

ORATIO
IN L. CATILINAM SECUNDA

HABITA AD POPULUM

1 Tandem aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flameaque minitantem ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis persecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla iam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur, non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nullo impediēte bellum iustum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus. Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumis civis, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse afflictum et pro-

^a The Latin word is the regular term for the citizens meeting as civilians. For the nature of this meeting, see Appendix A, p. 559.

THE SECOND SPEECH
AGAINST LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINA

DELIVERED BEFORE THE PEOPLE

At long last, citizens,^a we have expelled Lucius Catilina, or, if you prefer, sent him off, or followed him on his way with our farewells as he left Rome of his own accord, roused to a frenzy of audacity, breathing crime, foully plotting the destruction of his country, and ceaselessly threatening you and this city with fire and the sword. He has gone, left us, got away, broken out. No longer will that misbegotten monster plan the destruction of our very walls within these walls; no longer is our victory over the one true leader of this civil war in doubt; no longer will that dagger be twisted in our sides; no longer shall we tremble in the Campus Martius, in the Forum, in the Senate-house,—yes, even in our own homes. He was shifted from his vantage-point when he was driven from the city. We shall now wage open war without hindrance upon a public enemy. There is no doubt that we destroyed the man and won a glorious victory when we drove him from secret plots to open banditry. ~~Because he did not bear off a dagger stained with blood as he wished, because he left us still alive, because we wrenched his weapon from his hands, because he left the city still standing and its citizens safe and sound—~~just think of the sense of desolation

fligatum putatis? Iacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se percussum atque abiectum esse sentit et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quae quidem mihi laetari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.

3 Ac si quis est talis qualis esse omnis oportebat, qui in hoc ipso in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius quam emiserim, non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperi severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis qui quae ego deferrem non crederent, quam multos qui propter stultitiam non putarent,¹ quam multos qui etiam defenderent, quam multos qui propter improbitatem faverent? Ac si illo sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum iudicaret, iam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem. 4 Sed cum viderem, ne vobis quidem omnibus etiam tum re probata² si illum, ut erat meritis, morte multassem, fore ut eius socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi ut tum palam pugnare possetis cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod etiam illud moleste fero quod ex urbe parum

¹ quam ... putarent comes after defenderent in *CAVh*; is omitted by a and deleted by *Halm*.

² re probata *Clark*. reprobata *C*. rei p. probatam *V*. *A* has a gap of ten letters. probata the other *mss*.

that weighed him down! He lies helpless now, citizens, and realizes that he has been struck down and laid low. Again and again, I know, he gazes back at this city in his anguish that his prey has been snatched from his jaws. And the city? I think that it is thankful that it has vomited forth that deadly pestilence and rid itself of it.

One of you, however, may react with feelings that all should share and make a violent attack upon me for the very decision that is the triumphant boast of my speech, that I did not arrest so fatal an enemy but let him go. That fault is not mine, citizens, but lies in the circumstances. Lucius Catilina ought to have suffered the supreme penalty and been put to death long ago, a course required of me by the practice of our ancestors, the stern tradition of my office, and by interests of state. But how many do you think there were who did not believe my charges, who were too stupid to have any views at all, who went so far as to defend him, or who were criminal enough to support him? If I thought that by removing him I could free you from all danger, I would long ago have risked not merely unpopularity but my very life and got rid of Lucius Catilina. At a time, however, when some even of you still remained unconvinced of the facts, I saw that, if I had inflicted the death penalty that he deserved, the unpopularity of that action would have prevented me from tackling his confederates. I therefore created a situation in which you could see your enemy clearly and fight him in the open. You may judge him too, citizens, how formidable an enemy I consider him to be, now that he has left the city, from my concern that he left Rome with so few companions.

comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnis secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit quem amare in praetexta¹ coeperat, Publicium et Minucium quorum aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicae motum adferre poterat: reliquit quos viros, quanto aere alieno, quam valentis, quam nobilis!

5 Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legionibus et hoc dilectu quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, coniectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex eis qui vadimonia deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos qui exercitum deseruerunt pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis quod quid cogitent me scire sentiunt neque tamen 6 permoventur. Video cui sit Apulia attributa, quis

¹ praetexta *i.* praetexta (-tata *A*) calumnia *the other mss.* praetexta calumniatum *Reis.*

^a The phrase means that he was still wearing the purple-edged *toga praetexta*, the dress for boys up to the age of sixteen (as well as for curule magistrates).

