

In Other Words: On Translation and Translating Cicero's *In Catilinam*

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Abstract

Marcus Tullius Cicero remains one of the most read and studied Roman figures in Classical Studies. Of his eighty-eight speeches, only fifty-eight have survived; in addition, we have in possession six books on rhetoric and seven on philosophy. Yet, from the texts that are extant, we see an accomplished writer who lived during the most tumultuous periods of the Roman republic. *In Catilinam* is a series of four speeches delivered against Lucius Sergio Catilina that have acquired rather distinguished attention from many scholars. This project is a translation of Cicero's *In Catilinam* with strict attention to formal elements such as diction and syntax in order to retain Cicero's intended meaning and style without creating ill-fitted translations that arise from adhering to a literal translation of the text. The accompanying essay focuses on theories of translation and explores the methodology and considerations that I took into account when translating the text into English.

Ad Marcum Tullium Ciceronem

In Other Words: On Translation and Translating Cicero's *In Catilinam*

"Translators find themselves constantly restricted by those language boundaries and by the pressing necessity to remain, as closely as possible, faithful to the original text."

-Hugo Friedrich *On The Art of Translation*

It is best that we refer to translation as an art, since translation can only be reduced to an art form because it requires a level of skill that so few possess. However, what is most interesting about the translator is how little credit she receives in translating a text. Too often, when reading a text from antiquity translated into English (or any other language) we read it as if that very author wrote the text which we were reading. We hang on every word as if the author themselves spoke English, using our language to communicate a special message to us. We, as readers, never give credit to the genius that mastered the language of the author and took the time to translate a text into an unadulterated form that we could understand.

I must admit that when I first started this project I was not concerned with my role as a translator. I was aware of what I needed to do and what I should take into consideration, but I did not take the time at first to realize the magnitude of what I was doing. Instead, my primary focus was trying to apply Kenneth Burke's theory of Dramatism to my translations. After weeks of translating, I began the second phase reading about Burke's theory and ultimately realized that I could not successfully apply the theory to my translations. I confess that I was distraught and felt like I had failed. The sole purpose of my project was to discover whether Burke's pentad could shed a new understanding of Cicero's actions through his own words and I could not do that. Despite this setback, it was only after talking with a close friend that I realized that I had not failed and that in actuality I succeeded in something that was worth acknowledging—I translated a text from Latin into English.

In act of translating a text, the translator finds herself at an impasse and

asks the following question: *how can I translate an author's text effectively while staying true to that author's intent?* Staying true to the author's intent is not the only element that a translator must concern herself with; she must also find a balance in translating the text that not only remains true to the author's voice, but also has the ability to attract readers from her own language. Friedrich Schleiermacher, commenting on the translator's ability to resurrect the author and attract readers, says:

We can imagine in a certain sense how Tacitus would have spoken if he had been a German or, expressed more precisely, how a German would speak who was for our own language what Tacitus was for his; and happy is he who imagines this so vividly that he can really let Tacitus speak! But whether this could happen now, by letting this German Tacitus say the same things that the Roman Tacitus said in the Latin language, is another question that cannot easily be answered in the affirmative. For it is an entirely different matter to comprehend correctly the influence that a man has exerted upon his language and somehow to represent it, and again quite another matter to guess how his thoughts and their expression would have emerged if originally he had been accustomed to think and express himself in another language!¹

If we look at the translator in this sense, we see her as a person who is able to surpass the boundaries that exist between languages. These boundaries include

¹ Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Different Methods of Translation*, trans. Waltraud Bartscht, in *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*, ed. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 49.

rigid syntax, colloquialisms, and an immense lexicon in which some words are seemingly untranslatable. Although this seems insurmountable, Hugo Friedrich acknowledges that what allows translators to translate texts into their own language is “despite the lexical and syntactical differences between languages, an affinity exist[s] among their internal structures.”² The affinity that he speaks of surfaces in the area of style and it is the translator’s job to either stay close to the author’s style or improve upon it.

The translator’s approach to style can have positive or negative consequences when considering audience. If the original style of the author is awful, for example loaded with weird lexical usage or odd phrasal constructions, then translating a text in this manner will have the effect of driving away a potential audience. Yet, to disregard completely the author’s style removes textual ownership from the author. Taking away that ownership eradicates the air of foreignness found within the pages of a text and makes the translator the author and the original author merely a source of inspiration. What impetus would an audience have to read that particular translation with the style of the original removed? The goal is to make the author sound as if they were a native speaker of the language, while maintaining a foreign identity.

With all of the aforementioned having been taken into consideration, I am resigned to say that translation is by no means easy, and those translators who can find this proper balance in style should be held in the highest regard for their accomplishment. In order to translate a text, a translator must be the master of not

² Hugo Friedrich, *On the Art of Translation*, trans. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, in Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida, ed. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 15.

only two languages, but also two cultures. Translation is about understanding language and meaning, but more importantly how language in certain cultural contexts shapes meaning. John Dryden enhances this criterion of a good translator when he says, “The qualification of a translator worth reading must be a mastery of the language he translates out of, and that he translates into; but if a deficiency (sic) be to be allowed in either, it is in the original, since if he be but master enough of the tongue of his author as to be master of his sense.”³ Translators spend years studying language; in the process of studying, they increase their vocabulary and enhance their understanding of grammar. This coupled with their mastery of their own language facilitates the translation. I can safely say that although I have studied Latin for four years, I am not going to go as far as to say that I am a master of the language or the culture. I, however, do have enough exposure and understanding in order to attempt translation. Nevertheless, I am resigned to say that my audience only can determine the quality of the translation that I put forth.

When I was translating one particular problem that arose frequently was how to choose the right word that would convey the proper meaning in English. Some people would think that word choice is as easy as flipping a coin, but that is not the case. Word selection requires careful consideration of the speaker’s tone and the context in which the speaker speaks. Having said this, consider the words *omen* and *parricidium* in the following passages:

Hisce *ominibus*, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, et cum tua peste

³ John Dryden, *The Life of Lucian* (1711), in *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*, ed. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 30.

ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum omni scelere
*parricidio*que iunxerunt.⁴

With these *omens*, Catiline, with the highest safety of the republic, and
with thy-own pest and destruction, and with the destruction of those who
have joined themselves with thee in every crime and *parricide*.⁵

So these are the *omens*, Catilina, with which I bid you get off to your
wicked and traitorous war. Your departure will be the cause of supreme
salvation for the state. It will cause your own ruin and downfall, and the
extermination of those who have been your accomplices in every one of
your *murderous atrocities*.⁶

With these *harbingers*, Catilina, with the greatest health of the republic,
with your pestilence and destruction, and with the destruction of those who
join you in wickedness and *murder*.⁷

The former passages are variations from the original in Latin. The second passage
comes from *Select Orations of Cicero* translated by William Underwood, the third
passage comes from *Cicero: Selected Political Speeches* (1989) translated by
Michael Grant and the final passage is my own translation. Upon looking into a

⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In Catilinam I*, in *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes*, ed. Albetus Curtis Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) 13.28-30.

⁵ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Prima Oratio Marci Tullii Ciceronis in Lucium Catilinam*, trans. William Underwood, in *Select Orations of Cicero*, ed. Thomas Clark (Philadelphia: David McKay Company) 88.

⁶ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Against Lucius Sergius Catilina*, trans. Michael Grant, in *Cicero: Selected Political Speeches*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1989) 92-93.

⁷ My translation of the line [see Page 27].

dictionary *omen* literally can mean *omen*, *sight*, *harbinger* and *solemnity*.

Obviously, from the implied context, the word *solemnity* is not a fitting translation of the word. Both Underwood and Grant translate the word literally into English derivative *omen*, whereas I choose to use the word *harbinger*, because I felt that it has more of a negative connotation. In particular, most of the dictionaries that I used to locate the definition of *harbinger* gave a negative denotation. I, however, must note that some dictionaries assign the term a positive denotation. I decided against using *omen*, because I felt as if the word did not have enough of the effect that Cicero was trying to convey when speaking to Catilina. Omens can be good or bad, whereas harbingers always signal bad fate. Cicero's tries to convince to Catilina that everything is against him and that it is in his best interests to leave Rome. While I think *omen* is still good word choice, I believe that *harbinger* is better.

The next word, *parricidium*, can mean *parricide*, *murder*, or *high treason*. Underwood translates the word literally into the English *parricide*. Grant opts to translate the word rather freely as *murderous atrocities*. I, however, differ from each author because I selected *murder* as a better translation of *parricidium*, because the definition of *parricide* is either one who murders his father and/or a close relative or one who (as the ruler of his country) murders a person. By placing the original passage in Latin back into the greater context of the speech, one is able to judge that Catilina has murdered neither his father nor a compatriot as the ruler of a country. There is some speculation, which is rather accurate, that he killed both his wife and eldest son, but I believe that Cicero is not just isolating these incidents. In addition, the word *parricide* is archaic and has very limited

usage today. Cicero seems to indicate a series of murders that extend beyond Catilina's household; that is why I choose to use the term *murder* as an English cognate for *parricide*.

Looking at each of the passages raises another question about how translators should approach a text when translating. When beginning the process of translating a translator must ask herself: Should I translate the text word-for-word? Should I enhance the author's text? To what extent should I consider the author when translating? Can I translate the text and still call it a translation or should I acquiesce to call it an imitation? All of the aforementioned questions indirectly signal an established methodology that a translator can use. John Dryden identifies three methods that a translator can use in translating a text:

All translation, I suppose, may be reduced to these three heads. First, that of metaphrase, or turning an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another. Thus, or near this manner, was Horace his *Art of Poetry* translated by Ben Johnson. The second way is that of paraphrase, or translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense; and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered. Such is Mr. Waller's translation of Virgil's Fourth *Æneid*. The third way is that of imitation, where the translator (if now he has not lost that name) to forsake them both as he sees occasion; and taking only some general hints from the original, to run division on the groundwork, as he pleases. Such is Mr. Cowley's practice in turning two Odes of Pindar, and one of Horace,

into English.⁸

Each of the three methods of translation that Dryden mentions are what the translator has in her toolbox. Although no way of translating is better than another, a translator must decide among each of these methods. Nevertheless, there are pros and cons that come with each method and translators must consider each. Concerning the first of the methods, Dryden cites Horace who says, “Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus Interpres” or “Nor word for word too faithfully translate.”⁹ From this phrase alone, it is easy to see that Dryden is not too pleased with translating a text literally word for word. Yet more specifically Dryden develops why he is against this form of translating saying:

In short, the verbal copier is encumbered with so many difficulties at once, that he can never disentangle himself from all. He is to consider, at the same time, the thought of his author, and his words, and to find out the counterpart to each in another language; and, besides this, he is to confine himself to the compass of numbers, and the slavery of rhyme.¹⁰

Of course, Dryden limits his theory on translation to poetry, which is evident through his comment on the translator as a slave of rhyme; still one can easily apply his reflections on method to prose. The problem with literal translation is that it is virtually impossible to translate a text word for word and still express the message in the way that the author intended, in short—meanings are lost in translation.

⁸ John Dryden. Preface to Ovid’s Epistles (1608), in Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida, ed. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 17.

⁹ Ibid, 17.

¹⁰ Ibid, 18.

The problem with literal translation is that it leaves the text either sounding dead, awkward or some combination of both. Dryden says that when translating a text literally the author has to take on so much, including trying to decipher what exactly the author thinks. I am inclined to disagree with Dryden, because I feel that with literal translation, a translation does not even come close to exorcising the author. I believe that when translating a document literally, a translator does not even stop to consider what a particular author was thinking at a particular moment. As we saw early earlier with the term *parricide*, sometimes exact translation does not bear the right sense of a word. Yet, a more illustrative example of the problems that arise with literal translation comes from Underwood's *Primo Oratio Marci Tullii Ciceronis*:

Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos qui tibi ad forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati, cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem, a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confide perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium sceleratum constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam?¹¹

Although what (why) may-I-invite thee, by whom I may-know (persons) now (already) to have-been-sent-before who should-wait for the armed to (at) the Aurelian forum? I may know the day to have-been-agreed-on and appointed with Manlius? By whom I may-know even that silver eagle, which I trust to be-about-to-be destructive and fatal to thee and to all thy (friends), to which a shrine of thy crimes was appointed of thy (at thy)

¹¹ Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *In Catilinam I*, in *Ciceronis Orationes*, 9.8-14.

house, to have-been-sent-before?¹²

Underwood is concerned with translating every word exactly into its English counterpart, with very little concern for the resulting syntax. He translates *futuram* into “to be about to be,” when “it will be” would serve as a better translation of the word. Moreover, there are many examples in this passage alone where he could have translated words better. However, since his translation appears as a transliteration, we expect him to use the literal method of translation.

