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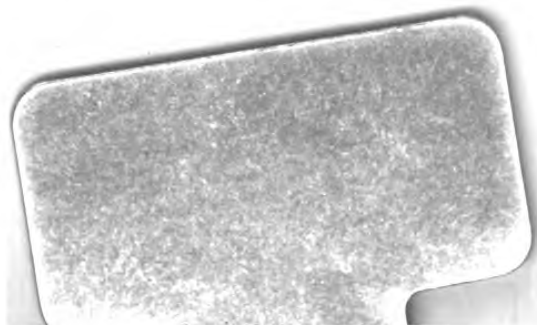


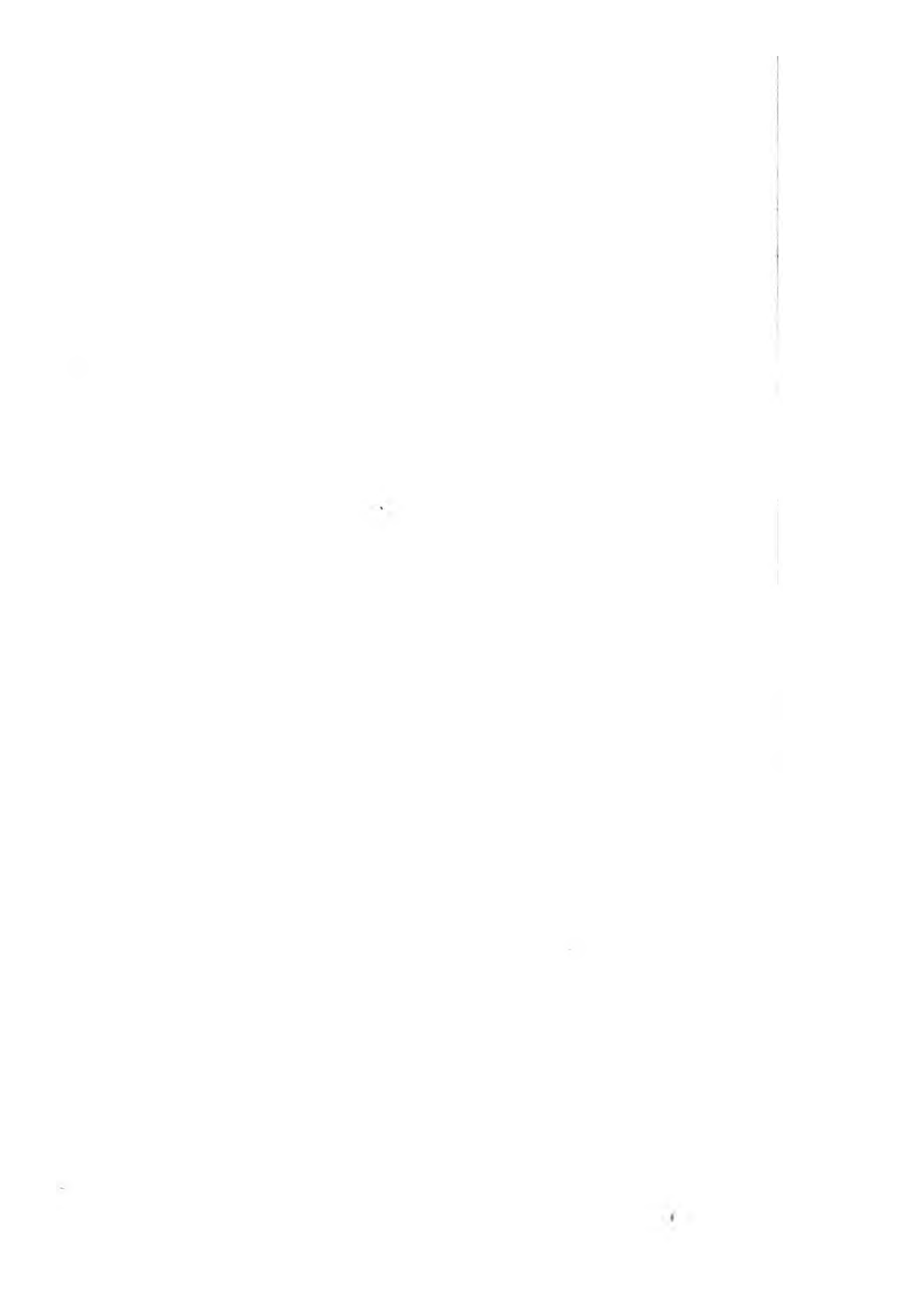
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AIDS TO THE CLASSICS.

EDITED BY

A. C. MAYBURY, D.Sc., AND PIERCE EGAN, M.A. (LOND.)

C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

DE

CATILINÆ CONJURATIONE

HISTORIA.

WITH

TRANSLATION, NOTES GRAMMATICAL, HISTORICAL,
AND GEOGRAPHICAL.

ALSO

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

BY

PIERCE EGAN, M.A. (LOND.),

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P R E F A C E .

THE present has often been called an age of examinations, and the accusation that the rising generation is, if anything, over-examined and under-educated, is not without some justification ; though by far the larger number of candidates who fail to pass break down on account, not so much of want of knowledge, as of adequate preparation. Having been for many years engaged in reading with candidates, and having felt the want of works specially adapted for the various University Examinations, we have determined, provided our efforts meet with support, to issue a series of class books, by University graduates, the object of which is to afford really practical aid to those who may be deficient or unable to procure the assistance of a tutor.

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P. E.

A. C. M.

LONDON : 23, CHARLOTTE ST.,

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August, 1883.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

SALLUST.

CAIUS CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS, or as he is with some show of authority styled by some Caius Sallustius (or Salustius) Crispus, with justice reckoned by his fellow countrymen the foremost of Roman historians, was born B.C. 86, at Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, and though of a plebeian family, passed through the usual course of study in law and oratory in his youth. These were stirring times, and he soon entered the public service, being Quæstor B.C. 59, and Tribune of the plebs in 52, which was the year of the assassination of Clodius by Milo. He joined the popular side against the murderer and was consequently expelled the Senate in 50, but he attached himself to "Cæsar and his fortunes," and in 47 became Prætor, having been by the influence of his patron restored to his place in the senate. Cæsar, no mean judge, seems to have had a good opinion of his capacity, for he sent him with some troops from Campania against the relics of Pompey's army. These troops mutinied. Sallust had to fly for his life, and the men marched towards Rome. Cæsar took the historian with him to Africa (B.C. 46), and when the war was over appointed him pro-consul of Numidia. He managed, as most Roman governors did, to amass an immense fortune during his term of office, and was subsequently put on his trial for extortion, but acquitted through the influence of Cæsar, who is said to have accepted a large bribe. In B.C. 44 the murder of Cæsar took place, and Sallust withdrew from public life spending the remainder of his days in learned leisure, having purchased a villa at Tibur previously owned by Cæsar, and a splendid mansion on the Quirinal, where he formed the celebrated gardens which afterwards bore his name and belonged to the State. He died in B.C. 34. and, being childless, his grand-nephew Caius Sallustius Crispus succeeded to his enormous wealth.

The private character of Sallust has been much debated, but there can be no doubt, in spite of the moral reflections scattered through his works, and the manner in which he constantly denounces luxury, dissipation and immorality, that he was a man of very lax morals himself, but he appears to have

been a tolerably good man of business and a capable soldier. His works consist of the two historical, or, rather, political tracts on the Catilinarian Conspiracy and the Jugurthine War, and a History of Rome during the twelve years which intervened between the death of Sulla and the Mithridatic War, and which would form a connecting link between the Jugurtha and the Catiline, only a few fragments of which have come down to us. A few other works are attributed to him, but on insufficient evidence.

The style of Sallust is said to have been founded on that of Thucydides; but if so, in clearness and directness he has surpassed his model. He is terse to a fault, and in aiming at conciseness is often rather harsh and abrupt, but his great excellence is the vividness of his narrative, by which he places the events as clearly before the reader as if he were an actor in them himself. With regard to his Latinity, it is to be remarked that Sallust, in discarding the rhetorical style in vogue in his day, and of which Cicero is *facile princeps*, went to the other extreme, and affected archaisms both in diction and construction, which render him by no means easy to read, and still more difficult to translate. The chief of these are: (1.) The old forms of spelling adopted, *e.g.*, *divorsi* for *diversi*, *voltis* for *vultis*; *caussa* for *causa*, *maxume* for *maxime*, and the like. Also *quís* for *quibus*, *senati* for *senatús*, *tumulti* for *tumultús*, *dicundi*, *capiundi*, &c., for *dicendi*, *capiendi*; *intelligere* for *intelligere*. (2.) Use of the infinitive, instead of the gerund or a dependent clause, and double constructions in the same sentence. (3.) Absence of conjunctions and use of pet phrases, as *sine morâ*, *igitur* commencing a sentence, *ex sententiâ*, *etium tum*, *mortales* for *homines*, *pars* for *alius*, *ad hoc* for *præterea*, &c. It has also been remarked that he uses deponent participles, as *adeptus*, in a passive sense, and often joins words nearly synonymous, as *bonum atque honestum*, *varius incertusque*, &c. But these mannerisms only tend to bring forth his originality in a more striking manner, and rather heighten the charm of his writing, which, especially in the delineation of character, and in the suitability of the speeches he puts into the mouths of his characters, is at once brilliant and forcible.

P. E.

CAII CRISPI
SALLUSTII
DE
CATILINÆ CONJURATIONE HISTORIA.

I. OMNIS homines, qui sese student præstare cæteris animilibus, summâ ope niti decet, vitam silentio ne transeant, veluti pecora, quæ Natura, prona atque ventri obedientia, finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita : animi imperio, corporis servitio, magis utimur. Alterum nobis cum Dîs, alterum cum belluis, commune est. Quò mihi rectiùs videtur, ingenii quàm virium opibus, gloriam quærere ; et, quoniam vita ipsa, quâ fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostrî quàm maxumè longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis ; virtus clara æternaque, habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vinè corporis, an virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam et, priùs quàm incipias, consulto, et, ubi consulueris, maturè facto, opus est. Ita utrumque, per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diversi ; pars ingenium, alii corpus, exercebant. Et jam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur ; sua cuique satis placebant. Postea verò, quàm in Asiâ Cyrus, in Græciâ Lacedæmonii et Athenienses, cœpere urbes atque

I. *Omnis* for *omnes* : one of the archaic forms affected by Sallust. A list of the principal ones will be found at the end of the Life. The rule is that those words whose genitive plural ends in *ium*, take *es*, *is*, or *eis* in the nom., and acc plural.

Quàm maxumè longam = *quam longissimam*. The form of expression is a favourite one, and it is used to enhance the superlative.

II. *Igitur*. The best writers only occasionally place *Igitur* at the beginning of a sentence. It will be found a common practice with Sallust.

SALLUST'S HISTORY

OF THE

CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY.

I. It becomes all men who aim at excelling the rest of the animal world to strive with their utmost power not to go through life in obscurity, like cattle which nature has formed bent downward and obeying their appetite. But the whole of our power is situated in the mind and the body; we rather avail ourselves of the sway of the mind, but (demand) of the body obedience. The one is common to us with the gods, the other with the brute creation. Wherefore it appears to me more just to seek glory by the powers of the intellect rather than those of the body, and, since, the life itself which we enjoy is short, to make the remembrance of ourselves as enduring as possible. For the fame of riches and beauty is considered evanescent and brittle, (while) virtue is illustrious and eternal. Now for a lengthened period there was a great contest among men whether military matters progressed better through strength of body or energy of mind. For there is need of deliberation before you begin, and when you have deliberated, of action without delay. Thus, each being incomplete of itself, the one requires the aid of the other.

II. Therefore, in the beginning, kings (for that was the first title of authority on earth), some (kings) differing (from others), exercised their minds, others their bodies; moreover, at that time the life of man was gone through without avarice, everyone was contented with his own. But after Cyrus in Asia, the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in Greece began to conquer

nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare; tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent; neque aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia, cerneret. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate libido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur: ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique, vitam, sicuti peregrinantes, transegere: quibus, profecto contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri, fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim verò is demum mihi vivere atque frui animam videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ, famam querit. Sed in magnâ copiâ rerum aliud alii Natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est. Vel pace, vel bello clarum fieri licet: et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tamen etsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis sunt exæquanda; dehinc, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malivolentiâ et invidiâ putant. Ubi de magnâ virtute et gloriâ bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit; supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus, initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rempublicam latus sum, ibique mihi advorsa multo fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentiâ, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia, vigeant. Quæ, tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium

Cyrus, i.e., the Elder, the founder of the Persian Empire.

Aliud alio ferri. This is peculiarly a Latin idiom, requiring two sentences in English. *Alter* is used in the same way when only two persons or things are spoken of.

Ad optimum quemque = omnes. The form is mostly used relatively; another superlative or, as here, comparative, being used with the verb.

III. *Auctorem.* Some editions have *actorem.*

cities and nations, to hold the desire of dominion a cause of war, and to think the greatest glory to consist in the greatest empire; then at length, from experience and from affairs themselves, it was found that intellect was of most avail in war. And if the mental greatness of kings and rulers were equally strong in peace as in war, human affairs would be regulated more justly and steadily, nor would you see one thing drawn in one direction and the other in another, nor all things shifting and muddled. For government is easily retained by those arts, by which in the first instance it was acquired. But when sloth has stepped in in place of exertion, lust and pride in place of moderation and justice, fortune is changed along with manners; thus government is always transferred from the less good to the most deserving. Agriculture, navigation, architecture (*lit.* what men plough, &c.), all depend on mental excellence. But many men, given up to eating and drinking and sleeping, ignorant and without culture, have passed through life like travellers in a foreign land, to whom indeed, contrary to nature, the body was the source of pleasure, the mind a burden. I set a like value upon their life and death, since nothing is said of either. Now, in my view, he alone seems to live and enjoy his nature, who, bent upon some occupation, seeks fame from (some) noble deed or (the produce of some) useful art. But in the great variety of employments nature indicates different paths to different individuals.

III. It is a glorious thing to act well for the Commonwealth; even to be eloquent (*lit.* speak well) is not unworthy. It is possible to become illustrious, both in peace and war, and many who have taken part in public affairs, and many who have recounted the deeds of others, are praised. And to me, indeed, though by no means equal glory attends the writer and the actor of deeds, yet it appears in the highest degree difficult to compose an historical narrative; in the first place, because the deeds are to be properly described by the words; again, because most men think that the evil deeds you blame are censured through ill-will and jealousy. Where you record the great virtue and glory of the good (the reader), accepts in good part, what he himself thinks easy to be accomplished, whatever is beyond that he holds to be false, as if intended. But I, when a young man; in the beginning, like most men, was inclined with earnestness to the service of the State, and there many things were adverse to me. For instead of modesty, temperance, (or) manliness—daring, bribery, and avarice flourished. And these things, although my mind despised,

tamen, inter tanta vitia, imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur. Ac me, cùm ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilò minùs honoris cupido, eadem, quæ cæteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam ætatem a republicâ procul habendam decrevi; non fuit consilium, secordiâ atque desidiâ bonum otium contere; neque verò agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere; sed, a quo incepto studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eòdem regressus, statui res gestas Populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoriâ digna videbantur, perscribere: eò magis, quòd mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ Conjuratone, quàm verissimè potero, paucis absolvam. Nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca priùs explananda sunt, quàm initium narrandi faciam.

V. LUCIUS CATILINA, nobili genere natus, magnâ vi et anima et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic, ab adolescentiâ, bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere: ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, vigiliæ, algoris, supra quàm cuique credibile est. Animus audax, subdolanus, varius, cujus rei libet simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus, satis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta, semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem Lucii Sullæ libido maxuma invaserat reipublicæ capiundæ; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox, inopiâ rei familiaris, et conscientiam scelerum; quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas suprâ memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis

IV. *Carptim*. Probably Sallust means that he intended to try his hand on short essays on the greater events in Roman history before attempting to treat the whole subject. The "Catiline" is generally believed to have been his first work.

V. *Lucius Catilina*. The full name is Lucius Sergius Catilina. Sallust's account of him may be supplemented by stating that his family, though noble, was wretchedly poor; that from earliest youth he had been an adventurer, steeped to the lips in vice and crime. He was a zealous follower of Sulla, became prætor in B.C. 68, and tried for the consulship in B.C. 66, but was disqualified on account of an impeach-

unused to evil practices, yet amidst so great vices my tender age was enthralled, being corrupted by ambition. And although I stood aloof from other bad customs, nevertheless the same desire of honour harassed me, as it did others, by ambition and envy.

IV. Therefore, when my mind, after many miseries and dangers, rested, and I decided that the remainder of my life should be passed by me far from public affairs, it was not my intention to waste my valuable leisure in sloth and idleness, nor indeed to lead my life fixed on servile pursuits in cultivating my land or in hunting; but having returned to the same point from which, when begun and even earnestly pursued, an evil ambition had diverted me, I determined to write, in detached portions, the history of (*lit.* things done by) the Roman people, according as each thing appeared worthy of record; the more so, because my mind was free from hope, fear, and the factions of the Commonwealth. Therefore I will briefly treat of Catiline's Conspiracy, with as much truth as I shall be able, for I think that design pre-eminently memorable, from the strangeness of the crime and its danger. But of this man's morals a few things must be made clear before I begin my narrative.

V. LUCIUS CATILINE, born of a noble race, was of great vigour both of mind and body, but of a wicked and depraved disposition. To him, from youth, civil wars, slaughter, pillaging, sedition, were delightful, and therein he trained his youth. His body was able to endure hunger, cold and sleeplessness, beyond what is credible to any one. His mind was daring, crafty, fickle—the pretender to, and dissembler of anything he wished, greedy of another's wealth, lavish of his own, burning in his desires, eloquence enough of, but little wisdom. His insatiable spirit was always longing for things extravagant, incredible, and too lofty. Since the rule of Lucius Sulla, a very strong desire had laid hold of him of taking possession of the government, nor by what means he acquired this, provided he could obtain the supreme power to himself, had he any care. His fierce spirit was goaded on more and more, day by day, by the poverty of his domestic circumstances and the consciousness of his crimes, both which he had increased by those practices which I have mentioned above. The corrupt morals of the State, moreover, urged him on, which (morals), things the very worst and most opposite to each other, luxury and avarice, were influencing. The subject itself

tempus admonuit, suprâ repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiæque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint; ut paullatim immutata, ex pulcherrumâ, pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Æneâ duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una mœnia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili linguâ, alius alio more viventes; incredibile memoratu est quàm facilè coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentiâ orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare; pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam cæteri, metu percussi, a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiæque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parentesque armis tegere. Pòst, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quàm accipiendis beneficiis, amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium, habebant. Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientiâ validum, reipublicæ consultabant. Hi vel ætate, vel curæ similitudine, PATRES appellabantur. Pòst, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandæ libertatis, atque augendæ reipublicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque convertit; immutato more, annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecere. Eo modo, minumé posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

VII. Sed eâ tempestate cœpere se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quàm mali

ment for extortion in his province brought against him by P. Clodius Pulcher, of which he was acquitted in B.C. 65. He then set to work on the conspiracy which is the subject of Sallust's narrative.

Lucii Sullæ, i.e., the dictator, surnamed Felix, one of the most extraordinary characters in Roman history; born B.C. 138, quæstor in 107, when he served under Marius, was prætor in 93, and in the following year went as proprætor to Cicilia. The Social War then broke out, and Sulla was consul in B.C. 88, and sent to the Mithridatic War. He returned to Rome in 83, and then began the wars of Marius and Sulla, which caused a veritable reign of terror. Sulla was victorious, became dictator, and died of a loathsome disease in 78.