^b Catiline took only the small fry with him. The debts of the men left behind were large enough to be politically and economically important. On *nobilis*, see p. 178, n. *e.*

^c *i. e.* composed of the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul; the regular forces there.

^d Metellus Celer, see p. 17. As praetor he had been

If only he had left at the head of all his forces! I see that he did take with him Tongilius with whom he had started a liaison when he was still a lad.^a He also took Publicius and Minucius whose debts run up in taverns could not cause the least disturbance in the State, but the men he has left behind! What debts they have!^b What power! What distinguished birth!

If I compare that army of his with the Gallic 5 legions ^c and the levy which Quintus Metellus has held in Picenum and Umbria ^d and with these forces which we are building up every day, I treat it with deep contempt—that collection of old men without hope, of spendthrift peasants,^e of bankrupts from the country, of men who would rather jump their bail than desert his ranks. They will collapse if I show them the praetor's edict,^f let alone our army's battle-line. As for these men whom I see fitting about in the Forum, standing in front of the Senate-house, even coming into the Senate, who glisten with unguents, who are resplendent in purple, these I would prefer him to have taken with him as his soldiers. Remember that, if they remain here, it is not so much his army that we ought to fear as those who have deserted it. They are all the more frightening because they are unmoved in spite of their realization that I know their plans. I see to whom Apulia has been 6 ordered by the Senate to levy troops in Picenum and the *ager Gallicus*, the coastal district of Umbria between Ariminum and Ancona, so called because it had been the land of the Senones, the last Gauls to settle in Italy.

^e Particularly Sulla's veterans who had been settled in his colonies.

^f Presumably the praetorian edict dealing with the seizure of persons.

habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias caedis atque incendiorum deposcerit. Omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid expectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

Quod exspectavi, iam sum adsecutus ut vos omnes factam esse aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam videretis; nisi vero si quis est qui Catilinae similis cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est iam lenitatis locus; severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, profisciscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus est; si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis eiecerit! Uno me hercule Catilina exhausto levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest quod non ille conceperit? quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subiecto, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor iuventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? quae caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est, quod nefarium stuprum non per illum?

^a The road to Faesulae and to Marseilles where according to Cicero Catiline pretended that he was going.

assigned, who has Etruria, who Picenum, who Umbria, and who has demanded as his task the plans for murder and arson in Rome itself. They know that all their plans laid the other night have been reported to me. I revealed them in the Senate yesterday; Catiline himself was terrified and fled. What are these men waiting for? I can assure them that they are very much mistaken if they expect the clemency that I have shown in the past to last for ever.

I have now achieved what I have been waiting for—you all see that a conspiracy has been openly formed against the Republic; unless, of course, anyone thinks that men like Catiline are not in agreement with him. There is no longer any place for clemency; the situation demands severity but I shall even at this late hour make one concession; let them leave, let them depart, so that they do not allow poor Catiline to pine away in longing for them. I will show them the road; he left by the Aurelian Way,^a and if they are prepared to hurry, they will catch him up by evening. What a relief for the Republic to have baled out of it this bilge-water! I feel that the disposal of Catiline alone has lightened the Republic and restored it. Can you rack your brain for a single misdeed or crime that has not already occurred to him? What poisoner in the whole of Italy, what gladiator, what bandit, what assassin, what parricide, what forger of wills, what cheat, what glutton, what spendthrift, what adulterer, what whore, what corrupter of youth, what rogue, what scoundrel can be found who does not admit to having lived on the most intimate terms with Catiline? What murder over all these years in which he has not had a hand? What criminal debauchery for which he has not been responsible?

