominum et perditorum manum videris, Milonem dicas, id
men and of-ruined a-band you-have-seen Milo you-say that
quod in contione dixisti, gladiatoribus et bestiariis obsedisse
which in the-assembly you-said with-gladiators and beast-fighters to-have-besieged
rem publicam: cum autem ad talis viros veneris, non
the-thing public when however to such men you-have-come not
audeas civem singulari virtute, fide, constantia vituperare?
you-dare a-citizen of-singular virtue faith steadfastness to-revile
Sed cum T. Annium tanto opere laudes et clarissimo 41
but when Titus Annius so greatly you-praise and on-a-most-illustrious
viro non nullam laudatione tua labeculam adspergas — in
man not none by-praise your small-stain sprinkle in
illorum enim numero mavult T. Annius esse qui a te
of-those for the-number prefers Titus Annius to-be who by you
vituperantur: verum tamen quaero, cum in re publica
are-reviled but still I-ask when in the-thing public
administranda T. Annio cum P. Sestio consiliorum
being-administered for-Titus Annius with Publius Sestius of-counsels
omnium societas fuerit — id quod non solum bonorum,
all a-partnership there-was that which not only of-the-good
verum etiam improborum iudicio declaratum est;
but also of-the-wicked by-the-judgment declared has-been

est enim reus uterque ob eandem causam et
is for a-defendant each on-account-of the-same cause and
eodem crimine, alter die dicta ab eo quem tu unum
on-the-same charge the-one with-a-day named by him whom you alone
improbiorem esse quam te non numquam soles confiteri,
more-wicked to-be than you not never are-wont to-confess
alter tuis consiliis, illo tamen adiuvante — quaero qui
the-other by-your counsels with-him still helping I-ask how
possis eos quos crimine coniungis testimonio diiungere?
you-can those whom by-charge you-join by-testimony disjoin
Extremum illud est quod mihi abs te responderi velim,
the-last that is which to-me by you to-be-answered I-would-wish
cum multa in Albinovanum de praevaricatione diceres,
when many-things against Albinovanus about collusion you-said
dixerisne nec tibi placuisse nec oportuisse Sestium de
whether-you-said neither to-you to-have-pleased nor to-have-behooved Sestius for
vi reum fieri? quavis lege, quovis crimine
violence a-defendant to-be-made under-any-you-please law on-any-you-please charge
accusandum potius fuisse? etiam illud dixeris, causam
to-be-accused rather to-have-been even that you-said the-case
Milonis, fortissimi viri, coniunctam cum hoc existimari?
of-Milo a-most-brave man joined with this-one to-be-thought
quae pro me a Sestio facta sint, bonis esse grata? Non
what-things for me by Sestius done were to-the-good to-be welcome not
coarguo inconstantiam orationis ac testimoni tui — quas
I-convict the-inconsistency of-speech and of-testimony your which
enim huius actiones probatas bonis esse dicis, in eas
for of-this-man actions approved by-the-good to-be you-say against them
plurimis verbis testimonium dixisti; quicum autem eius
with-very-many words testimony you-gave with-whom however his
causam periculumque coniungis, eum summis laudibus
case and-danger you-join him with-the-highest praises

extulisti: sed hoc quaero, num P. Sestium, qua lege
you-extolled but this I-ask whether Publius Sestius under-which law
accusandum omnino fuisse negas, ea lege condemnari
to-be-accused at-all to-have-been you-deny under-that law to-be-condemned
putes oportere? aut, si te in testimonio consuli
you-think to-behoove or if you in testimony to-be-consulted
noles, ne quid tibi auctoritatis a me tributum esse
you-shall-not-wish lest any to-you of-authority by me granted to-have-been
videatur, dixerisne in eum testimonium de vi quem
may-seem whether-you-gave against him testimony about violence whom
negaris reum omnino de vi fieri debuisse?
you-have-denied a-defendant at-all for violence to-be-made to-have-been-obliged

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