VI. *Urbem Romam.* The legends about the early settlement of Rome have been proved fables by Niebuhr and others.

seems to exhort me, since the occasion has brought to my mind the morals of the State, to go back, and to treat in a few words of the principles of government of our ancestors in times of peace (*lit.* at home) and in war; how they governed the Republic, and how great they left it; and how, being gradually changed from being the most illustrious, it became the worst and most wicked.

VI. The Trojans, as I have understood, in the first place, founded and inhabited the city of Rome; who, under the leadership of Æneas, being exiles, wandered about in unsettled abodes; and with these were the Aborigines, a savage race of men, without laws, without government, free and uncontrolled. When they were assembled within the same walls, although differing in origin and dissimilar in language, and each living after a different manner, it is incredible to be told how easily they united into one nationality. But after their state being increased in population, (improved) in manners and (enlarged) in territory, appeared sufficiently prosperous and sufficiently powerful, as is the case for the most part with human affairs, envy sprung out of their prosperity. Therefore, kings of the neighbouring people began to try them in war, while a few of their friends were allies; for the rest, struck with fear, stood aloof from their dangers. But the Romans, energetic in peace (*lit.* home) and in war, made haste, got ready, encouraged one another, went forth to meet the foe, and protected by their arms, their liberty, their country and their relatives. Afterwards, when they had overcome the dangers by their valour, they sent aid to their allies and friends, and, rather by giving than by receiving benefits, gained friendships. They had a government limited by laws under the name of a kingly government. Chosen men, whose body, through years, was infirm, but whose mind was strong in wisdom, deliberated about the good of the State. These, either through their age or the similarity of their trust, were called "Fathers." But afterwards, when kingly government, which at first proved a means of preserving their freedom and advancing the public interest, degenerated into arrogance and tyranny, the custom being changed, they created for themselves annual governments and two chief magistrates. By this means they thought that the human mind would least of all grow haughty through want of restraint.

VII. But at that period every one began more and more to exert himself, and to make use of his ability. For by kings

suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adeptâ libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriæ incesserat. Jam primùm juvenus, simul laboris ac belli patiens erat, in castris per usum militiam discebat; magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quàm in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat. Sese quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem, putabant. Laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales, erant. Gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas, volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis, maxumus hostium copias Populus Romanus parvâ manu fuderit, quas urbis, naturâ munitas, pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longiùs ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profectò fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea, res cunctas, ex lubidine magis quàm ex vero, celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego æstumo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere; verùm aliquanto minores, tamen, quàm famâ feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis eam potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At Populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit; quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxumè erat. Ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; optumus quisque facere, quàm dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quàm ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur. Concordia maxuma, minuma, avaritia, erat. Jus bonumque apud eos, non legibus magis quàm naturâ, valebat. Jurgia discordias, simultates, cum hostibus exercebant. Cives cum civibus, de virtute, certabant. In suppliciis Deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles, erant. Duabus his artibus, audaciâ in

VII. *Adeptâ libertate.* The participle is here used in a passive sense; a deviation from the practice of the best authors, but not uncommon in Sallust.

VIII. *Labos for labor; so honos for honor; colos for color.* Other cases occur.

IX. *In suppliciis Deorum.* The more common meaning is "execution" or "capital punishment." The ground meaning of the word is "prostration."

good men are more suspected than the worthless, and to them the virtue of others is always an object of dread. But it is incredible to be told how much in a short time the State increased, its freedom being obtained, so great a desire of glory had now come on. Now the youth, as soon as capable of bearing arms, learnt the art of war by labour with experience in the camp, and took delight rather in splendid arms and war steeds, than in mistresses and banquets. To such men as these, therefore, labour was not unaccustomed, no place was hard or difficult, no armed enemy was formidable; their valour had conquered everything. But in glory there was the highest emulation amongst themselves. Every one was eager (*lit.* hastened) to strike the enemy, to scale the wall, and to be beheld while he was performing such an exploit. These they considered riches—this good repute and true nobility. They were greedy of praise, lavish of money. They wished for boundless glory, moderate riches. I could relate in what places the Roman people with a small band routed the strongest forces of the enemy, and what cities, fortified by nature, they took by assault, were it not that such a detail would draw me off too far from my subject.

VIII. But, in truth, fortune rules in every thing; she renders everything celebrated or obscure at pleasure, rather than according to truth. The transactions of the Athenians in my opinion were great and glorious enough, but, considerably less than they are represented by fame. But, because writers of great ability flourished there, the deeds of the Athenians are celebrated throughout the world, as if they were the greatest. Therefore their valour who have done these things is accounted as great as the most illustrious genius could exalt them by description. But the Roman people never possessed that advantage, because the more intelligent anyone was the more business was entrusted to him. No one cultivated the mind without the body; the best men preferred to act rather than to speak, that his own good deeds should be praised by others rather than that he should recount those of others.

IX. Good manners were therefore cultivated in peace and in war. Their unanimity was very great, their avarice very very little. Justice and probity flourished among them, not more by law than by nature. Their strifes, their discords and their quarrels they carried on with their enemies. Citizens contended with citizens about virtue. In the worship of the gods they were magnificent, at home frugal, and faithful

bello, ubi pax evenerat æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta hæc habeo, quòd sæpiùs vindicatum est in eos, qui, contra imperium, in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardiùs, revocati, bello excesserant, quàm qui signa relinquere, aut, pulsi, loco cedere ausi erant. In pace verò, quòd beneficiis, quàm metu imperium agitabant; et, acceptâ injuriâ, ignoscere, quàm persequi, malebant.

X. Sed ubi, labore atque justitiâ, respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant, sævire fortuna ac miscere omnia cœpit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facilè toleraverant, iis otium, divitiæ optandæ aliis, oneri miseræque fuere. Igitur, primò pecuniæ, deinde imperii, cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæterasque artis bonas, subvertit: pro his, superbiam, crudelitatem, Deos negligere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in linguâ promptum, habere; amicitias inimicitiasque, non ex re, sed ex commodo, æstumare; magisque vultum, quàm ingenium, bonum habere. Hæc primò paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari. Pòst ubi, contagio quasi, pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium, ex justissimo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primò, magis ambitio, quàm avaritia, animos hominum exercebat; quod tamen vitium propiùs virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus, æquè sibi exoptant. Sed ille, verâ viâ, nititur; huic, quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis, contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit. Ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat; semper infinita, insatiabilis, neque copiâ, neque

X. *Carthage*, the rival of Rome, and at one time nearly her mistress, stood on the north coast of Africa, in the modern Tunis. The three Punic wars form a long and very interesting chapter in Roman history. The first lasted from 265—242 B.C.; the second 218—201; the third began and ended in 146 B.C. with the capture and destruction of the city.

XI. *Bonis initiis*. Ablative, absolute.

Vasa cœlata. These were vases sculptured with the chisel and ornamented with figures, flowers, fruit, and other designs. Some of them, now extant, are exquisite, both in design and execution.

towards their friends. By these two arts, boldness in war, and by equity when peace had followed, they regulated their own conduct themselves and administered the Republic. Of which things I hold these to be the greatest proofs, that in war punishment was more often meted out to those who had fought with the enemy against orders, and, who, when recalled, had been too slow in retreating from battle, than, on those who had dared to desert their standards, or when beaten to relinquish their posts. In peace, however, by kindness rather than by fear they managed their authority, and when they had received an injury they preferred rather to forgive than to revenge it.

X. But when by industry and justice the Republic grew, great kings were conquered in war, savage nations and mighty communities were subdued by force; Carthage, the rival of the Roman Empire, had utterly perished, all seas and lands lay open, fortune began to be cruel, and to confound everything. They, who had easily endured toil, dangers, doubtful and difficult circumstances, to them leisure and riches, to be sought after by the rest of mankind, became a burden and a calamity. Therefore at first the love of money, then that of power, increased; these things were, as it were, the germ of all evils, For avarice overthrew good-faith, honesty, and all the other virtuous qualities; and, instead of them, it taught pride, cruelty, to neglect the gods, and to consider every thing venal. Ambition forced many men to become insincere, to have one thing hidden in their breasts, another ready on the tongue, to value friendships and enmities, not according to the fact, but according to interest, and to have rather a handsome face than an honest spirit. These things at first (began) to increase by degrees, sometimes to be punished. Afterwards, when the infection had invaded them like a plague, the State was changed, the government from the most just and best, became cruel and intolerable.

XI. But at first ambition rather than avarice influenced the minds of men, which vice however was the nearer to virtue. For glory, honour, command, the good man and the slothful equally wish for themselves. But the former strives in the right way; to the latter, because virtuous qualities are wanting, he works by deceits and falsehoods. Avarice implies the desire after money, which no wise man ever coveted. This passion, as if it were imbued with deadly poisons, enervates the body and mind of man; it is always boundless

inopiâ, minuitur. Sed postquam Lucius Sulla, armis receptâ republicâ, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere: neque modum, neque modestiam, victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quòd Lucius Sulla exercitum, quem in Asiâ ductaverat, quò sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriosè nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amœna, voluptaria, facilè in otio, ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primùm insuevit exercitus Populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata, mirari; ea, privatim ac publicè, rapere; delubra spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant: ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent.

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentiâ duci, cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbiâ, invasere. Rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi atque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, cùm domos atque villas cognoveris, in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa Deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verùm illi delubra Deorum pietate, domos suâ gloriâ, decorabant; neque victis quidquam, præter injuriæ licentiam, eripiebant. At hi, contrà, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea sociis adimere, quæ fortissimi viri, victores, reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem quæ, nisi iis qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt; a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constructa, esse? Quibus mihi videntur

XII. *Operæ pretium est.* The literal sense is, "It is the reward of labour."

Victores. Some read *victis*.

XIII. *Maria constructa.* This alludes to the formation of huge fish-ponds of sea water by the wealthy nobles. They were generally made near the sea, and stocked with fish and oysters, of which the Romans were very fond.

insatiable, is neither lessened by plenty nor want. But when Lucius Sulla, having seized the Republic by force of arms, though his beginning was good, turned out ill—all men began to pillage and spoil—one man coveted a house, another lands, nor had the victors any limit or self restraint, but inflicted foul and cruel outrages on the citizens. To this was added, that Lucius Sulla, contrary to the custom of our forefathers, had treated luxuriously and too liberally the army which he had commanded in Asia, in order to make it faithful to himself. These pleasant and sensuous countries had easily in time of peace softened the fierce minds of the soldiery. There, first of all, the army of the Roman people became accustomed to immorality, to drink, to admire the standards, pictures, sculptured vases, paintings, and to plunder them in public and private, to rob the temples and pollute all things both sacred and profane. Therefore these soldiers, after they had gained the victory, left nothing to the conquered. Now success shakes the principles of wise men, not to speak of their using their victory with moderation.

XII. After that riches began to be an honour and glory, and command and power followed them, virtue began to languish, poverty to be accounted a reproach, and innocence to be considered as perverseness. Therefore from riches, luxury and avarice with pride attacked our youth. They plundered and wasted everything, their own property they valued at a trifle, that of other persons they coveted, and had not the least thought of, or moderation in, shame, modesty, sacred or profane things, which were all the same to them. It is worth while, when you shall have taken a view of their mansions and villas, built up after the manner of cities, to visit the temples of the gods, which our fathers, the most religious of men, built. But the latter used to adorn the shrines of their gods with their piety, their own houses with glory, nor took anything from the conquered except the license to do mischief. But the former, on the contrary, the most cowardly of men, by means of the greatest wickedness, took away from our allies all those things which the bravest men, when victors, had relinquished, just as if to commit outrage was, forsooth, the use of power.

XIII. For why should I recount those things which are credible to no one, except to those who have seen them—that mountains have been levelled, seas produced artificially (*lit.*, constructed) by many private persons, whose riches appear to

ludibrio fuisse divitiæ; quippe, quas honestè habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganeæ cæterique cultûs, non minor incesserat. Viros pati muliebria, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi caussâ, terrâ marique omnia exquirere: dormire priùs quàm somni cupido esset; non famem, aut sitim, neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus, imbutus malis artibus, haud facilè lubidinibus carebat: eò profusiùs, omnibus modis quæstui atque sumtui, deditus erat.

XIV. In tantâ tamque corruptâ civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; præterea, omnes undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis iudicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua, perjurio aut sanguine civili, alebat; postremò omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; ii Catilinæ proximi familiaresque erant. Quòd si quis etiam, a culpâ vacuus, in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris, facilè par similisque cæteris efficiebatur. Sed maxumè adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles, et ætate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere; aliis canes atque equos mercari: postremò, neque sumtui, neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque faceret. Scio, fuisse nonnullos, qui ita æstumarent juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parùm honestè pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis quàm cuiquam compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Jam primùm adolescens Catilina multa nefanda supra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, alia hujusce modi contra jus fasque. Postremò, captus amore Aureliæ

XIV. *Dum illos = dummodo.*

Obnoxios. This word has usually a bad meaning, the obligation of dependence being through some guilt or crime.

XV. *Virgine nobili.* The name of this lady is not known.

Sacerdote Vestæ. This vestal was Fabia Terentia, the sister of Cicero's wife. There were in later times six of these priestesses, who were bound to chastity, and had charge of the sacred fire. If they broke their vow they were burned alive, and the partners of their guilt scourged to death in the forum. Fabia Terentia was brought to trial by Clodius, but acquitted.

me to have been a sport, since what they might have kept honourably they hastened to squander basely? But none the less the desire of immorality, gluttony, and other luxurious habits had spread abroad. Men unsexed themselves, women displayed their shame in public; for the sake of gratifying the appetite they ransacked every place by sea and land, and slept before there was any desire of sleep; they did not wait to feel hunger or thirst, cold or fatigue, but anticipated all these things by luxurious indulgence. These things excited the youth, when their household property had failed, to crimes. The mind steeped in evil practices did not easily abandon its passions, and so was the more excessively given up in every way to the acquisition and squandering of money.

XIV. In so great and so wicked a city, Catiline—a thing which was most easy to be done—had crowds of all the most wicked and daring, like so many body guards, around him. For every libertine, adulterer, glutton, who had destroyed his patrimony by gaming, gluttony, or profligacy, and he who had contracted large debts in order that he might pay the penalties of his wickedness and crime, all murderers, moreover, from every quarter, and sacrilegious persons, either convicted in the courts, or fearing conviction for their misdeeds, in addition, those whom their hand and tongue fostered by perjury and the blood of citizens, and lastly, all whom wickedness, want, or a guilty conscience distracted, these were Catiline's nearest and most intimate friends. But if even any innocent person had fallen into friendship with him, by daily intercourse and seduction, he was easily made similar and equal to the rest. But, most of all, he sought the friendship of young men; their minds, soft and pliant in consequence of their years, were easily entrapped by his snares. For as the desires of each, according to his age, burned, to some he furnished mistresses, for others he bought horses and dogs; in short, he spared neither expense nor his own honour, provided he could make them dependent upon and attached to him. I know that there were some who thought that the youth who were in the habit of frequenting Catiline's house were addicted to disgraceful crimes, but this report prevailed rather from other circumstances than because it had been proved by any person.

XV. Catiline himself had, when a young man, already been engaged in several unlawful intrigues with a noble virgin, and a priestess of Vesta, and other practices of the same kind, contrary to human and divine law. At last, being seized with

Orestillæ, cujus præter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quòd ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adultâ ætate, pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, Dîs hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos exsanguis, fœdi oculi, citus modò tardus, incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut suprâ diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula, vilia habere; pòst, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat. Si causa peccandi in præsens minùs suppetebat, nihilò minùs insontes, sicuti sontes, circumvenire, jugulare. Scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuitò potiùs malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus, Catilina, simul quòd æs alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quòd plerique Sullani milites, largiùs suo usi rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant opprimundæ reipublicæ consilium cepit. In Italiâ nullus exercitus; Cneus Pompeius, in extremis terris, bellum gerebat; ipsi, consulatum petundi magna spes; senatus nihil sanè intentus; tutæ tranquillæque res omnes; sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

XVII. Igitur, circiter Kalendas Junias, Lucio Cæsare et Caio Figulo consulibus, primò singulos adpellare; hortari alios, alios tentare; opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna præmia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt quæ voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo et plurimum audaciæ. Eò convenere senatorii ordinis, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus,

XV. *Orestillæ*. She was the daughter of a sister of Cn. Aurelius Orestis, the prætor.

Nubere. This word is used of the woman, *ducere* of the man.

Privignum. This was a son of a former marriage.

XVI. *Sullani milites*. This refers to the large donations of land in Etruria and elsewhere, given by Sulla to his veterans, who, however, made very bad use of the gifts.

Cneus Pompeius. Pompey the Great. He was at this time finishing the war against Mithridates, which he satisfactorily concluded, and returned to Rome in 60 B.C. Pompey was the rival of Cæsar, as Sulla had been of Marius. Born in 106, he espoused the cause of Sulla, successful against the Marians; was consul with Crassus, 70. In 67,

love for Aurelia Orestilla, no quality of whom except her beauty a good man ever praised, because she hesitated to marry him, fearing a stepson who was grown up, it is certainly believed that, having murdered his son, he made his house free for the wicked nuptials. And this circumstance, indeed, appears to me to have been especially the cause of his hastening his crime (*i.e.*, the conspiracy). For his unclean soul, hateful to God and man, could neither be soothed, waking or sleeping, so did his conscience vex his perturbed spirit. Therefore his colour was pale, his eyes hollow, his walk sometimes quick, sometimes slow—altogether frenzy was in his features and in the expression of his countenance.

XVI. But the youth whom, as we said before, he had seduced, he taught many crimes in various ways. From among them he provided (false) witnesses and forgers, and (taught them) to hold as worthless their honour, their fortunes and their dangers: afterwards, when he had worn away their reputation and sense of shame, he ordered them to commit other greater crimes. If in the present any motive for sinning did not easily arise, nevertheless to circumvent and murder the inoffensive, just as if they were obnoxious to him. And lest, forsooth, from leisure, hands or mind should grow sluggish, he was rather gratuitously wicked and cruel. Catiline, trusting to these friends and accomplices, because at the same time debt was everywhere very great, and because most of Sulla's soldiers, having spent their money too lavishly, being mindful of their spoils and their ancient victory, were longing for a civil war, formed the plan for destroying the Republic. In Italy there was no army, Cneus Pompeius was carrying on war in the most distant lands, he himself had great hope of obtaining the consulship, the senate was in no way attentive, all things were safe and tranquil; but all these things were quite favourable to Catiline.

XVII. Therefore about the kalends of January, in the consulship of Lucius Cæsar and Caius Figulus, he first of all addressed his accomplices one by one, exhorted some, others he tested and explained to them his own power, the unprepared state of the Republic, the great rewards of the conspiracy. When those things which he wished had been sufficiently ascertained, he collects all those together to whom co-existed the greatest poverty and the greatest boldness. There were assembled there of the senatorian rank, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius

Caius Cethegus, Publius et Servius Sullæ, Servii filii, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Læca, Lucius Bestia, Quintus Curius: præterea, ex equestri ordine, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, Caius Cornelius: ad hoc, multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures, paullo occultius, consilii hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. Cæterum juvenus pleraque, sed maxumè nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnificè, vel molliter vivere, copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item eà tempestate, qui crederent Marcum Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cneus Pompeius, invisus ipsi magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facilè apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed antea, item, conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina. De quâ, quam verissumè potero, dicam. Lucio Tullo, Marco Lepido consulibus, Publius Autronius et Publius Sulla, designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere; quòd, intra legitimos dies, profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cneus Piso, adolescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem, ad perturbandam rempublicam, inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius, consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio, Kalendis Januariis, Lucium Cottam et Lucium Torquatum consules interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu, ad obtinendas duas Hispanias, mittere. Eâ re cognitâ, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium cædis transtulerant. Jam tum, non consulibus modò, sed plerisque senatoribus, perniciem machinabantur. Quòd ni Catilina maturasset pro curiâ signum sociis dare, eo die, post conditam urbem Romanam, pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

he cleared the Mediterranean of pirates. In 66, undertook the Mithridatic war, for which, on his return, he was refused a triumph. An alliance was then made between himself, Crassus, and Cæsar, but it was not enduring. Cæsar gradually increased in power as Pompey lost it; but he was sole consul in 52. The war with Cæsar ended in Pompey's defeat at Pharsalia in 48, after which he sailed to Egypt, and was put to death by order of the king.