Another method of translating, imitation, allows the translator to take amazing liberty when translating a text. In fact, of the three methods of translation, imitation is the only method that allows a translator to select what elements in an author’s text they would like to omit or enhance in her translation. Dryden clearly opposes this method of translation when he says, “But if Virgil, or Ovid, or any regular intelligible authors, be thus used, ‘tis no longer to be called their work, when neither the thoughts nor words are drawn from the original; but instead of them there is something new produced.”¹³ I agree with Dryden’s feelings about imitation. To me, the purpose of translating a text is not to enhance its meaning, but to make that author’s text accessible to more people. If a translator intends to be excessively loose in her interpretation of a text, then why bother calling the resulting product a translation? Especially, since that product is so incredibly different from the original. Having said this, that is not to say that imitation is a bad method. Schleiermacher notes that “it is impossible, therefore, for the translator’s use of language to be as coherent as that of his author.”¹⁴

¹² Cicero, *Select Orations of Cicero*, 30-31.

¹³ *Ibid*, 20.

¹⁴ Schleiermacher. *On the Different Methods of Translating*, 46.

The final method of translation that Dryden identifies, is paraphrase. This is the method of translation that he advocates most, in part because it lies between both literal translation and imitation. Paraphrase forces a translator to consider the author in every step of the translation process. A translator who uses paraphrase heavily considers when to use a literal translation or imitation. Neither of the two other methods dominates the text; the translator decides on a line-by-line basis how strictly they need to adhere to the authors texts in order to produce the same meaning. Expounding upon this notion of a middle ground in translation, Schleiermacher notes, “translating therefore refers to a situation that lies midway between the two, and the translator’s goal must be to provide his reader with the same image and the same pleasure as reading the work in the original language.”¹⁵

In translating *In Catilinam*, I chose this method. I decided to do so because my intent was neither to augment Cicero’s text nor translate it in a way that would omit important elements. In fact, my intent was to translate it in a way in which it would have the same effect upon the readers as if they were reading in the original language. This work represents months of meticulous and arduous work. I am happy with what I have done. So, did I succeed in my effort?—I guess you will have to read and decide for yourself.

¹⁵ Ibid, 46.

Translator's Note

I translated the text from speeches found in *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* (1983) edited by Albert Curtis Clark and published by Oxford University Press. To aid in my translation of the text I used *Select Orationes of Cicero* (1841) by Charles Anthon, which is accompanied by many illustrative historical annotations in English as well as references to other source material in Latin. For the purposes of facilitating easier reading of the text, I have used Anthon's book for many of the historical references found in the speeches unless noted otherwise.

Against Lucius Sergius Catilina

In Catilinam is a series of four speeches by Cicero against Lucius Sergius Catilina. Although Cicero composed each speech years after they were delivered before the Senate, they still harbor a sense of urgency. Through several informants, Cicero learned that Lucius Sergius Catilina had intended to leave Rome and join rebel armies around Italy in order to upset the Roman republic, while certain men stayed behind in order to slaughter Roman citizens. When he discovered that Roman citizens were conspiring to distress the republic, he convened a meeting of the Senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator to not only unravel the plot before the eyes of the Senators, but also impel them to act against the conspirators. The primary purpose of the first speech was to compel Catilina into a self-imposed exile away from Rome.

* * *

**The First Speech of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Lucius Sergius
Catilina Delivered Before the Senate**

[I] How long, tell me, Catilina, will you test our patience? In addition, how long will your madness itself mock us? To what limit will he boast about unbridled boldness? In no way at all does the Palatine's nocturnal guard¹, the night watches of the city, the fear of the people, the gathering of all good men, this most fortified meeting place of the Senate², and the expression on the faces of the senators move you? Do you not see your plans to be obvious? Do you not see that your conspiracy is constricted and held back by all of their

¹ Cicero indicates the importance of the Palatine by highlighting the necessity of fortifying the location in light of Catilina's conspiracy. The Palatine was the most important of the seven hills of Rome. Long considered the original home of Romulus, many consider this as the location of the first Roman settlement. Even after the passing of Romulus, the Palatine continued to be the home of Roman aristocracy and even the imperial home of Augustus and his successors. The word *palace* originates from Palatine.

² This meeting of the Senate took place in the Temple of Jupiter Stator.

knowledge? What did you do last night and the night before?³ Where were you? Whom did you call together? What of the plans you may have conceived?

What is the world coming to! The Senate understands these things, and the consul sees them, nevertheless, this man lives. He lives? Rather, indeed, he still comes into the Senate, he participates in state affairs, and he marks down and designates eyes toward the murder of every one of us. We, however, brave men, seem to do enough for the republic, if we avoid the madness of such a man and his weapons.

It is fitting for a long time now, Catilina, that you ought to have been led to death by the command of the consul. That plague, which you long since devised to bring against us, now should be brought against you. Indeed, the most distinguished man, Publius Scipio Nasca, the Pontifex Maximus, as a private citizen killed Tiberius Gracchus, who was moderately trying to weaken the republic's condition.⁴ Shall we consuls bear Catilina while he wishes to destroy the world by murder and fire? For I recall those distant precedents, the fact that Gaius Servilius Ahala, with his own hand, slew Spurius Maelius who was rather eager for a revolution.⁵ Such virtue once was found in this republic, that brave men would suppress a dangerous citizen with punishments more severe than those reserved for the bitterest enemy. We have a decree of the Senate against you,

³ Cicero delivered this speech on the eighth of November. A meeting of the conspirators had taken place on the night of the sixth of November at the house of Laeca.

⁴ Cicero points out that P. Scipio Nasica killed G. Gracchus as a *privatus* (private citizen) because the office of *pontifex maximus* was not considered a magistracy, thus alluding that P. Scipio Nasica acted did not act as an agent of the state in his efforts to protect the republic.

⁵ Gaius Servilius Ahala was the magister equitum to the dictator Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus. Spurius Maelius was a rich *privatus* who G. Servilius Ahala suspected of trying to seize complete control of the republic through donations of grain to the common people during a season of scarcity. Ahala believed that Maelius was plotting to change the government (*novis rebus studentum*) and seize power for himself. Thus, he committed himself to stopping Maelius by killing him.

Catline, and it is strong and grave. This decree does not fail the republic or the authority of this body. We, I openly say, we consuls fail.

[III] The Senate once decreed that Lucius Opimius, as consul, should see that the republic might not receive harm from anyone.⁶ From then on, no night passed. Gaius Gracchus, from the most distinguished father, grandfather, and ancestors, was slain because of some suspicions of rebellion.⁷ In addition, Marcus Fluvius, a man of consular rank was killed with his children.⁸ By a similar decree of the Senate, the republic was entrusted to the consuls Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius. For one day afterwards, did death and the punishment of republic linger for the Tribune Lucius Saturninus and the Praetor Gaius Servilius?⁹

We indeed allow the twentieth day to dull the sharpness of their support. In fact, we have a decree of the Senate that is comparable to theirs, but it is enclosed in the public record just like a sword hidden in a scabbard. It is fitting, Catilina, that according to the decree of the Senate that you should be destroyed.¹⁰ You still live, and as long as you live, you do not put your plans aside, but you live for asserting recklessness. I desire, Senators, myself to be merciful, I desire not to seem irresponsible in situations seeming to pose such great dangers to the republic, but now I condemn myself for laziness and neglect. There are camps in Italy stationed in the passes of Etruria that are against the Roman people. The

⁶ Lucius Opimus was a Roman public official who held the consulship. During his time in office he was able to defeat G. Gracchus who was a staunch advocate of the Agrarian Law (*lex agraria*).

⁷ G. Gracchus's attempt at land reform upset rich landowners who perceived his actions as an attempt to gain popularity among the common people in order to gain absolute power. The Senate gave power to L. Opimius to stop G. Gracchus with whatever force was necessary.

⁸ Marcus Fluvius was one of three men who served on G. Gracchus's agrarian commission.

⁹ Lucius Saturninus and Gaius Servilius were killed for their actions in orchestrating the assassination of Gaius Memmius who was at that time a consular candidate. He hope with G. Memmius out of the way that Gaius Servilius Glaucia would become consul.

¹⁰ The Senate passed the *senatus consultum ultimum* (Final decree of the Senate), which gave the consuls the power to protect the republic at whatever cost.

number of enemies grows each day; however, you see the commander and the leader of the enemy among the walls of the city and in the Senate every day plotting the destruction of the republic. If at once, Catilina, I will have ordered you to be seized, or If I will have ordered you to be destroyed, I supposed that I will not have to fear that all the upstanding citizens will say that this was done too late, but that some will say this was done in a rather callous manner.

In truth, there is a specific cause which is why I have not done what I ought to have done for a long time now. You will have been destroyed when no longer anyone so wicked, so corrupt, so similar to you is able to be found who would not say that to have been done unjustly. As long as there will be anyone who dares to defend you, you will live and you will live in such a way as you live now, besieged by my many men and reliable guards. Thus, with these things, you are unable to rise against the republic. Although you do not sense them, the eyes and ears of many men—just as they have done in the past—they will be observing and keeping watch over you.

[III] For what more is there, Catilina, which you await, if neither night is able to conceal your unspeakable meeting with darkness nor the private house is able to contain the voices of your conspirators within its walls, if everything is apparent, if they burst forth into the open?¹¹ Change that mind of yours, trust me, and forget about murder and arson. You are held on all sides, and all your plans are clearer to us than light. Let us examine these things in depth.

Do you remember on the twenty-first of October me mentioning that Gaius Manlius, that attendant of recklessness and your assistant, would be in arms on a

¹¹ Cicero received information about the conspiracy from Fluvia the mistress of one of the conspirators, Quintus Curius.

specific day, and that the day was the twenty-seventh of October? Was I wrong, Catilina, in foreseeing not only so great, so atrocious, and so incredible an affair, but—which is remarkable to me—was I wrong about the day? I also informed the Senate in a meeting that you had decided upon the twenty-eighth of October for the slaughter of the Optimates, although many of the leading citizens fled from Rome not so much for the sake of saving themselves but also for restraining your plans. You cannot deny that by that very day that you, surrounded by my guards and my attention, could not stir against the republic. With the departure of the others, nevertheless, would you say yourself to be content with the slaughter of those of us who remain? Furthermore tell me, when you were confident that you would be occupying Praeneste on the first of November, did you notice my order, my garrisons, and my nocturnal guards fortified that colony? There is nothing you do, attempt, or think, which I not only hear but also openly see and sense.

[IV] Examine at length with me the night before last, and you will understand how I more vociferously am attentive to the health of the republic than you are to its ruin. I say that you came onto Scythe-maker's street—I shall not speak obscurely—into the home of Marcus Porcius Laeca; moreover, many accomplices of your folly and wickedness came to the same place. Do you not deny this? Why are you silent? I shall prove you wrong if you deny it. I indeed see that there are those here in the Senate who were together with you.

In heaven's name, where in the world are we? How are we to preserve the republic? In what city are we to live? Senators, they are here in our number, in this world, and in this most consecrated and grave meeting of the Senate, those who think about our death, and those who think about the destruction of this city and

even the world. I as consul see these men and ask the opinion of the Senate concerning the republic and those men who ought to have been slain with a sword, whom I have not yet wounded with my voice.

Therefore, Catilina, you were at Laeca's home that night. You divided parts of Italy. You decided where each of your agents was to depart. You chose those of Rome who you would leave behind and those you would take with you. You partitioned parts of the city for fire. You asserted that you yourself soon would leave, and you said yourself that the cause of your delay was the fact that I was still living. Two Roman knights were found who would free you from such cares and would promise that on that same night they would kill me in my bed, shortly before dawn.¹² I discovered these things before the dismissal of your meeting. In light of this news, I fortified and strengthened my house with a greater garrison; and I shut out those whom you had sent to greet me when they came to my home, those men whom I had predicted to many men and to most of the leading men would come to me at that time.

[V] Under these circumstances, Catilina, whereby you have begun, depart from the city; the gates are open, set out! Those Manlian camps of yours for too long have desired their commander. Also, take all of your men with you. If not, take as many as possible and cleanse the city! So long as there is a wall between you and me, you will have relieved me from great anxiety. No longer are you able to be among us; nor do I bear, allow, or permit your presence. Great thanks must be paid to the immortal gods and to Jupiter Stator himself, the most ancient

¹² Gaius Cornelius and Lucius Vargunteius

guardian of this city, for the fact that so many times already we have escaped this dangerous plague of the republic, which is so loathsome, and so dreadful.

The very existence of the republic so often must not be risked. As long as you plotted against me, Catilina, the elected consul, I defended myself not with public guard but with private diligence. Since the last consular election, you wished to murder your rivals and me, the consul, in the Campus Maritus.¹³ I suppressed yours and your friends' wicked plan with my guards and troops, although no one had incited riot. In short, whenever you aimed at me, I thwarted you all by myself, because I saw my ruin to be joined with the great calamity of the republic. Nevertheless, right now you openly aim at the entire republic, the immortal god's temples, the homes of the city, and the lives of all citizens. You summon all Italy to destruction and desolation. Therefore, since I do not dare to do that, which is first and appropriate of this consular power and the custom of our ancestors, I will do that which is milder than severity and more useful to the republic. In fact, if I had ordered you to be killed, the band of your conspirators will be left hidden; however, if you shall have left—something that I have wished for a long time—the bilge water of your companions, great and ruinous to the republic, will be drained from the city. What is it, Catilina? Surely, you are not hesitating to do that, with me commanding, which you already did on your own accord. The consul orders you, an enemy, to leave from the city. Into exile, you ask. I do not order you into banishment, but if you ask, I urge!