8 *Iam vero quae tanta umquam in ullo iuventutis inlecebra fuit quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo verum etiam adiuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum conlegerat! Nemo non modo Romae sed ne ullo quidem in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus asciverit.*

9 *Atque ut eius diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior qui se non intimum Catilinae esse fateatur, nemo in scaena levior et nequior qui se non eiusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione adsuefactus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaeque consumeret. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim iam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae et tolerandae audaciae; nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt; res eos iam pridem, fides nuper deficere coepit: eadem tamen illa*

Who ever proved so active a seducer of the young as he? Upon some he satisfied his own foul passion, for others he pandered to their filthy desires. To some he offered the satisfaction of their lust and to others the murder of their parents, offering encouragement and even assistance. How quickly, too, he had collected a huge crowd of desperate men from the countryside as well as from the city! There was not a single man overwhelmed by debt, whether in Rome or in the furthest corner of Italy, whom he did not enrol in this incredible alliance of crime.

Let me now help you to note his varied aptitudes of a different sort. There is no one in a gladiatorial school, rather more criminally inclined than the others, who does not claim Catiline as a bosom friend; no actor, more frivolous and vicious than his fellows, who does not claim to have been his almost constant companion. Catiline, moreover, trained by his life of debauchery and crime to endure cold, hunger, thirst and lack of sleep, won in the eyes of these men a reputation for endurance, although by his sexual excesses and his violence he was exhausting those faculties which foster long toil and provide the outlets for a man's natural ability. If his companions follow him, if the criminal bands of desperate men leave Rome, how happy we shall be! What good fortune for the Republic! What a glorious reward for my consulship! The depravity of these men is no longer any ordinary depravity, their violence is no longer the violence of men and we cannot endure it; they think of nothing but murder, arson and pillage. They have squandered their inheritances; they have mortgaged their estates; money began to fail them long ago and their credit has now started to run out; but the

quae erat in abundantia libido permanet. Quod si in vino et alea comissiones solum et scorta quaerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi: hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertis homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebrios sobriis, dormientis vigilantibus? qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis oblitii, debilitati stupris eructant sermonibus suis 11 caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod et poenam iam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleris, libidini debitam aut instare iam plane aut certe appropriquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae. Nulla enim est natio quam pertimescamus, nullus rex qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum; quae sanari poterunt quacumque ratione sanabo, quae reseccanda erunt non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea quae merentur expectent.

12 At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirites, a me eiectum

expensive tastes that they had in their days of plenty still remain. If in their drinking and gambling they only looked for wild revelry and whores, they would admittedly be beyond hope, but we could still tolerate them; but who could stand by and watch wastrels hatch plots against men of action, fools against the wise, sots against the sober, sluggards embracing their whores, stupefied by wine, stuffed with food, crowned with garlands, reeking with scent, enfeebled by debauchery, they belch out in their conversation the murder of loyal citizens and the fring of Rome. I am confident that some doom 11 hangs over these men and that the punishment long due for their dishonesty, their wickedness, their crimes, and their depravity is—if not upon them this very instant—at least on its way. My consulship cannot cure these men but, if it removes them, then it will have prolonged the life of the Republic, not for a few fleeting seconds, but for many centuries. There is no foreign people left for us to fear, no king able to make war on the Roman people. Peace reigns abroad by land and sea thanks to the valour of one man.^a The sole remaining war is on our own soil; the plots, the danger, the enemy are in our own midst. The battles we have to fight are against luxury, folly, and crime. That is the war for which I offer myself as your leader, citizens. I accept the enmity of scoundrels. I shall find a way to cure what can be cured; what needs excising, I shall not allow to remain to destroy the State. Let them either go, then, or keep the peace; if they remain in Rome without a change of heart, they can expect their deserts.

There are others, however, who say that I have 12

^a Pompey had crushed the pirates in 67 and in the following years had defeated Mithridates, king of Pontus.

esse Catilinam.¹ Quod ego si verbo adsequi possem, istos ipsos eicerem qui haec loquuntur. Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit; simul atque ire in exsilium iussus est, paruit. Quin² hesterno die, cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris convocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit, quis salutavit, quis denique ita aspexit ut perditum civem ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes eius ordinis partem illam subselliorum ad quam ille accesserat nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens ille consul qui verbo civis in exsilium eicio quaesivi a Catilina in nocturno conventu ad M. Laecam fuisset necne. Cum ille homo audacissimus conscientia convictus primo reticuisset, patefecit cetera: quid ea nocte egisset, ubi fuisset, quid in proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta edocui. Cum haesitaret, cum teneretur, quaesivi quid dubitaret proficisci eo quo iam pridem pararet, cum arma, cum securis, cum fascis, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argentream cui ille etiam sacrarium³ domi suae fecerat scirem esse praemissam. In exsilium eieci-
bam quem iam ingressum esse in bellum videram? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit bellum populo Romano suo