XVII. *Kalendas Junias.* The Kalends were always the first of the month, the nones the fifth or seventh, the ides on the thirteenth or

Cethegus, Publius and Servius, the sons of Sulla Servius, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcius Porcius Læca, Lucius Bestia, and Quintus Curius; besides these, of equestrian rank, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, and Caius Cornelius; in addition, many from the colonies and municipal towns at home, men of noble birth. There were, moreover, many more of the nobility, rather more secretly sharers in the plot, to whom the hope of power rather than poverty or any other necessity appealed. But most of the youth, especially that of the nobility, was favourable to Catiline's enterprise. Those to whom there was every facility to live either magnificently or luxuriously in peace, preferred uncertainty to certainty, and war to peace. There were also some at that period who believed that Marcus Licinius Crassus was not ignorant of that plot; and because Cneus Pompeius, an enemy to him, was leading a great army, he wished that the influence of any person whatever should increase in opposition to this man's power. At the same time he trusted, if the conspirators succeeded, that he would easily be the leader amongst them.

XVIII. But before this time also, a few men, amongst whom was Catiline, had conspired against the State. Concerning which conspiracy I will speak as truly as possible. In the consulship of Lucius Tullius and Marcus Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sulla, consuls-elect, having been tried by the laws of bribery, had suffered the penalty. Some little time after, Catiline, being accused of extortion, had been forbidden to stand for the consulship, because he was not able to announce himself as a candidate within the days fixed by law. There was at the same time Cneus Piso, a young noble, of the greatest boldness, poor, seditious, whom want and bad principles spurred on to disturb the Republic. With him Catiline and Autronius, the plan being communicated about the fifth of December, prepared to murder Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, the consuls, on the first of January; while they themselves, having seized the fasces, should send Piso with an army to obtain the two Spains. This affair being discovered, they again put off the plan for the murder to the fifth of February. And then, not only for the consuls, but for most of the senators, did they plot destruction. And had not Catiline been too hasty to give the signal to his friends in front of the senate house on that day, the most terrible crime since the foundation of Rome would have been committed. But as a sufficient number of armed conspirators

XIX. Postea Piso, in citeriorem Hispaniam, quæstor pro prætore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quòd eum infestum Cneo Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat, quippe fœdum hominem a republicâ procul esse volebat. Simul, quia boni quàm plures præsidium in eo putabant, et jam tum potentia Cnei Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provinciam ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt, qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati. Alii autem, equites illos, Cnei Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus, Pisonem adgressos; numquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos, quos paullo antè memoravi, convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa sæpè egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium secedit, atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujusce modi habuit:—

“ Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam
 “ opportuna res cecidisset: spes magna, dominatio in manibus
 “ frustra fuissent; neque ego, per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia,
 “ incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia, multis et magnis
 “ tempestatibus, vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eò animus
 “ ausus maxumum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere.
 “ Simul, quia vobis, eadem mihi, bona malaque intellexi; nam
 “ idem velle atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed
 “ ego, quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea divorsi audistis.
 “ Cæterùm mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cùm
 “ considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi
 “ vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam respublica in
 “ paucorum jus atque ditionem concessit, semper illis reges,
 “ tetrarchæ, vectigales esse; populi, nationes stipendia pendere;
 “ cæteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus

fifteenth. In March, May, July and October the nones came on the seventh, the ides on the thirteenth. Zumpt gives the catch word OMMI, by which to remember this, the letters being the initials of the months. The Romans in calculating took in both the day *from* and the day *to*, and always reckoned forward from the kalends to the nones, from the nones to the ides, and from the ides to the kalends again. Thus, a day between the kalends and nones was so many days before the nones, between the nones and ides so many days before the ides, and between the ides and kalends of the next month so many days before these kalends.

XIX. *Citeriorem Hispaniam.* This was the country east of the Iberus (Ebro), the division into Citerior and Ulterior, whence the expression *Duæ Hispaniæ* was made during the Second Punic War.

had not yet assembled, this circumstance caused the plot to fall.

XIX. Afterwards Piso was sent as quæstor with Prætorian power into Hither Spain by the interest of Crassus, because he knew him to be a bitter personal enemy to Cneus Pompeius. Nor, indeed, did the senate give him the province unwillingly, inasmuch as they wished so vile a man to be far removed from the State, as also, because many good men thought there was protection in him. At that time the power of Cneus Pompeius was formidable. But this Piso, while marching within his province, was slain by some Spanish cavalry whom he led in his army. There are some who say that the barbarians were unable to endure his unjust, proud, and cruel commands. But others, that those horsemen, old and faithful adherents of Cneus Pompeius, attacked Piso by his desire, that the Spaniards had never in any other instance committed such a crime, but had before endured many cruel commands. We will leave this matter undetermined. Of this former conspiracy enough has been said.

XX. Catiline, when he saw those whom I have a little above named assembled, although he had often treated much with them singly, yet, believing it would be of advantage to address and exhort them all at the same time, withdrew into a secret part of his house, and there, all witnesses being far distant, made a speech to this effect:—"If your courage and faith-
 "fulness were not sufficiently known to me, an opportunity
 "would in vain have occurred, and great hopes of absolute
 "authority would in vain have been in our grasp; nor
 "should I through cowardice or fickle mind take uncer-
 "tainties for certainties. But since at many and important
 "periods I have found you brave and faithful to me, my
 "mind has therefore dared to undertake a very great and
 "glorious enterprise. At the same time, since I am
 "well aware that those same things are good and evil to you
 "and myself, for to desire the same thing and to shun the
 "same thing, that, in fine, is assured friendship. But you have
 "already before this on different occasions heard what I have
 "deliberated in my mind. But my soul is daily the more
 "inflamed, when I reflect what will be our state of life unless we
 "ourselves assert our claims to freedom. For since the govern-
 "ment has come into the power and hands of a few powerful
 "men, to them kings and tetrarchs have been tributary to them,
 "people and nations paid taxes; all we, the rest, active and

“ fuimus, sine gratiâ, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si
 “ respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia,
 “ potentia, honos, divitiæ, apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt :
 “ repulsas nobis reliquere, pericula, judicia, egestatem. Quæ
 “ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori
 “ per virtutem præstat, quàm vitam miseram atque inhonestam,
 “ ubi alienæ superbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?
 “ Verùm enim verò, pro Deùm atque hominum fidem! victoria
 “ nobis in manu, viget ætas, animus valet. Contrà illis, annis
 “ atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantùm modò incepto
 “ opus est, cætera res expedit. Etenim quis mortalium, cui
 “ virile ingenium, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas
 “ profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coæquandis;
 “ nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? Illos
 “ binas, aut ampliùs, domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem
 “ nusquam ullum esse? Cùm tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt;
 “ nova diruunt, alia ædificant; postremò omnibus modis
 “ pecuniam trahunt, vexant; tamen, summâ lubidine, divitias,
 “ vincere nequeunt. At nobis domi inopia, foris aes alienum;
 “ mala res, spes multò asperior. Denique, quid reliqui habe-
 “ mus, præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini?
 “ En illa, illa, quam sæpe optastis, libertas, præterea divitiæ,
 “ decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt! Fortuna omnia victoribus
 “ præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia,
 “ magnifica, magis quàm oratio, hortentur. Vel imperatore,
 “ vel milite, me utimini. Neque animus, neque corpus, a vobis
 “ aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum consul agam; nisi
 “ fortè animus fallit, et vos servire, quàm imperare, parati
 “ estis.”

XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abundè
 omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tamen etsi
 illis quietam movere, magna merces videbatur; tamen postulare
 plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret, quæ præmia
 armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum

Crasso. This was the famous M. Licinius Crassus, surnamed *Dives*,
 a parti-an of Sulla. His main object in life was to amass wealth,
 but he took part in public affairs. He defeated Spartacus in 71, was
 consul with Pompeius in 70, and was a member of the first triumvirate
 in 60. In 55 he was again consul with Pompeius, took the command in
 Syria and was slain by the Parthians.

Sunt qui dicunt. The usual construction would be with the sub-
 junctive, but instances of the indicative are found in the best writers.
 The examples would show that the indicative is used when the subject
 is expressly added to *sunt qui*, but when the subject is not expressly
 mentioned the subjunctive. Horace often breaks the rule, and in his
 case, as in Sallust's, it is called a Græcism. See Zumpt. § 563.

XX. *Tetrarchæ.* Properly this title was confined to the rulers of a

“ brave, gentle and simple, were reckoned but a mob, without
 “ interest, without authority, we were dependents on those to
 “ whom, were the Republic in a healthy state, we should be a
 “ source of dread. Therefore all interest, power, honour, and
 “ riches are in their hands, or where they choose; to us they have
 “ left dangers, disappointments, law suits and poverty. How
 “ long, then, most brave men, will ye endure these things?
 “ Is it not better to die with valour than lose with disgrace
 “ a wretched and disgraceful life, when you were the sport of
 “ another man’s pride? But, indeed—and I call to witness
 “ gods and men—victory is in our hands; our age is young
 “ our spirit is strong. On the other hand, through their age
 “ and riches, all things have grown old to them. We have
 “ only need of a beginning, the rest will follow as a matter of
 “ course. But, in truth, what human being who has a manly
 “ spirit can endure that riches should exist in abundance for
 “ them which they lavish in building up a sea and levelling
 “ mountajns, but that to us there should be wanting even
 “ money enough for the necessities of life? That they should
 “ join two houses together apiece or more, but that we should
 “ nowhere have a home to call our own? When they buy
 “ paintings, statues, sculptured vases, pull down new buildings,
 “ build others, and, lastly, in every way gather money and
 “ oppress us, and yet they are unable even with the greatest
 “ extravagance to run through their wealth. But we have at
 “ home—poverty, abroad—debt; poor circumstances now, but
 “ much worse hope in the future. Finally, what have we left
 “ but a wretched existence? Why not therefore awake—
 “ behold that freedom, that freedom which ye have so often
 “ desired, besides riches, honour and glory, are placed before
 “ your eyes. Fortune has given all these rewards to conquerors.
 “ Let the affair itself, the time, danger, want, the magnificent
 “ spoils of war, convince you rather than my speech. Make use
 “ of me either as a commander or soldier. Neither my soul nor
 “ my body shall be absent from you. These very things I
 “ hope, as consul, I shall accomplish together with you, unless
 “ by chance my mind deceives me, and you are ready rather
 “ to be slaves than to command.”

XXI. When the men who had all evils in abundance, but
 neither property nor any good hope, had listened to these
 things, although it appeared to them great reward to disturb
 the tranquillity of the State, yet most of them demanded that
 he should state what were to be the terms on which they were
 to engage in the war, what advantages they were to expect by

Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Præterea esse in Hispaniâ citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretaniâ cum exercitu Publium Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: petere consulatum Caium Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; eò consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc, maledictis increpat omnis bonos; suorum unumquemque nominans laudare; admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominia; multos victoriae Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. Fuere eâ tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitâ, cum ad jusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse. Indè, cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eò, dictitare, fecisse, quò inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta hæc, multa præterea existumabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui pœnas dederant. Nobis ea res, pro magnitudine, parùm comperta est.

XXIII. Sed in eâ conventionem fuit Quintus Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coöpertus, quem censores senatu, probri gratiâ, amoverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas, quàm audacia; neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare. Prorsus neque dicere, neque facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulviâ, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui cum minùs gratus esset, quia inopiâ minùs largiri poterat, repenti gloriâ, maria montesque polliceri cœpit; minari interdum ferro, nisi

fourth part of a kingdom, but in the time of Sallust it was given to a tributary prince, not deemed of sufficient importance to be called king.

XXI. *Mauretaniâ*. A county of North Africa, the extent of which varied at different times; at first only including the country west of the Malva, but afterwards a part of western Numidia. The Romans first entered it during the Jugurthine War.

Publium Sittium Nucerinum, i. e., of Nuceria, in Campania. He afterwards joined Cæsar in Africa, and was of such great use to him that he made him a present of the western part of Numidia, which he held for some time, but was killed by Arabio, the son of Massinissa.

their arms, what strength or hope they had, and where. Then Catiline promised them abolition of debts, a proscription of the rich, of offices, priesthood, pillage, and all the other things which war and the licence of conquerors bring. He said, besides, that Piso was in the Hither Spain, and Publius Sittius Nucerinus in Mauretania with an army, both participators in his design ; that Caius Antonius sought the consulship, whom he hoped to have for his colleague, a man who was both his intimate friend and beset by every kind of want ; and that he himself, if he should be consul, would with him make a beginning of the enterprise. In addition, he attacked all good men with reproaches, and naming each one of his own party, praised each one ; one he put in mind of his poverty, another of his desire, very many of them of their danger or disgrace, and many of Sulla's victory, to whom it had been a source of booty. When he sees the mind of all alert for action, having exhorted them to look after his application for the consulship, he dismissed the assembly.

XXII. There were at that time some who said that Catiline after having concluded his speech, when he had bound the associates of his guilt by an oath, handed round in goblets blood of a human body mixed with wine. Then when, after a curse, all had tasted it, as it is wont to be done at solemn sacrifices, he disclosed his plan, and they reported about that he had done so in order that they might be more faithful one to the other, being mutually cognisant of so great a crime. But some thought that both these things and many others were invented by those who believed that the odium against Cicero, which afterwards arose, might be diminished by the atrocity of the wickedness of those who had suffered punishment. In my opinion this charge, considering its importance, is not sufficiently proved.

XXIII. Now in this conspiracy was engaged Quintus Curius, descended from no mean house, overwhelmed with crimes and evil deeds, whom the censors had expelled from the senate on account of his infamy. In this man there was no less carelessness than audacity ; he neither had any thought to be silent about what he had heard, nor to conceal his own crimes, nor in short what he said or did. He had a long-standing intrigue with Fulvia, a lady of good birth, to whom when he became less agreeable, because through his poverty he was less able to lavish presents upon her, all on a sudden taking to boast, he promised her seas and mountains, and

obnoxia foret ; postremò ferociùs agitare, quàm solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiæ Curii caussâ cognitâ, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit ; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione, quæ, quoque modo, audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res, imprimis, studia hominum accendit, ad consulatum mandandum Marco Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidiâ æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed, ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia postfuere.

XXIV. Igitur comitiis habitis, consules declarantur Marcus Tullius et Caius Antonius. Quod factum primò popularis conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatut ; sed in dies plura agitare ; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare ; pecuniam suâ aut amicorum fide sumtam mutuam, Fæsulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Eâ tempestate, plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse dicitur ; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primò ingentis sumtus stupro corporis toleraverant ; pòst, ubi ætas tantùm modò quæstui, neque luxuriæ, modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas, se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier, genere atque formâ, præterea viro, liberis, satis fortunata ; litteris Græcis atque Latinis docta ; psallere, saltare elegantius quàm necessè est probæ ; multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quàm decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniæ an famæ minùs parceret, haud facillè decerneres. Lubidine sic accensa, ut sæpiùs peteret viros, quàm peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat creditum abjurerat, cædis conscia fuerat, luxuriâ atque inopiâ præceps abierat. Verùm ingenium ejus haud absurdum ; posse versus facere,

XXI. *C. Antonium*, uncle of the triumvir, Mark Antony. He was a great friend of Caliline, was found guilty of extortion and participation in the conspiracy, and, though defended by Cicero, condemned and banished to Cephallenia, but was subsequently recalled.

XXIII. *M. Tullio Ciceroni*. It has been well remarked that Sullust had done scant justice to the merits of the great orator, but it is natural, considering the enmity that existed between them. Cicero was born at Arpinum, B.C. 106, and soon became distinguished as a successful pleader. In 75 he was quæstor in Sicily, and in 69 he was curule ædile, in 66 prætor, and consul in 63, the year of the conspiracy, for his services in connection with which he was called the "Father of his

sometimes threatened her with the sword if she would not be obedient to his will ; finally, to behave more fiercely than was his wont. But Fulvia, the cause of Curius' strange conduct being discovered, did not keep secret such a danger to the Republic, but suppressing the name of her informant, told to many persons what things she had heard, and how she had heard them, concerning Catiline's Conspiracy. This thing especially excited the desires of men to entrust the consulship to Marcus Tullius Cicero. For, before this, most of the nobility used to boil over with envy, and believed that the consulship was, as it were, degraded if any parvenu (*lit.* new man), however eminent, had obtained it. But when danger arrived envy and pride were laid on one side.

XXIV. Therefore, the Comitia being held, Marcus Tullius and Caius Antonius are declared consuls. And this event first gave a shock to the accomplices in the conspiracy. The madness however of Catiline was not lessened, but every day he was devising more (schemes) ; he provided arms in suitable places through Italy, and caused money, borrowed on his own credit or that of his friends, to be taken to Fæsulæ to a certain Manlius, who afterwards was the first to begin making the war. He is said at that period to have attached to himself many men of every kind, and some women also, who had at first defrayed their great cost of living by an evil life, but who, when age had limited their gain, but not their extravagance, had contracted enormous debts. Through their means Catiline believed he could induce the city slaves to set fire to the city, and either to get their husbands to join him or kill them.

XXV. But amongst these was Sempronia, who had often committed many evil deeds, with a man's daring. This woman was sufficiently fortunate in her birth and personal attractions, as also in her husband and children, was skilled in Greek and Latin literature, could sing or play, and dance more gracefully than any virtuous woman need do, and do many other things which are instruments of vice. But every thing was dearer to her than decency and chastity. You could not easily decide whether she was less concerned about her money or her good name. She was so inflamed with lust that she more frequently sought the men than was sought after by them. She had often, before this, broken faith, forsworn what had been trusted to her, had been an accomplice in murder, and through her extravagance and poverty had plunged headlong into ruin. But her ability was by no means contemptible.

jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci. Prorsus multæ facetiæ, multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilò minùs in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facilè se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum, dolus aut astutiæ deërant. Namque a principio consulatùs sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, effecerat ut Quintus Curius, de quo paullo antè memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium, pactione provinciæ, perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret. Circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occultè habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinæ neque petitio, neque insidiæ, quas consulibus in campo fecerat, prosperè cessere, constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri; quoniam quæ occultè tentaverat, aspera fœdaque evenerant.

XXVII. Igitur Caium Manlium Fæsulas atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, Caium Julium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea, alium alio, quem ubique opportunum credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri; consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere; ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere; hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremò, ubi multa agitati nihil procedit, rursus intempestâ nocte, conjurationis principes convocat per Marcum Porcium Læcam; ubique, multa de ignaviâ eorum questus, docet, "se Manlium præmisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam "ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca oppor-
"tuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci
"cupere, si priùs Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis
"multùm obficere."

Country." After this he became highly unpopular with the democratic party, and had to retire to Greece. He was recalled in 55, and in 52 became Governor of Cilicia. He arrived in Rome at the outbreak of the Civil War, joined Pompey, after whose defeat he was pardoned by Cæsar, and withdrew into private life, where he wrote most of his immortal works. He came forward again after Cæsar's murder, but was proscribed by Augustus Antony and Lepidus, and executed in December, B.C., 43.

