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PSEUDO-SALLUST
INVECTIVE AGAINST CICERO

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

These two pieces, purporting to be speeches delivered in the Senate, are spurious beyond any reasonable doubt, probably school exercises of uncertain date, even though the first is quoted by Quintilian (*Inst.* 4.1.68, 9.3.89) apparently without misgiving. Its dramatic date appears to be 54 B.C., whereas the second, ostensibly a reply to the first, ranges over Sallust's entire career. They are preserved in over two hundred manuscripts, mostly in conjunction with genuine works of Sallust or Cicero. The standard edition is now L. D. Reynolds' Oxford Classical Text of Sallust (1991), to whose preface I am content to refer for further diplomatic information; apart from that, A. Ernout's Budé edition of 1974 may be consulted. This text and translation are new; the *Invectivae* are not in my Teubner edition of Cicero's Correspondence.

§ in my critical notes stands for corrections or conjectures in manuscripts of no authority. Departures from Reynolds' text are indicated by asterisks.

IN CICERONEM

1 Graviter et iniquo animo maledicta tua paterer, M. Tulli, si te scirem iudicio magis quam morbo animi petulantia ista uti. Sed cum in te neque modum neque modestiam ullam animadverto, respondebo tibi ut si quam male dicendo voluptatem cepisti, eam male audiendo¹ amittas.

Ubi querar, quos implorem, patres conscripti, diripi rem publicam atque audacissimo cuique esse praedae?² apud populum Romanum? qui ita largitionibus corruptus est, ut se ipse ac fortunas suas venales habeat. an apud vos, patres conscripti? quorum auctoritas turpissimo cuique et sceleratissimo ludibrio est; ubi³ M. Tullius leges, iudicia, rem publicam defendit atque in hoc ordine ita moderatur quasi unus reliquus e familia viri clarissimi, Scipionis Africani, ac non reperticius, accitus,⁴ ac paulo ante insitus huic urbi civis.

2 An vero, M. Tulli, facta tua ac dicta obscura sunt? an non ita a pueritia vixisti ut nihil flagitiosum corpori tuo putares quod alicui collibuisset? aut scilicet istam immodera-

¹ dicendo

² perfidiae (*Eussner*)

³ ubiubi (*cod. Harleianus 2682* saec. XI*)

⁴ *anne a(d)scitus?*

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I should find your insults hard to bear, Marcus Tullius, and they would make me angry if I knew that this insolence of yours came from judgment rather than from a mind diseased. But since I find neither moderation nor modesty in you, I shall answer you in the hope that you may lose any pleasure you get from abusing another when you become the target.

Where shall I make my protest, to whom shall I appeal, Conscript Fathers, for that the commonwealth is being torn to pieces, a prey to every out and out ruffian? To the Roman People, that is so corrupted by largesses that they have themselves and their own fortunes for sale? Or to you, Conscript Fathers? Your authority is a laughingstock to every foul villain, when M. Tullius defends the laws and the courts of justice and the commonwealth and acts chairman in this House as if he were the sole survivor of the family of the illustrious Scipio Africanus, not a founding citizen, called in, recently grafted upon this city.

Really, M. Tullius, are your actions and your words not well-known? Have you not lived from boyhood in the persuasion that nothing anyone liked to do to your body could outrage it? I suppose you did not master this unbridled

tam eloquentiam apud M. Pisonem non pudicitiae iactura perdidicisti! itaque minime mirandum est quod eam flagitiose venditas quam turpissime parasti.

Verum, ut opinor, splendor domesticus tibi animos tollit, uxor sacrilega ac periuriis delibuta, filia matris paelix, tibi iucundior atque obsequentior quam parenti par est. domum ipsam tuam vi et rapinis funestam tibi ac tuis commodum parasti, videlicet ut nos commonefacias quam conversa res sit, cum in ea domo habites, homo flagitiosissime, quae P. Crassi, viri clarissimi, fuit. atque haec cum ita sint, tamen se Cicero dicit in concilio deorum immortalium fuisse, inde missum huic urbi civibusque custodem * * *⁵ absque carnificis nomine, qui civitatis incommodum in gloriam suam ponit. quasi vero non illius coniurationis causa fuerit consulatus tuus et idcirco res publica disiecta eo tempore quo⁶ te custodem habebat.

Sed, ut opinor, illa te magis extollunt quae post consulatum cum Terentia uxore de re publica consuluisti, cum

⁵ *lac. susp. Reitzenstein*

⁶ quod *Baier*

¹ M. Pupius Piso Frugi, Consul in 61. According to Asconius (Clark 15), Cicero in his youth was introduced by his father to Piso, perhaps some seven years his senior, because of the latter's old-style way of life and literary attainments. In later life Cicero's opinion of him varied widely at different periods. The aspersions here is a commonplace in this kind of writing, not to be taken seriously.

² Terentia's half-sister Fabia was a Vestal Virgin. In 73 she was accused of having sexual relations with Catiline and acquitted

eloquence of yours with M. Piso¹ by sacrificing your chastity? Far from surprising then that you sell it as outrageously as you gained it shamefully!

But I imagine the distinction of your domestic scenario makes you proud! A wife smeared with sacrilege and perjuries,² a daughter, her mother's rival, more pleasing and submissive to you than a daughter should be to a parent. You acquired your house itself, a disaster for you and yours, with violence and plunderings, presumably to impress upon us how greatly things have changed, seeing that you, disreputable as you are, live in the house that belonged to the illustrious P. Crassus.³ And all this notwithstanding, Cicero says that he was in the assembly of the immortal gods and from there despatched to guard this city and its citizens⁴ * * * executioner apart from the name (?), who credits the misfortune of the community to his own glory; as though your Consulship were not the cause of that conspiracy and for that reason the commonwealth was torn apart at the time when it had you for its guardian.