[VI] For what is there in this city, Catilina, which is now able to please you? There is no one outside of a conspiracy of corrupt men who does not fear

¹³ Catilina was accused of extortion, thus he was unable to run in the consular elections. Due to his disappointment, he sought to have the candidates of the consular elections murdered.

you, no one who does not hate you. What mark of family shame was not branded upon your life? What disgrace of private affairs does not cling to you in infamy? What desire has left from your eyes? What deed has ever left from your hands? What disgrace has left from your entire body? What about the youth, whom you might have ensnared with allurements of temptation? Did you not carry before those young men either a sword for audacity or a torch for lust? Why shall I only mention these things? Recently with the death of your previous wife, you have made clear the passage for a new marriage. Why you even heaped up this crime with another unbelievable crime did you not?¹⁴ That crime I pass over and easily leave unmentioned, so that the enormity of such a deed may seem either not to have existed in this country or to have gone unnoticed without retribution. I leave unmentioned your financial ruin, which on the thirteenth of this month you will perceive to hang over you.¹⁵

I come to those things, which do not pertain to the personal shame of your crimes, or to your family trouble and disgrace, but to the highest interests of the republic and the life and safety of us all. Is the light or the atmosphere of the sky able to be pleasant for you, Catilina? Although you know that none of the men who, on the twenty-ninth of December when Lepidus and Tullus were consuls, did not know you to have stood in the Comitium with a weapon? Did you not know to have prepared a hand for the sake of murdering the consul and the leading men of the state? Did you not know that it was not some mind or your fear that thwarted your wickedness and fury, but the fortune of the Roman people?

¹⁴ Cicero alludes to the suspicion that Catilina may have killed not only his first wife, but even his son of a previous marriage in order to marry Aurelia Orestilla.

¹⁵ The *Kalends* (1st) and the *Ides* (13 or 15) were the days of the year on which Romans were supposed to pay their debts.

In addition, I now disregard those other crimes, because they either are not obscure or were committed later on. How often did you attempt to kill me as a candidate for the consulship! How often indeed did you attempt to kill me as a consul! How many of your attacks, directed in such a way so that they might seem unavoidable, did I avoid, just as some say, with a small bending of the body! You do nothing, you will accomplish nothing, and nevertheless, you did not cease to attempt and wish. How often already was such a dagger wrested from your hands, and how many times, did that dagger slip from your hands by some chance of fate! What sacred rites that dagger may have been initiated and devoted for by you, I do not know, that you would judge it necessary to plunge it into the body of the consul.

[VII] Now indeed, what is that life of yours? In fact, I now speak with you in such a way, that I do not seem roused by anger, which I should be, but by pity, none of which you should receive. A little while ago, you came into the Senate. Who from this great assembly, out of so many friends and acquaintances, saluted you? If this has happened to no one in the history of men, do you await the reproach of voice, since you are being suppressed by the greatest judgment of silence? What of the fact that the benches were vacated with your arrival? What about the fact that all the consuls, who were often designated to death by you, left that section of the benches vacant and empty?

Dear god! If my slaves should fear me in the way that your fellow citizens should fear you, I would judge that my home ought to be abandoned. Surely, you judge that the city ought to be abandoned by you, do you not? In addition, If, I should see myself to be so seriously suspected and offensive to my citizens with

injustice, I would prefer to be without the sight of my citizens rather than look at the dangerous eyes of all. When you may recognize the just hatred of all due to the guilt of your wicked crimes, which you have deserved for a long time, do you hesitate to avoid the sight of those, whose minds and feelings you wound? If your parents might fear and might have hated you to the point where you could not placate them by any means, you would withdraw, as I think, from their eyes to somewhere else. As it is now, the country, who is the common parent of us all, hates and fears you; moreover, now for a long time, she judges you to think about nothing other than her own destruction. Will you neither respect the land, nor follow her judgment, nor fear her power?

The country pleads with you in such a way, Catilina, and while silent, she speaks in a certain way: “Already, no outrage has appeared for several years unless through you, no deed of shame without you. For you alone the murders of many citizens, the plundering and harassing of allies was unpunished and free.¹⁶ You have not only succeeded in disregarding the laws and judicial inquiries but also overthrowing and breaking them down. Those aforementioned matters, although they ought not to have been tolerated, nevertheless I tolerated as best as I could. Now it must not be endured, the fact that I am in fear because of you alone. Whatever may have made a noise that Catilina should be the sole cause of fear—no plan seemed to be able to be entered against me, which may be inconsistent with your wickedness—I am no longer able to endure it! Therefore, depart and

¹⁶ “Murders of many citizens,” alludes to the proscriptions that Catilina carried-out under the dictatorship of Sulla. “The plundering and harassing of allies,” refers to egregious acts that Catilina orchestrated during his praetorship in Africa where he committed many acts of extortion against Roman allies. Upon returning to Rome, Publius Clodius brought him to trial, but Catilina was able to escape all charges through bribery.

take away my fear, so that I may not be oppressed if the fear is true; if it is false, at sometime I may finally cease to fear.”

[VIII] If the country may say these things to you, just as I have said, should she not receive her request, even if she is unable to do so with force? What of the fact that you placed yourself under house arrest, which you said you wished to live in the house of Manlius Lepidus for sake of avoiding suspicion? That man did not receive you, yet you even dared to come to me, and you asked me so that I would protect you in my home. You received the same answer from me, that I am in no way able to be within the same walls of a house safely with you, I who am in great danger, because we are contained within the same walls of the city. You came to Quintus Metellus the praetor, who rejected you. After the rejection, you departed to your friend, Marcus Metellus, one of the leading men in the republic, whom you obviously thought would be most attentive for guarding you, most sagacious for suspecting you, and most brave for punishing you. Nevertheless, how does a man who seems absent from prison and chains by far may now judge themselves worthy of imprisonment? Since these things are so, Catilina, can you not die with resignation? Can you not depart to anywhere else but here and entrust such a life snatched away from many due punishments and debt to flight and solitude?

“Refer the matter to the Senate for debate or consideration,” you say; in fact, you demanded it. If this body itself desires to decree that you go into exile, you say that you would comply. I shall not bring it up, because it is inconsistent with my character, and nevertheless, I shall make it so that you understand what

these men feel about you. Depart from the city into exile, Catilina, and free the republic from fear. If you are awaiting this voice, set out!

What is it? Do you pay attention to anything? Do you not notice the silence of all these men? They allow this and they are silent. Do you await the authority of them speaking, whose desire of silence you plainly see? Mind you, if I should have said the same thing to this fine young man, Publius Sestius, or if I should have said the same thing to the bravest man Marcus Marcellus, immediately the Senate rightly would have brought violent hands against me in this temple itself. However, concerning you, Catilina, when they keep their silence it means they approve, when they suffer it they decree, when silent they are shouting. For not only is it these men whose support is obviously clear to you, those whose lives you value as the cheapest, but also the Roman knights, the most honorable and the best men, and other most brave citizens who surround this senatorial meeting. You were able to see the magnitude of the crowd and zeal, and a little while ago, you clearly were able to hear their voices; those men whose hands and weapons I scarcely have been able to restrain from you for some time now. I shall easily prompt those same men to escort you all the way to the gates, with you leaving behind these places, which you for a long time were eager to lay waste.

[IX] And yet, why do I speak? As if, any matter could destroy you. As if, you could ever correct yourself. As if, you could consider any escape. As if, you could think of any exile. If only the immortal gods would grant such a disposition to you! Yet I see, if frightened by my voice you will have decided to go into exile, how much a storm of enmity threatens us; if this is less in the present time,

because our memory of your wickedness, at least it will be there in future time. However, it is worth it, so long as that ruin of yours is personal and there is no danger posed against the republic. Yet, it must not be permitted for you to be removed from your crimes, so that you may fear the penalty of the law, so that you may yield to the republic in a critical situation. In fact, neither are you such a man, Catilina, that either decency recalls you from shame, or dread from danger, or reason from madness.

Therefore, as I have often said already, set out! Moreover, if you wish, just as you claim, to arouse animosity against me, your enemy, then proceed directly into exile. Hardly shall I bear the conversations of men, if you shall have done that, hardly shall I support the burden of such a plot. If you go into exile by order of the consul, I shall have prevailed. If, on the contrary, you prefer to remain and serve my glory and praise: depart with your cruel band of wicked men, confer yourself to Manlius, excite corrupt citizens, separate yourself from good men, bring war against the country, and revel in shameless piracy. I ask that you do these things, so that you may not seem as if I cast you out to foreigners, but as if I invited you to go to friends.

Why do I ask you, the man whom I already know in advance dispatched armed men, so that they might wait for you in the Aurelian forum? I know the day that was agreed upon with Manlius; moreover, I even trust that you have sent that silver eagle to him, that eagle to which you built a shrine of wickedness in your home, that silver eagle will be fatal to you and your friends. Can you lack that standard, which you worshiped for some time while setting out for murder, from whose altar you often carry your impious hand toward the murder of citizens?

[X] After some time, you will go to that place where your unbridled madness and desire has seized you. For, this does not bring you pain, but it brings a certain kind of pleasure. To this point, nature has produced madness in you; your will has exercised it, your fortune has saved it. Not only have you never desired peace, but even war, unless it was nefarious war. You collected a gang of men thrown together from depraved citizens, who not only lacked fortune, but also hope. In what delight will you enjoy here? In what gladness will you exult? In how great a pleasure do you revel in delights when in such a number of friends neither will you hear nor see one good man! Those merits of yours, which many reported, you contemplated for the purpose of this kind of life—that is to say—to lie on the ground, not only for adultery, but also for wicked deeds, and to watch for sleeping husbands while plotting against them and even stealing property from idle men. You have the opportunity to show your distinguished endurance regarding starvation, cold, and need for all things; the endurance you will sense to have been weakened. I accomplished just this much, when I drove you back from the consulship, so that as an exile rather than a consul you could attempt to harass the republic, and so that, that, which you might undertake criminally, many should call piracy rather than war.

[XI] Now, Senators, so that I may denounce and plead against some just complaint of my country, I beg you to observe carefully the things, which I shall speak, and faithfully hand over your hearts and minds—that is to say—if indeed Rome, Italy, and the entire republic should say to me:

“Marcus Tullius, what are you doing? Did you find him to be an enemy, that man whom you see would be the leader of war, whom you perceived as the

commander expected in the enemy's camp? Did you not see that promoter of deeds, the foremost perpetrator of the conspiracy, that recruiter of slave and corrupt citizens—that man permitted to leave, so that he seems not to have been banished, but seems to have been sent against the city? Will you not allow this man to be led in chains, so that he may be put to death by the greatest penalty? Finally, what prevents you from doing this? Is it the traditions of our ancestors? Mind you, very often private citizens of the state punished dangerous citizens with death. Is it the law concerning the punishment of Roman citizens that prevents you?¹⁷ Mind you, never in the history of this city have those who have rebelled against the republic held the rights of citizens.

“On the other hand, could it be that you fear the unpopularity of future generations? Indeed, you return distinguished thanks to the Roman people, who know that you by yourself and not by recommendation of the ancestors, so promptly rose to the highest power through the ranks. If it is because of envy or fear that you do not do this, you are disregarding the safety of your citizens. However, if any fear is of unpopularity, it is not the envy of unpopularity or fortitude that must be feared more than the failure to act when it is necessary. Then again, is it that you fear with war, the enemy will lay waste to Italy, harass the city, and burn the homes; in the event that these things occur, are you not to judge that the fire of unpopularity will consume you?”

¹⁷ Cicero alludes to the Porcian, Sempronian, and Valerian laws. The Porcian law states that no Roman citizen should be put to death, the Sempronian disallowed the execution of a Roman citizen without the consent of the people, and the Valerian states that in the event a Roman citizen commits a capital crime, they should have the option of exile. Cicero's disregard for these laws when he executed the Catilinarian conspirators led to his eventual exile from Rome.

[XII] I shall respond with a few words to these most consecrated words of the republic, and the minds of men who share similar sentiments. If I should judge what was to happen to Catilina, Senators, I would have him put to death. I would not give such a thug a single hour of enjoyment to live. For if the greatest men, and not dear citizens not only did not contaminate themselves with blood, but honored themselves with the blood of Saturninus, the Gracchi brothers, Flaccus, and several other men who lived before those men, certainly, with this assassin killed, I should not fear that any unpopularity should overwhelm me in the future. Even so, if unpopularity were to threaten me greatly, nevertheless, I would judge that unpopularity acquired by virtue is not unpopularity but glory.