Homo novus, i. e., a parvenu, none of whose ancestors had had either of the curule offices, consul, prætor, quæstor, or curule ædile.

XXIV. *Fæsulas.* The modern *Fiesole*, in Etruria, 3 miles N.E. of Florence. Catiline's head-quarters.

XXV. *Sempronius*, wife of D. Junius Brutus. Her husband was no party to the plot.

XXVI. *Proximum annum, i. e., B.C. 62.*

She could write verses, originate a jest, make use of language either modest, gentle, or lascivious. In a word, there was in her much refined wit and much sweetness of expression.

XXVI. These preparations having been made, Catiline nevertheless sought the consulship for the next year, hoping that if he should be elected he could easily make use of Antonius according to his pleasure. Nor in the meanwhile was he quiet, but in every way was preparing snares for Cicero; nor were there wanting to the latter dexterity or address to guard against him; for, from the commencement of his consulship, by making many promises through Fulvia, he had contrived that Quintus Curius, of whom I have spoken a little above, should betray the plans of Catiline to him. Besides this, he had engaged his colleague Antonius by coming to an understanding about the provinces not to entertain sentiments hostile to the welfare of the Commonwealth. He secretly maintained around himself guards of friends and clients. When the day of the comitia came, and neither Catiline's candidature nor the snares which he had made for the consul in the Campus Martius turned out well, he determined to make war, and to resort to the utmost extremity, since what he had tried in secret had ended unfavourably and disgracefully.

XXVII. Accordingly he sent away Caius Manlius to Fæsulæ and to that part of Etruria, a certain Septimius of Camerinum into the territory of Picenum, and Caius Julius into Apulia; others besides, to other places wherever he thought each might be useful to him. Meanwhile, he was devising many plans at Rome at the same time, and was laying out snares for the consul, arranging for fires, and besetting suitable places with armed men; he himself carried a weapon about with him, and directed others to do the same, and exhorted them to be always on the alert and prepared for action. Day and night he was actively employed, was always watchful, nor was he fatigued by his want of rest nor his labour. Last of all, when with all his industry in many things there was no result, he again, in the dead of night, summoned the ringleaders of the conspiracy through M. Porcius Læca, and there, having complained much of their inactivity, he informs them that he had sent Manlius before him to the force which he had got ready, to take up arms likewise, others to other suitable places, who should begin the war, and that he himself was eager to go to the army if he could first do away with Cicero; that he was a great hindrance to his plans.

XXVIII. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus cæteris, Caius Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo Lucius Vargunteius senator, constituere eâ nocte paullo post, cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improvise domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi intelligit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, properè per Fulviam dolum, qui parabatur, enunciat. Ita illi, januâ prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius, in Etruriâ, plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriæ, novarum rerum cupidam, quòd, Sullæ dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea, latrones cujusque generis, quorum in eâ regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. Ea cùm Ciceroni nunciarentur, ancipiti malo per-motus, quòd neque urbem ab insidiis, privato consilio, longiùs tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiæque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies Lucius Sænius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Fæsulis adlatas sibi dicebat. In quibus scriptum erat, Caium Manlium arma cepisse, cum magnâ multitudine, ante diem sextum Kalendas Novembris. Simul id, quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ atque in Apuliâ servile bellum moveri. Igitur, senati decreto, Quintus Marcius

Dies Comitiorum. The day on which the election for the senate was held. The election of new members to the senate was entrusted to the censors, who could only choose such as had been curule-magistrates or equites.

XXVII. *Camertem, i. e.,* of Camerinum, in Umbria. *Picenum,* a district of central Italy, along the coast of the Adriatic. *Apulia,* a name given generally to the south-eastern part of Italy. *Obsidere,* from *Obsido—ere*; 3rd conjugation.

XXIX. *Parare.* The usual construction would be *parandi*; but this is one of Sallust's peculiar forms.

Capua. The capital of Campania, the most luxurious city of southern Italy. It went over to Hannibal, but was subsequently taken by the Romans, and so punished that it lost its previous prosperity.

XXVIII. Therefore, all the rest being frightened and hesitating, Caius Cornelius, a Roman knight, having promised his help, and with him Lucius Vargunteius, a senator, determined that night, a little later on, to call at Cicero's house with armed men, as if to pay him their respects, and then unexpectedly and unprepared, to stab him in his own house. Curius, when he understands how much danger is hanging over the consul, quickly informs Cicero, by Fulvia, of the stratagem which was prepared. Accordingly, they being denied admittance, had made themselves the instruments of so great a crime in vain. In the meanwhile Manlius was stirring up the common people in Etruria, eager for a revolution on account of their poverty, as well as their resentment of the injustice done them, because under the rule of Sulla, they had lost their lands and all their goods, and, in addition, as robbers of every kind, of whom there was great abundance in that country, some also of Sulla's colonists, to whom pleasure and extravagance had left nothing of their great booty.

XXIX. When these things were reported to Cicero, being alarmed at the double danger, because he could neither any longer by his own private vigilance defend the city from the plots, nor was he sufficiently well acquainted with the magnitude of the army of Manlius, or with what intention it was levied, he lays the matter already noised abroad, because of the popular rumour, before the senate. Therefore, as is generally the custom on any dangerous emergency, the senate decreed "That the consuls should make it their care that the Republic should receive no injury." This is the greatest power given by the senate to a magistrate by Roman custom, namely, to levy an army, to wage war, to control in every way allies and citizens, and both to exercise the supreme control in civil and military matters; otherwise, without the people's express order, the consul has no authority of interfering in these things.

XXX. A few days after, Lucius Sænius, a senator, read aloud a letter in the senate, which he said was brought him from Fæsulæ by Quintus Fabius, in which it was written, that Caius Manlius had taken up arms with a large force, on the twenty-seventh of October. At the same time, as is usual in such a case, some reported portents and prodigies, others that assemblies were being held, arms carried about, and that at Capua and in Apulia a servile war was being incited. Therefore by a decree of the senate, Quintus Marcius Rex was sent to

Rex, Fæsulas, Quintus Metellus Creticus, in Apuliam circumque loca, missi. Ii utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent, calumniâ paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed prætores Quintus Pompeius Rufus, Capuam, Quintus Metellus Celer, in agrum Picenum; iisque permissum, "utî pro tempore atque periculo "exercitum compararent." Ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de "conjuratone, quæ contra rempublicam facta erat, præmium, "servo, libertatem et sestertia centum; libero, impunitatem "ejus rei et sestertia ducenta." Item, decrevere "utî gladi- "toriae familiæ Capuam et in cætera municipia distribuerentur, "pro cujusque opibus; Romæ, per totam urbem, vigiliæ "haberentur, iisque minoris magistratus præessent."

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies. Ex summâ lætitiâ atque lasciviâ, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repentè omnis tristitia invasit. Festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere: suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus, reipublicæ magnitudine, belli timor insolitus, adfflictare sese, manus supplices ad cælum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere, superbiâ atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tamen etsi præsidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautiâ interrogatus ab Lucio Paullo. Postremò, dissimulandi caussâ atque sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio laccessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum Marcus Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, seu irâ commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed, ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia demisso voltu, voce supplicis postulare, "Patres Conscripti ne quid de se temerè crederent: eâ familiâ 'ortum, ita ab adolescentiâ vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona

XXX. *Q. Marcius Rex.* Consul, B.C. 80. He and his colleague, Metellus Creticus, consul 70, had returned, but their triumph being opposed, were able to undertake military command.

Sestertia centum, i.e., a one hundred thousand sestertii, a sestertium being equal to a thousand sestertii. The latter was nearly 2*d.*, and the sum mentioned would amount to over £800. *Minoris magistratus*—such as were not admissible to the senate.

XXXI. *Lex Plautiâ.* Passed in B.C. 89 against those who occupied public places and carried arms, intended to put more power in the hands of the magistrates against sedition.

In Senatum venit, i.e., on the 8th November.

Edidit. This was the first of Cicero's magnificent series of orations against Catiline, beginning, "*Quousque tandem abutere patientiâ nostrâ.*"

Fæsulæ, Quintus Metellus Creticus to Apulia, and the neighbourhood thereabouts. Both of them were commanders near to the city, being prevented from holding a triumph by the cabals of a few, to whom it was the custom to sell everything both honourable and dishonourable. But the prætors, Quintus Pompeius Rufus and Quintus Metellus Celer, were sent to Capua and to the territory of Picenum, and to them power was given "to levy an army proportioned to the exigency and the danger." Besides this, "if any one should give information of the conspiracy which was made against the Republic, they offered a reward,—to a slave his freedom and a hundred sestertia, to a free man pardon for the crime and two hundred sestertia." They likewise decreed that "troops of gladiators should be distributed in Capua and the other municipal towns, according to the means of each town; that at Rome guards should be kept through all the city, and that the inferior magistrates should preside over them."

XXXI. The Republic was alarmed by these events, and the appearance of the city changed. From the greatest joy and pleasure which a long quiet had produced, on a sudden sadness came over all. They were all in a bustle and trembling, and neither sufficiently believed in any man or any place, neither could they wage war or keep peace; everyone measured public danger by his own fear. Besides this, women, on whom by reason of the magnitude of the Republic a dread of war had come, to which they were unaccustomed, were plunged in the deepest affliction, stretched their suppliant hands to heaven, bewailed their little children, made constant inquiries, were afraid of everything, and their pride and amusement being put aside, were mistrustful of themselves and their country. But the cruel mind of Catiline pursued the same things, although precautionary measures were taken, and he himself had been accused under the Plautian law by Lucius Paulus. At length, for the sake of dissembling, or of clearing himself, just as if he had been provoked through some private quarrel, he came into the senate house. Then Marcus Tullius, the consul, either fearing his presence or fired with resentment, delivered an oration eloquent and advantageous to the Republic, which, when written down, he subsequently published. But when he had sat down, Catiline, as he was ready to dissemble, with a downcast face and suppliant voice, begged "that the Postscript Fathers would not believe hastily everything concerning him; that he was sprung from such a family, and had so led his life from his youth, that he had a hope of all prefer-

“ in spe haberet ; ne æstumarent, sibi patrico homini, cujus
 “ ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam
 “ essent, perditâ republicâ opus esse, cùm eam servaret Marcus
 “ Tullius inquilinus civis urbis Romæ.” Ad hoc maledicta
 alia cùm adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam
 vocare. Tum ille furibundus : “ Quoniam quidem circumventus,”
 inquit, “ ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruinâ
 “ restinguam.”

XXXII. Dein se ex curiâ domum proripuit. Ibi multa secum
 ipse volvens, quòd neque insidiæ consuli procedebant, et ab
 incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factum
 credens, exercitum augere, ac, priùs quàm legiones scriberentur,
 antecapere quæ bello usui forent, nocte intempestâ, cum paucis
 in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo,
 cæterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat,
 quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli
 maturent, cædem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent ; sese
 propè diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum
 hæc Romæ geruntur, Caius Manlius ex suo numero ad Marcium
 Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujusce modi :—

XXXIII. “ Deos hominesque testamur, Imperator ! nos arma
 “ neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quòd periculum homini
 “ faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuriâ tuta forent.
 “ Qui miseri, egentes, violentiâ atque crudelitate fœneratorum,
 “ plerique patriæ, sed omnes famâ atque fortunis, expertes
 “ sumus. Neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, lege
 “ uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, liberum corpus habere ; tanta
 “ sævitia fœneratorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores
 “ vestrûm, miseriti plebis Romanæ, decretis suis inopiæ
 “ opitulati sunt : ac novissumè, memoriâ nostrâ, propter
 “ magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argen-
 “ tum ære solutum est. Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi
 “ studio permota, aut superbiâ magistratuum, armata a patribus
 “ secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus,

XXXII. *Nocte intempestâ* = the night of the 8th November, B.C. 63.

XXXIII. *Secessit*. There were three principal secessions of the
 plebs ; the first to Mons Sacer, in B.C. 494, the next in 319 B.C., to
 the Aventine, the last in 286 B.C. to the Janiculum.

“ments (*lit.* all good things in hope) ; he begged them not to think, “to him a patrician, at whose hands and those of his ancestors “the people of Rome had received many services, there was any “need of a ruined Republic whilst Marcus Tullius, who was but “an adventitious citizen of Rome, stood forth as its preserver.” In addition to this, when he had added other reproaches, they all raised an outcry against him, and called him enemy and murderer. Then he in great anger cried, “Since indeed “I am surrounded, I am driven headlong by my enemies, (and) I “extinguish my fires by their ruin.”

XXXII. Then he hurried home from the senate house. There, revolving many things in his own mind, that neither his snares for the consul had been successful, and that he understood that the city was secured from fire by watches, and believing it his most advisable course to increase his army, and before the legions could be enrolled to seize beforehand what would be advantageous for the war, he set off in the dead of night with a few attendants for Manlius' camp. But he gave orders to Cethegus and Lentulus, and others of whose ready daring he was assured, by whatever means they could to strengthen the forces of their party, and snares for the consul, and prepare slaughter, fire, and other acts of war ; that he himself would shortly come with a large army to the city. While these things are going on at Rome, Caius Manlius sends some of his men to Quintus Marcius Rex with a message (or instructions) to this effect :—

XXXIII. “We call gods and men to witness, general, that “we have neither taken up arms against our country nor to “cause danger to any man, but that our bodies should be safe “from injury. We, who wretched, poverty-stricken, are most of “us deprived of our country, but all of us of our reputation and “our fortunes by the violence and cruelty of usurers. Nor has it “been allowed any of us, after the manner of our ancestors, to “avail himself of the benefit of the law, nor when we have lost “our patrimony to have our persons free, so great has been the “cruelty of the usurers and the prætor. Your ancestors have “frequently, having pitied the Commonalty of Rome, relieved “its wants by decrees ; and very recently, within our own “memory, in consequence of the greatness of debt, with the “consent of every good man, silver was paid with brass. The “Commonalty themselves have often, either alarmed by the “eagerness for power (displayed by the patricians), or through “the arrogance of the magistrates, seceded in arms from the

“ quarum rerum caussâ, bella atque certamina omnia in-
 “ mortalis sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum
 “ animâ simul, amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, con-
 “ sulatis miseris civibus; legis præsidium, quod iniquitas
 “ prætoris eripuit, restituatis; nevé eam necessitudinem im-
 “ ponatis, ut quæramus, quonam modo, uli maxumè sanguinem
 “ nostrum, pereamus.”

XXXIV. Ad hæc Quintus Marcius: “ Si quid ab senatu
 “ petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices pro-
 “ ficiscantur; eâ mansuetudine atque misericordiâ Senatum
 “ Populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab
 “ eo frustra auxilium petiverit.” At Catilina ex itinere
 plerisque consularibus, præterea optumo cuique, litteras mittit:
 “ Se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni in-
 “ imicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in
 “ exilium proficisci; non quò sibi tanti sceleris conscius, sed
 “ uti respublica quieta foret; nevé ex suâ continentione seditio
 “ oriretur.” Ab his longè diversas litteras, Quintus Catulus
 in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat:
 earum exemplum infra scriptum.

XXXV. “ Lucius Catilina, Quinto Catulo Salutem.—Egregia
 “ tua fides, re cognitâ, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam
 “ commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem, defensionem in
 “ novo consilio non statui parare, satisfactionem ex nullâ
 “ conscientiâ de culpâ proponere decrevi, quam, me Dius-fidius!
 “ veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus,
 “ quòd, fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus, statum
 “ dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum caussam, pro
 “ meâ consuetudine, suscepi. Non quin æs alienum meis
 “ nominibus, ex possessionibus, solvere possem; cum alienis
 “ nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ, suis filiæque copiis per-
 “ solveret; sed quòd non dignos homines honore honestatos
 “ videbam, meque falsâ suspicione alienatum sentiebam. Hoc
 “ nomine satis honestas, pro meo casu, spes reliquæ dignitatis

XXXIV. *Massiliam.* The modern Marseilles. an ancient colony of the Phocæan Greeks, afterwards a free city. It is on the coast of the Mediterranean, in what was called Gallia Narbonensis. It was a safe place of exile, being an independent city, an ally, but not subject to the laws of Rome.

XXXV. *Salutem.* This word is governed by *dicit*, understood. Letter writing among the Romans was a very formal affair, and they were tied round with string, the knot of which was sealed.

“ fathers. But we neither seek power nor riches, for the sake
 “ of which things wars and contentions arise among men, but
 “ freedom, which no man of spirit parts with but with life.
 “ You and the senate we call to witness, that you should
 “ consult about us wretched citizens, restore the protection of
 “ the law which the injustice of the prætor has taken away,
 “ and not lay upon us the necessity to seek how we may die,
 “ having avenged our blood as dearly as possible.”

XXXIV. To this Quintus Marcius made answer, “ If they
 “ wished to seek anything from the senate, they should lay down
 “ their arms, and go as suppliants to Rome ; that such was the
 “ clemency and pity of the senate and people of Rome that
 “ no one ever asked assistance from them in vain.” But
 Catiline on the road sends a (circular) letter to most of those
 of consular dignity, as well as to every most eminent person,
 “ that he, surrounded by false accusations, as he was unable to
 “ oppose the faction of his enemies, had yielded to fortune, and
 “ was gone into exile to Marseilles, not that he was conscious
 “ to himself of so great a crime, but in order that the Republic
 “ might be undisturbed, and that no sedition might arise from
 “ any private quarrel of his.” Quintus Catulus read in the
 senate house a very different letter from this, which he said
 was delivered to him in Catiline’s name. A copy of it is given
 below :—

XXXV. “ Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus, greeting.
 “ Your eminent integrity, known to me by experience, has
 “ given a pleasant confidence to my recommendation amid
 “ my great dangers. Wherefore I have determined not to
 “ prepare a defence as regards the new steps I have taken,
 “ but have decided, though conscious of no crime, to
 “ offer you an explanation which, on my honour, you may
 “ know with me to be true. Provoked by injuries and insults,
 “ because, being deprived of the fruit of my labour and
 “ industry I did not obtain the station of honour to which
 “ I was entitled, I undertook the public cause of the distressed,
 “ according to my custom. Not but that I should have
 “ been able to pay my own debts out of my own property,
 “ since the liberality of Orestilla would have paid other per-
 “ sons’ debts out of her own and her daughter’s property,
 “ but because I saw unworthy men exalted by honours, and
 “ perceived myself set aside by a false suspicion. On this
 “ account I have pursued a course honourable enough, con-
 “ sidering my circumstances, and which leads me to the hope

“ conservandæ sum secutus. Plura cùm scribere vellem,
 “ nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo,
 “ tuæque fidei trado. Eam ab injuriâ defendas, per liberos tuos
 “ rogatus. Haveto.”

XXXVI. Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud Caium Flaminium Flammam in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta, senatus “ Catilinam et Manlium hostes
 “ judicat; cæteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine
 “ fraude liceret ab armis discedere, præter rerum capitalium
 “ condemnatis.” Præterea decernit, “ uti consules dilectum
 “ habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet;
 “ Cicero urbi præsidio sit.” Eâ tempestate, mihi imperium Populi Romani multò maxumè miserabile visum. Cui, cùm ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis paterent; domi, otium atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam, obstinatis animis, perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis, ex tantâ multitudine, neque præmio inductus, conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. Neque solùm illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis; sed omninò cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catalinæ incepta probabat. Id adeò, more suo, videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quæ opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turbâ atque seditionibus sine curâ aluntur; quoniam egestas facilè habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea verò præceps ierat, multis de caussis. Primùm omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxumè præstabant; item alii, per dedecora,

XXXV. *Haveto*. The usual form is *Vale*. It is an archaism for *aveto*. Same fanciful derivations have been given for the word.