But I imagine your political decisions subsequent to your Consulship in consultation with your wife Terentia make you prouder, when you two proceeded to set up trials

(Asconius (Clark) 91). 'Sallust' seems to have transferred the item to Terentia.

³ Cicero's house on the Palatine had belonged to P. Licinius Crassus, Consul in 97, and was purchased from his son, M. Crassus the 'Triumvir.' In 58 Clodius destroyed it but it was rebuilt with a public subsidy after Cicero's return.

⁴ In his speech *On his House* (141) Cicero calls himself the guardian and protector of the temples of the gods. The assembly of the gods will refer to something in his poem *On his Consulship*.

legis Plautiae iudicia domo faciebatis, cum alios <exilio, alios>⁷ pecunia condemnabas, cum tibi alius Tusculanam, alius Pompeianam villam exaedificabat, alius domum emebat: qui vero nihil poterat, is erat Catilinae⁸ proximus, is aut domum tuam oppugnatum venerat aut insidias senatui fecerat, denique de eo tibi compertum erat. quae si tibi falsa obicio, redde rationem quantum patrimonii acceperis, quid tibi litibus accreverit, qua ex pecunia domum paraveris, Tusculanam et Pompeianam infinito sumptu aedificaveris; aut si retices, cui dubium potest esse quin opulentiam istam ex sanguine et miseris civium pararis?⁹

Verum, ut opinor, homo novus Arpinas, ex C. Marii¹⁰ familia, illius virtutem imitatur, contemnit simultatem hominum nobilium, rem publicam caram habet, neque terrore neque gratia removetur a vero,¹¹ †amicitia¹² tantum ac virtus est animi. immo vero homo levissimus,¹³ supplex inimicis, amicus contumeliosus, modo harum, modo illarum partium, fidus nemini, levissimus senator, mercenna-

⁷ (*Halm*) ⁸ *calumniae* (*Wirz*)

⁹ *parasti* (*Jordan**: *paraveris ed. princ.*)

¹⁰ *M. crassi* (*Glareanus**): *L. Crassi* (*Rawson*)

¹¹ *aliud vero* (*Reitzenstein*) ¹² *anne iustitia**?

¹³ *vilissimus Petzold*

⁵ A law penalizing acts of violence against public order. 'Salust' is probably hallucinating here. Apart from the execution of the five Catilinarians in December 63 under the Senate's authority Cicero is not known to have had anyone put to death or exiled or fined.

⁶ See *Letters to Friends* 5 (V.5).2.

under the lex Plautia⁵ in your house, sentencing some of the conspirators to exile, others to fines. One of them would build you your villa at Tusculum, another one at Pompeii, another bought your house. But anyone who could do nothing for you was Catiline's closest associate; he either had come to assault your house or had plotted against the Senate, in fact you had 'informed yourself'⁶ about him. If these charges that I bring against you are false, give us an account of how much you inherited from your father, what you gained in law suits, where you got the money to buy your house⁷ and build your Tusculan and Pompeian properties at infinite expense; or if you say nothing, who can doubt that you acquired your affluence from the blood and miseries of your fellow countrymen?

But, I suppose, as a new man from Arpinum, from the family of C Marius,⁸ he imitates his qualities, despises the enmity of noblemen, holds the commonwealth dear, lets neither fear nor favour part him from the truth, loves (?) only justice (?) and virtue. On the contrary, he is the most irresponsible of mankind, suppliant to his enemies, insolent to his friends, in one party one day; in another the next, loyal to none, an irresponsible Senator, a mercenary advo-

⁷ Actually the purchase was financed by borrowing from former clients; cf. *Letters to Atticus*, 13 (I.3).6.

⁸ Reynolds adopts Rawson's conjecture *L. Crassi* for *M. Crassi* in the manuscripts. L. Crassus, the famous orator, was indeed Cicero's mentor in youth, but they were not related. Moreover, he did not come from Arpinum and did not despise nobles. Marius was and did, and the Ciceros and the Marii were related by marriage. Whatever the origin of the mistake, there can be no doubt about who is meant.

rius patronus, cuius nulla pars corporis a turpitudine vacat: lingua vana, manus rapacissimae, gula immensa, pedes fugaces, quae honeste nominari non possunt inhonestissima. atque is cum eius modi sit, tamen audet dicere: 'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!' <Romam>¹⁴ te consule fortunatam, Cicero? immo vero infelicem et miseram, quae crudelissimam proscriptionem eam¹⁵ perpessa est, cum tu perturbata re publica metu percussos omnis bonos parere crudelitati tuae cogebas, cum omnia iudicia, omnes leges in tua libidine erant, cum tu, sublata lege Porcia, erepta libertate omnium nostrum, vitae necisque potestatem ad te unum revocaveras. atque parum¹⁶ quod impune fecisti, verum etiam commemorando exprobras, neque licet oblivisci [iis] servitutis suae. egeris, oro te, Cicero, profeceris quidlibet, satis est perpressos esse: etiamne aures nostras odio tuo onerabis, etiamne molestissimis verbis insectabere? 'cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae.' quasi vero togatus et non armatus ea quae gloriaris confeceris, atque inter te Sullamque dictatorem praeter nomen imperii quicquam interfuerit.

7 Sed quid ego plura de tua insolentia commemorarem? quem Minerva omnis artis edocuit, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus in concilio deorum admisit, Italia exulem suis

¹⁴ (*Winterbottom*.)