¹ eiectum esse Catilinam *Clark*. *The mss. contain the words* in exilium *in various positions in the sentence.*

² quin *Clark*. qui *AVO*². quid ut *ah*. qui (quod o¹) ut *the other mss.*

³ sacrarium scelerum *ahot*. scelerum sacrarium *β*.

^a See p. 65, n. b.

driven out Catiline. If I could achieve this merely by saying the word, I would drive out the men who are saying this. The fellow was so timid or even sensitive, of course, that he could not bear to hear what the consul said; the minute he was ordered to go into exile, he obeyed. In fact, when I had come within an ace of death in my own home, I summoned the Senate yesterday to the temple of Jupiter Stator and brought the whole matter up before the House. When Catiline arrived, what senator spoke to him? Who greeted him? Who treated him as a citizen, though a scoundrel, and not as the most dangerous of outlaws? They went further; the most senior members of the House left empty and bare the benches around that upon which he had seated himself. Your stern consul who drives citizens into exile with a mere word then asked Catiline whether or not he had been at the meeting the previous night at the house of Marcus Laeca. When the man for all his effrontery was overcome by the knowledge of his guilt and did not at first reply, I disclosed the rest of the story. I described what he had done that night, where he had been, what he had planned for the following night, and how he had mapped out the plan for the whole war. Since he was at a loss and was trapped, I asked him why he was hesitating to go where he had long been preparing to go, for I knew that the arms, the axes, the fasces, the trumpets, the military standards, that silver eagle^a for which he had even built a shrine in his own home had been sent on ahead. Was I driving him into exile when I had seen that he had already begun operations? Manlius, that mere centurion, was acting on his own account, I suppose, when he set up camp in the territory of

nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam
ducem expectant, et ille eiectus in exsilium se
Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra confert.

O condicionem miseram non modo administrandae
verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc si
L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circum-
clusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam
mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi
abiecerit, et ex hoc cursu sceleris ac belli iter ad
fugam atque in exsilium converterit, non ille a me
spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perter-
ritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus,
sed indemnatus innocens in exsilium eiectus a consule
vi et minis esse dicitur: et erunt qui illum, si hoc
fecerit, non improbum sed miserum, me non dili-
gentissimum consulem sed crudelissimum tyrannum
15 existimari velint. Est mihi tanti, Quirites, huius in-
vidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dum
modo a vobis huius horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum
depellatur. Dicatur sane eiectus esse a me, dum
modo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi credite, non est
iturus. Numquam ego ab dis immortalibus optabo,
Quirites, invidiae meae relevandae causa ut L. Cati-
linam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis voli-
tare audiat, sed triduo tamen audietis; multoque
magis illud timeo ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando

Faesulae and declared war upon the Roman people, and that camp is not at this moment waiting for its commander, Catiline; and Catiline himself, driven out into exile, is making for Marseilles—that's what they say—and not for this camp.

The preservation of the Republic no less than governing it—what a thankless task it is! If all the measures that I have taken and the efforts that I have made at such danger to myself have trapped Lucius Catilina and reduced him to impotence and if, as a result, he is now suddenly seized with panic, changes his mind, deserts his confederates, abandons his plan to make war, and turns from his path of war and crime to flight and exile, there are men who will claim, not that a violent criminal was stripped of his arms, baffled and terrified by my energy, frustrated of his hopes and thwarted in his enterprises, but that a man, untried and innocent, was driven into exile by the violent threats of the consul; and, if he does take this course, there will be others who will want to make him an object of pity rather than a criminal, and myself the cruellest of tyrants rather than the most vigilant of consuls. Citizens, it is worth my enduring 15 the storm of this ill-deserved and unfounded hatred, provided only that you are spared the horror and danger of civil war. By all means let men say that I drove him out, provided that he does go into exile. But he has no intention of going, take my word for it. I shall never pray to the immortal gods, citizens, to be cleared of this hatred at the cost of your hearing that Lucius Catilina is marching to and fro under arms at the head of an army of enemies; but that is what you will be hearing in three days' time. I am afraid of being attacked in the future much more for letting

quod illum emiserim potius quam quod eiecerim. Sed cum sint homines qui illum, cum profectus sit, eiecerint esse dicant, idem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? Quamquam isti qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dicitant non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massiliensis ire malit. Ille autem, si me hercule hoc quod agit numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius ut eat in exsilium quam queramur.