Yet, there are those in this assembly, who either do not see that which threatens us or that which conceals. Those men, who have nourished the hopes of Catilina with soft opinions, have strengthened the growth of the conspiracy by not believing in the danger that impends. Whose authority, not only many wicked men, but also inexperienced men, would have said I acted cruelly in the manner of a king, if I had punished this man. Now I understand, if such a man shall have arrived into the Manlian camp, to where he intends to go, there will be no one so stupid that may not see the conspiracy that he create, no one so shameful who may admit it. However, with this man dead, I understand, that we will have suppressed this plague of the republic for a short time, and we will be unable to suppress it forever. However, if he will have banished himself and led his associates with him, and will have gathered the refuges from all sides to the same place, we will not only annihilate and destroy this fully-grown plague to the republic but also the source and seed of all evil.

[XIII] Indeed, for a long time now, Senators, we have dwelled in these dangers and plots of conspiracy. Somehow, the ripeness of all crime, long-established madness, and recklessness has broke-out in my consulship. If we destroy such a man from so great a band of robbers, we shall seem perhaps at a certain time to have eased anxiety and dread. The danger, however, will stay behind and it will be there enclosed deeply in the veins and the vitals of the republic. As often, when men are sick with serious disease, and thrown along by heat and fever, if they drink cold water, at first they seem relieved, but they later become distressed more gravely and forcefully. Thus this disease, which plagues the republic, will worsen with the remaining men still living.

Therefore, let the shameless men leave. Finally, as I have often said, let them separate themselves from good men as they assemble in a single place—that is—by the wall of the city. Let them cease to plot against the consul at his own home, or to threaten the platform of the civic praetor, or to besiege the assembly with guards, or to collect firebrands and torches for burning the city. Finally, let his feelings concerning the republic be written upon the forehead of everyman. I promise this to you, Senators, we consuls will have such great attention, so great authority from you, so great virtue in the Roman knights, so great agreement in all great men, so that with the departure of Catilina, you see that everything is disclosed, made clear, crushed and punished.

With these harbingers, Catilina, with the greatest health of the republic, with your pestilence and destruction, and with the destruction of those who join you in wickedness and murder, set out to irreverent and unspeakable war.

You, Jupiter, who this city began to worship by the same omens which it worshiped Romulus, you who we certainly call the Stayer¹⁸ of this city and empire, you will keep this man and his associates away for your altars and temples. You will keep them away from the dwellings and the walls of the city, and from the life and fortune of all citizens. In addition, the enemies of good men, the enemies of the country, the robbers of Italy, who are united in an alliance of crime and wicked association, whether they are dead or alive, you will afflict them with punishment.

¹⁸ Romans referred to Jupiter as the Stayer (*Stator*), because he stopped the retreat of the Romans when the Sabines attacked them.

Cicero's second speech delivered against Catilina takes place after Catilina's voluntarily departs into exile. In order to divert any blame against him regarding the matter, Cicero delivers a speech before an assemblage of Romans to justify his actions against Catilina. In the speech, he points out that allowing Catilina to leave the city was a grave mistake, since he is a greater threat outside Rome where he will join forces with Manlius and his army in Faesulae. Moreover, the speech serves as a warning to citizens, who he strongly cautions that the danger has not passed and that they should be wary of the conspirators who still live in the city.

* * *

**The Second Speech of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Lucius Sergius
Catilina Delivered Before the People**

[I] At length, Romans, Lucius Sergius Catilina, that man raging with audacity, that man exhaling wickedness, that pest of the fatherland working nefariously, that man threatening you and the city with fire and sword, either we have driven him from the city, or we have escorted that man himself to the gates with words. He is distant, he has left, he has escaped, and he has torn away. No destruction now will be prepared in these walls against these walls of the city by that monster and prodigy of wickedness. Indeed, we have defeated this man alone, the leader of this domestic war, without controversy. For now, that dagger will not be twisted in our sides: We shall not be afraid in the Campus Maritus, in the forum, in the senate house, and finally, among our private walls. That man was removed from his stronghold, when he was dislodged from the city. Now we openly conduct regular warfare with an enemy without any hindrances. We have

ruined and magnificently conquered that man. We have driven him from his secret plots into open war. In truth, because he has not raised a sword stained with blood, just as he wished, he left leaving us to live, because we wrested the sword from his hands, because he left the citizens safe, because he left the city standing. At length, by how great a sorrow do you judge that man to be afflicted and destroyed? That man now lies prostrate on the ground, Citizens, and he perceives himself to have been struck down and abandoned. He often turns his eyes back towards this city, which he cries to have been seized from his own jaws. Rome indeed seemed to me to rejoice, since she vomited up such a pest and cast it outside.

[III] But if anyone is such, just as it behooved all to be, who in this matter itself—in which my speech exults and celebrates—may accuse me violently, because I did not arrest that enemy so deadly, but rather let him go, that is not my fault, Romans, but the fault of the times. For a long time, Catilina ought to have been killed and affected with the most severe punishment. Both the customs of our ancestors, the austerity of my consular power, and the interests of republic demanded that from me. However, how many do you judge there to have been, who would not believe what I might indict? How many do you think would have deemed the charges untrue because of their own stupidity? How many would have defended Catilina? How many would have favored him because of their dishonesty? In addition, if, with that man having been removed, I should judge every danger to be removed from you, I would have done away with Catilina with danger of not only unpopularity, but also, my life. But when I saw—that matter not even approved at that time by everyone of you—that if I should have punished

that man with death just as he deserved, it would be that I oppressed by hatred would not be able to pursue his allies. I have reduced the matter to this point, that at that time you would be able to fight openly, when you would see the enemy openly. That enemy, Romans, whom I indeed judged must be feared most eagerly from the outside. It is permitted that you may understand from this, which even I bear most troubling, that he left from the city with a small company of associates. If only that man would have led out every one of his own troops with him! He led out my Tongilus, whom he had begun to love in youth. He led out altogether both Publicius and Munacius, whose debts grew increasingly in a tavern but could not incite rebellion within the republic. What of the men he has left behind? With how great are their debts? How healthy are they? How noble?

[III] And so, in comparison to the Gallic legions and the legion which Quintus Metellus has had in the Picenian and Gallic territories, and these troops that are prepared by us daily, I despise that army composed from desperate old men, from barbarous luxury, from rustic bankrupts, from those who would rather forfeit their bail rather than his army. To whom, if I shall not only display the array of our army, but also, show the edict of the praetor, they will faint. I wished that man had led his own soldiers with him. These men, whom I see to move excitedly in the forum, whom I see standing near the senate house, whom I even see come into the Senate, those men who are sleek with perfumes, who are illustrious in purple, who, if they remain here, remember that army not so much as these men—as senators—but as those who have deserted the army, who must be feared by us. Moreover, they must be feared even more, since they perceive me to know what they know, nevertheless they are not aroused. I see for whom Apulia

may be assigned, who may hold Etruria, who may possess the Picenian territory, who may hold Gaul in possession, who may have demanded civic plots of slaughter and incendiaries by himself. They are aware that every detail of the previous night has been reported to me. Those plans which I openly disclosed yesterday in the meeting of the Senate. Catilina himself was afraid; now he has fled. What do these men await? Truly they err greatly if they hope that my former mildness will be perpetual.

[IV] What I have expected, I have already attained, so that you all might openly see a conspiracy to have been made against the republic. Indeed, unless, if there is anyone who may think that those—who are like Catilina—do not plot with Catilina. Now there is no place for mildness; the matter itself demands severity. Now I will allow one thing: let them leave, let them embark, so that they may not allow wretched Catilina to pine through regret of their absence. I shall show the way—he set out on the Aurelia way! If they wish to hasten, they will reach him by evening. Oh fortunate republic! If, it is true, she may have cast-off that bilge water of this city! Dear God! With Catilina alone drained-off, the republic seems to me to have been relieved and refreshed. For what of evil or wickedness can be either shaped or contrived, which that man has not conceived? What poisoner in all of Italy, what gladiator, what mercenary soldier, what assassin, what parricide, what forger of wills, what defrauder, what profligate, what spendthrift, what sycophant, what infamous woman, what corruptor of the youth, what corrupt man, what ruined man is able to be found who may not acknowledge themselves to have lived with Catilina on most familiar terms? What murder throughout these years has been committed without that man? What

nefarious debauchery was not committed through that man? Now, in truth, what great bait of the youth was ever in any man as great as in that man? Some were promised the enjoyment of desires; others were promised the death of their parents, not only by urging them on, but also by helping them. In fact, now, not only from the city but also from the territories, he has collected a large number of men—not only from Rome, but also from every corner of Italy. There were no men, who were oppressed by debt, whom he may not have subscribed to his incredible pact of wickedness.

[V] And so, that you may be able to examine his different pursuits in a dissimilar manner, there is nobody in any gladiatorial school more audacious in his deeds, who is not said to be a close associate of Catilina. There is no one on stage more unreliable and worthless, who may have mentioned himself not to be nearly an associate of the same man. Nonetheless, the same man accustomed to the exercise of debauchery and wickedness in cold, in hunger, in thirst, and in night-watches carried-out, was praised by such men as brave, although the aids of industry and instruments of virtue were squandered in passion and audacity.

If only these comrades would have followed this man. If only this profligate company of desperate men would have left. How fortunate would we be! How fortunate the republic! How excellent the praise of my consulship! For now, the passions of these men are not moderate. This boldness of theirs is inhuman and should not be tolerated. They think nothing other than murder, fire, and rapine. They have squandered their own patrimonies. They have extravagantly spent their own fortunes. Their own property has failed them long since. They have recently begun to lose their faith. That same desire, which was in abundance,

still remains. But if they only had sought a Bacchanalian revel and prostitutes with wine and gambling, those men would be in a state of despairing indeed, but they would still endure.

In truth, who can bear this: for inert men to lie in wait for the bravest men, the most foolish for the most prudent, the most inebriated for the most sober, the drowsy for the vigilant? Who—for me—reclining at banquets, listless with wine, having embraced unchaste women, filled with food, wreathed with garlands, and overloaded with perfumes, drunkenly speak of the slaughter of good men and the burning of the city in their own conversations. To whom I am sure some dreadful fate may impend; moreover, for a long time they are owed punishment, which already is nearby or certainly approaching, for their dishonestly, worthlessness, wickedness, and licentious desires. Those whom, if my consulship, since it is not able to remedy the situation, shall have removed, it will have propagated the life of the republic a short period of time, but for many generations to come.

There is no nation that we must fear, no king who may be able to wage war with the Roman people. The military prowess of a single man¹⁹ has quelled every foreign threat on land and on sea; however, a civil war looms and inside the republic are treachery, danger, and the enemy. We must contend with luxury, madness, and wickedness. I declare myself, Romans, as leader for this war. I undertake the enmity of profligate men. Who can be cured, I shall heal by whatsoever means, and who must be cut back, I shall not allow to remain for the destruction of the state. Therefore, let them either leave or let them keep silence,

¹⁹ Cicero refers to Gneius Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great) who had recently defeated Mithradites.

or if they remain in the city and in the same frame of mind, let them await those punishments that they have earned.

[VI] But indeed, there are those, Romans, who say primarily I threw Catilina into exile. If I could achieve such with words, I would cast into exile such men themselves who say those things. In truth, a timid or even a very modest man could not bear the voice of a consul. As soon as he was ordered into exile, he obeyed. However, yesterday, when I almost would have been murdered in my own home, I convened a meeting of the Senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator. In this meeting, I brought forth this matter to the Senators. When Catilina entered the meeting, did any senator acknowledge him? Finally, did anyone look at him in such a way as if he was an abandoned citizen rather than as a most troublesome enemy? But even the men of the senatorial ranks abandoned that part of the seating, to which that man approached, leaving it vacant and empty.

To this point, I, that violent consul, who hurls citizens into exile by a single word, sought from Catilina whether he might have been at the evening meeting in the home of Marcus Laeca or not. Although that most audacious man remained silent at first, convicted by his own guilt, I revealed other things. I laid out clearly what he might have done on that night, where he might have been, what he might have planned for the next night, in what manner the plan for the war might have been described by him. When he appeared disconcerted, when he still remained silent, I asked him why he hesitated to embark to that place where for a long time he was preparing to go, since I know arms, axes, and fasces, war clarions, and the military standards had to have been sent there, as well as that silver eagle for which he made a shine in his home. Did I cast that man into exile

whom I had already seen to have entered into war? In fact, I believe that Manlius, that centurion, who positioned camps in the Faesulian territory, he has declared war on the Roman people in his own name. Now those camps do not await Catilina as leader; moreover, that man having been cast into exile, just as they say, goes to Massilia not into these camps.

[VII] What a desolate task—not only in regards to managing the republic, but also preserving it. Suppose that Catilina, confined and debilitated by my plans, labor, and dangers, suddenly may have feared, may have changed his opinion, may have deserted his associates, may have abandoned his plan of waging war, and may have changed his journey from the course of wickedness and war towards flight from this city into exile. If those things were to happen, that man will be said not to have been stripped of the arms of his audacity by me, not to have been paralyzed and astonished by my diligence, not driven from his hope and attempt, but expelled unconvicted—cast out into exile as an innocent man by the consul’s force and threats. There will be those who may wish that man to be considered—if he may have done this—not as dishonest, but as miserable, and I, not as a most diligent consul, but as the cruelest tyrant! I think it is worth it, Romans, to suffer the tempest of this false and unjust unpopularity, provided that the danger of a horrible and nefarious war is removed from you. Certainly, it may be said that I cast him out; I am okay with that as long as he may go into exile. Nevertheless, trust me, he is not about to go. I shall not wish from the immortal gods, Romans, for the sake of mitigating my unpopularity that you may hear of Catilina leading an army of enemies, and that he is moving quickly in arms.