XXXVI. *Arretino*. Arretium, capital of Etruria, in central Italy famous for its pottery.

XXXVII. *Sentina*. This word means properly the “dregs,” or “sediment.”

“ of the preservation of the remaining dignity left me. When
 “ I was desirous to write more, news was brought me that
 “ force is being prepared against me. Now I commend
 “ Orestilla to you, and entrust her to your honour. Defend
 “ her from danger, being conjured by your love for your own
 “ children. Farewell.”

XXXVI. But he himself having delayed a few days with Caius Flaminius in the territory of Reate, while he is furnishing with arms the neighbourhood previously excited, marches with the fasces and the other insignia of command to join Manlius in the camp. When these things were known at Rome, the senate votes “ Catiline and Manlius enemies, and fixes a day
 “ for the rest of the troops, by which they might with
 “ impunity lay down their arms, except such as had been
 “ condemned for capital crimes.” They decree, moreover,
 “ that the consuls should hold a levy, that Caius Antonius
 “ should hasten to follow Catiline with an army, and Cicero
 “ should be the protection of the city.” At that period the empire of the Roman people seemed to me to be in far the most miserable condition (it had ever known). For though all nations being subdued, from the rising to the setting of the sun, were subject to her arms, and, though at home, leisure and riches, which men consider the foremost things, were flowing in, there were nevertheless citizens who were obstinately bent on destroying themselves and the State. For, notwithstanding the two decrees of the senate, neither did any one, out of so great a multitude, induced by the reward, reveal the conspiracy, nor did any one of them all desert from Catiline's camp; so violent a disease, like a deadly poison, had come upon the minds of most of the citizens.

XXXVII. Nor were their minds only alienated who were concerned in the conspiracy, but the whole of the Commonalty, through desire for a revolution, approved of the designs of Catiline. This, indeed, they thus appeared to do, according to their custom. For always in a State, those who have no property envy the good, extol the bad, hate ancient things, long for what is new; through hatred of their own affairs they are anxious for all things to be changed, and, without any anxiety, are nourished by disturbance and sedition, since poverty is easily borne without loss. But the common people of the city for many reasons were demoralized; first of all, those who were everywhere most distinguished for crime and dissipation, others also who had lost their patrimony by their wickedness, and

patrimoniis amissis; postremò omnes, quos flagitium aut facirus domo expulerat, ii Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Deinde multi, memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quòd ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoriâ talia sperabant. Præterea juvenus, quæ in agris, manuum mercede, inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerant. Eos, atque alios omnes, malum publicum alebat. Quò minùs mirandum, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxumà spe, reipublicæ juxtà ac sibi consuluisse. Præterea quorum, victoria Sullæ, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sanè alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quàm minùs valere ipsi, malebant. Id adeò malum, multos post annos, in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. Nam, postquam, Cneo Pompeio et Marco Crasso consulibus, tribunicia potestas restituta, homines adolescentes, summam potestatem nacti, quibus ætas animusque ferox, cœpere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare. Dein, largiundo, atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos, summâ ope, nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senati specie, pro suâ magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus; alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent; pars, quò senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro suâ quisque potentiâ certabant. Neque modestia, neque modus, contentionis erat; utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. Sed, postquam Cneus Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus, plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi, magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia, tenere. Ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu ætatem agere, cæteros judiciis terrere, quò plebem in magistratu

XXXVIII. *Tribunicia potestas restituta*: i.e. in B.C. 70. It had been shorn of its principal strength by Sulla in B.C. 81; Pompey was the ruling spirit in this matter. Sulla had left only the *jus auxiliandi*, or right of intercession—taking away the rights of making legislative or other proposals.

XXXIX. *Mithridaticum*. The war against Mithridates, King of Pontus. This was the third of these wars. Pompey succeeded Lucullus in 66, and conquered the king in several battles; Mithridates poisoned

last of all, all those whom their villainy or evil deeds had driven from their homes; these flocked to Rome as to a common sewer. Again, many mindful of Sulla's success, because they had seen some of the common soldiers made senators, and others so enriched that they passed their life in royal living and apparel, every one of them, provided he were in arms, hoped for such things from victory. The youth, moreover, who by the labour of their hands had put up with poverty in the country, being excited by public and private bribes, preferred ease in the town to their unpleasant labour. These and all others the public evil fostered. Wherefore it is the less to be wondered that needy men of bad morals, but the greatest hopes, showed no more regard for the public interest than for their own. Moreover, those men whose fathers had been proscribed by Sulla's success, and whose goods had been stolen and their civil rights curtailed, awaited the issue of the war with no other feelings. In addition to this, whoever were of a different party from that of the senate, preferred that the Republic should be thrown into confusion rather than they themselves should be less powerful. With such violence had this evil, after many years, returned upon the State.

XXXVIII. For after that, when Cneus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus were consuls, the tribunitian power was restored, young men having obtained the highest dignity, whose age and spirit were fierce, began by accusing the senate, to excite the Commonalty. Then, by bribing and promising, to inflame them more, and so they became themselves illustrious and powerful. Against them most of the nobility struggled with all their power, under pretence of supporting the senate, but really for their own advancement; for, to tell the truth in a few words, whoever at that time agitated the Republic under specious pretext, some as if they were defending the rights of the people, and others in order that the power of the senate might be made as great as possible, these, feigning the public good, contended each one for his own interest. Neither had they any moderation or bounds to their contention. Both parties made a cruel use of their victory.

XXXIX. But after Cneus Pompeius was sent to the Maritime and Mithridatic wars, the power of the Commonalty was diminished, while that of the few increased. These held the offices, provinces, and all other things. They themselves passed their lives unhurt, flourishing, and without fear, and terrified the rest by the strictness of their legal investigations, in order

placidiùs tractarent. Sed ubi primùm dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quòd si, primo prælio, Catilina superior, aut æquâ manu discessisset, profectò magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppresisset. Neque illis, qui victoriam adepti, diutiùs eâ uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere, tamen, extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. In his Antonius Fulvius senatoris filius, quem, retractum ex itinere, parens necari jussit. Isdem temporibus, Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortunâ novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solùm cives, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modò bello usui foret.

XL. Igitur Publio Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existumans publicè privatimque ære alieno oppressos; præterea, quòd naturâ gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facilè eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quòd in Galliâ negotiatus, plerisque principibus notus erat, atque eos noverat. Itaque sine morâ, ubi primùm legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum requirere cœpit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos videt "queri de avaritiâ magistratum, accusare senatum, quòd in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare:" "at ego," inquit, "vobis, si modò viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, quâ tanta ista mala effugiatis." Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges, in maxumam spem adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur; nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile, quin cupidissimè facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum Decimi Bruti perducit, quòd foro propinqua, neque aliena consilii, propter Sen-

himself in 63, rather than fall into the enemy's hands. The Maritime war alluded to was against the Cilician pirates. Pompey swept the seas clear of them in less than three months.

Dubiis rebus. The ablative, absolute.

Necari jussit. The power of life and death permitted to Roman fathers over their sons was freely exercised. Sallust makes Cato graphically refer to a salient instance of it in his speech on the conspiracy. (See c. LII.)

XL. *Allobrogum.* This tribe, most hostile and discontented, dwelt between the Rhodanus (Rhone) and the Isère. They were reduced to subjection by R. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, in B.C. 121.

that while in office they might more peaceably manage the common people. But as soon as any hope was offered of some change in these adverse circumstances the old spirit of strife awoke in their minds. And if Cataline had in the first battle come off conqueror, or with equal advantage, forthwith a great slaughter and calamity would have overwhelmed the Republic. Nor would it have been permitted to those who had gained the victory to enjoy it too long, but whoever had the greatest power would have forced from them, worn out and completely exhausted, empire and liberty. There were, however, several outside the conspiracy who at first set out to join Catiline. Amongst them was Antonius Fulvius, the son of a senator, whom, when he was brought back from his journey, his father ordered to be put to death. At the same time Lentulus at Rome, as Catiline had instructed him, was tampering either by himself or by others, with whomsoever he believed, either through their principles or fortunes, to be disposed for a revolution; and not citizens only, but any kind of men whatsoever, provided only they would be of any service in the war.

XL. Therefore he employs a certain Publius Umbrenus to seek out the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and induce them, if he can, to take part in the war; thinking that as they were both publicly and privately embarrassed by debt, and moreover as the race of the Gauls was naturally warlike, they could easily be drawn into such a design. Umbrenus, as he had traded in Gaul, was known to most of the chiefs of the states, and knew them (personally). Therefore, without delay, as soon as he saw the ambassadors in the forum, having inquired a few things about the condition of their state, and as if pitying its fall, he began to enquire "what termination they expected to such great evils?" When he perceived that they were "complaining of the avarice of the magistrates, and accuse the senate, because there was no assistance in that body, and that they looked for death as a cure to their miseries." "But I," he said, "will show you a way, provided only you will act the part of men, by which ye may escape these terrible calamities of yours." When he said these things, the Allobroges, being raised to the greatest hope, prayed Umbrenus to take pity on them. There was nothing so unpleasant or so difficult which they would not most gladly do, provided that they could free their state from debt. He leads them to the house of Decimus Brutus, because it was near the forum, and not unsuitable to the plot on account of Sempronia. For

proniam; nam tum, Brutus ab Româ aberat. Præterea Gabinium arcessit, quò major auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo præsentē, conjurationem aperit, nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quò legatis animus amplior esset; dein eos, pollicitos operam suam, dimittit.

XLI. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In alterâ parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ; at in alterâ, majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incertâ spe, certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Quinto Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcepit, studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, cæteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam, uti eos quàm maxumè manifestos habeant.

XLII. Isdem ferè temporibus, in Galliâ citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apuliâ, motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsultè ac veluti per dementiam, cuncta simul agere. Nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quàm periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures, Quintus Metellus Celer prætor, ex senati consulto, caussâ cognitâ, in vincula conjecerat. Item in ulteriore Galliâ, Caius Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIII. At Romæ Lentulus, cum cæteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbantur, magnis copiis, constituerant, uti, Catilina in agrum Fæsulanum cum venisset, Lucius Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habitâ, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam optumo consuli imponeret. Eo signo, proxumâ nocte cætera multitudo, conjurationis suum quisque negotium, exsequerentur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur; Statilius, Gabinius, uti cum magnâ manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent,

XLII. *Gallia Citerior* was south of the Alps; *Gallia Ulterior*, beyond the Alps, and extended as far as the Cevennes. Cæsar made a province of it.

Bruttium. The wild, mountainous country at the southern extremity of Italy.

Legatus: i.e. deputy.

XLIII. *Filii familiarum*. A son not yet emancipated from the control of his father.

Brutus was at that time absent from Rome. Moreover he sends for Gabinius, in order that there might be greater weight in his discourse. In his presence he reveals the conspiracy, names the accomplices, as well as many others of every rank unconnected with it, in order that the ambassadors might be more deeply impressed ; then, having promised them assistance, he sends them away.

XLI. But the Allobroges were a long time in doubt what counsel to take. On the one hand were their debts, their desire for war, and great advantage in the hope of victory; but, on the other, greater benefits to themselves, safe counsels, certain rewards, instead of uncertain hope. As they revolved these things, at last the fortune of the Republic prevailed. Therefore they reveal the whole affair, as they had heard it, to Quintus Fabius Sanga, whose patronage their state very greatly availed itself of. Cicero, having learned the plot from Sanga, advises the ambassadors to pretend a violent desire for the success of the conspiracy, get into the company of the rest, and make fair promises, and do their best to detect them as clearly as possible.

XLII. About the same time there were disturbances in Hither and Farther Gaul, as also in the territory of Picenum, Bruttium, and Apulia. For those whom Catiline had before despatched, inconsiderately, and as it were madly, set about everything at once. By nightly meetings, by the transport of arms and weapons, by hastening and agitating everything, they had caused more fear than real danger. Many out of their number, Quintus Metellus Celer, the prætor, authority being given him by the decree of the senate, had brought to trial and cast into prison, as also did Caius Murena in Farther Gaul, who, as lieutenant, presided over that province.

XLIII. But at Rome, Lentulus, with the rest who were the ringleaders of the conspiracy, having got together great forces, as it appeared to them, determined that when Catiline had come with his army to the country of Fæsulæ, Lucius Bestia, the tribune of the people, a meeting being called, should complain of the actions of Cicero, and throw upon that most excellent consul the odium of a most serious war. Upon this signal, the night following, the rest of the conspiracy should everyone execute the business assigned him. But these parts were said to be thus divided. That Statilius and Gabinius, with a large band, should fire twelve points of the city most

quò tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem, cæteros, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eum vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium. Sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignaviâ sociorum; illos, dubitando et dies prolatando, magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Naturâ ferox, vehemens, manu promptus, maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium cæteros conveniunt. Ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant; aliter haud facilè eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Cæteri, nihil suspicantes, dant. Cassius semet eò brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus, cum his, Titum Volturcium quemdam Crotoniensem mittit, uti Allobroges, priùs quàm domum pergerent, cum Catilinâ, datâ et acceptâ fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum.

“Quis sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quantâ calamitate sis, et memineris te virum. Consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent. Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.”

Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat: “cùm ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? In urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propiùs accedere.”

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constitutâ nocte quâ proficerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, Lucio Valerio

XLIV. *Lentulo.* P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura was quæstor to Sulla in 81 B.C. prætor in 75; consul in 71. In 70 he was expelled the senate for his profligacy, and then joined Catiline. His subsequent career is given in detail by Sallust.

Crotoniensem. A native of Crotona, in Magna Græcia, on the east coast of Bruttium.

XLV. *Ponte Mulvio.* The Mulvian bridge was about a mile from the Forum, outside the gates. It is now called Ponte Molle. The Via Flaminia commenced at this bridge.

Ad id loci—*ad eum locum.*

favourable for their purpose all at once, so that by the consequent confusion an easier access might be obtained to the consul and the rest, against whom snares were prepared; Cethegus was to seize Cicero's gates, and attack him by force, and the rest were to do the same to others. But the sons of certain families, and of whom there was a very large number from amongst the nobility, were to slay their fathers, and at once, when all were panic-stricken by slaughter and fire, to sally forth to join Catiline. While these things were being prepared and decided on, Cethegus was ever complaining of the sloth of his friends, that they by hesitating and putting off the day, lost great opportunities; that there was need of action, not of debate, in such a dangerous enterprise; and that he, if a few would assist him, would, while the rest were vacillating, make an attack upon the senate house. He was naturally fierce, vehement, prompt, and thought that the greatest hope of success depended upon their activity.

XLIV. But the Allobroges, according to the instructions of Cicero, meet the rest by means of Gabinius. They demand an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and also Cassius, which they may carry home when sealed with their respective seals (*i.e.*, those of the conspirators) to their fellow-countrymen, otherwise they could not easily be brought to undertake so great an enterprise. The rest, suspecting nothing, give consent. Cassius promises that he himself would go to their state in a short time, and, a little before the messengers, sets out from the city. Lentulus sends with them one Titus Volturcius, of Crotona, that the Allobroges, before they reached home, having given and received faith, should confirm their association with Catiline. He himself gives to Volturcius a letter for Catiline, a copy of which is given below. "Who I am, you will learn from him whom I have sent to you. Consider in how great a calamity you are, and remember that you are a man. Consider what your cause requires. Seek assistance from all, even from the lowest." In addition to this, he gives a verbal command to ask, "With what view, as he was pronounced an enemy by the senate, he was refusing the assistance of the slaves? That in the city everything he had ordered was ready; let him no longer delay to advance nearer himself."

XLV. These things being thus done, and the night fixed on which the ambassadors were to depart, Cicero being informed of everything by means of them, commands Lucius Valerius

Flacco et Caio Pomtino prætoribus imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio, per insidias, Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cujus gratiâ mittebantur; cætera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Homines militares, sine tumultu præsidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occultè pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci, legati cum Volturcio venêre, et simul utrimque clamor exortus est. Galli, citò cognito consilio, sine morâ prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primò, cohortatus cæteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa priùs de salute suâ Pomtinum obtestatus, quòd ei notus erat; postremò, timidus ac vitæ diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese prætoribus dedit.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia properè per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere; nam lætabatur, conjuratione patefactâ, civitatem periculis ereptam esse. Porrò autem anxius erat, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus; pœnam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundæ reipublicæ credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Quintum Cœparium quemdam Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Cæteri sine morâ veniunt: Cœparius, paullo antè domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quòd prætor erat, ipse manu tenens, perducit; reliquos, cum custodibus, in Ædem Concordiæ venire jubet. Eò senatum advocat, magnâque frequentîâ ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit; Flaccum prætorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eòdem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius, interrogatus "de itinere, de litteris, "postremò, quid aut quâ de causâ consilii habuisset?" Primò, fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; pòst, ubi fide publicâ dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit. "Paucis antè diebus a Gabinio et Cœpario socium adscitum,

XLVI. *Tarracinensem.* A native of Tarracina, an ancient town in Latium, 58 miles from Rome, in the via Appia. It is mentioned in Horace's *Iter Brundisium*

Ædem Concordiæ. This temple stood on the Capitoline, close to the forum, and was built by Camillus.

XLVII. *Audire solitum.* Cicero speaks much to the same effect in the Third Catilinarian Oration, so that Sallust is probably correct in every particular.

Ex libris Sibyllinis. These famous books date from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, or, according to other accounts, that of Superbus. The story is that the king refusing an exorbitant price for the nine books,

Flaccus and Caius Pomtinus, the prætors, to apprehend by means of an ambush the retinue of the Allobroges on the Mulvian bridge; he explains the whole affair for which they were despatched; everything else they were to do as the occasion required. These, being military men, having placed guards without any disturbance, as it was ordered them, secretly watched the bridge. Afterwards, when the ambassadors, together with Volturcius, arrived at the place, a shout arose on both sides of the bridge at the same time. The Gauls, the plan being quickly understood, without delay deliver themselves to the prætors. Volturcius at first, having exhorted the rest, defends himself with his sword from the multitude; then, when he was deserted by the ambassadors, having first much besought Pomtinus for his life, because he was known to him, and then fearful and despairing of life, gave himself up to the prætors, as if they had been enemies.

XLVI. Which things being done, all is immediately reported to the consul by messengers. But great anxiety as well as joy seized him at the same time. He was delighted as he reflected that by the discovery of the conspiracy the Republic was delivered from danger. But he was, on the other hand, uncertain, when such eminent citizens were detected in the greatest criminality, what he ought to do, for he believed that to punish them would be a burden to himself, and to let them off would be the ruin of the Commonwealth. Therefore, when he had made up his mind, he commands Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius and also Cœparius of Terracina, who was preparing to set out for Apulia to excite the slaves to revolt, to be summoned before him. The rest came without delay, but Cœparius having gone from home a little before, when the discovery was known, fled from the city. The consul himself holding Lentulus by the hand, because he was prætor, leads him into the senate house; the rest he orders to come with their guards to the Temple of Concord. Thither he summons the senate, and there being a large attendance of that order, (in a full house) he introduces Volturcius with the ambassadors, and orders Flaccus, the prætor, to bring to the same place the box containing the letters which he had received from the ambassadors.