17 Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur et de eo hoste qui iam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque id qua re fieri non possit, si iam me¹ audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam consili atque orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam.

18 Unum genus est eorum qui magno in aere alieno maiores etiam possessiones habent quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima—sunt enim locupletes

¹ si iam me *Clark.* si a me *CAab.* si me *the other Mss.*

^a Politics at Rome required large sums of ready cash but the capital of most of those involved was tied up in land. They therefore borrowed the money they required and ran up huge debts. *Cf. pro Sulla* 56, p. 370.

him go than for driving him out. And if there are men who say that he was driven into exile when in fact he went voluntarily, what would they be saying, if he had been killed? Yet those who keep on saying that Catiline is going to Marseilles are more afraid than sorry. None of them is tender-hearted enough to wish him to go there rather than join Manlius. If he had never before even dreamt of doing what he is doing now, he would still rather die a bandit than live an exile. As it is, everything has so far gone for him according to plan and just as he wished—except that I was still alive when he left Rome—let us hope, then, that he is going into exile, and not complain about it.

Why, though, am I talking so long about one enemy, an enemy at that who now admits that he is an enemy and one of whom I am not afraid because—and this is what I have always wanted—the city wall lies between us, and yet do not mention those who pretend that they are not enemies, who remain in Rome, and are still among us? I do not wish so much to take revenge upon these men as to bring them to their senses in any way that I can, and to reconcile them to the Republic, a task that should not prove impossible if only they are now willing to listen to me. I shall list for you, citizens, the types of men from which the revolutionary forces are recruited and I shall then offer to each of them in my speech the remedy of any advice that I can give.

One group consists of those who have heavy debts and possess estates more than large enough to pay them, but are so attached to their estates that they cannot be parted from them.^a These men have the most respectable outward appearance—for they are

—voluntas vero et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites de possessione detrahere, adquirere ad fidem? Quid enim expectas? bellum? Quid ergo? in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putes? an tabulas novas? Errant qui istas a Catilina expectant: meo beneficio tabulae novae proferuntur, verum auctio-nariae; neque enim isti qui possessiones habent alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent neque, id quod stultissimum est, certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.

19 Alterum genus est eorum qui, quamquam pre-muntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen expectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores quos quieta re publica desperant perturbata se consequi posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent id quod conantur se consequi posse: primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam,¹ maximam multitudinem, magnas praeterea militum copias; deos denique immortalis huic invicto

¹ concordiam ordinum *Clark*.

^a *i. e.* account books—the cancellation of their debts.

^b At the auction sale of their estates to pay their debts.

wealthy—but their intentions and attitudes are quite unscrupulous. Could *you* be richly and abundantly supplied with lands, houses, silver plate, slaves and possessions of every sort and yet hesitate to give up part of your estate in order to improve your credit? What are you waiting for? War? All right; but would you think that your estates will be regarded as sacred in the general devastation? Or are you waiting for new books?^a You need not expect them from Catiline; but my good offices are indeed providing new books—auctioneers' catalogues.^b This is the only way in which men who possess estates can be solvent. If they had been willing to do this earlier and had not been so stupid as to try to meet the interest on their debts from the income of their estates, we should find them both richer and better citizens. I think, however, that these men need cause us little concern because they can be induced to change their attitude or, if they persist, are in my view more likely to attack the Republic with vows than with arms.