You, nevertheless, will hear of it in three days. Yet, I fear that much more, that at sometime I may be unpopular because I may have let him go on his own accord rather than casting him out of the city. Since there may be those men who may say that man—now that he has gone forth—to have been cast out, likewise, if he had been killed, what would they say? Nonetheless, those men who often plead that Catilina is going to Massilia, do not so much as complain, but fear this. There is no one of such men who may not prefer him to go to Manlius rather than to go to Massilia. Dear god! If that man would have never planned this—which he is doing now—he would favor himself to die while robbing rather than as an exile. But, up until now, when nothing may have happened contrary to his desire and thought, except that we were living as he departed from Rome. Let us wish that he might go into exile rather than complain about it.

[VIII] But why do we speak for so long about a single enemy and about an enemy who already admits himself to be an enemy, and whom I do not fear, since the walls of the city are between us? Concerning those men, who pretend not to know anything, who remain in Rome, who are here with us, are we to say nothing? Those men whom, if it can be done in any way, indeed I do not so much as desire to inflict vengeance upon as to restore them to a better mind, and reconcile them with the republic. I perceive no reason wherefore it cannot be done, if now they are willing to listen to me. For I shall expose them to you, Citizens, from what class of men such an army might be composed; then I shall apply to each the remedy of my advice and speech, if at that time I shall be permitted to do so.

One class is of those who are in great debt and even have greater possessions, by which they are led in a love that they cannot free themselves from. These in appearance are the most honorable kind of men—for they are opulent—however, in truth, their desires and intent are most shameful. If I should speak to one of this class, I would ask this: Since you are adorned and supplied by the fields, many residences, property, family, and many other things, do you not hesitate to detract from your possessions and gain credit? What are you waiting for? War? Therefore, what is it? Do you think that in the destruction of everything that your possessions will be sacrosanct? Or do you await a cancellation of all debts? Those who await such things from Catilina are mistaken. A cancellation of all debts will be brought forward by my kindness, but it will occur only through sales at auction. For those who have possessions are not able to be safe by any other means. But if they might have wished to do so earlier, and not that which is most foolish—that is to say—to contend with heavy payments of interest by the rents and fruits of their estates, we would find in these men wealthier and better citizens. But I think these men must be feared the least, because they are able to be led away from their opinion, or, if they will remain, they seem to me, more likely to make prayers against the republic rather than bear arms against it.

[IX] Another class is of those who, although they are pressed with debt, nevertheless, wish to control the government and exercise their authority in its management. They think themselves, that with the republic disturbed, they will be able to attain the honors which they give up hope for while the republic remains undisturbed. It seems fitting to warn this class, I suppose with the same warning, which I have said to all the others, that they should despair themselves to be able

to attain that which they attempt: First, they should know that I guard myself, and that I am present to provide for the republic. Secondly, they should know that men are in great spirits and that there is a great concordance of all the citizens—a very great multitude of them—besides a great supply of troops. Finally, with the immortal gods present, they will give aid to these conquered people, this distinguished empire, and this most beautiful city against so great a power of wickedness. But if already they may have attained that which they desire in their greatest fury, should those men hope they will be either consuls, dictators or even kings in the ashes of the city and the blood of its citizens—a state of affairs that they have coveted for long with disgraceful and nefarious minds? Do they not see themselves that that which they desire, if they should obtain it, it might be necessary to concede some power to some fugitive or gladiator?

The third class is somewhat advanced in age, but nevertheless, they are robust in exercise; Manlius belongs to such a class, that man whom Catilina now succeeds. These men are from those colonies that Sulla established, an entire community that I feel is comprised of the best and bravest citizens, but there are those colonists who sumptuously and insolently indulge amid unexpected and unforeseen wealth. While these men construct as if they are opulent, while estates, couches, large families, and magnificent banquets are delighting them, they fall into such great debt that if they would wish to be saved from ruin, they must exorcise Sulla from the dead. Those men who even incited rustic, indigent and needy men into the same hope of old robberies. Each of those men I place into the same class of robbers and plunders, but I advise this: Let them cease to rage and think of proscriptions and dictatorships. For such great grief of those times was

branded to the state, so that not only men, but also not even cattle may seem to me to be about to suffer such things.

[X] The fourth class is varied, mixed, and turbulent in its character; those who are long since oppressed by debt and will never emerge from it, in part due to the laziness of the mismanagement of their private affairs, and even partly due to their staggering against long-contracted debts; those who are wearied by bail, judgments, and confiscation of goods. Very many men, both from the city and from the plains are said to confer themselves into these camps. I think these men not to be so much as keen soldiers as slow deniers of debt. Men who, if they are unable to stand, let them fall, but in such a way that not only citizens, but even the closest neighbor may hear. For I do not understand this, wherefore, if they are not able to live honestly, they may wish to die shamefully, or they may think they will die with a little grief if they die with many rather than if they die alone. The fifth class is of parricides, assassins, and every criminal. These men I cannot remove from Catilina; for they cannot be plucked from that man, and this being so, surely let them perish in their career of robbery, since there are so many of them that a prison is not able to hold them.

The last class, however, not only in number, but also even in kind itself and life are from the class in which Catilina finds himself; these men are from his choice, from his embrace and bosom. These men whom you see: with sleek combed hair, either not bearded or bearded well, with tunics having long sleeves and reaching to the ankles, covered with veils and not with togas. Whose every interest of life and labor for watching is squandered in parties protracted until dawn. In this flock, every gambler, every adulterer, every vile and shameless man

is engaged as an associate. These boys so delicate and charming have learned not only to love and to be loved, nor to sing and dance but also to brandish daggers and to disperse poison; these men, who, unless they leave, unless they perish, even if Catilina may have perished, know that this will be a nursery of Catilinas in the republic. In truth, nevertheless, what do such wretched men wish for themselves? Surely they are not about to take their women with them into the camps? But how will they be able to be without these women, especially now in these nights of November? By what agreement, however, might those men bear the Apennine range and all that frost and snow found there, unless for this reason, they judge that they will be able to bear winter easily, because they learned to dance naked at parties?

[XI] Oh war, which greatly must be feared, when will Catilina have his praetorian cohort of wretches! Romans, marshal your guards, and your troops against this so distinguished army of Catilina. First, pit your consuls and commanders against that exhausted and wounded gladiator. Thereafter, lead-out the flower and the strength of all Italy against that outcast and debilitated band of men, who lie shipwrecked in hope and fortune. Soon indeed the colonies of your cities and municipalities will respond against the rustic masses of Catilina. I must not compare your forces and preparations with the want and need of that man. But if, with these things omitted, with which we are supplied, that man stands in need: a Senate, Roman knights, a city, a treasury, public revenues, all of Italy and its provinces, and foreign nations. If, having omitted these things, we may wish to compare ourselves with them, we may come to understand how greatly they have fallen: for modesty fights on this part, on the other side petulance; on this side

chastity, on the other side stupidity; on this side faith, on the other side fraud; on this side piety, on the other side wickedness; on this side constancy, on the other side madness; on this side an honorable reputation, on the other side disgrace; on this side self-control, on the other side licentious desire. Equity, temperance, fortitude, and prudence are all virtues on this side that contend with iniquity, luxury, idleness, rashness, and every vice. Finally, all of these conflict with each other: abundance with need, good judgment with folly, a sound mind with madness, and good hope with the utter despair of all things. Whether or not in a contest and battle of this sort, if the zealous efforts of men may fail, will the immortal gods themselves force so many and so great vices to be overcome by these most distinguished virtues?

[XII] Since these things are so, Romans, as I have already said before, guard your homes with sentries and guards. Moreover, without disturbing you and without commotion, I have taken the necessary measures to ensure that there will be enough of a guard for the city. I am informing all your colonists and municipal citizens about Catilina's nocturnal departure from Rome, and they will easily defend their own cities and borders. The gladiators, whom that man thought would be a most certain band, although they are in better spirits than some of the patricians, nevertheless, they will be controlled by our strength. Quintus Metellus, whom I, while overseeing this matter, sent into the Gallic and Picenian territory, either he will crush the man or hinder all of his endeavors and movements. In regards to the remaining matters, for the purposes of determining, expediting, and performing the tasks, I now shall refer these matters to the Senate, which you see is being summoned.

Now as far as those men are concerned, those who have remained in the city or those who Catilina has left behind to dwell against the safety of the city and all of you. Although they are enemies, still, because they were born citizens, I wish repeatedly to warn them: if to this point, my softness seemed to loose to anyone, please know that I have been holding back until that which lay concealed might burst forth into the open. As to what remains, I am not able to forget that this is my country, that I am your consul; either I must live with you or I must die for you. There is no guard at the gates, there is no ambush on the way toward them; if any wish to set out, I am able to shut my eyes. However, who shall have made the least stir of trouble in this city? On whose part, if I shall have detected not only the slightest deed, but also any undertaking or attempt against the country, they will know that there are vigilant consuls in this city, that there are distinguished magistrates, that there is a resolute Senate, that there are weapons, and that there is a prison, which our ancestors wished to be the avenger of nefarious and obvious crimes.

[XIII] And so all these things are done in a such a way that the greatest things occur with the least movement, and the greatest danger with no commotion; thus, the greatest and bloodiest war in the history of man will be resolved by me your only leader and commander arrayed in the robe of peace. Because I shall govern in a way, Romans, that if it is possible in any way, not even one single man in this city may suffer punishment for his crimes. But if an obvious force of boldness, if an impending danger to the country will have led me away from this softness of mind, I shall certainly execute that which seems scarcely hoped for against such a great and so insidious a danger so that not a single good man may

perish and that you all may be safe with the punishment of a few men. I indeed promise these things to you, Romans, relying neither on my prudence nor human counsels, but on many irrefutable declarations of the immortal gods, under whose command I have entered into this hope and opinion. They no longer from a far, just as they formerly were accustomed to, defend their own temples and the roofs of their cities from foreign and distant enemies; rather as present deities they defend them here with their own divine power and aid! And these, Romans, you must pray to, revere, and entreat, so that the city, which they wished to be most beautiful, most prosperous, and most powerful, they may defend from the nefarious crime of rather profligate citizens—all the force of whom are conquered on land and on the seas.

Cicero delivers the third speech against Catilina again before a gathering of the people twenty-four days after the second. In the speech, Cicero confirms to the crowd that Catilina has indeed entered into the Manlian camp and reveals the disruption of a plot orchestrated by the Catilinarians and their subsequent interrogation before the Senate. According to Cicero, Lentulus bribed an envoy of Allobrogian ambassadors to carry letters to their people. These letters solicited the Allobroges to wage war with Rome. The ambassadors, although not on friendly terms with Rome, saw no need to risk a costly war and turned the letters over to Roman officials. Learning of this affair, Cicero acts quickly to ensure that the republic sees no harm. In return for his diligence concerning the safety of the state, the senate dedicates a public thanksgiving in honor of Cicero.

* * *

**The Third Speech of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Lucius Sergius
Catilina Delivered Before the People**

[I] Romans, you see the republic and your entire lives, your property, your fortunes, your wives and children, this dwelling place of a most illustrious empire, a most fortunate and most beautiful city, snatched from the flames and sword and almost out of the jaws of fate. It has been preserved for you, on this day by the greatest love of the immortal gods through my labor, judgments, and dangers. Days on which we are saved are no less pleasant and illustrious than those days on which we are born, because the happiness of safety is certain, whereas the condition of being born is uncertain, and because we are born without consciousness, to be rescued is a pleasure. Certainly, we have raised Romulus, that man who founded this city, to the gods by our grateful feelings and the voice

of tradition. He must be and will always be held in honor among you and your predecessors, he who has save this very established and growing city. For, we have extinguished the fires already nearly put under and around the entire city, temples, shrines, dwellings, and the walls of the city. We have blunted the swords drawn against the republic and we cast down their points from your throats. Since these things are clear, laid open by me for all to view and fully ascertain in the Senate, I now shall briefly explain them to you, Romans, so that you, who are unaware and are eagerly awaiting to hear what has been done, may be able to know both how great and prominent they are and by what manner they may have been traced and deleted.