¹⁵ *om. cod. Edinburgensis saec. XI-XII*

¹⁶ parum est 5

⁹ From Cicero's poem *On His Consulship*, 'a famous mark for the banter of ancient critics' (J. D. Duff on Juvenal 10.122) with its disagreeable assonance.

¹⁰ Forbidding the execution of Roman citizens without the People's authority.

cate, with no part of his body clear of turpitude: false tongue, grasping hands, immense gullet, runaway feet, most indecent the parts that cannot decently be named. And being what he is, he yet dares to say 'Fortunate Rome, born when I was Consul'⁹ Rome fortunate when you were Consul, Cicero? On the contrary, hapless and miserable. She suffered an atrocious proscription when you forced all honest men, stricken as they were by fear in a troubled commonwealth, to obey your cruelty; when all the law courts, all the laws were at the mercy of your whim when, with the *lex Porcia*¹⁰ abolished and freedom snatched away, you had brought the power of life and death over us all into your single hands. That you *did* this with impunity is not enough; you continually threw it in our faces, and Rome is not allowed to forget her bondage. I beg of you, Cicero: allow that you have done and accomplished whatever you please, it is enough that we have borne it. Will you also burden our ears with your offensiveness, will you still pursue us with your disgusting phrases? 'Let arms yield to the gown, let the laurel bow to the tongue.'¹¹ As though you achieved your boasts in gown and not in arms, and anything but the *name* of military authority distinguished you from Dictator Sulla!

But why dwell further on your presumption? Minerva taught you all arts,¹² Jupiter Best and Greatest admitted you to the council of the gods,¹³ Italy brought you back

¹¹ Another 'target for Cicero's detractors' (A. R. Dyck on *Off.* 77) from the same source.

¹² Cf. *Dom.* 144.

¹³ See n. 4 above.

umeris reportavit. Oro te, Romule Arpinas, qui egregia tua virtute omnis Paulos, Fabios, Scipiones superasti, quem tandem locum in hac civitate obtines? quae tibi partes rei publicae placent? quem amicum, quem inimicum habes? cui in civitate insidias fecisti, <ei>¹⁷ ancillaribus auctore¹⁸ de exilio tuo Dyrachio redisti, eum <in>sequeris. quos tyrannos appellabas, eorum potentiae faves; qui tibi ante optimates videbantur, eosdem dementes ac furiosos vocas. Vatini causam agis, de Sestio male existimas. Bibulum petulantissimis verbis laedis, laudas Caesarem. quem maxime odisti, ei maxime obsequeris. aliud stans, aliud sedens sentis de re publica. his male dicis, illos odisti, levissime transfuga, neque in hac neque in illa parte fidem habens.

17 (Wirz)

18 iure cum (Wirz)

14 Cicero's own phrase (*Post red. in sen.* 39).

15 Caesar. History knows nothing of such a plot, but I suspect it is a travesty of Sallust, *Catiline* 49.1.

16 Pompey, though Cicero did nothing of the kind.

17 The 'First Triumvirate.'

18 On Cicero's grievances against the 'optimates' who had supported his recall see *Letters to Friends* 20 (I.9).

from exile on her shoulders!¹⁴ I beg you, Romulus of Arpinum, you that by your splendid achievements have surpassed all the Pauli and Fabii and Scipios, what place do you occupy in the community? What political party do you favour? What friend do you have, what enemy? The man in the community against whom you plotted,¹⁵ you are his lackey; the man at whose instance you came back from Dyrachium, from your exile, him you harass.¹⁶ Those whom you used to call tyrants,¹⁷ their power you support; those you formerly thought optimates,¹⁸ the same you call fools and madmen. You appear in court for Vatinius,¹⁹ and you have a poor opinion of Sestius.²⁰ You insult Bibulus in the most offensive terms,²¹ and you laud Caesar. You are most obsequious to the man you hate the most. You stand with one set of political views, you sit with another. One lot you insult, you hate another. Neither here nor there do you keep faith.

¹⁹ Cicero defended this former enemy in 54 at the behest of Pompey and Caesar, after which they were good friends.

²⁰ Though Cicero was mindful of his heavy obligations to Sestius and defended him successfully in an extant speech, there was some temporary ill-feeling in 56 (*Letters to Quintus* 8 (II.4).1). But his public references are always eulogistic, notwithstanding Ermout's phantasy in his edition (p. 82) that Sestius was attacked by Cicero for having joined Caesar.

²¹ False again. Cicero's public references are always complimentary, though privately there was no love lost on either side; cf. *Letters to Friends* 117 (II.17).6-8.

IN SALLUSTIUM

1 Ea demum magna voluptas est, C. Sallusti, aequalem ac parem verbis vitam agere neque quicquam tam obscenum dicere cui non ab initio pueritiae omni genere facinoris aetas sua¹ respondeat, ut omnis <0>ratio moribus consonet. Neque enim qui ita vivit ut tu aliter ac tu loqui potest, neque qui tam illoto sermone utitur vita honestior est.

Quo me praevertam, patres conscripti, unde initium sumam? maius enim mihi dicendi onus imponitur quo notior est uterque nostrum; <quid>² quod aut, si de mea vita atque actibus huic conviciatori respondero, invidia gloriam consequetur, aut, si huius facta, mores, omnem aetatem nudavero, in idem vitium incidam procacitatis quod huic obicio? id vos si forte offendimini, iustius huic quam mihi suscensere debetis, qui initium introduxit. ego dabo operam ut pro me minimo cum fastidio respondeam et in hunc minime mentitum esse videatur. scio me, patres conscripti, in respondendo non habere magnam expectationem, quod nullum vos sciatis³ novum crimen in Sallus-

¹ tua (SB*)

² (SB*)

³ scio S*

¹ The Senate could not *know* this, though they might suspect that Sallust's known offences were too many and grave to leave

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It is indeed a great pleasure, Gaius Sallustius, to live a life in parity and conformity with one's words, to say nothing so obscene that one's career from earliest boyhood does not correspond in every kind of malefaction, so that all one's speech is consonant with one's morals. For anyone who lives as you live cannot but speak as you speak, and anyone who practices such filthy speech lives no less indecently.