The second group consists of those who are overwhelmed by debt but still expect to enjoy absolute power. They want to gain control of the government and think that revolution can bring them the offices of which they have no hope in times of peace. This is my best advice to them—as it is, needless to say, to all the others—to give up all hope of attaining their goal. First of all, I personally am on the alert, I am right at hand, I am guarding the Republic; in the second place, the body of loyal citizens has rare courage, complete harmony, and strength in their large numbers, and there is too a strong force of soldiers; and finally, the immortal gods will bring

populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris praesentis auxilium esse laturos. Quod si iam sint id quod summo furore cupiunt adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, consules se aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere quod, si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse?

20 Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum; quo ex genere iste est Manlius cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex eis coloniis quas Sulla constituit; quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio, sed tamen ei sunt coloni qui se in¹ insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque iactant. Hi dum aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis lectis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatus delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit eis ab inferis excitandus: qui etiam non nullos agrestis homines tenuis atque egentis in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque in eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono, sed eos hoc moneo, desinant furere ac proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati ut iam ista non modo homines sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.

¹ in *added by Ernesti*.

^a Cicero speaks so approvingly in deference to the Sullan affiliations of some of those to whom he looked for support against the conspirators.

help in person to this unconquered people, this most renowned of empires and fairest of cities. Let us suppose, however, that they were to attain the goal to which their utter madness directs them, do they then hope—for this is the heart's desire of these wicked criminals—to be consuls, dictators or even kings amid the ashes of their city and in the blood of their fellow-countrymen? Do they not see that, if they get what they want, they will be bound to lose it to some runaway slave or gladiator?

The third group comprises men who are now getting on in years but whose active life has kept them physically fit. The Manlius from whom Catiline has taken over is in this class. They are men from those colonies which Sulla founded and which, I appreciate, are as a whole composed of men of complete loyalty and outstanding bravery.^a Nevertheless there are some colonists who have used their sudden and unexpected wealth to give a display of luxury to which they were quite unaccustomed and which was beyond their means. Putting up buildings as men of wealth and enjoying their choice of farms, their large establishments, and their sumptuous banquets, they have run so deeply into debt that they would have to raise Sulla from the dead if they wanted to be in the clear. They have also induced some poor smallholders to share their hopes that earlier confiscations will be repeated. I include both these groups in the one class of thieves and robbers; but I give them this advice: let them give up their wild thoughts of proscriptions and dictatorships. The horror of that period is so deeply branded upon the State that not even the dumb animals, let alone men, will tolerate its return.

The fourth group is a motley assortment of trouble-makers; those who have been in financial straits for years, who never get their heads above water, who are staggering under age-old debts which result partly from laziness, partly from failures in business, partly too from extravagance. Many of them have been worn down by summonses on bail, judgements given against them and enforced sales of property, and are said to be making off from town and country alike to Catiline's camp. These men, I would say, are not so much eager soldiers as reluctant defaulters. If these men cannot stand on their own feet,^a let them crash as soon as possible, but don't let the State or even the neighbours next door hear the thud. I do not understand why men who cannot live an honourable life should want to die in disgrace or why they think that it will be less painful to perish in a crowd than to die alone.

The fifth group is composed of parricides, assassins and every sort of criminal. These men I have no wish to redeem from Catiline; indeed, they cannot be torn from him. Let them perish in the course of their crime, for there are too many of them for the prison^b to hold them all.

The last group is not only last in order but also in character and way of life. It is Catiline's very own; his special choice—let me say—or rather his most intimate and bosom friends. These are the men you see with their carefully combed hair, dripping with oil, some smooth as girls, others with shaggy beards, with tunics down to their ankles and wrists, and wearing frocks not togas. All the activity of their lives and all the efforts of their waking hours are devoted to banquets that last till dawn. In this herd

CICERO

21 Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbulentum; qui iam pridem premuntur, qui numquam emergunt, qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno vacillant, qui vadimonis, iudicii, pro-
 22 scriptione bonorum defetigati permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acris quam infiatores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines quam¹ primum, si stare non possunt, conruant, sed ita ut non modo civitas sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intellego quam ob rem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis quam si soli pereant arbitrentur.

23 Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinerosorum. Quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque ab eo divelli possunt et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi ut eos carcer capere non possit.

Postremum autem genus est non solum numero verum etiam genere ipso atque vita quod proprium Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero de complexu eius ac sinu; quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbis aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores,

¹ quam added by *Halm*.