First of all, ever since Catilina escaped from the city a few days ago, when he abandoned the associates of his crimes—the most active leaders of this nefarious war—in Rome, I always remained watchful and foresaw, Romans, in what manner we might be able to be safe from so great and hidden plots. [II] For at that time, when I was seeking to drive Catilina from the city—for I do not fear the unpopularity for openly wishing for such an act, since he must be feared more, because he left alive—but at that time, when I wished that man to be expelled from our borders, I judged either that his abandoned band of conspirators likewise would leave or those who lingered would be weak and debilitated without that man. Therefore, I knew when I saw who was roused by great fury and wickedness, those who would be with us and remain in Rome, I consumed all my nights and days in this matter. I did this, so that what they were doing, what they were planning, I would sense and see, since my speech would produce little faith for your ears on account of the incredible magnitude of wickedness. I framed the

matter in such a way that only then you might provide for your safety with your minds when you might see mischief with your own eyes. I found out that Publius Lentulus solicited Allobroges for the sake of exciting a transalpine war and Gallic tumult, and that those men were returning to Gaul to their own citizens and to Catilina with letters and instructions, and that Titus Volturcius joined them, and that he was to present those letters to Catilina. When I heard of these things, I thought that the opportunity presented itself to me—that which was the most difficult and that which for a long time I hope for from the immortal gods—that the entire affair exposed entirely not only to me, but also to the Senate and you. Therefore, yesterday I summoned before me the praetors L. Flaccus and Gaius Pomptinius, two men considered as the bravest and dearest to the republic. I exposed this affair to these men and I explained to them what I thought would be fitting to do.

Those men who felt every noble and illustrious sentiment for their country, they undertook the matter without refusal and without any delay. When nightfall approached, they secretly arrived at the Mulvian Bridge. At the bridge, they divided themselves into two parties in the nearest villas, so that the Tiber and the bridge might be between them. They led many brave men to that very place without any suspicion, and I had sent many chosen young men from the Reatinan prefecture, whose labors I continually use as a garrison with swords for the republic. Meanwhile, around three o'clock in the morning, when the Allobroges and Volturcius began to walk across the Mulvian Bridge in a great company, they were attacked; both their men and ours drew swords. Nobody knew what was happening except the praetors.

[III] Then, with the intervention of Pomptinus and Flaccus, the fight ended. Whatever letters were in their possession, were handed to the praetors with the seal unbroken. Those men themselves were brought to me at dawn. Of all those wicked men, the most wicked man, Cimbrus Gabinus, I summoned him at once before me; that man did not suspect anything. Thereafter, I summoned Lucius Stailius, and after him, Cethegus. Lentulus, however, came rather late, I believe because he had been up late last night, contrary to his usual habit, for the purpose of delivering the letters. When it seemed fitting for the bravest and the most illustrious men of this state, who having heard of the matter, came to me in the mourning asking that I open the letters rather than the Senate, so that if nothing was found, it might not rashly cast the state into so great an alarm. I said that I would not do that and that I would defer the entire matter regarding the public danger to the public council. In fact, Romans, if those things, which had been reported to me, had not been found in those letters, I still did not think that I should fear any excessive diligence when considering such great danger to the republic. I quickly called a crowded meeting of the Senate, just as you have witnessed. And in the meantime, at the suggestion of the Allobroges, I immediately sent the praetor Gaius Sulpicius, a brave man, who would bring whatever weapons might be found from the house of Cethegus, from which that man brought out a great number of daggers and gladiators.

[IV] I escorted Volturicus into the meeting without the Gauls, and by order of the Senate, I pledged his safety on the public faith. I urged that he should indicate those things that he knew without fear. Then that man, although he hardly recovered from great fear, he said that he had instructions and letters from Publius

Lentulus for Catilina so that Catilina would employ the help of slaves and enter the city with the army as soon as possible. Moreover, he said that with this plan, when they set fire to the city from all parts, just as it had been described and distributed to his followers, that they would slaughter an infinite number of citizens. He might be near at hand who both might intercept those men fleeing from the city and join with those civic leaders. Next, the Gauls were led into the meeting. They said that they were made to swear an oath and that Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius had given them the letters to deliver to their nation.

Furthermore, these men and Lucius Cassius instructed these men so that they would send their cavalry into Italy as soon as possible; moreover, he told them that when they arrived they would not lack a sufficient infantry. They said that Lentulus had assured them from the Sibylline fates that he was the third Cornelian—Cinna and Sulla came before him—to whom the rule and the power of this city was fated to come.²⁰ And the same man said this was the fated year for the destruction of this city and the empire, since it was the tenth year since the acquittal of the virgins²¹ and twentieth since the burning of the Capitol. They, however, said that there was a dispute between Cethegus and the others. Lentulus and the others desired to start the slaughter and the burning of the city during the Saturnalia,²² whereas Cethegus thought that seemed to long a time to wait.

²⁰ Lentulus's full name was Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura. By his *nomen* (name) he was a member of the *gens Cornelia* (The Cornelian Family), which included both Cinna and Sulla. According to the Sibylline fates a third Cornelian was to rise and seize supreme power in Rome. Diviners easily convinced Lentulus that he was indeed the third in the Cornelian line of succession.

²¹ The two Vestal Virgins whom Cicero is speaking are Marcia and Licinia. These women were accused of breaking their vow of celibacy. Not much is known about the two, but we do know that they were absolved of any suspicion of wrongdoing.

²² The Saturnalia or the Festival of Saturn took place in the month of December.

[V] To make a long story short, Romans, we ordered the letters to be brought forward, which each man is said to have given. First, we showed a seal to Cethegus; he acknowledged it as his own. We broke the seal and read the letter. The letter was written in his handwriting and addressed the Senate and the people of the Allobroges. It confirmed what he assured their ambassadors he would do. Furthermore, in the letter, he begged so that likewise those people would do what their ambassadors had promised. Then Cethegus, who a little before might have said something about the swords and daggers that were discovered at his home were present because he always has considered himself an admirer of fine weapons, when the letter was read, convicted by his conscience he seemed dejected and despondent. Statilius was escorted into the Senate; he acknowledged his seal and handwriting. The letter was read aloud unto nearly the same purpose as Cethegus; he confessed. Thereafter, I showed a letter to Lentulus and I asked if he recognized the seal; he nodded yes. "In fact it is a remarkable seal," I said. "It is the portrait of your grandfather, a most illustrious man, who solely loved his own country and fellow citizens. It is an image, which although mute, must recall you from such great wickedness." The letter addressed to the Senate and the people of the Allobroges was read, and had the same intend purpose as the others. I offered him the ability to say anything regarding the matter.

At first, that man declined the offer, but after sometime, with all the evidence exposed and published, he stood up and asked the Gauls and likewise Volturcius what was the nature of the business that brought them to his home. They answered him briefly and resolutely regarding who directed them to him and how often they came to him. In addition, they asked that man whether he had

never spoken with them about the Sibylline fates. At that time, Lentulus, suddenly deprived of all judgment, showed how great the force of his guilt was. For, although he could deny that, contrary to the expectations of all, he suddenly confessed. To such a degree did not only his ability in public speaking, which he always valued, fail him but also the force of his detected guilt, his dishonesty, and his impudence in which he surpassed all. However, Volturicus, suddenly ordered the letter, which he said Lentulus gave to him for Catilina, to be brought forward and opened. Moreover, rather violently agitated, Lentulus acknowledged both his own seal and handwriting. Though it was written without a name, it read as follows: *You may know who I am from the man whom I have sent to you. Take care and realize into what situation you have advanced and see what may be necessary for you and take care that you enlist the aid of all, even that of the lowest.* Finally, Gabinius was led into the meeting; although he began to answer impudently, at the last moment, he denied nothing that the Gauls claimed against him. The letters, seals, handwriting, and confessions seemed most certain evidence and proof of their wickedness, but to a more certain degree, their color, eyes, expressions, and silence indicated their wickedness. For, they stood astonished in such a way, they looked at the ground in such a way, how they looked among one another so that they would no longer seem indicted by others, but seemed to be indicting themselves.

[VI] With the evidence having been exposed and published, Romans, I consulted the Senate on what they thought was fitting concerning the safety of the republic at large. The leading men, who the Senate followed without a dissenting voice, delivered the sharpest and most resolute opinions. Since the Senate has not

yet written down its decree, Romans, I shall have explained from memory what the Senate has decreed. First, thanks were given to me in most endearing words, because of my virtue, judgment, and foresight in liberating the republic from the greatest danger. Thereafter, the praetors, Lucius Flaccus and Gaius Pomptinus, were praised rightly and deservedly, because I employed their brave and faithful service. Even my colleague shared in the praise, because he removed those men who were participants of this conspiracy from any connection with him or the republic.²³ Therefore, the Senate decreed in such a manner that Lentulus, when he abdicated the praetorship, he was arrested. In the same way, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, who were all present, delivered themselves into custody. Moreover, this same decree fell upon: Cassius who demanded that he manage the burning of the city, Marcus Ceparius to whom it appeared that Apulia had been assigned for soliciting shepherds, Publius Furius who is one of those colonists, who Lucius Sulla settled in Faesulae,²⁴ Quintus Annius Chilo who was always there with Furius engaged in the solicitation of the Allobroges, and Publius Umbrenus, a freedman, whom it was clear to many, led the Gauls to Gabinius. Thereafter, Romans, the Senate exercised such lenity so that from so great a conspiracy and so great a crowd of domestic enemies, in order to save the country, the consensus was that with the punishment of nine most perfidious men, we could cure the others.

²³ Gaius Antonius Hybrida who had been an associate of Catilina and co-consul with Cicero, but he was later convinced by Cicero to terminate the relationship

²⁴ Faesulae was one of the many military colonies established by Sulla during the civil war between he and Marius. After defeating Marius, Sulla settled many of his former officers in Northern Italy on lands belonging to Marius. Overtime, these officers grew rich, but unwisely spent all of their fortune. Cicero's reference to their desiring a new war hints that they expect to profit from the fall of the republic.

Even a public thanksgiving to the immortal gods was decreed in my name on behalf of their extraordinary favor, which happened to me afterwards, the first civilian arrayed in a robe of peace to receive such an honor since the founding of the city. The Senate decreed the thanksgiving in these words: *Because I have freed the city from fire, the citizens from slaughter, and Italy from war.* If I could compare this with other thanksgivings, this would be found to differ, because others were conducted when the Republic was well, this was conducted when it was being preserved from destruction. What had to be done was done and completed. For, Lentulus, although exposed by the evidence and his own confession and the judgment of the Senate, lose not only his rights as a praetor, but even his rights as a citizen. Still, he removed himself from his office. There is a way in punishing Lentulus as a private citizen, so that we might be freed from that religious scruple, which no less affected Gaius Marius, a most illustrious man, when he killed the praetor Gaius Glaucia, although there was no decree named against him.

[VII] Now, Romans, since you see the nefarious leaders of this most wicked and dangerous war already to have been seized and arrested, you must consider all of Catilina's troops, all his hopes and resources to have diminished with the removal of these dangers to the city. Indeed, when I foresaw this in my mind, Romans, with the departure of Catilina, I feared neither the drowsiness of Lentulus nor the laziness of Cassius. Out of all those men, that man must be feared alone, but only as long as he was confined within the walls of the city. He knew everything. He held access to everyone. He was able and he dared to salute, influence, and solicit every kind of person. For him there was a plan well-suited

for the deed, the plan failed neither his tongue nor his hand. He already had certain selected and appointed men for the purposes of accomplishing certain tasks; but when he mandated something, he did not consider it completed. There was nothing that he himself did not engage in, lend aid, watch, or labor. He was able to endure cold, thirst, and hunger.

Had I not compelled that man so keen, so bold, so experienced, so crafty, so vigilant in wickedness, so diligent in a ruinous cause, from secret plots into a camp of robbery—Romans, I shall say what is on my mind at present, I removed this mass of evil from your necks with great difficulty—he would have moved to slaughter us on the Saturnalia. He would not have declared the day of destruction and ruin for the republic a day before. Furthermore, he would not have allowed his seal, his own letters, clear proof of his wickedness, to be discovered. As it is, things are conducted in such a manner in the absence of that man that no theft in a private house has ever been found so openly in the republic than this conspiracy. Yet, if Catilina would have remained in this city to this very day, although, as long as he was here, I met and obstructed his every plan, still, to say the least, we would have had to contend with that man. Nor while that enemy was in the city could we have freed the republic from so great a danger with so great peace, leisure, and silence.

[VIII] Yet, Romans, I managed all these things in such a way that they might seem to be conducted and provided for by the will and judgment of the immortal gods. We are able to arrive at that by conjecture, because the governance of such great affairs seems hardly possible to be the work of human judgment. At that time, in such a way did they offer aid to us in these times of crisis that we

were almost able to see them with our own eyes. For, I shall dwell on these things: the torches and the burning of the heavens, the lightning hurled from the sky, the quaking of the earth, and so many other things, which have happened in my consulship, since the immortal gods seem to portend the things that are happening now. Certainly, this, which I am about to say, Romans, neither must be passed over nor abandoned. For, you hold in your memory how many things, during the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, were struck by lightning. In addition, how the statues of the gods and ancient men were thrown down and the bronze tablets of law were melted. Lightning even struck our founder, Romulus, whom you remember there was a gilded image on the Capitol, small and gaping at the teats of a she-wolf.