XLVII. Volturcius being questioned "about his journey and the letters, and lastly what design he had, or whence it arose," at first invented other reasons, and dissembled about the conspiracy; afterwards, being bidden to speak on public faith, he reveals all things as they had been done; "that he himself

“ nihil ampliùs scire, quàm legatos; tantùm modò audire
 “ solitum ex Gabinio, Publium Autronium, Servium Sullam,
 “ Lucium Vargunteium, multos præterea, in eâ conjuratione
 “ esse.” Eadem Galli fatentur, ac Lentulum dissimulantem
 coarguunt, præter litteras, sermonibus, quos habere solitus:
 “ Ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi;
 “ Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium, cui fatum foret
 “ urbis potiri; præterea, ab incenso Capitolio illum esse
 “ vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices
 “ respondissent bello civili cruentum fore.” Igitur perlectis
 litteris, cùm priùs omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus
 decernit; “ Uti, abdicatus magistratu Lentulus, item cæteri,
 “ in liberis custodiis haberentur.” Itaque Lentulus Publio
 Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis, Cethegus Quinto Cornificio,
 Statilius Caio Cæsari, Gabinius Marco Crasso, Cœparius (nam
 is paullo antè ex fugâ retractus) Cneo Terentio senatori,
 traduntur.

XLVIII. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefactâ, quæ primò
 cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutatâ mente,
 Catilinæ consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad cælum tollere;
 veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiâ agitabant.
 Namque, alia belli facinora prædæ magis quàm detrimento,
 incendium verò crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxumè calam-
 itosum, putabant; quippe cui, omnes copiæ in usu quotidiano
 et cultu corporis, erant. Post eum diem, quidam Lucius
 Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam
 proficiscentem, ex itinere retractum, aiebant. Is, cùm se
 diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset,
 jussus a consule, quæ sciret, edicere; eadem ferè quæ Volturcius,
 de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium,
 senatum edocet. Præterea, “ se missum a Marco Crasso, qui
 “ Catilinæ nunciaret, ne Lentulus, Cethegus, alii ex conjura-
 “ tione deprehensi terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem
 “ accedere, quò et cæterorum animos reficeret, et illi faciliùs e

whereupon the sibyl who offered them burnt three and demanded the same price for the six, which, he refusing, she burnt three more, and then, on her asking the same price for the remainder, the king, after consulting the augurs, gave her the money and took the books. These being found of great value in the religious matters of the Republic, were kept in a stone chest underground, and guarded by the *quindecimviri*. They did not contain prophecies, but directions as to the worship and sacrifices proper to the gods under different circumstances, and what foreign gods might be introduced. The original works perished when the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in which they had been kept, was burnt, B.C. 82, and a fresh collection was made throughout Italy,

“ a few days before had been drawn in as an accomplice by
“ Gabinius and Cœparius ; that he knew nothing more than the
“ ambassadors, he only used to hear from Gabinius that Publius
“ Autronius, Servius Sulla, Lucius Vargunteius, and others
“ besides, were in that conspiracy.” The Gauls confess the same
things. But they convict Lentulus, who was feigning ignorance
beyond the letters, by the language which he was wont to use,
namely, that “ by the Sibylline books the government of
“ Rome was fated to three Cornelii, that Cinna and Sulla
“ had already held it, and that he himself was the third to
“ whom it was fated to rule the city ; moreover that this was
“ the twentieth year from the burning of the Capitol, which
“ the haruspices had often from prodigies declared would be
“ stained by a civil war.” Therefore, the letters having been
read through, when previously all had acknowledged their
seals, the senate decrees “ that Lentulus, having laid aside his
“ office, and likewise the rest, should be kept in free custody ”
(*i.e.* admitted to bail.) Accordingly Lentulus is handed over to
Publius Lentulus Spinther who was the ædile, Cethegus to
Quintus Cornificius, Statilius to Caius Cæsar, Gabinius to
Marcus Crassus, and Cœparius, for he had been fetched back a
little before from his flight, to Cneius Terentius, a senator.

XLVIII. In the meanwhile the Commonalty, the conspiracy
being detected, who at first, through desire of a revolution had
too much favoured the war, their minds being changed, began
to curse the designs of Catiline, and extol Cicero to the skies,
and, as if rescued from slavery, displayed joy and gladness ;
for other acts of war they thought might turn out more for
their advantage than loss, but the burning of the city would
be cruel, outrageous and most detrimental to them, as they
were men, all of whose substance rested in their daily food and
clothing. After that day a certain Lucius Tarquinius was
brought to the senate, who, when going over to Catiline, they
said was brought back from his journey. This man, when he
said he could give information concerning the conspiracy if
the public faith were given him, being commanded by the
consul to speak out what he knew, informs the senate of almost
the same things as Volturcius had done, concerning the
snares that were prepared, the slaughter of the good, and
the route of the enemy. Besides, that he had been sent
by Marcus Crassus to tell Catiline not to let Lentulus and
Cethegus, and the others of the conspiracy who were de-
tected terrify him, but that he should on this account
the rather hasten to come nearer the city. that he might revive
the spirits of the rest, and that they might the more easily be

“periculo eriperentur.” Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summâ potentiâ; alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen etsi verum existimabant, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis leniunda, quàm exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant, “indicem falsum,” deque eâ re postulant uti referatur. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit: “Tarquinii indicium falsum videri; eumque “in vinculis retinendum, neque ampliùs potestatem faciendam “nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem mentitus “esset.” Erant eo tempore, qui æstumarent, illud a Publio Autronio machinatum, quò faciliùs, adpellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentiâ tegetet. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto malorum patrocínio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

XLIX. Sed ísdem temporibus Quintus Catulus et Caius Piso, neque gratiâ, neque precibus, neque pretio, Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem, Caius Cæsar falsò nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant: Piso, obpugnatus in iudicio repetundarum, propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus, ex petitione pontificatûs odio incensus, quòd extremâ ætate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare, victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur; quòd privatim egregiâ liberalitate, publicè maximis muneribus, grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim, circumeundo atque ementiundo, quæ se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque eò, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui, præsidii caussâ, cum telis erant circum Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi nobi-

which was carefully weeded out, and those considered genuine deposited by Augustus in the Temple of Apollo, on the Palatine.

XLVIII. *Mentitus esset.* The subjunctive with the relative implies doubt in Sallust's mind as to whether Tarquinius was lying or not.

Q. Catulus. Consul in 78, and censor in 65: an extremely upright and honourable man, but a thorough aristocrat, and, like Piso, who was consul in 67, and subsequently administered Gallia Narbonensis, and who also belonged to the senatorial party, a determined opponent of Cæsar. Piso had the more reason that Cæsar had indirectly preferred a charge of extortion against him with respect to his province.

Maximis muneribus. These were the games and gladiatorial shows

rescued from their peril (*i. e.*, being only at present held to bail). But when Tarquinius named Crassus, a nobleman of the greatest riches and highest power, some—because they considered the thing incredible, others, although they thought it true, yet because at such a crisis a man of such power (*lit.* the so great power of the man) seemed rather to be propitiated than provoked, and most of them, being dependent upon Crassus through private transactions (*i. e.*, he had lent them money)—cry out that he was “a false witness,” and demand that their opinion should be taken (*lit.* that it should be referred to them about this matter); Therefore, by the advice of Cicero, a crowded senate decrees, “That Tarquinius’s information seemed false, and that he ought to be kept in confinement, nor any more have permission to speak unless he should point out the person by whose counsel he had lied to such an extent.” There were at that time some who thought that that information had been concocted by Publius Autronius, in order that he might the more easily, by naming Crassus, shield the rest, through his being made to share the danger, and by his influence. Others said that Tarquinius had been instigated by Cicero, lest Crassus, according to his custom, having taken upon himself the patronage of the evil doers, might disturb the Republic. I afterwards heard Crassus himself openly declaring that so great an insult had been offered him by Cicero.

XLIX. But at the same time Quintus Catulus and Caius Piso neither by entreaty nor by a bribe could convince Cicero that either by the Allobroges or any other informer should Caius Cæsar be falsely accused. For both of them had a deadly quarrel with him—Piso having been prosecuted by him in an action for extortion, on account of the illegal execution of a certain Transpadane Gaul (*i. e.*, one who dwelt beyond the Po); Catulus being incensed by hatred of him ever since his candidature for the Pontificate, because in extreme old age and having enjoyed the greatest honours, he had to withdraw defeated by Cæsar, then a young man. The opportunity, moreover, seemed favourable; because in private, by his uncommon liberality, and in public by his very splendid show, he had incurred great debts. But as they are unable to prevail upon the consul to commit so great a crime, they themselves, by going about from man to man and inventing the things which they said they had heard from Volturcius or the Allobroges, aroused much odium against him, to such an extent that some Roman knights, who for the sake of guard were under arms around the Temple

litate impulsī, quò studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant; partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti. Cethegus autem, per nuncios familiam atque libertos suos, exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præsiidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, refert; "Quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant?" Sed eos, paullo antè, frequens senatus judicaverat, "contra rempublicam fecisse." Tum Decimus Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quòd eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de Lucio Cassio, Publio Furio, Publio Umbreno, Quinto Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat. Isque postea, permotus oratione Caii Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam Tiberii Neronis iturum se dixerat; quòd de eâ re, præsiidiis additis, referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujusce modi verba locutus est.

LI. "Omnis homines, Patres Conscripti! qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, irâ atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet. Haud facillè animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt. Neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul, et usui, paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia memorandi, Patres Conscripti! qui reges atque populi irâ aut misericordia impulsī, malè consuluerint: sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri, contra lubidinem animi, rectè atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse

by which the great men endeavoured to win the favour and the votes of the populace. Cæsar was particularly lavish in this respect.

LI. *Bello Macedonico*. This was concluded in B.C. 168, by L. Æmilius Paullus, when he defeated Perseus at the battle of Pydna and took him prisoner, whence he obtained the surname of *Macedonicus*.

of Concord, either urged on by the greatness of the danger or patriotic feelings (*lit.* nobility of their minds), in order that their zeal for the Republic might be more conspicuous, threatened Cæsar with the sword as he went out of the senate.

L. Whilst these things are being transacted in the senate, and whilst rewards are being decreed to the ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Volturcius, their information being confirmed, the freed men and some of the clients of Lentulus in different quarters of the city (*lit.* by different routes in the quarters), were exciting the workmen and slaves to rescue him; some again (*lit.* partly) were seeking out the leaders of the populace, who for pay were wont to disturb the Commonwealth. But Cethegus, by messengers, prayed his slaves and freed men, who were well trained for bold deeds, to make a band and burst into his prison with arms in their hands. The consul, when he knew that these things were being prepared, having distributed guards as the matter and the time required of him, and having convoked the senate, puts it to the vote, "What it pleased them should be done with regard to those who were committed to custody?" Shortly before, a crowded senate had decided that they "had acted against the Republic." Then Decius Junius Silanus, being first asked his opinion, because he was then consul-elect, as to those who were kept in custody, and, moreover, as to Lucius Cassius, Publius Furius, Publius Umbrenus, and Quintus Annius, should they be apprehended, voted that they should be executed. He afterwards being much influenced by the speech of Caius Cæsar, said that he would embrace the opinion of Tiberius Nero, because he voted that when the guards were increased the question should be discussed. But Cæsar, when it had come to him, being asked his opinion by the consul, spoke to this effect:—

LI. "It becomes all men, Conscript Fathers, who debate on doubtful questions, to be free from hatred, friendship, anger and pity. The mind does not easily foresee the truth when these things stand in the way. Nor has any human being obeyed at the same time his pleasure and his interest. When you have applied your mind (unbiassed) then it is powerful. If passion possesses the soul it rules, the soul has no power. Plenty of examples occur to my memory, Conscript Fathers, of kings and nations who, being excited by anger or pity, have deliberated badly; but I prefer to speak of those things which our ancestors, contrary to the passion of their souls, have done rightly and orderly. In the Macedonian war which we waged with King

“ gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quæ
 “ Populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis
 “ fuit ; sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est,
 “ majores nostri, ne quis, divitiarum magis quàm injuriæ
 “ caussâ bellum inceptum, diceret, impunitos dimisere. Item
 “ bellis Punicis omnibus, cùm sæpe Carthaginienses, et in pace
 “ et per inducias, multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam
 “ ipsi per occasionem talia fecere ; magis, quid se dignum
 “ foret, quàm quid in illis jure fieri posset, quærebant. Hoc
 “ idem providendum est, Patres Conscripti ! ne plus valeat
 “ apud vos Publii Lentuli et cæterorum scelus, quàm vestra
 “ dignitas ; neu magis iræ, quàm famæ, consulatis. Nam,
 “ si digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum
 “ consilium adprobo ; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium
 “ ingenia exsuperat, iis utendum censeo, quæ legibus com-
 “ parata sunt Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias
 “ dixerunt, compositè atque magnificè casum reipublicæ
 “ miserati sunt. Quæ belli sævitia, quæ victis acciderent,
 “ enumeravere ; rapi virgines, pueros ; divelli liberos a
 “ parentium complexu ; matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus
 “ collibuissent ; fana atque domos exspoliari ; cædem, incendia
 “ fieri ; postremò, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia
 “ compleri. Sed, per Deos immortalis ! quò illa oratio
 “ pertinuit ? An, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret ? Scilicet,
 “ quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio
 “ accendet. Non ita est ; neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ
 “ suæ parvæ videntur : multi eas graviùs æquo habuere. Sed
 “ aliis alia licentia, Patres Conscripti ! Qui demissi in obscuro
 “ vitam habent, si quid iracundiâ deliquere, pauci sciunt ;
 “ fama atque fortuna pares sunt. Qui, magno imperio præditi,
 “ in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere.
 “ Ita in maxumâ fortunâ minuma licentia est. Neque studere,
 “ neque odisse, sed minumè irasci, decet. Quæ apud alios
 “ iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas

Rhodiorum civitas. The inhabitants of Rhodes, which is the most easterly island of the Carpathian Sea, espoused the cause of Perseus, and after his defeat by Æmilius Paullus were severely punished, but regained favour by their assistance in the Mithridatic war.

Id quod are to be construed together.

" Perses, the state of the Rhodians, great and splendid, which
 " had increased by the resources of the Roman people, proved
 " faithless and inimical to us ; but afterwards, the war being
 " ended, it was debated, concerning the Rhodians, our
 " ancestors, lest any one should say that the war was under-
 " taken rather for the sake of their riches than the outrage
 " they had committed, let them escape unpunished. Likewise,
 " in all the Carthaginian wars, when that people had con-
 " stantly, both in times of peace and during the season of
 " truce, been guilty of many evil deeds, our ancestors never
 " retaliated, even when occasion offered ; they sought rather
 " what was worthy of themselves than what might have been
 " fairly done against their foes. This also is to be provided
 " against by us, Conscript Fathers, that the crime of Publius
 " Lentulus and the rest may not have more weight with you
 " than your dignity, and that you may not consult your
 " indignation rather than your reputation. For if a punish-
 " ment adequate to their deeds can be found, I approve of this
 " novel proposal ; but if the magnitude of the crime surpasses
 " the ingenuity of all, those I think, ought to be used which
 " are provided by the laws. Most of those who have given
 " their opinions before me have, in studied and striking
 " language, bewailed the unhappy condition of the Republic,
 " and have enumerated what the cruelties of war are, and the
 " things which happen to the conquered—that the virgins
 " and boys are ravished, children torn from the embraces of
 " their parents, matrons to suffer the will and pleasure of the
 " victors ; the temples and homes ravaged, slaughter and fires
 " take place, in short, all things are filled with arms, corpses,
 " blood and woe. But by the immortal gods, to what did that
 " style of speech tend ? Was it to make you detest the con-
 " spiracy ? Words, forsooth, will excite him whom so great and
 " dreadful a crime did not move. Not so ; nor do injuries
 " directed against himself appear slight to any human being.
 " Many have made more of them than was just. But different
 " persons have different freedom of action, Conscript Fathers.
 " Those who pass their life sunk in obscurity ; if they commit
 " any fault through passion, but few know it ; their reputation
 " and their fortune are equal. Those who, endued with great
 " authority, pass their life in a lofty station, all men know
 " their deeds. Thus in the greatest fortune there is the least
 " freedom of action allowed. It is becoming neither to
 " favour nor evince hatred, or be resentful. What in others is
 " called anger, is in a government called arrogance and cruelty.

“ adpellatur. Equidem ego sic aestumo, Patres Conscripti!
 “ omnis cruciatus minores, quàm facinora illorum esse. Sed
 “ plerique mortales postrema meminere, et, in hominibus
 “ impiis, sceleris obliti de pœna disserunt, si ea paullo severior
 “ fuit. Decimum Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum,
 “ certè scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipublicæ dixisse, neque illum
 “ in tantâ re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere. Eos mores,
 “ eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verùm sententia non mihi
 “ crudelis; quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?
 “ Sed aliena a republicâ nostrâ videtur. Nam profectò, aut
 “ metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane! consulem designatum,
 “ genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum
 “ est disserere, cùm, præsentî diligentîâ clarissimi viri,
 “ Consulîs, tanta præsidia sint in armis. De pœnâ possumus
 “ equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis
 “ mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam
 “ cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultrâ, neque curæ neque
 “ gaudio locum esse. Sed, per Deos immortalis! quamobrem
 “ in sententiam non addidisti, uti priùs verberibus in eos
 “ animadverteretur? An, quia lex Porcia vetat? At
 “ aliæ leges item, condemnatis civibus, animam non eripi,
 “ sed in exilium permitti, jubent. An, quia gravius est
 “ verberari, quàm necari? Quid autem acerbum, aut grave
 “ nimis in homines, tanti facinoris convictos? Sin quia
 “ levius; quî convenit in minore negotio legem timere,
 “ cùm eam in majore neglexeris? At enim, quis reprehendet
 “ quod in parricidas reipublicæ decretum erit? Tempus,
 “ dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis
 “ meritò accidit, quidquid evenerit. Cæterùm vos, Patres
 “ Conscripti! quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia
 “ mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt; sed, ubi imperium ad
 “ ignaros aut minùs bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum, ab
 “ dignis et idoneis, ad indignos et non idoneos, transfertur.
 “ Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposu-
 “ ere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primò, cœpere
 “ pessimum quemque, et omnibus invisum, indemnatum
 “ necare. Ea populus lætari, et meritò dicere fieri. Pòst, ubi

Lex Porcia vetat. This law, B.C. 160, enacted that a Roman citizen should not be scourged, bound, or put to death, but only exiled (See Livy x. 9). The authorities do not seem either clear or consistent as to the extent of it, or by whom it was really proposed.

Devictis Atheniensibus. This alludes to the close of the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 404, when the thirty tyrants were imposed and the fortifications and long walls had to be razed to the ground.