^a *i. e.* are bankrupt.

^b Imprisonment was not a punishment for which Roman citizens were liable; the Tullianum under the Capitol, the place of execution, was the sole prison in Rome. See E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* I. 206-207.

omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari neque saltare et cantare sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt. Qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum. Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim iam noctibus? Quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nivis perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.

24 O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus. Et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Iam vero arces¹ coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si, omissis his rebus quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si his

¹ arces *Garatoni*. urbes *mss.* vires *Muretus*.

^a Strictly speaking, a *municipium* was a self-governing community that had become part of the Roman State, while a *colonia* was in origin a settlement planted by Rome. The phrase *municipia et coloniae* means in effect "the towns of Italy." A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* 143 f.

you find all the gamblers, all the adulterers, all the filthy minded lechers. These boys, so dainty and effeminate, have learnt not only to love and be loved, not only to dance and sing, but also to brandish daggers and sow poison. Unless they leave Rome, unless they perish, even if Catiline has perished, rest assured that there will remain in the Republic this spawning-ground of Catilines. Yet what do those wretches want for themselves? They are not going to take their mistresses to the camp with them, are they? How can they be parted from them, and on nights like these? How will they stand the frosts and snows of the Apennines? Perhaps they think that they will withstand the winter more easily because they have learned to dance naked at banquets.

What a truly terrifying war if Catiline is going to have this élite force of ponces! Now, citizens, marshal your garrisons and your field forces against these brilliant troops of Catiline! First, pit your consuls and your generals against that part-worn gladiator; then lead out against that castaway band of shipwrecked men at their last gasp the flower and the pick of the whole of Italy. Why, the colonies and boroughs of Italy^a will prove strongholds to match Catiline's wooded hills.^b I do not need to compare all your other resources, your equipment, your garrisons, with that bandit's down-and-out and impoverished band. If, however, we were to ignore all these resources with which we are supplied and which Catiline lacks, the Senate, the equestrian order, the capital itself, the treasury, the revenue, all Italy, all the provinces, the foreign nations; if, leaving all

^b The haunt of bandits like Catiline and suitable for the guerrilla warfare of which alone he is capable.

rebus omissis causas ipsas quae inter se configunt contendere velimus, ex eo ipso quam valde illi iaceant intellegere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitude; hinc continentia, illinc libido; hinc denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne, si hominum studia deficiant, di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

26 Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad modum iam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque defendite; mihi ut urbi sine vestro metu¹ ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset praesidi consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursionem Catilinae facile urbis suas finisque defendent; gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi aut opprimet hominem aut eius omnis motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus

¹ mutu C, omitted by h. motu βx.

these on one side, we were willing to make a comparison of the causes which are opposed to each other, we could tell from that alone how utterly abject is the position of our enemies. On our side fights decency, on theirs viciousness; on our side morality, on theirs debauchery; on ours good faith, on theirs deceit; on ours respect for right, on theirs crime; on ours firmness of purpose, on theirs wild irresponsibility; on ours honour, on theirs disgrace; on ours self-control, on theirs a surrender to passion; in short, justice, moderation, bravery, wisdom, all the virtues, contend with injustice, intemperateness, cowardice, folly, all the vices. In a word, plenty fights against poverty, incorrupt principles against corrupt, sanity against insanity, well-founded hope against general desperation. In a contest and battle of this sort, even if men's ardour fail them, would not the immortal gods by themselves force such a sink of iniquity to yield to these sterling virtues?

In such a situation as this, citizens, I urge you, as I did before, to defend your homes with patrols and guards. For my part, I have made full provision for the protection of the city without alarming you or declaring a state of emergency. All your fellow-citizens in the colonies and boroughs of Italy have been informed by me of this night attack planned by Catiline and they will defend their cities and territories with ease. The gladiators who, he thought, would be his most valuable adherents, although they are better disposed towards us than some patricians, will be kept under control by our forces. I foresaw this and sent Quintus Metellus ahead to Umbria and Picenum.^a He will either crush Catiline or prevent any movement or attempt on his part. I shall refer to

^a See p. 17.

constituendis, maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

27 Nunc illos qui in urbe remanserunt atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relictis sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc expectavit ut id quod latebat erumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam non possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae: si qui exire volunt, conivere possum; qui vero se in urbe commoverit cuius ego non modo factum sed vel¹ inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantis, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiores nostri esse voluerunt.