Where am I to turn first, Conscript Fathers, what shall I take as my starting point? The better known each of us is, the heavier burden of speech is laid upon me. Add that if I reply to this reviler in terms of *my* life and actions, malice will follow self-praise; or if I lay bare *his* doings and morals and entire career, I shall fall into licence—the same fault of which I accuse him. If that perchance offends you, in fairness you ought to blame him, the one who started it, rather than me. I shall be careful to reply on my own behalf with the minimum of assumption and so that what I say against him shall be seen as the minimum of mendacity. I know, Conscript Fathers, that my response awakens no great expectancy, for you know¹ that you will hear no new

room for anything new. But *scio*, read by Reynolds, is no more logical, and for the same reason: the speaker's knowledge that he had nothing new to say did not extend to his audience.

tium audituros, sed omnia vetera recognituros, quis et meae et vestrae iam et ipsius aures calent. verum eo magis odisse debetis hominem, qui ne incipiens quidem peccare in⁴ minimis rebus posuit rudimentum, sed ita ingressus est ut neque ab alio vinci possit neque ipse se omni⁵ reliqua aetate praeterire.

3 Itaque nihil aliud studet nisi ut lutulentus sus cum quovis volutari. longe vero fallitur opinione; non enim pro-cacitate linguae vitae sordes eluuntur, sed est quaedam calumnia quam unusquisque nostrum testante animo suo fert de eo quod⁶ falsum crimen bonis obiectat.⁷ quod si vita istius memoriam vicerit, illam,⁸ patres conscripti, non ex oratione sed ex moribus suis spectare debebitis. iam dabo operam, quam maxime potuero, breve ut faciam. neque haec altercatio nostra vobis inutilis erit, patres conscripti; 4 plerumque enim res publica privatis crescit inimicitias, ubi nemo civis qualis sit vir potest latere.

Primum igitur, quoniam omnium maiores C. Sallustius ad unum exemplum et regulam quaerit, velim mihi respondeat num quid his⁹ quos protulit Scipiones et Metellos ante fuerit¹⁰ aut opinionis aut gloriae quam eos res

4 (SB*) 5 omnino (cod. Vaticanus saec. XIII*)

6 qui vel quia codd. nonnulli

7 de eo . . . obiectat del. Jordan*

8 aliam (Cortius) 9 hos vel hi(i) vel om. (F. Schmidt)

10 fuerint (F. Schmidt)

² *Calumniam ferre* is 'to be convicted of (making a) false charge'; see my Commentary on *Letters to Friends* 84 (VIII.8). I *calumniam . . . tulisse*. Reynolds secludes *de eo . . . obiectat*; but each one of us does *not* know himself guilty of falsely accusing

charge against Sallustius but recognize all the old items with which my ears and yours and his own are already buzzing. But you ought to be all the more disgusted with him; he did not make even his debut as a wrongdoer in trifling concerns but launched out in such a style that for all the rest of his life he could neither be outdone by someone else nor surpass himself.

So his one endeavour is to wallow like a muddy pig with somebody, no matter whom. But he is much mistaken. Stains of life are not washed away by an impudent tongue. But there is a verdict of false accusation which each one of us incurs on the testimony of his own conscience with reference to a false charge that he has brought against good men.² But if this man's life overtakes memory, it will be for you to look at it not from words but from his general conduct.³ I shall take care to be as brief as I can. And this exchange of ours will not be without advantage to you, Conscript Fathers. The public generally finds its account in private feuds, in which no citizen can hide from revealing what sort of man he is.

First of all then, since C. Sallustius seeks everybody's ancestors according to one pattern and standard, I should like his answer to a question: did those Scipios and Metelli whom he has brought up have any reputation or glory

good men. *De eo* could be deleted, with *qui* instead of *quod*. But in this writer crabbed is not necessarily corrupt. The sense implied is: 'if any of us brings a false charge against the innocent, his own conscience will convict him.'

³ If his career is too full of misdeeds for you to remember them all, you should judge of it from his character; no need for me to spell them out.

gestae suae et vita innocentissime acta commendavit. quod si hoc fuit illis initium nominis et dignitatis, cur non aequae <de> nobis existimetur, cuius et res gestae illustres et vita integerrime acta? quasi vero tu sis ab illis, Sallusti, ortus! quod si esses, non nullos iam tuae turpitudinis pigaret.¹¹ ego meis maioribus virtute mea praeluxi, ut, si prius noti non fuerunt, a me accipiant initium memoriae suae: tuis vita quam turpiter egisti magnas offudisti tenebras, ut, etiamsi fuerint egregii cives, per te¹² venerint in oblivionem. quare noli mihi antiquos viros obiectare; satius est enim me meis rebus gestis florere quam maiorum opinionone niti et ita vivere ut ego sim posteris meis nobilitatis initium et virtutis exemplum. neque me cum iis conferri decet, patres conscripti, qui iam decesserunt omnique odio carent et invidia, sed cum iis qui mecum una in re publica versati sunt. sed [se]¹³ fuerim [aut]¹⁴ in honoribus petendis nimis ambitiosus—non hanc dico popularem ambitionem, cuius me principem confiteor, sed illam perniciosam contra leges, cuius primos ordines Sallustius duxit—<quis fuit>¹⁵ aut in gerundis magistratibus <tam diligens>¹⁶ aut in vindicandis maleficiis tam severus aut in tuenda re publica tam vigilans? quam tu proscriptionem vocas, credo quod non omnes tui similes incolumes in urbe vixissent: at quanto meliore loco res publica staret, si tu par

¹¹ *anne* nullos . . . non pigeret?