Indeed, when the prophets convened from all Etruria, they spoke of slaughter, arson, the destruction of the laws, civil war, and the approaching fall of this city and empire, unless the immortal gods, were placated in every manner and overturned the fates themselves. Therefore, in light of their predictions, public games were held for ten days; nothing was omitted that might aid in placating the gods. The same prophets order a statue of Jupiter larger than the former to be made and to be placed on a high location facing the East. This was contrary to what they had done before, and they said that they hope for the best. If that statue, which you see might look at the rising sun, the forum, and the Curia, it would be that those plans which were entered in to secretly against the safety of the city and the empire would be brought so clearly into the light that they are able to be examined by the Senate and the Roman people. For that reason, those consuls

made arrangements that the statue must be placed in that manner, but the slowness of the work was so great that the statue was not set-up until this day.

[IX] Here, who is able to be so great an enemy to the truth, so inconsiderate, so seized by thought, who may deny all these things which were seen and deny that this city is governed by the will and power of the immortal gods? As a matter of fact, we were warned that slaughter, arson, the destruction of the republic and these things to have been prepared by perfidious citizens, things which seemed incredible to some at that time on account of the greatness of the wickedness. These things you sense not only to be thought by nefarious citizens but also undertaken. Is the following circumstance not so clear that it may seem to have been made by the will of Jupiter the best and the greatest, on this day in the morning, when the conspirators and their accusers were led through the forum into the Temple of Concord by my order at the same time the statue was erected? The statue when having been placed and turned towards you and the Senate, both you and the Senate saw all things, which were thought against the safety of all. For this reason, such men, who attempted to bring fatal and criminal fires not only to your homes, but also to the temples of the gods, are worthy of greater hatred and punishment. Yet, if I shall say that I resisted them, I would take too much credit for myself; Jupiter resisted them. He wished the Capitol, this temple, the entire city and all of you to be saved. I undertook this thought and wish with the immortal gods commanding, and I have arrived at so great a discovery.

Now, the solicitation of the Allobroges, so great a matter, Lentulus and the rest of our domestic enemies never would have entrusted these letters to unknown and foreign men, and the letters certainly never would have been sent, if it were

not for the judgment of the immortal gods. But why should I mention that those Gallic men from a state hardly subdued, a nation that stands alone, which may seem able yet unwilling to make war with the Roman people, would neglect the hope of an empire and the greatest things offered by patrician men, and put your safety before their own interests. Do you judge this not to have been done with divine intervention, especially since they could have conquered us by remaining silent?

[X] Wherefore, Romans, since a supplication was decreed for all shrines, celebrate these days with your wives and children. For often, many fitting honors are held and are owed to the immortal gods, but certainly none more fitting than these honors. In fact, you have been snatched from the cruelest and the mist of wretched destruction, without a single murder, without a drop of blood, without an army, and without struggle. You have conquered while clad in the toga, with me arrayed in a toga as your leader. In fact, you remember, Romans, all the civil disagreements, not only those that you have heard but also those that you yourselves have seen. Sulla suppressed Publius Sulpicius.²⁵ He cast out Marius the custodian of this city and many brave men from this city, and killed others. The consul Gnaeus Octavius expelled his colleague from the city with weapons. This entire place overflowed with heaps of dead bodies and the blood of citizens. Afterwards, Cinna and Marius overpowered him; but the lights of the republic went out with the deaths of the most illustrious men. Later, Sulla avenged the

²⁵ When Sulla had departed Rome to battle Mithradites, Sulpicius tried to have him removed from his post and replaced by Marius. On account of his actions, when Sulla returned to Rome he had Sulpicius killed and drove Marius into exile.

cruelty of this victory. It is unnecessary to speak of how great was the loss of citizens, how great was the calamity of the republic.

Marcus Lepidus differed from Quintus Catullus, a most illustrious and brave man. His demise brought not as much mourning to the republic as the death of others. Nevertheless, all those disagreements were of this kind, which might pertain not for the purposes of destroying the republic, but for changing it. They wished there would be a republic in which they would be leaders. They did not wish to burn this city. Still, all those disagreements, none of which sought the destruction of the republic, were of that kind that they might have been settled not by reconciliation of concordance, but with the extermination of citizens. However, a war like this, which one may regard as the bloodiest in the history of humankind, no barbarous land has ever conducted with its own nation. Lentulus, Catilina, Cethegus, and Cassius laid down a war of this sort so that all who might be safe, in case the city was safe, would be considered in the number of the enemies. I have carried myself in such a manner, Romans, that you might be preserved safe. Although your enemies thought that only so many citizens would survive as those that escape endless slaughter and whatever part of the city that the flames might not have been able to reach, I saved both the city and its citizens whole and safe.

[XI] On behalf of such things, Romans, I shall demand from you no reward of virtue, no distinguishing mark of honor, no monument of glory except the memory of this day to be everlasting. I wish all my triumphs, every ornament of honor, every monument of glory, and every insignia of praise to be preserved and placed in your minds. No mute memorial, nothing silent, nothing of this sort,

which even less worthy men may be able to have. My actions, Romans, will be fostered in your memory. They will be promoted in your daily conversations. They shall grow old and will be strengthened in the monuments of letters. I am convinced that this very day, which I hope will be eternal, must be propagated both for the safety of the city and the memory of my consulship. At a single time, two citizens have emerged in this republic, one who defined the limits of your empire not by the boundaries of the land, but by the boundaries of heaven.²⁶ The other man preserved the homes and the seat of this empire.

[XII] Since the fortune and condition of those affairs, which I have conducted is not the same as that of those men who have conducted foreign wars, since I must live with those men whom I have conquered and subdued. Therefore, it is your responsibility to look after me, Romans, their deeds properly benefited others, mine may harm me at anytime. For, there is great support in good men, which is provided to me forever, great dignity in a republic, which, although silent, always protects me. There is also great force of conscience, which those who neglect it, when they wish to harm me they will only betray themselves. For, such determination is in us, Romans, that not only may we yield to the audacity of no one, but also we may always voluntarily strike every dishonest man.

Yet, if every attack of a domestic enemy was averted from you should turn itself against me alone, you will have to consider how much protection you may desire to give me, and hereafter to those men who open themselves to jealousy and all kinds of danger on your behalf. What indeed is there for me, which now may be acquired for the enjoyment of life, especially when I may see neither

²⁶ Cicero respectively is referring to Pompey and himself who was able to conquer Mithradites.

anything higher in your honor nor in the glory of virtue to where it certainly may be pleasing for me to ascend? I shall carry out that those things indeed, Romans, so that those things, which I have done in my consulship, I may defend and honor as a private citizen so that if any envy is incurred in preserving the republic, it may hurt the envious, it may bring me to glory.

Finally, I shall handle myself in such a way in the republic that I may remember always what things I have done, and may see to it that these things may seem to be done by virtue and not by chance. You, Romans, since it is already night, worship Jupiter the guardian of this city and depart to your homes, although now the danger has been driven-off, nevertheless, defend them equally as you did on the first night with guards and lookouts. I shall see that no one may harm you anymore so that you may live in perpetual peace.

The fourth speech occurred during a meeting of the Senate amid a debate on how to punish the Catilinarians. Cicero notes that there were two opinions present. Decimus Silanus proposed that the conspirators should be executed, while Julius Caesar favored life in prison without parole. Although Cicero does not make a specific request to the Senate, his constant requests for the severest punishment suggests that he favors death, which is the punishment inflicted upon the conspirators when they were strangled in the Tullianum.

* * *

**The Fourth Speech of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Lucius Sergius
Catilina Delivered Before the Senate**

[I] Senators, I see all your mouths and eyes to be fixed upon me, I observe that you are anxious not only about the danger to you and the republic, but also if that is removed, you are anxious about the danger toward myself. Your kind wishes are pleasant to me in times of evil and grateful in times of grief. But in heaven's name! Set aside this concern and forget my safety. Think about yourselves and your children. If this condition of the consulship was given to me, so that I should endure every bitter affliction, every grief and torment, I shall bear them bravely and willingly, if dignity and safety may be procured by my efforts for you and the Roman people. I am that consul, Senators, to whom neither the forum in which all equity is contained, nor the Campus Maritus which is consecrated by consular auspices,²⁷ nor the Curia²⁸ the chief refuge of every nation, nor my home the common refuge, nor my bed which is given for rest, nor has this seat of honor ever been free from the danger of death and treachery. I

²⁷ Before consular elections could occur the auspices had to be declared favorable.

²⁸ The principle meeting place of the Senate.

have endured many things. I have yielded many things. I have remedied many things with some grief of my own while you were in a state of panic. Now, if the immortal gods wished this to be the ruin of my consulship so that I should rescue you and the Roman people from miserable slaughter, you wives, children, and the Vestal Virgins from most bitter hatred, our temples and shrines, this most beautiful country from foul flames, and all of Italy from war and devastation. Whatever fortune may be set forth for me alone, let it advance. In fact, if Publius Lentulus, led on by prophets, thought his name would be fated for the destruction of the republic, why should I not rejoice that my consulship was fated to have existed for the safety of the Roman people?

[III] Wherefore, Senators, consult for yourselves, look out for the country, save yourselves, your wives, your children, and your fortunes. Defend the name and health of the Roman people. Cease in your attempts to stop me and quit thinking of me. For, at first, I must hope that the gods who reside over this city will reward me just as I deserve. Finally, if anything should happen to me, let me perish with a balanced and fully prepared mind. For neither is a shameful death able to happen to a brave man nor an early death to a consul nor a miserable death to a wise man. Yet, am I not that man so iron-hearted who may not be moved by the sadness of a most beloved and loving brother²⁹ present and by the tears of all of these people who you see surrounding me. Neither does the thought my terrified wife³⁰ recall my mind home nor my daughter³¹ stricken with fear and my

²⁹ Quintus Tullius Cicero

³⁰ Terentia

³¹ Tullia

little son,³² whom the republic seems to me to embrace as if a pledge of my consulship, nor that son-in-law of mine³³ who awaiting the outcome of this day stands in sight. I am moved by these people, but unto this part, that they may be safe with you, even if some force should crush me, rather than both us and they perish together in ruin.

Wherefore, Senators, rely heavily upon the safety of the republic, look around and behold all the storms that impend, unless you can make provisions to stop them. Neither Tiberius Gracchus who wished to be tribune of the plebeians a second time, nor Gaius Gracchus who attempted to rouse the land reformers to revolt, nor Lucius Saturninus who killed Gaius Memmius, could avoid the risk of prosecution, which you in your severity may inflict. Those held in custody remained in Rome for the burning of the city, for the slaughter of you all, in order to welcome Catilina. The letters, the seals, and the confessions of each man showed the solicitation of the Allobroges, the excitation of slaves, and the summoning of Catilina. They formed that plan, so that with all slain, nobody would be left, not even for mourning the name of the Roman people and for lamenting the fall of so great a republic.

[III] The informers reported all these things. The accused have confessed. You have already judged these men, first, when you acted by giving me thanks is most extraordinary words, second, when you ordered the conspiracy of those perfidious men to be disclosed by my virtue and diligence. Moreover, you also judge them when you forced Lentulus to abdicate his praetorship, thereafter, also when you voted those men to be taken into custody, and especially when you

³² Marcus

³³ Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi

decreed a thanksgiving in my name, an honor that no one clad in the toga has held before me. Finally, yesterday, you judged these men when you gave most ample thanks to the ambassadors of the Allobroges and to Titus Volturius. All things seem to show that you placed those men under arrest without any uncertainty.

But I have undertaken to refer to you, Senators, as if the matter were untouched, both what you thought about the deed and what punishment you may recommend. Before I do that, I shall say those things that are the business of the consul. I long ago saw a great furor to be prevalent in the republic and some strange evils to be mixed and excited, but I never thought that a conspiracy so great and so pernicious would be carried-out by citizens. Now, whatever it is, wherever your minds and opinions are inclined, it is to be determined by you before night. You see how great a deed has been reported to you. If you think that only a few men are implicated in this, you gravely err. This evil has disseminated more widely than thought. It flows not only through Italy but it even has transcended the Alps and creeping obscurely, it already has occupied many provinces. There is no way that you can check this conspiracy through delay and postponing action. In whatever manner you please, you must quickly punish these men.

[IV] I see that there are two opinions up to this point: one is of Decimus Silanus who votes that those who attempted to destroy these things should be punished with death; the second opinion is of Gaius Caesar who set aside the penalty of death and embraces all the severities of other punishments. Each insists on the highest severity both because of his own dignity and because of the magnitude of the matter. Silanus thinks that those who have attempted to deprive

us all and the Roman people of life, those who have attempted to destroy the empire, those who have attempted to destroy the name of the Roman people, should not enjoy life and the air that we breathe. Silnaus recalls that often this kind of punishment was used in the republic against the most dishonest citizens. Caesar is of the opinion that death is assigned by the immortal gods not for the sake of punishment, but either as a necessity of natural law or a rest from labors and miseries. Therefore, wise men are never reluctant; the brave men often are even more willing to die. Yet, imprisonment and life-long sentences certainly were invented for the sole punishment of nefarious crime. He orders that they be distributed into municipal towns. Such a matter seems unfair to me if you may wish to order municipal towns to do so and difficult if you wish to ask.