28 Atque haec omnia sic agentur ut maximae res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo,

¹ sed vel *bs.* sed ne (ne quid o) *abo.* sed *lux.*

^a The Tullianum.

^b The word *togatus* makes its first appearance in these speeches in this passage. The toga is the dress of the civilian, of peace (cf. Cicero's famous line *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi* quoted in his speech in *Pisonem* 73-74) and Cicero develops his theme in his speeches in *Catilinam* 3. 15 and 23, pp. 116 and 126, and *pro Sulla* 85, p. 398, a speech in which he had to defend himself against charges of acting tyrannically. His civilian status and his suppression of the conspiracy in Rome without having resort to arms is

the Senate, whom, as you see, I am convening, the decision upon all other measures, their despatch and their execution.

To those who have remained in Rome, or rather to those who have been left in Rome by Catiline to destroy both the city and all of you, I now wish to reiterate my warning; for although they are enemies, still they were born citizens. My former clemency may have been thought too lax, but it was only waiting for what lay hidden to be revealed. For the future, no longer can I forget that this is my fatherland, that I am consul of these men, and that I must either live with them or die for them. The city gates are not guarded, the road is not watched. If they want to leave, I can connive at it; but if anyone makes a move in the city, if I detect any plan or attempt upon our fatherland, let alone any act, he will find that there are vigilant consuls in this city, incomparable magistrates, a vigorous Senate, that there are arms and a place of execution^a where following the ordinances of our ancestors we exact the penalty for heinous crimes when they have been exposed.

In all these measures I shall ensure that a major crisis is resolved with the least disturbance, that acute dangers are averted without a state of emergency, and that the most bitter and widespread civil war within the memory of man is suppressed with a single civil magistrate as your general to lead you.^b I shall

contrasted with the constant menace of intervention by the *imperatores*. They are men of war with violent solutions to Rome's political problems. C. Nicolet, "Consul togatus," *Revue des Études latines* 38 (1960), 240-245. Also, with particular reference to Pompey, p. 130, n. a.

Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis.

29 Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significati-
onibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententi-
amque sum ingressus; qui iam non procul, ut quon-
dam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed
hic praesentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa
atque urbis tecta defendunt. Quos vos, Quirites,
precari, venerari, implorare debetis ut, quam urbem
pulcherrimam florentissimam potentissimamque esse
vulnerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique
superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere
defendant.

^a In a number of passages (cf. in *Catilinam* 3. 1 and 18-22, pp. 100 and 120-124; *pro Sulla* 40, p. 352) Cicero attributes the suppression of the conspiracy in part to the *virtus* of the Senate or the *providentia* of the gods. See Quintilian 11. 1. 23. Quintilian seems to think that Cicero only did this out of a sense of what was right and proper, but he surely had sound political reasons for making the Senate a partner in his actions, and *ad Atticum* 1. 16. 6 suggests that his belief in

handle the situation in such a way, citizens, that if it can possibly be avoided, not even a common criminal will suffer in this city the penalty for his crime. If, however, the extent of the conspiracy now revealed, if the danger that threatens our fatherland compels me to abandon my policy of clemency, then I shall certainly see to it—an aim that might be thought virtually hopeless in so extensive and treacherous a war—that no patriot perishes and that by the punishment of only a few you can all be saved.

When I make this promise, citizens, I do not rely upon my own good sense or upon any human wisdom, but upon the many clear omens from the immortal gods under whose guidance I entertained these hopes and embarked upon this policy.^a No longer, as was once their practice, do they guard us from afar against a foreign and distant enemy, but here at our side they defend their temples and the city's buildings with the protection of their divine power. These gods, citizens, have ordained that this city be the most beautiful, the most prosperous, the most powerful in the world, and now that all the forces of her foreign foes have been defeated on land and sea, you ought to pray to them, to worship them, to implore them to defend her from criminal attack by traitors among her own citizens.

divine assistance was to some extent genuine. See W. Allen, Jr., "Cicero's Conceit," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 85 (1954), 142 f.