¹² certe (*van der Hoeven*)

¹³ (*Cortius*) ¹⁴ (*SB**)

¹⁵ (*SB**) ¹⁶ (*SB**)

⁴ Of course they did, coming from great noble families. But the writer's addled head confuses them with the Scipio or Metel-

before their own performances and blameless lives commended them?⁴ But if this was the beginning of their name and prestige, why should the same standard not be applied to myself, seeing that my performances are celebrated and my life passed without reproach? As though you, Sallustius, were a descendant of theirs! If you had been, some would now be sorry for your turpitude. As for me, I have outshone my forebears by my achievement, so that if previously unknown they begin to be remembered owing to me. You, on the other hand, have cast deep shadows on yours by your disgraceful life, so that even if they were outstanding citizens they have passed into oblivion because of you. So don't throw men of old in my face. Better that I win distinction through my own performances than rely on the reputation of my forebears, and live so as to start nobility for those who come after me and be a shining example. Furthermore, it is not fitting, Conscript Fathers, that I be compared with men who have passed away and are now beyond all hate and envy; the comparison should be with my fellow actors on the political stage. But suppose I was too competitive in seeking office—and I don't mean competition for popular approval, in which I admit I have taken the lead, but the deleterious, law-breaking kind in which Sallustius led the front ranks: who has been so diligent in the conduct of magistracies, or so strict in punishing wrongdoings, or so vigilant in protecting the commonwealth? You call it a proscription, because, I suppose, not everybody of your ilk lived on in our city unscathed; but in how much better shape the commonwealth would stand if

lus who originally brought distinction into his family by his own merits—a familiar point; cf. e.g. *Letters to Friends* 71 (III.7).5.

ac similis scelestorum civium una cum illis adnumeratus
 7 esses! an ego tunc falso scripsi 'cedant arma togae'? qui togatus armatos et pace bellum oppressi? an illud mentitus sum 'fortunatam me consule Romam'? qui tantum intestinum bellum ac domesticum urbis incendium exstinxi? neque te tui piget, homo levissime, cum ea culpas quae
 <in> historiis mihi gloriae ducis? an turpius est scribentem mentiri quam [illum].¹⁷ palam <in>¹⁸ hoc ordine dicentem? nam quod in aetatem increpuisti, tantum me abesse puto ab impudicitia quantum tu pudicitia.

8 Sed quid ego de te plura querar? quid enim mentiri turpe ducis, qui mihi ausus sis eloquentiam ut vitium obicere, cuius semper nocens eguisti patrocinio? an ullum existimas posse fieri civem egregium qui non his artibus et disciplinis sit eruditus? an ulla alia putas esse rudimenta et incunabula virtutis quibus animi ad gloriae cupiditatem aluntur? sed minime mirum est, patres conscripti, si homo qui desidia et luxuriae plenus sit haec ut nova atque inusitata miratur. nam quod ista inusitata rabie in uxorem et in filiam meam invasisti, quae facilius mulieres se a viris abstinerunt quam tu vir [a viris],¹⁹ satis docte ac perite fecisti. non enim me sperasti mutuam tibi gratiam relaturum, ut vicissim tuos compellarem; unus enim satis es materiae [habens],²⁰ neque quicquam domi tuae turpius est quam

¹⁷ (*Heraeus*) ¹⁸ (*SB**)

¹⁹ (*Holford-Strevens*)

²⁰ (*SB**)

⁵ Sallust's *Histories*, covering the years 78–67, could hardly have dealt with Cicero's Consulship, but Cicero gets some praise in his *Catiline*.

you, the equal and counterpart of the criminals, had been counted in along with them! When at that time I wrote: 'let arms yield to the gown,' was it not true? Did I not in my gown crush men in arms and in peace did I not crush war? Or did I lie when I wrote 'Rome, fortunate in my Consulship,' after extinguishing so formidable an intestine war and domestic conflagration of the city? Are you not disgusted with yourself, fribble that you are, when you find fault with actions which in your *Histories*⁵ you set down to my glory? Or is it more disgraceful to lie in writing than in open speech, in this order?⁶ As for your attacks on my early life, I fancy I am as far off from unchastity as you from chastity.

But why complain about you further? For what lie can you be ashamed of after daring to throw eloquence in my face, as though it were a fault, when your guilty self has ever needed its advocacy? Or do you suppose that anyone not versed in these arts and disciplines could become an outstanding citizen? Or that there are any other rudiments and cradles of excellence by which minds are nurtured in desire for glory? But it is not at all surprising, Conscript Fathers, that a fellow full of sloth and luxury is surprised at such, to him, strange novelties. As for your vicious attacks upon my wife and daughter in your unseemly rage, ladies who have found it easier to keep clear of men than your masculine self—quite a cultured,⁷ skilful performance! You did not expect me to retaliate in kind by calling *your* household names in turn, for you are material enough and nothing in your home is more shameful than you. But I

⁶ The Senate.

⁷ Or 'clever' (*docte*).

tu. multum vero te, opinor, fallit, qui mihi parare putasti invidiam ex mea re familiaris, quae mihi multo minor est quam habere dignus sum. atque utinam ne tanta quidem esset quanta est, ut potius amici mei viverent quam ego testamentis eorum locupletior essem!