Still, let it be decreed, if it please you. For I shall take upon myself, and as I hope, I shall find those who may judge that not to be a part of their dignity to object that which you will have appointed for the safety of all. Caesar adds a heavy punishment to the municipalities. If any one of them should escape, the municipalities would be severely punished with sanctions worthy of perfidious men. In addition, he sanctions that no one may be able to lighten the punishment of those whom he condemns either through the Senate or through the people. He even snatches away hope, which alone exists to console a man in times of misery. He orders their goods to be confiscated. He leaves life alone for the nefarious men, which if he would have done so, he would have taken away many sufferings of their minds and bodies with a single pain. Therefore, so that some dread might be placed in the dishonest in life, the ancients wished some punishments of that kind to be appointed for the wicked that paralleled those in the lower world, no

doubt, because they realized that if they removed those punishments, they would not fear death.

[V] Now, Senators, I see how much it may be in my advantage, if you shall have followed the opinion of Gaius Caesar, since he has always followed the course in the republic which we consider democratic. Perhaps I shall fear popular attacks less with this man as the author and the thinker of this opinion. Still, if you follow Silanus, I do not know whether more trouble may fall upon me. Nevertheless, let the interests of the state overcome considerations of my danger. For, we have from Caesar, just as his high rank and most ample character of his ancestors demanded, something like a pledge of perpetual goodwill to the republic. It is understood what is the difference between the level of demagogues and a mind truly democratic that consults for the safety of the people. I see certain men from those who wished to be considered supporters of popular causes are absent; they seem to avoid bearing an opinion concerning the lives of Roman citizens.

The day before yesterday, he was in favor of consigning Roman citizens into custody and issued a thanksgiving for me, and just yesterday, he compensated the informers with great rewards. Now what he may have judged concerning the entire affair and its cause is doubtful to no one who has voted custody for the accused, public thanksgiving for the examiners, and a reward for the informers. But indeed, Caesar understands the Sempronian law was enacted for the benefit of the Roman people, but he should also understand that he who may be an enemy of the republic is in no way able to be a citizen. Finally, he should understand that the framer of the Sempronian law was put to death by order of the people. Surely

he does not think that Lentulus, that briber who spends his money wildly, is able to be called a friend to the Roman people, since he many have thought so bitterly and cruelly about the ruin of the Roman people and the destruction of this city. Therefore, the most mild and lenient man does not hesitate to commit Lentulus to eternal darkness and chains, and he sanctions that in the time to come no one may concern themselves with lightening his punishment and hereafter be considered a supporter of the people in a matter that involves the ruin of the people. He also adds the confiscation of good so that poverty and want may follow every torment of the mind and body.

[VI] Wherefore, if you will have established this, you will have given me, when I address the people, a comrade who is a dear and pleasant to the people. On the other hand, if you will have preferred to follow the opinion of Silanus, the Roman people easily will free you and me from the blame of cruelty. I shall maintain his opinion to have been the lighter of the two. Although, Senators, what cruelty is able to be punished in the barbarism of so great a crime? For, I will speak from my own feelings. May I be allowed to enjoy with you a safe republic so that I, because I am more vehement in this cause, am not aroused by a cruel mind—for who is milder than I?—but by a certain extraordinary sense of humanity and mercy.

For, I seem to myself to see this city, the light of the world of worlds, the capital of all nations, suddenly falling by a single flame. I discern wretched and unburied heaps of citizens in my unburied country, the appearance and madness of Cethegus reveling in your slaughter is present before my eyes. I imagine Lentulus ruling, just as he acknowledged himself to look forward to according to the fates,

Gabinus arrayed in purple, and Catilina to have come with an army. Thereafter, I shiver violently at the lamentation of mothers, then the flight of maidens and boys, and the harassing of the Vestal Virgins. And because these things must be pitied, I shall represent myself as severe and violent against those who wish to carry-out these plans. And as a matter of fact, I ask, if any father, with his children slain by a slave, his wife killed, his home burned, would not have taken as bitter a punishment from his slaves, whether he may seem calm and merciful or most inhumane and cruel? Yet, he would seem to me importune and wrought of iron, who will not have soften his own grief and torture with the grief and the torture of the guilty man.

Thus, we in these men who have wished to slaughter us, our wives, and children, who have attempted to destroy several houses of each of us and this universal home of the republic who have acted in order to place the nation of the Allobroges against the vestiges of this city and in the ashes of the burned down empire. If we shall be vehement, we shall be considered merciful; however, if we wish to be considered negligent, we must assume the reputation of the highest cruelty in the destruction of the country and its citizens. Unless indeed, Lucius Caesar, a most brave and loving man of the republic, seemed to anyone to be more cruel the day before yesterday when he said the husband of his own sister a most excellent woman, being present and hearing, should be executed when he said his own grandfather was executed by the order of the consul.³⁴ Moreover, he said that his uncle, as a young boy, his father having sent him as an emissary, was thrown into prison and executed. Yet, what act did they do that was similar to the

³⁴ P. Lentulus was the husband of Caesar's sister, Julia. L. Caesar was the son of Julia who was the daughter of Marcus Fluvius Flaccus whom with his son L. Opimus killed.

conspirators? What plan for the destruction of our republic did they enter? A desire of gratifying the people and some competition among political factions existed at the time in the republic. In addition, at that time, the grandfather of Lentulus, a most illustrious man, having been armed pursued Gracchus. In pursuit, that man received a grave wound so that nothing would be lost from the highest republic. This descendant of his sent for the Gauls to overturn the foundations of the republic. He excites slaves. He summons Catilina. He assigned our slaughter to Cethegus, the slaughter of other citizens to Gabinius, the burning of the city to Cassius, and Catilina to devastate and ravish it. You should be afraid I suppose that in this crime, so enormous and nefarious, that you may seem to have planned something too severely, when it should be feared to a greater extent that we many seem to have been too cruel to the country with a relaxation of punishment than excessively violent against most bitter enemies with the severity of punishment.

[VII] But these things which I hear clearly, Senators, I am not able to ignore. For, remarks are being thrown out which come to my ears, remarks of those who seem to fear that I do not have a sufficient force for accomplishing those things, which you will have established today. At that time, all things both were foreseen, prepared, and planned, Senators, by my great care and diligence even by a much greater wish of the Roman people for retaining the greatest empire and for preserving the common fortune. Men of all ranks, of all families, and finally of all ages are present. The forum is full, the temples around the forum are full, and every entrance of this temple and place is full. For, this cause alone was discovered since the founding of the city, in which all might think alike, except those who when they saw themselves about to perish, wished to perish with

all rather than alone. I accept and willingly separate these men, for I do not judge them to be held in the number of dishonest citizens, but in the number of the bitterest enemies.

Nevertheless, the others, by what number, by what zeal, by what virtue they consent to the common health and dignity! Should I mention the Roman knights as well, who concede to you the precedence of rank and council so that they may contend with you concerning the love of the republic. Those men having been recalled from a disagreement of many years to the society and concordance of this order. Today, this cause joins with you, a union which was joined in my consulship. If we shall keep this union perpetual in the republic, I assure you, no civil evil will come to any part of the republic. I see the brave tribunes of the treasury to have convened with similar zeal for the protection of the republic; and likewise the entire body of scribes, whom, since by chance this day might have assembled them together at the treasury. They seem to have turned from all expectation of fortune for the common health. A crowd of freeborn citizens and even the poorest citizens is present. For, who is there, to whom these temples, the sight of the city, the possession of liberty, and finally, the light of day itself, and the common soil of the country are not dear, sweet, and pleasant.

[VIII] Is it worth it, Senators, to know the pursuits of freedmen, who by their own virtue have followed the fortune of the state, who judge this indeed to be their own country, which some people born here, and born in the highest condition, have judged this not to be their own country, but a city of enemies? Nevertheless, why should I mention these ranks and men, whom private fortunes, whom the common republic, and finally, whom liberty which is the sweetest, has

excited them to defend the health of their country? There is no slave, who may be only in a tolerable condition of servitude, who does not violently tremble at the audacity of bold citizens, who may not desire that our way of life stand, and who confers so much goodwill for the safety of all as he dares and is able.

Wherefore, if by chance, this, which has been heard, moves any of you, a henchman of Lentulus runs around the shops hoping that the minds of the needy and the ignorant can be solicited by a reward. That plan indeed was set into motion, but no one has been found either so wretched in fortune or so perfidious in will, who may wish that his own work place, and his daily gain, who may wish his couch and bed, and finally, this most tranquil course of his own life to be safe. On the contrary, a majority of the workers in the shops are most loving of peace. In fact, every instrument, all labor, and their daily gain is dependant upon the full attendance of customers in times of peace. If these men gain nothing when their shops have closed, what will happen to the shops when they are set on fire? Since these things are so, Senators, the Romans people do not fail in their duty to you. Take care that you do not fail the Roman people!

[IX] You have a consul saved from many dangers and plots, and from the middle of death, not for his own life, but for your safety. Every rank consents in mind, will, and voice for the preservation of the republic. Our common country besieged by the firebrands and weapons of the impious conspiracy, as a suppliant stretches her hands to you. To you, she commends herself, the life of all her citizens, the citadel and the Capitol, the altars of her household gods, the eternal

fire of Vesta,³⁵ the temples and shrines of all the gods, and the walls and homes of the city. Today, your lives, the lives of your wives and children, the fortune of all, your homes, and hearths hangs in the balance of the decision you will make. You have a leader who is mindful of you, and forgetful of himself—an opportunity which is not always presented. You have every rank, every man, and all the Roman people.

For the first time, in a civil cause everyone has the same opinion. Think on how an empire founded with great labors, liberty established by great virtue, and fortunes increased and piled up by the great kindness of the gods a single night almost may have destroyed. Today, it must be foreseen, not only so that hereafter such an act may never be able to be performed, but also thought by citizens. I have said these things, not so that I might excite you, who outstrip me in zeal, but so that my voice, which must be chief in the republic, might seem not to have failed in my consular duty.

[X] Now, before I return to the opinion, I shall say a few things about myself. I am well aware that I have undertaken so great a multitude of enemies, as great as the band of conspirators is, which you see to be great, but I judge them base, weak, despised, and contemptible. Yet, if at sometime, that band having been excited by the madness and the wickedness of a man, should fare better than your dignity and that of the state, still, Senators, I would never be sorry for my deeds and judgments. In fact, death, which perhaps they threaten against me, is prepared for all. Nobody has attained so great praise of life, with as great a praise you have honored me in your decrees. For, you have always decreed

³⁵ A perpetual fire was kept burning in the temple of Vesta in order to signify the the longevity of the Roman republic.

thanksgivings of the republic to others for service to the country, but you have decreed a thanksgiving to me alone for preserving the republic. You gave honors to Scipio that illustrious man whose judgment and virtue forced Hannibal to return to Africa and to depart from Italy. You also gave exceptional praise to Africanus who destroyed two cities most hostile to this empire—Carthage and Numantia. That Paulus should be considered as an outstanding man, whose chariot Perseus, once a most powerful and noble king, honored. Marius should be in eternal glory, he who twice freed Italy from siege and the fear of slavery. Pompey should be placed before all. He whose exploits and virtues are contained by the same regions and boundaries by which the course of the Sun is contained.

Indeed there will be among the praises of these men a place for my glory, unless by chance it is greater to open provinces for us, to where we may be able to go, than to take care that even those who are absent, as victors may have somewhere to return. Although the condition of victory abroad is a better victory than in a civil war, because enemies and foreigners either having been oppressed serve us or having been received as friends judge themselves bound to us by kindness. However, consider the number of citizens, who depraved by some madness at once have begun to be enemies of the country. When you may have driven them back from the destruction of the republic, you may be able to neither check them by force nor placate them with kindness.

I see myself to have undertaken an eternal war with perfidious citizens. A war which by your aid and the aid of all good men and by the memory of such great dangers, not only will always linger in these people who have been saved, but also in the conversations and thoughts of every nation. I am confident my

fellow citizens and I can easily repel such a war. Certainly, no violence so great will be found, which may be able to break through and overthrow your union, the union of the Roman knights, and so great unanimity of all good men.

[XI] Since these things are so, on behalf of the empire, on behalf of the army, on behalf of the province which I have neglected, on behalf of the triumph and the other insignia of praise which were refused by me, on account of the care of the city and your safety, on behalf of my clients and friends in the provinces which I still defend with no less labor by means of those resources of the city than I am able to procure, in return for my zeal on your behalf, and in return for this diligence which you understand is for the protection of the state, I demand nothing else from you, unless the memory of the time and the memory of my consulship endures. As long as it is fixed in your minds, I shall think myself to be enclosed in a very strong wall.

Yet, if the force of dishonest men will have deceived and overcome my hope, I commend my little son to you, for whom certainly there will be enough protection not only for safety, but even for dignity, if you will have remembered him to be the son of that man who saved all these things at risk to himself. Therefore, decree diligently and bravely, just as you have undertaken concerning your highest safety and that of the Roman people, concerning your wives and children, your altars and hearths, your sanctuaries and temples, the entire city and the homes, the empire and liberty, the safety of Italy, and the entire republic. You have a consul who may not hesitate both to defend those things that you have determined. For, as long as he lives, he will perform those things as long as he is able.

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