“ I, for my part, indeed, am of this opinion, Conscript Fathers,
 “ that all kinds of tortures are less than the crimes of
 “ those men. But most men remember most recent events,
 “ and in the case of evil doers, forgetful of their crime,
 “ only discuss their punishment, whether that has been
 “ a little too severe. I know for certain that Decius Silanus,
 “ a brave and earnest man, has said what he has from zeal
 “ for the Republic, and that he, in so important a matter, is
 “ actuated neither by favour or enmity. Such I know to be
 “ the principles, and such the moderation of the man. But
 “ his opinion appears to me not cruel, indeed (for what can
 “ be cruel against such men?), but contrary to the practice
 “ of our Republic. For assuredly either fear or sense of their
 “ outrage has induced you, Silanus, consul elect, to vote for
 “ a new kind of punishment. As to your fear it is super-
 “ fluous to speak, especially since, by the prompt diligence of
 “ our most illustrious consul, there are so many guards under
 “ arms. And as to the punishment, we may say indeed what
 “ is the fact; that in griefs and misery, death is a deliverance
 “ from troubles, not a torture; that releases us from all
 “ human evils, beyond it there is room for neither anxiety
 “ nor joy. But, by the immortal gods, why did you not add
 “ this to your opinion, that they should first be punished
 “ with the scourge? Was it because the Porcian law forbids
 “ it? But other laws also enact, not that life should be taken
 “ away from condemned citizens, but that they should be
 “ allowed to go into exile. Is it because it is more severe to
 “ be scourged than put to death? But what can be too
 “ harsh or severe against men convicted of so great a crime?
 “ But if it was because scourging is a lighter (punishment), how
 “ comes it that you respect the law in a matter of less moment,
 “ when you have neglected it in a greater? But, indeed, who
 “ will find fault with what shall be decreed against the
 “ murderers of the Republic? Time, the day, and fortune,
 “ whose good pleasure regulates nations. Whatever happens
 “ will happen to them deservedly. But do you, Conscript
 “ Fathers, consider well what you decide against others. All
 “ bad examples had their origin from what was good; but
 “ when authority gets into the hands of the ignorant or
 “ inferior, the new precedent is transferred from worthy and
 “ proper to unworthy and improper men. The Lacedæ-
 “ monians, when they had conquered the Athenians, set over
 “ them thirty men to govern the State. These at first began
 “ to kill every scoundrel, and whoever was hated by all,
 “ uncondemned. With this the people were delighted, and said

“ paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubricosè in-
 “ terficere, cæteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa,
 “ stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Nostrâ memoriâ, victor
 “ Sulla, cùm Damasippum et alios hujus modi, qui malo
 “ republicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus
 “ laudabat? Homines scelestos, factiosos, qui seditionibus
 “ rempublicam exagitaverant, meritò necatos aiebant. Sed ea
 “ res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum,
 “ aut villam, postremò aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus
 “ concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero
 “ esset. Ita quibus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, pòst
 “ paullo ipsi trahebantur. Neque priùs finis jugulandi fuit,
 “ quàm Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hæc non
 “ in Marco Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor; sed, in magnâ
 “ civitate, multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore,
 “ alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu, falsum aliquid pro
 “ vero credi. Ubi, hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, consul
 “ gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur?
 “ Majores nostri, Patres Conscripti! neque consilii neque au-
 “ daciæ umquam eguere; neque superbia obstabat, quò minùs
 “ aliena instituta, si modò proba, imitarentur. Arma atque
 “ tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis,
 “ pleraque sumserunt. Postremò, quod ubique apud socios, aut
 “ hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exseque-
 “ bantur; imitari, quàm invidere bonis, malebant. Sed eodem
 “ illo tempore, Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvertē-
 “ bant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant.
 “ Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones
 “ valuere, circumvenire innocentes, alia hujusce modi fieri cœ-
 “ pere. Tum lex Porcia aliæque paratæ, quibus legibus exsilium
 “ damnatis permissum. Hanc ego caussam, Patres Con-
 “ scripti! quò minùs novum consilium capiamus, in primis
 “ magnam puto. Profectò virtus atque sapientia major in illis.

*Damasippum, i.e., M. Junius Brutus, was prætor, B.C. 82, during the
 third consulship of C. Papirius Cæsbo. He was a follower of the
 Marians, and guilty of such wholesale slaughter of the partisans of
 Sulla that the latter had him put to death.*

“ it was done rightly. Afterwards, when their freedom of
 “ action gradually increased, they began to put to death at
 “ their pleasure the good and bad promiscuously, and struck
 “ the rest with fear. Thus the State, being overwhelmed by
 “ slavery, suffered a heavy penalty for their foolish joy.
 “ Within our memory, when the conqueror Sulla commanded
 “ Damasippus, and others of that kind, who had raised them-
 “ selves by the misfortune of their country, to be strangled,
 “ who did not praise the deed? They said that wicked and
 “ factious men who had harassed the Republic by their
 “ seditions were deservedly put to death. But that circum-
 “ stance was the beginning of great slaughter. For according
 “ as any man desired anyone’s house or villa, and finally, any
 “ piece of plate or garment, he set to work that he might be
 “ in the number of the proscribed. Thus those, to whom
 “ Damasippus’ execution was a cause of joy, were soon after
 “ themselves dragged away to death. Nor was there any end
 “ to this slaughter, until Sulla glutted all his followers
 “ with riches. And yet I apprehend nothing like this in
 “ Marcus Tullius, nor at this time: but in a great Republic
 “ there are many and various dispositions. It may be
 “ that at another time, and by another consul, in whose
 “ hands there may be also an army, something false
 “ may be believed as true; and when upon this precedent,
 “ by a decree of the senate, the consul shall have drawn
 “ his sword, who shall put an end to his power, or
 “ who shall restrain him? Our ancestors, Conscript Fathers,
 “ never wanted either counsel or courage; nor did pride
 “ stand in the way of their imitating the institutions of
 “ others, provided they were valuable. Arms and military
 “ weapons they borrowed from the Samnites, and most of the
 “ insignia of the offices of their magistrates from the Tuscans.
 “ In fine, whatever in any place, either amongst their allies or
 “ their enemies, appeared suitable, that they pursued at home
 “ with the greatest ardour. They preferred rather to imitate
 “ than to envy the good. But at that same time, imitating the
 “ custom of Greece, they used to punish their citizens with
 “ scourges, and inflicted capital punishment on the con-
 “ demned. But when the Republic developed, and in the multi-
 “ tude of citizens factions were strong, the innocent were un-
 “ justly convicted, and other things of this kind began to be done.
 “ Then the Porcian law and other laws were provided, by which
 “ exile was allowed to the condemned. I then consider this as an
 “ especially substantial reason, Conscript Fathers, why we should
 “ not adopt any new proposal. Forsooth, there was greater virtue

“ fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quàm
 “ in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet, igitur, eos
 “ dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinæ? Minumè. Sed ita
 “ censeo: Publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis
 “ habendos per municipia, quæ maxumè opibus valent; neu
 “ quis de is postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat;
 “ qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare, eum contra rempub-
 “ licam et salutem omnium facturum.”

LII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit, cæteri, verbo alius, alii variè, adsentiebantur. At Marcus Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam, hujusce modi orationem habuit.

“ Longè mihi alia mens est, Patres Conscripti! cùm res
 “ atque pericula nostra considero, et cùm sententias non-
 “ nullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur
 “ de pœnâ eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis,
 “ bellum paravere. Res autem monet, cavere ab illis, quàm,
 “ quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam cætera tum per-
 “ sequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat,
 “ ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores. Captâ urbe, nihil fit
 “ reliqui victis. Sed, per Deos immortalis! vos ego adpello,
 “ qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris, quàm
 “ rempublicam, fecistis; si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quæ
 “ amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere
 “ voltis, expergiscimini aliquando, et capessite rempublicam.
 “ Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de sociorum injuriis; libertas
 “ et anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpe numerò, Patres Con-
 “ scripti! multa verba in hoc ordine feci: sæpe de luxuriâ
 “ atque avaritiâ nostrorum civium questus sum; multosque
 “ mortalis, eâ caussâ, advorsos habeo. Qui mihi atque
 “ animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud
 “ facîle alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea
 “ tametsi vos parvi pendebatis; tamen respublicâ firma,
 “ opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc verò non id agitur,

LII. *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Uticenus was born, B.C. 95, was brought up very strictly, became tribune of the plebs in B.C., 63, the date of the conspiracy. He afterwards joined Pompey, and after Pharsalia, went first to Corcyra, thence to Africa to Metellus Scipio. After the defeat at Thapsus he slew himself, rather than fall into the hands of Cæsar, having spent the night before his death reading Plato. The speech attributed to him by Sallust, and the subsequent eulogium, gives a good estimate of his character.

“ and wisdom in those who from such small resources created so
 “ great an empire, than in us who can scarcely keep what was
 “ well obtained from them. Is it then my opinion that they
 “ should be set free, and that the army of Catiline should be
 “ increased? By no means. But this I vote; That their
 “ property be confiscated, and they themselves kept in prisons in
 “ the different municipal towns which are strongest in resources;
 “ and that no one should ever refer to the senate concerning
 “ them, nor intercede with the people; whoever does otherwise,
 “ that the senate decree that such a person intends to act
 “ against the State and the safety of all.”

LII. After Cæsar had finished his speech the rest gave their assent in various ways, some to one (speaker) and some to another. But Marcus Porcius Cato, being asked his view, delivered a speech to this effect:—

“ My opinion is far different, Conscript Fathers, when
 “ I consider our circumstances and perils, and when I think
 “ over within myself the opinions of some (of the speakers).
 “ They appear to me to have discussed the kind of punishment
 “ (proper) for those who have prepared war against their
 “ country, their parents, their altars and their own hearths.
 “ But the nature of the thing warns us rather to be on our guard
 “ against them, than to debate what we are to enact against
 “ them. For other crimes you may punish when they are
 “ done, but unless you provide that this may not happen,
 “ when it does happen you will in vain ask the aid of public
 “ justice. When the city is taken nothing is left to the
 “ vanquished. But, by the immortal gods, I call upon you who
 “ have always made more of your houses, villas, statues, and
 “ paintings than the Republic, if you wish to retain these
 “ things, of whatever kind they are which ye are so enamoured
 “ of, if you wish also to give up leisure to your amusements,
 “ to rouse yourselves at length and take upon you the defence of
 “ the Republic. We are not now discussing the taxes or the
 “ ill-treatment of our allies; our freedom and our existence
 “ are at stake. Often, Conscript Fathers, I have spoken
 “ many words in this assembly; I have often complained of
 “ the extravagance and greed of our citizens, and for that
 “ reason I have many men opposed to me. I who never
 “ showed any favour to myself or my mind for any fault,
 “ could not easily overlook the evils arising from the libertism
 “ of another. But although you esteemed these things of
 “ little price, yet your Republic was secure; its resources
 “ could bear the consequences of your neglect. Now, however,

“ bonis an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quàm
 “ magnificum imperium Populi Romani; sed cujus hæc cumque
 “ modi, nostra, an nobiscum unâ, hostium futura sint. Hic
 “ mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat?
 “ Jampridem, equidem, nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus.
 “ Quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia,
 “ fortitudo vocatur; eò respublica in extremo sita. Sint sanè,
 “ quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis,
 “ sint misericordes in furibus ærarii; ne illis sanguinem
 “ nostrum largiantur; et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos
 “ omnis perditum eant. Bene et compositè Caius Cæsar
 “ paullo antè, in hoc ordine, de vitâ et morte disseruit; falsa,
 “ credo, existumans, quæ de inferis memorantur; diverso
 “ itinere, malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda, atque formi-
 “ dolosa habere. Itaque censuit,” ‘Pecunias eorum publi-
 “ candas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos;’ “ videlicet
 “ timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis,
 “ aut a multitudine conductâ, per vim eripiantur. Quasi verò
 “ mali atque scelesti tantùm modò in urbe, et non per totam
 “ Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defen-
 “ dendum opes minores. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium,
 “ si periculum ex illis metuit. Sin in tanto omnium metu solus
 “ non timet, eò magis refert mihi atque vobis timere. Quare,
 “ cùm de Publio Lentulo cæterisque statuetis, pro certo habe-
 “ tote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ et de omnibus conjuratis
 “ discernere. Quantò vos attentius ea agetis, tantò illis animus
 “ infirmior erit. Si paullulum modò vos languere viderint,
 “ jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores
 “ nostros armis, rempublicam ex parvâ magnam, fecisse. Si
 “ ita res esset, multò pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus;
 “ quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque
 “ equorum, major nobis copia, quàm illis. Sed alia fuere,
 “ quæ illos magnos fecere, quæ nobis nulla sunt: domi
 “ industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo
 “ liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his,

Quisquam is used because the orator expects that his hearers will think that clemency and pity ought not to have been exercised. In the opposite sense *quis*, *quispiam* or *aliquis*, would have been the word. The other negative pronoun is *ullus*, the difference being that the latter is always an adjective, while *quisquam* is used substantively as here.

Multitudine conductâ: i. e., pretio.

Equidem = *quidem*.

“ it is not the question whether we must live with good or
“ bad morals, nor how great or how magnificent the empire
“ of the Roman people may be, but whether these
“ things, of what kind soever they may be, are to be
“ ours, or along with ourselves are to belong to our enemy.
“ And does anyone here talk to me of mildness and pity?
“ For a long time, indeed, we have lost the true names for
“ things. Because to give away another man's goods is called
“ generosity; and boldness in iniquity—courage; on this
“ account the Republic is placed in so critical a position. Let
“ them, since it is now the custom, be liberal out of the
“ fortunes of our allies; let them show compassion on the
“ pilferers of the treasury, let them not, however, make them
“ a present of our blood, and while they spare a few scoundrels,
“ destroy all good men. Caius Cæsar has just spoken well and
“ in studied language in this assembly concerning life and
“ death; deeming, I believe, those things to be false which are
“ recounted about the dead; that going by a different road the
“ bad dwell apart from the good in horrible, savage, filthy, and
“ fearful places. Therefore he voted that the property of the
“ conspirators should be confiscated, and they themselves dis-
“ tributed through the municipal towns in prison; for fear, no
“ doubt, that if they were at Rome they might be rescued by
“ their accomplices in the conspiracy or a hired mob, just as
“ if rogues and vagabonds were only to be found in the city, and
“ not throughout the whole of Italy—or that daring could not
“ do more there, where means of defence are smaller. Wherefore
“ this is indeed inconsiderate counsel if he feared danger from
“ them. But if he alone has no apprehension amid so great
“ alarm of all men, it is on that account necessary that
“ I should have fear for myself and for you (*or* you for your-
“ selves). Wherefore, when you decide what is to be done about
“ Lentulus and the rest, have this fact for certain, that ye are
“ deciding at the same time about Catiline's army and all the
“ conspirators. The more strictly you act the less firm will
“ their spirits be. If they see you only for a moment waver-
“ ing, they will all immediately attack us fiercely (*lit.* be
“ present fierce). Do not think that our ancestors made the
“ Republic powerful from being small by arms alone. If this
“ were the case we should enjoy it in a most flourishing
“ condition, since of allies and citizens, of arms, moreover,
“ and horses, we have a greater abundance than they had.
“ But there were other things that made them great, none of
“ which we have; industry at home, a just government
“ abroad; a spirit free in counsel, and neither bond-slave to

“ nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam ; publicè eges-
 “ tatem, privatim opulentiam. Laudamus divitias, sequimur
 “ inertiam ; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum : omnia
 “ virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum ; ubi
 “ vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi
 “ voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ, aut gratiæ servitis ; eò fit,
 “ ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego hæc
 “ omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere ;
 “ Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum
 “ arcessunt ; dux hostium supra caput est : vos cunctamini
 “ etiam nunc, quid intra mœnia adprehensis hostibus faciatis ?
 “ Misereamini, censeo. Deliquere homines adolescentuli, per
 “ ambitionem ; atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Ne, ista
 “ vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in
 “ miseriam vertet. Scilicet res aspera est ; sed vos non
 “ timetis eam. Immò verò maxumè ; sed inertiam et molliam
 “ animi, alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, Dis immor-
 “ talibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis sæpe
 “ periculis servavere. Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus
 “ auxilia Deorum parantur. Vigilando, agendo, bene con-
 “ sulendo, prospera omnia cedunt. Ubi secordiæ te atque
 “ ignaviæ tradideris, nequidquam Deos implores ; irati infes-
 “ tique sunt. Apud majores nostros, Titus Manlius Torquatus,
 “ bello Gallico, filium suum, quòd is contra imperium in
 “ hostem pugnaverit, necari jussit ; atque ille, egregius adoles-
 “ cens, immoderatæ fortitudinis morte pœnas dedit. Vos, de
 “ crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini ? Vide-
 “ licet vita cætera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verùm, parcite
 “ dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famæ suæ, si Dîs aut
 “ hominibus umquam ullis pepercit. Ignoscite Cethegi adoles-
 “ centiæ, nisi iterum patriæ bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de
 “ Gabinio, Statilio, Cœpario, loquar ? Quibus, si quidquam
 “ umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republicâ habuis-
 “ sent. Postremò, Patres Conscripti ! si, mehercule ! peccato
 “ locus esset, facile paterer, vos ipsâ re corrigi, quoniam verba
 “ contemnitis. Sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina
 “ cum exercitu faucibus urget ; alii intra mœnia, in sinu urbis,

Titus Manlius Torquatus. Most manuscripts have *Aulus*, which is a palpable error. The event referred to, moreover, did not occur in a Gallic war at all, but in the war against the Latins, which ended with the victory of T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus and P. Decius Mus, at the foot of Vesuvius, which won Latium for Rome (see Livy viii. 7). The story is too well known to need repetition, but it may be remarked that the memory of it survived in the expression *Manliana imperia* for strictness and severity.

Iterum. It is doubtful whether he had been a party to Cataline's first abortive attempt.

“ guilt nor passion. In place of these we have extravagance
“ and greed ; public poverty, private wealth. We praise riches
“ and give ourselves up to apathy. Between the good and the
“ bad there is no difference ; ambition possesses all the rewards
“ of virtue. Nor is it wonderful (whilst each of you severally
“ take counsel for yourselves) when at home you are slaves
“ to pleasure, here to money or favour ; hence it happens that
“ an attack is made on the helpless Republic. But I pass by
“ these things. Citizens of the highest rank have conspired to
“ destroy their country, and invite to the war the nation of
“ the Gauls, most hostile to the Roman name. The leader of
“ the enemy is over our head with his army. Do you, even
“ now hesitate what to do with enemies caught in the fact
“ within the walls ? You should have pity on them, I vote.
“ They are young men led into error by ambition. Send them
“ away, even with their arms. Truly that clemency and pity
“ of yours, if they can get arms, will end in misery. The
“ case is, assuredly, itself difficult, but you are not afraid of
“ it. Oh no ! on the contrary you are very much ; but
“ through apathy and weakness of mind, one man waiting
“ for one and another for another, ye are hesitating, trust-
“ ing I suppose to the immortal gods, who have frequently
“ saved this Republic amid the greatest perils. But not
“ by vows and womanish supplications is the aid of
“ the gods obtained. By watching, by acting, by carefully
“ deliberating, all things turn out prosperously. When you
“ have given yourself up to indifference and sloth, you will in
“ vain invoke the gods ; they are indignant and hostile to you.
“ In the days of our ancestors, Titus Manlius Torquatus ordered
“ his own son to be put to death in the Gallic war, because he
“ had fought against the enemy contrary to his command, and
“ that illustrious youth suffered the punishment of death for his
“ ill-disciplined courage. Do you hesitate what to decree
“ against the cruellest of murderers ? The rest of their life, I
“ suppose, is opposed to this crime. Spare the dignity of Lentulus
“ if he himself was ever sparing of his own honour, good name,
“ gods, or men. Pardon the youth of Cethegus, unless this be
“ the second time he has made war upon his country. But
“ what shall I say of Gabinius, Statilius, and Cœparius, who,
“ if they had ever had any thought, would never have had
“ such designs against the Republic. Lastly, Conscript Fathers,
“ if there were in truth any room for a mistake, I might easily
“ allow you to be corrected by the event itself, since you despise
“ words. But on every side we are beset. Cataline is pressing
“ with an army in our very teeth ; there are other enemies.

“ sunt hostes ; neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occultè
 “ potest : quò magis properandum. Quare ita ego censeo :
 “ Cùm, nefario consilio sceleratorum civium, respublica in
 “ maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio Titi Volturcii, et
 “ legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint, cædem,
 “ incendia, alia fœda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque
 “ paravisse ; de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capi-
 “ talium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum.”