10 Ego fugax, C. Sallusti? furori tribuni plebis cessi: utilius duxi quamvis fortunam unum experiri quam universo populo Romano civilis essem dissensionis causa. qui postea quam suum annum in re publica perbacchatus est omnique quae commoverat pace et otio resederunt, hoc ordine revocante atque ipsa re publica manu retrahente me reverti. qui mihi dies, si cum omni reliqua vita conferatur, animo quidem meo superet, cum universi vos populusque Romanus frequens adventu meo gratulatus est: tanti me fugacem, mercennarium patronum, hi aestimaverunt! 11 neque hercules mirum est, si ego semper iustas omnium amicitias aestimavi: non enim uni privatim ancillatus sum neque me addixi, sed quantum quisque rei publicae studeat <aut inimicus fuit>,²¹ tantum mihi fuit aut amicus aut adversarius. ego nihil plus volui valere quam pacem: multi privatorum audacias nutriverunt. ego nihil timui nisi leges: multi arma sua timeri voluerunt. ego numquam volui quicquam posse nisi pro vobis: multi ex vobis potentia freti in vos suis viribus abusi sunt. itaque non est mirum, si nullius amicitia usus sum qui non perpetuo rei publicae amicus fuit. neque me paenitet, si aut petenti Vatinius reo patrocini-

21 (SB*)

⁸ Clodius.

⁹ So indeed Cicero claims in his public speeches. His letters tell a very different story.

think you were far off the mark when you thought to create ill will against me by talking about my means, which are far less than I deserve. And I only wish they were not as large as they are, with my friends alive rather than me richer by their wills.

A runaway? I, Gaius Sallustius? I gave way before the frenzy of a Tribune.⁸ I deemed it more expedient to take whatever fortune came to me individually than to be the cause of civil strife to the People of Rome universally.⁹ After he had whirled through his year in public life and everything he had stirred up settled down in peace and tranquillity, this order recalled me and the hand of the commonwealth itself drew me back: I returned. If that day were compared to all the rest of my life, it would turn the scale, at least in my mind: the day when all of you and the Roman People in large numbers hailed my arrival. That was how highly they thought of me, the runaway, the mercenary advocate! Nor is it surprising, upon my word, if I always valued all friendships aright. I did not become any individual's private lackey or bind myself over, but in so far as each man was loyal or hostile to the commonwealth, to that extent I was his friend or his adversary. I wanted nothing to count for more than peace; many others encouraged the audacity of private individuals. I feared nothing but the law; many others wanted their own arms to be feared. I never wanted any power except in your interests; many others in reliance on the power they had from you abused their strength against you. So it is not surprising if I had friendship with nobody who was not consistently a friend to the commonwealth. And I don't regret that I promised to defend Vatinius when he was under prosecu-

nium pollicitus sum aut Sesti insolentiam repressi aut Bibuli patientiam culpavi aut virtutibus Caesaris favi. hae enim laudes egregii civis et unicae sunt; quae si tu mihi ut vitia obicis, temeritas tua reprehendetur, non mea vitia culpabuntur. plura dicerem, si apud alios mihi esset disserendum, patres conscripti, non apud vos, quos ego habui omnium mearum actionum monitores. sed ubi rerum testimonia adsunt, quid opus est verbis?

13 Nunc ut ad te revertar, Sallusti, patrem tuum praeter eam, qui si nunquam in vita sua peccavit, tamen maiorem iniuriam rei publicae facere non potuit quam quod te talem filium genuit. Neque tu si qua in pueritia peccasti, exsequar, ne parentem tuum videar accusare, qui eo tempore summam tui potestatem habuit, sed qualem adolescentiam egeris; hac enim demonstrata facile intellegetur quam petulanti pueritia tam impudicus et procax adoleveris. postea quam immensae gulae impudicissimus corporis quaestus sufficere non potuit et aetas tua iam ad ea patienda quae alteri facere collibisset exolverat, cupiditatibus infinitis efferebaris, ut quae ipse corpori tuo turpia non duxisses in aliis experireris. ita non est facile exputare, patres conscripti, utrum inhonestioribus corporis partibus rem quaesierit an amiserit. domum paternam vivo patre turpissime venalem habuit [vendidit]; et cuiquam dubium potest esse quin mori coegerit eum quo hic nondum mortuo pro herede gesserit omnia? neque pudet eum a me quaerere quis in P. Crassi domo habitet, cum ipse respon-

¹⁰ See 'Sallust's' piece § 7. ¹¹ For this sense of *patientia* cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 95 *is qui . . . fregit Ti. Gracchum patientia . . .* M. Octavius. ¹² In his speech *On the Consular Provinces*.

¹³ As a pathic.

tion and asked me, or that I checked Sestius' insolence,¹⁰ or blamed Bibulus' doggedness,¹¹ or backed Caesar's achievements—I praised an outstanding citizen, and once only.¹² If you bring that against me as a fault, your rashness will be blamed, not my shortcomings. I should say more if I had to hold forth before others, Conscript Fathers, and not before you, who have been the monitors of my every course of action. But where the facts are my witnesses, what need of words?

To turn now to yourself, Sallustius, let me pass over your father. If he never did anything wrong in his life, all the same he could have done no greater harm to the commonwealth than by begetting a son like you. And I shall not pursue any wrongdoings in your boyhood since I don't want to seem to accuse your father, who had complete power over you at that time. I shall speak of your early manhood, for when I have made that clear it will be easily understood how wayward was the boyhood which developed so immoral and outrageous a young man. After the earnings of your shameless body could no longer satisfy your limitless appetite and you had passed the age for submitting to whatever it pleased the other party to do, you were carried away by unbounded lusts in your desire to try upon others things that you yourself had not felt as degrading to your own person. So it is difficult to compute, Conscript Fathers, which of his bodily parts were the more indecent, those by which he made money¹³ or those by which he lost it. He put his father's house up for sale while his father was still alive, a shocking act; and can anybody doubt that he brought about his death, seeing that before his father died he behaved in all respects as an inheritor? And he is not ashamed to ask who lives in P. Crassus' house

dere non queat quis in ipsius habitet paterna domo. 'at hercules lapsus aetatis tirocinio postea se correat.' non ita est, sed abiit in sodalicium sacrilegi Nigidiani; bis iudicis ad subsellia attractus extrema fortuna stetit et ita discessit ut non hic innocens esse sed iudices peierasse existimarentur. primum honorem in quaestura adeptus hunc locum et hunc ordinem despectui <habuit>,²² cuius aditus sibi quoque sordidissimo homini patuisset. itaque timens nefacina eius clam vos essent, cum omnibus matrum familiarium viris opprobrio esset, confessus est vobis audientibus adulterium neque erubuit ora vestra. vixeris ut libet, Sallusti, egeris quae volueris: satis sit unum te tuorum scelerum esse conscium. noli nobis languorem et soporem nimium exprobrare: sumus diligentes in tuenda pudicitia uxorum nostrarum, sed ita experrecti non sumus ut a te cavere possimus; audacia tua vincit studia nostra. equod hunc movere possit, patres conscripti, factum aut dictum turpe, quem non puduerit palam nobis audientibus adulterium confiteri? quod si tibi per me nihil respondere voluissem, sed illum censorium eloquium Appii Claudii et L. Pisonis, integerrimorum virorum, quo usus est quisque

²² despectus (*Norden*)

¹⁴ The learned P. Nigidius Figulus was well known as a student of the occult and leader of a group of self-styled Pythagoreans. He was also a friend and political ally of Cicero—who did not accuse him of necromancy and ritual murder in *Vatin.* 14, as stated by Ernout (p. 65).

¹⁵ Irony, of course. On Sallust's widely reported affair with Milo's wife Fausta, which allegedly earned him a beating at the

though he himself cannot answer when asked who lives in his own paternal home. Ah, but I shall be told that these were the slips of inexperienced youth, and that he later reformed. Not so; he fell into Nigidius' sacrilege club.¹⁴ Twice brought before a judge's bench, he was in the direst straits and came off leaving the impression, not that he was innocent, but that the jury had perjured themselves. Beginning his official career as Quaestor, he held this place and this order in contempt seeing that it had given admittance to despicable a creature as himself. Fearing therefore that his misdeeds might not come to your knowledge,¹⁵ scandal though he was to all respectably married men, he confessed to adultery in your hearing and your faces did not bring a blush to his. Never mind how you have lived, Sallustius, or what you have done: all we ask is that only yourself be privy to your crimes. Don't tax us too much with our slackness and lethargy. We are careful to protect our wives, but not wide awake enough to guard against you; your boldness is too much for our endeavours. Could any shaming act or speech disturb him, Conscript Fathers, a man who was not embarrassed to confess to adultery in your hearing? Suppose I had not chosen to answer you myself but recited that censorial pronouncement of Appius Claudius and Lucius Piso,¹⁶ gentlemen of the highest character, openly and to all citizens, a pronounce-

hands of the injured husband, see Funaioli in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* IA, 1916f. The confession in the Senate is not mentioned anywhere else.

¹⁶ Caesoninus (Consul in 58), not Frugi (as Ernout). As Censors the two expelled Sallust from the Senate in 51. But their own characters were not above reproach.

eorum pro lege,²³ palam universis recitarem, nonne tibi viderer aeternas inurere maculas, quas reliqua vita tua eluere non posset?

Neque post illum dilectum senatus umquam te viderimus; nisi forte in ea te castra coniecisti quo omnis sentina rei publicae confluerat. at idem Sallustius, qui in pace ne senator quidem manserat, postea quam res publica armis oppressa est, [et] idem a victore²⁴ qui exsules reduxit in senatum per²⁵ quaesturam est reductus. quem honorem ita gessit ut nihil in eo non venale habuerit cuius aliquis emptor fuerit, ita egit ut nihil non aequum ac verum duxerit quod ipsi facere collibisset, neque aliter vexavit ac debuit si quis praedae loco magistratum accepisset. peracta quaestura, postea quam magna pignora eis dederat cum quibus similitudine vitae se coniunxerat, unus iam ex illo grege videbatur. eius enim partis erat Sallustius quo tamquam in unam voraginem coetus omnium vitiorum exarserat: quicquid impudicorum, <h>ilonum,²⁶ parricidarum, sacrilegorum, debitorum fuit in urbe, municipiis, coloniis, Italia tota, sicut in fretis subsederant, homines²⁷ perditissimi ac notissimi, nulla in parte castris apti nisi licentia vitiorum et cupiditate rerum novarum.

19 'At postea quam praetor est factus, modeste se gessit et abstinenter.' non<ne> ita provinciam vastavit ut nihil

²³ *dist. SB** ²⁴ et idem victores (*Jordan*)

²⁵ post (*Mommsen*) ²⁶ (*Maurenbrecher*)

²⁷ nominis (*Gul.*)

17 There was no 'perhaps.' Sallust fought on Caesar's side in the Civil War.

ment which each one of them has treated as a law, don't you think I would have branded you for all time with marks that the remainder of your life could not wash away?

After that selection of the Senate we saw no more of you—unless perhaps¹⁷ you flung yourself into that army into which all the bilge water of the commonwealth had flowed. But that same Sallustius who in peacetime had not even kept his place as a Senator, that same was brought back into the Senate by way of a Quaestorship¹⁸ after the commonwealth had been crushed by arms, by a conqueror who restored exiles. He so functioned in that office that there was nothing for which there was a buyer that he did not have for sale. He exploited it on the principle that nothing he wanted to do was other than fair and right. He abused it as anyone receiving a magistracy as a kind of plunder might be expected to do. Having got through his Quaestorship, he now seemed one of that crew with whom he had associated himself by similarity of life; he had given them no small pledges. For Sallustius belonged to that party into which a conflux of all vices had overflowed as into a single quagmire. Every rake, every pervert, every murderer, every sacrilege-monger, every debtor in Rome and the municipalities and the colonies and all Italy had sunk as it were to the bottom of the sea, desperate and notorious men,¹⁹ in no way fitted for soldiering except in the license of their vices and their eagerness for revolution.

Ah, but after he was elected Praetor he behaved with temperance and self-restraint. Did he not lay his province

¹⁸ A second Quaestorship, probably in 48.

¹⁹ Sallust *Catiline* 14 may be in mind; cf. also *Letters to Atticus* 187 (IX.18).2.

neque passi sint neque exspectaverint gravius in bello socii nostri quam experti sunt in pace hoc Africam interiorem obtinente? unde tantum hic exhaustit quantum potuit aut fide nominum traici aut in naves contrudi: tantum, inquam, exhaustit, patres conscripti, quantum voluit. Ne causam diceret sestertio duodecies cum Caesare paciscitur: quod si quippiam eorum falsum est, his palam refelle: < dic >²⁸ unde, qui modo ne paternam quidem domum reluere²⁹ potueris, repente tamquam somnio beatus hortos pretiosissimos, villam Tiburtem³⁰ C. Caesaris, reliquas possessiones paraveris. neque piguit quarere cur ego P. Crassi domum emissem, cum tu eius³¹ villae dominus sis cuius paulo ante fuerat Caesar. modo, inquam, patrimonio non comesto sed devorato quibus rationibus repente factus es tam adfluens et tam beatus? nam quis te faceret heredem, quem ne amicum quidem suum satis honestum quisquam sibi ducit nisi similis ac par tui? at hercules egregia facta maiorum tuorum te extollunt, quorum sive tu similis es sive illi tui nihil ad omnium scelus ac nequitiam addi potest. verum, ut opinor, honores tui te faciunt insolentem. tu, C. Sallusti, idem³² putas esse bis senatorem et bis quaestorem fieri quod bis consularem et bis triumphalem? carere decet omni vitio qui in alterum dicere parat; is³³ demum male dicit qui non potest verum ab altero < male >³⁴ audire. sed tu, omnium mensarum assecula, omnium cubiculo-

28 (SB*)

29 relinire

30 tiburti (Cortius)

31 vetus (Bäüter)

32 totidem (Jordan: tantundem vel tantum codd. nonnulli)

33 paratus vel p- est vel parat (Jordan)

34 (SB* coll. Ter. Hec. 600)

waste? Did our allies ever suffer or expect in war anything worse than they experienced in peace when this man was governor of Inner Africa? He drained the province of all that could be transferred in bonds or thrust aboard ships. Yes, Conscript Fathers, he scooped up as much as he wanted. To avoid prosecution he struck a bargain with Caesar: 1,200,000 sesterces. If any of this is false, refute it in front of these gentlemen: state the source from which you, who could not even pay off the mortgage on your father's house, suddenly rich as in a dream acquired a very valuable suburban estate,²⁰ Caesar's villa at Tibur,²¹ and the rest of your properties. And you, owner of a villa that had recently been Caesar's, did not scruple to ask why I bought P. Crassus' house! You had just, I won't say consumed but devoured your patrimony; by what means did you suddenly become so affluent, so rich? Nobody would have left you his money, for nobody thinks you respectable enough to be his friend, except someone of the same breed as yourself. Oh, but the splendid deeds of your forebears raise you high! Whether you resemble them or they resemble you, all of them were criminals or good-for-nothings of the very worst description. But I suppose it's your offices that make you insolent! Gaius Sallustius, do you think that being twice a Senator and twice a Quaestor is the same as having two Consulships and two Triumphs? Anyone who sets about to denounce another person should be beyond reproach. Only someone who cannot be reviled truthfully reviles. But you! A hanger-on at every dinner table, a fancy

20 The *horti Sallustiani* of Tacitus *Annals* 13.47.

21 Not attested otherwise.

rum in aetate paelex et idem postea adulter, omnis ordinis turpitude es et civilis belli memoria. quid enim hoc gravius pati potuimus quam quod te incolumem in hoc ordine videmus? desine bonos petulantissime consecrari, desine morbo procacitatis isto uti, desine unumquemque moribus tuis aestimare. his moribus amicū tibi efficere non potes: videris velle inimicum habere.

Finem dicendi faciam, patres conscripti; saepe enim vidi gravius offendere animos auditorum eos qui aliena flagitia aperte dixerunt quam eos qui commiserunt. mihi quidem ratio habenda est, non quae Sallustius merito debeat audire, sed ut ea dicam, si qua ego honeste effari possim.

boy in every bedroom when you were young and an adulterer later on, you are a disgrace to every order and a reminder of the Civil War. What worse could we undergo than to see you as a citizen in this order? Give it up: the truculent attacks on good men, the indulgence in your pathological insolence, the judging of others by your own character—give it up! You can't make a friend by such behaviour. You seem to want to have an enemy.

I shall bring my words to a close, Conscript Fathers. For I have often seen that those who speak candidly of the enormities of others offend the ears of their audience more gravely than those who perpetrate the same. I have to put my mind not to what Sallustius deserves to hear but to saying what can properly be said by me.