LIII. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes, itemque senatûs magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt : alii, alios increpantes, timidos vocant : Cato magnus atque clarus habetur : senatûs decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ Populus Romanus, domi militiæque, mari atque terrâ, præclara facinora fecit, fortè lubuit attendere, quæ res maxumè tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, sæpe numerò parvâ manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse. Cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus ; ad hoc, sæpe fortunæ violentiam toleravisse ; facundiâ Græcos, gloriâ belli Gallos, ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi, multa agitanti, constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse ; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam, luxu atque desidiâ, civitas corrupta est, rursus respublica magnitudine suâ imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat ; ac, sicuti effecta parentium, multis tempestatibus, haud sanè quisquam Romæ, virtute magnus, fuit. Sed memoriâ meâ, ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus, fuere viri duo, Marcus Cato et Caius Cæsar, quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire, non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia, prope æqualia fuere. Magnitudo animi par, item gloria ; sed alia alii. Cæsar

LIII. *Effecta parentium.* This is a confessedly difficult passage, and there are various readings, *effectâ parente* being the most usual, perhaps, and which has been translated “as if the parent stock was exhausted ;” but we prefer the former, as the sense of the partitive genitive is clear enough. The sentence is one of those containing a dual construction, which are frequently met with in Sallust, and is, on the whole, probably corrupt.

LIV. *Cæsar.* The life of Caius Julius Cæsar is so interwoven with the events in which he lived, that to attempt even to enumerate the historical transactions in which he took part, would occupy far more space than can be afforded here, but it may be mentioned, as a matter

“ within the walls, and in the bosom of the city ; nothing can
 “ either be prepared or planned in secret ; for which reason we
 “ must use the greater expedition. Wherefore I move that : ‘ since
 “ by the evil counsels of some wicked citizens the Republic has
 “ been placed (*lit. come*) into the greatest peril, and these have
 “ been convicted by the testimony of Titus Volturcius and the
 “ ambassadors of the Allobroges, and have confessed that they
 “ had prepared slaughter, fire, and other foul and cruel deeds
 “ against their fellow citizens and their country, capital
 “ punishment is to be inflicted upon those who have confessed,
 “ as well as upon those who are palpably guilty of capital
 “ crimes, according to the custom of our ancestors.’ ”

LIII. After Cato sat down, all those of consular rank, as also a great part of the senate, praise his opinion, and extol the manliness of his spirit to heaven ; one upbraiding one, and one another another, they call each other cowards. Cato (alone) is considered illustrious and grand ; a decree of the senate is passed as he had moved. But as I had read much and heard much of the noble deeds which the Roman people had performed at home and in war, by sea and by land, it happened to be my desire to consider attentively what circumstance most particularly had supported such great affairs. I was aware that they had often with a small force fought with vast legions of the enemy. I knew, too, that with small forces wars had been waged with rich kings ; in addition, that they had often endured vicissitudes of fortune ; that in eloquence the Greeks, and in renown for war the Gauls, surpassed the Romans. And to me, reflecting on many things, it was evident that the eminent virtue of a few citizens had effected all, and therefore it had come to pass that poverty outdid riches, the few the multitude. But when the State was corrupted by extravagance and sloth, yet once more the Republic, by its own greatness, bore up against the vices of its rulers and magistrates, and, as in the case of an exhausted mother, for many a long year there was at Rome no one of great ability. But, within my recollection, there have been two men of eminent talent, but of different disposition, Marcus Cato and Caius Cæsar ; whom, since the subject has brought them before my notice, it has not been my intention to pass over in silence, but to analyse, as far as my ability permits me, the nature and principles of each.

LIV. Accordingly their descent, their age, and eloquence were almost on a par. Their greatness of soul was equal, so also was their renown, but of a different kind in each. Cæsar

beneficiis ac munificentiâ magnus habebatur, integritate vitæ Cato. Ille, mansuetudine et misericordiâ, clarus factus; huic, severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato, nihil largiundo, gloriam adeptus. In altero, miseris perfugium; in altero, malis perniciēs. Illius facilitas, hujus constantia, laudabatur. Postremò, Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua neglegere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxumè severitatis, erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentiâ, certabat. Esse, quàm videri, bonus malebat; ita, quò minùs gloriam petebat, eò magis sequebatur.

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factum ratus, noctem quæ instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet. Ipse, dispositis præsiidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit cæteris per prætores. Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum adpellatur, ubi paululum escenderis ad lævam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vineta; sed incultu, tenebris, odore fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissimâ gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cœpario, eodem modo, supplicium sumtum.

LVI. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omnia copiâ, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet. Deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis in castra venit, æqualiter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum

of reference, that he was born on the 12th July, 100 B.C., passed through the usual offices, conquered Gaul in 50, defeated Pompey 48, became all-powerful at Rome, but was assassinated on the ides of March, 44 B.C. by Brutus and Cassius and their followers.

LV. *Tullianum*. Said by some to owe its name to Servius Tullius, by others to Tullus Hostilius. The dungeon still exists under the church of *San Pietro in Carcere*, which is not far from the forum at the foot of the Capitoline.

LVI. *Copiâ*. *Copiæ* is more usual.

Duas legiones. The legion consisted of different numbers at different times. In the time of Catiline it would be about 4,000 men.

was accounted great from, the benefits he bestowed, and his munificence; Cato by his integrity of life. The former acquired renown by clemency and compassion; to the latter his severity added dignity. Cæsar by giving, relieving, and pardoning; Cato, by bestowing nothing, acquired reputation. In the one there was refuge to the wretched, in the other destruction to the bad. The accessibility of the former, the firmness of the latter was praised. Lastly, Cæsar had formed the resolve to labour, to watch; intent on the business of his friends, to neglect his own; to deny nothing that was worthy of a gift; for himself he desired a great command, an army, and a new war, where his capacity might be conspicuous. But Cato's aim was for moderation, honour, but most of all for the rigid practice of virtue. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious, but in valour with the strong, in modesty with the modest, with the innocent in self-denial. He preferred rather to be than to seem good, and therefore the less he sought renown the more it followed him.

LV. After the senate as I said went over to Cato's opinion, the consul, thinking the best thing to be done was to take advantage of the night which was just at hand, lest any new plan should be originated in the interval, bids the triumvers prepare the things the execution required. He himself, having disposed the guards, conducts Lentulus to gaol; the same is done to the rest by the prætors. There is a place in the prison which is called Tullianum, when you have ascended a little to the left, sunk about twelve feet into the ground. Walls protect it on every side, and over it is a vaulted roof secured by stone arches; but it is foul from neglect, darkness, and stench, and its appearance is terrible. When Lentulus was lowered into this place, those to whom the order had been given, strangled him with a rope. Thus did that patrician, of the most illustrious family of the Cornelii, who had held the consular authority at Rome, find an end to his life worthy of his principles and deeds. On Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cœparius capital punishment was inflicted in the same manner.

LVI. While these things are being transacted at Rome, Catiline formed two legions out of all the force which he had himself brought, and Manlius had, and fills up his cohorts according to the number of his men. Then accordingly as any one came as a volunteer, or from his accomplices to the camp, he distributed them equally among his troops, and in a short time completed his legions as to the number of men,

expleverat ; cùm, initio non ampliùs duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copiâ, circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa ; cæteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos, aut lanceas, alii præacutas sudes, portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, ad urbem modò, modò in Galliam versus, castra movere ; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare. Sperabat propè diem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romæ socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnæ copię concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus ; simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri, causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. Sed postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam ; de Lentulo, Cethego, cæteris, quos suprâ memoravi, supplicium sumtum ; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur. Reliquos Catilina, per montis asperos magnis itineribus, in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occultè perfugerent in Galliam. At Quintus Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quæ suprâ diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra properè movet, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, quâ illi descensus erat in Galliam properant. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat ; utpotè qui magno exercitu, locis æquioribus expeditus, in fugâ sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam vidit montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res advorsas, neque fugæ, neque præsidii ullam spem, optimum factum ratus, in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quàm primùm configere. Itaque, concione advocatâ, hujusce modi orationem habuit.

LVIII. “ Compertum ego habeo, Milites ! verba virtutem
 “ non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido,
 “ exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo

Sparos. Nothing is known of these rustic weapons, except that they were a sort of dart with a curved end.

Cujus ; i. e., servitii.

LVII. *Agrum Pistoriensem.* Pistoria, the modern *Pistoia*, is a small town in Etruria, not very distant from Fæsulæ, on the road from Luca to Florentia.

Galliam, i. e., Citeriorem.

Utpotè qui for *quippe* qui takes the subjunctive, as giving the reason of what precedes.

though he had had at first not more than two thousand men. But out of all this force about a fourth part only was furnished with the arms of soldiers; the rest, just as chance had armed each, carried darts or spears, and some sharpened stakes. But when Antonius came with his army, Catiline began to march through the mountains, and at one time turned his camp towards the city, another time towards Gaul, and gave no opportunity of fighting to the enemy. He hoped he should speedily have a large force if the attempts of his friends at Rome should succeed. In the meanwhile he refused the slaves, of whom at first great numbers flocked to him, relying on the resources of the conspiracy, and at the same time thinking it inconsistent with his views to appear to have mingled the cause of citizens with that of fugitive slaves.

LVII. But when a messenger came into the camp, that the conspiracy was disclosed at Rome, and that capital punishment had been inflicted upon Lentulus, Cethegus and the rest whom I have mentioned above, most of those, whom hope of pillage or a desire for a revolution had allured to the war, slip away. The remainder Catiline leads away into the territory of Pistorium by forced marches over rugged mountains, with the intention that they might secretly escape through the narrow defiles into Gaul. But Quintus Metellus Celer (who) was stationed, with three legions, in the territory of Picenum, suspected (*lit.* imagining) that Catiline, through the difficulty of his circumstances, would do the very thing we have mentioned above. Therefore, when he was made acquainted with his route by some deserters, he hurriedly moved his camp, and encamped at the very foot (*lit.* the roots) of the mountains where his descent would be as he hurried into Gaul. Nor, indeed, was Antonius far off, inasmuch as he was with a large army, and being free from obstruction in the more level country, pursued (the enemy) in retreat. But Catiline, when he saw himself hemmed in by mountains and the forces of the enemy, that things had gone wrong in the city, and that there was no hope of flight or protection thought the best thing to be done was to try the fortune of war, and determined to engage as soon as possible with Antonius. Therefore, having assembled his men (*lit.* summoned an assembly) he delivered a speech in the following terms:—

LVIII. “ I hold it proved, soldiers, that words do not add
 “ valour to men, nor that by the speech of its commander can
 “ an army become active from being slothful, or brave from
 “ being cowardly. Whatever courage there is in any man’s

" audacia naturâ aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet.
 " Quem neque gloria, neque pericula excitant, nequidquàm
 " hortere; timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos, quò pauca
 " monerem, advocavi, simul uti causam consilii aperirem.
 " Scitis equidem, Milites! secordia atque ignavia Lentuli quan-
 " tam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe
 " præsidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc
 " quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxtâ mecum omnes intellegitis.
 " Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Galliâ, obstant.
 " Diutiùs in his locis esse, si maxumè animus ferat, frumenti
 " atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire
 " placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Quaproptèr vos moneo,
 " uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cùm prælium inibitis,
 " memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem
 " atque patriam, in dextris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis
 " tuta, commeatus abundè, coloniæ atque municipia patebunt;
 " sin' metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fiunt. Neque locus
 " neque amicus quisquàm teget, quem arma non texerint.
 " Præterea, Milites! non eadem nobis, et illis necessitudo
 " impendet. Nos pro patriâ, pro libertate, pro vitâ, certamus;
 " illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentiâ paucorum.
 " Quò audaciùs adgredimini, memores pristinæ virtutis. Licuit
 " nobis, cum summâ turpitudine, in exilio ætatem agere.
 " Potuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes ex-
 " spectare. Quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur,
 " hæc sequi decrevistis. Si relinquere voltis, audaciâ opus est;
 " nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fugâ
 " salutem sperare, cùm arma, quîs corpus tegitur, ab hostibus
 " averteris, ea verò dementia est. Semper in prælio maximum
 " est periculum, qui maxumè timent; audacia pro muro
 " habetur. Cùm vos considero, Milites! et cùm facta vestra
 " æstumo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. Animus, ætas,
 " virtus vestra hortantur; præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam
 " timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circum-
 " venire queat, prohibent angustia. Quòd si virtuti vestræ

LVIII. *Moribus*. Usually translated "*habit*," but Sallust means by being accustomed to face danger by long training.

Municipia. These had had a diversity of condition, until, by the Julian and other laws (B.C., 90), they received the full Roman franchise. Liddell defines a *municipiam* as "a community of which the citizens are members of the whole nation, all possessing the same rights and subject to the same burthens, but retaining the administration of law and government in all local matters."

“ spirit, either by nature or training, so much is wont to be
 “ displayed in war. Him whom neither glory nor dangers
 “ rouse, you will in vain exhort: the fear in his mind closes
 “ his ears. But I have called you together in order to give
 “ you a little advice, as well as to unfold the cause of the
 “ plan I have adopted. You know, indeed, Soldiers, what
 “ disastrous consequences the apathy and sloth of Lentulus
 “ have entailed upon himself and us, and how, while I was
 “ waiting for reinforcements from the city, I could not set
 “ out for Gaul. Now, indeed, you all understand, almost as well
 “ as I do myself, in what position our affairs are. Two armies
 “ of the enemy, the one from the city the other from Gaul, bar
 “ our progress. To remain any longer in these parts (*lit* places),
 “ even if inclination most strongly urged us to take that step,
 “ want of provision and of other things prevents. Whithersoever
 “ we choose to go, the path must be opened by the sword.
 “ Wherefore I exhort you to be of a brave and ready mind,
 “ and when you go into battle, remember that you carry in
 “ your right hands, riches, honour, glory—moreover, your
 “ freedom and your country. If we conquer, all things will
 “ be safe to us, provisions in abundance; the colonies and
 “ municipal towns will be open; but if we shall yield through
 “ fear, these same places will become hostile to us, nor will
 “ any place or friend protect him whom his arms shall not have
 “ protected. Besides, Soldiers, the same necessity does not press
 “ upon us and them. We are striving for our country, our
 “ freedom, our life; it is superfluous for them to fight for the
 “ power of the few. Wherefore attack them the more boldly,
 “ mindful of your former valour. You might with the deepest
 “ degradation have lived in exile, when you had lost your
 “ property. Some of you might have waited at Rome for the
 “ resources of others. But because those things appeared
 “ foul and unendurable to brave men, you determined to
 “ adopt this course. If you wish to abandon it, you have
 “ need of daring; no one, except he be conqueror, has
 “ ever changed war for peace. For to expect safety in flight,
 “ when you have thrown away the arms by which the body
 “ is protected, that, indeed, is folly. There is always in a
 “ battle the greatest peril from those who are the most afraid;
 “ daring is reckoned to be (like) a wall. When I consider you,
 “ Soldiers, and estimate your deeds, great hope of victory
 “ possesses me. Your spirit, your age, your valour, encourage
 “ me, and there is, besides, the necessity which makes even
 “ cowards brave. For the confined nature of your position
 “ prevents the number of the enemy from being able to

“ fortuna inviderit, cavete, inulti animam amittatis ; neu capti
 “ potiùs, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quàm virorum more
 “ pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus
 “ relinquatis.”

LIX. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere, jubet, atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis, quò militibus, exæquato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum, pro loco atque copiis, instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et ab dextrâ, rupe asperâ, octo cohortis in fronte constituit ; reliqua signa in subsidio artiùs collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis lectos, et evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum, in primam aciem subducit. Caium Manlium in dextrâ, Fæsulanum quemdam in sinistrâ parte, curare jubet : ipse, cum libertis et colonis, propter aquilam adsistit, quam, bello Cimbrico, Caius Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex alterâ parte Caius Antonius, pedibus æger, quòd prælio adesse nequibat, Marco Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti caussâ conscripserat, in fronte ; post eas, cæterum exercitum in subsidiis, locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans adpellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones inermos, pro patriâ, pro liberis, pro aris atque focus suis, cernere. Homo militaris, quòd ampliùs annos triginta tribunus, aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor, cum magnâ gloriâ fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat : ea commemorando, militum animos accendebat.

LX. Sed ubi, rebus omnibus exploratis, Petreius tubâ signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet ; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eò ventum, unde a ferentariis prælium committi posset, maximo clamore, cum infestis signis concurrunt : pila omittunt ; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, comminùs acriter instare : illi haud

LIX. *Evocati*. Men who had volunteered for service, though not legally liable : they were exempt from the usual hardships of military life, and formed a sort of *corps élite*.

Liberti. When the patron's name is given, freed-men are called *liberti* : if the word is used indefinitely, *libertini* would be the proper expression.

Bello Cimbrico. This refers to the defeat of the Cimbri by Marius and Catulus, in B.C. 101.

C. Marius. One of the most famous Roman commanders, born in B.C. 157, at Arpinium, was of humble birth, but, entering the army

“ surround you. But if fortune envies your bravery, take care that you do not lose your life unavenged, nor, if captured, to be butchered like cattle, rather than, fighting like men, leave the enemy a bloody and mournful victory.”

LIX. When he had said these things, having delayed a little while, he bids the trumpets sound, and leads down his troops, drawn up in battle array, into a level place. Then, the horses of all being sent away, in order that when the danger was made equal the soldiers might have a bolder spirit, he himself on foot draws up his army according to the place and his forces. For as there was a plain between the mountains on the left hand, and on the right a rugged rock, he places eight cohorts in front, the rest of the standards he draws up in closer order as a body of reserve. From these he moves into the first rank all the picked centurions and veterans, as well the best armed of the common soldiers. He directs Caius Manlius to take the command on the right, and a certain man of Fæsulæ on the left flank; he himself, with his freedmen and colonists, takes his station near the eagle, which Caius Marius was said to have had in his army in the Cimbrian war. But on the other side, Caius Antonius, being lame (*some translate* “having the gout”), since he could not be present at the battle, entrusts the army to Marcius Petreius, his lieutenant. The latter posts the veteran cohorts which he had levied for the purposes of this rebellion in the front, and behind them he places the rest of the army as a body of reserve. He himself, riding about on horseback, addresses each man by name, exhorts and begs them to remember that they are fighting against unarmed plunderers for their country, their children, their altars, and their hearths. And, as he was a military man, since he had served with great distinction for more than thirty years either as tribune, or præfect, or lieutenant, or prætor, he was well acquainted with most of them and their brave actions; by drawing these to their recollection he fired the spirits of his soldiers.

LX. But when, all things being in readiness, Petreius gives the signal with his trumpet, and bids the cohorts advance little by little. The army of the enemy does the same thing. After they came to that distance from which the action could be commenced by the light armed soldiers, they engage one another with a loud shout, the banners being turned hostilely against one another; they throw aside their javelins and fight with swords. The veterans, mindful of their ancient valour,

timidi resistunt. Maxumâ vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in primâ acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcessere; omnia providere; multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire; strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilniam contra ac ratus erat, magnâ vi tendere, cohortem prætorium in medios hostis inducit, eos perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus adgreditur. Manlius et Fæsulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinæ dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit, ubique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. Sed confecto prælio, tum verò cerneret, quanto audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ; nam ferè, quem quisque pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissâ animâ, corpore tegebat vivus. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors prætoria disjecerat, paullo diversiùs, sed omnes tamen advorsis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina verò longè a suis, inter hostium cadavera, repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens. Postremò, ex omni copiâ, neque in prælio, neque in fugâ, quisquam civis ingenuus captus; ita cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxtâ pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus Populi Romani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus; nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris, visundi aut spoliandi gratiâ, processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem, aut cognatum reperiebant. Fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita variè per omnem exercitum lætitia, mœror, luctus, atque gaudia, agitabantur.

FINIS.

under Scipio Africanus, rose rapidly to distinction, was tribune of the plebs, 119, consul, 107, received Numidia as his province, and defeated Jugurtha, and on his return was sent to encounter the Teutons and Cimbri, whom he defeated with great slaughter. Marius was seven times consul altogether, and during his successes sprang up the rivalry between himself and Sulla, which led to Civil war, and almost ruined the Republic. Sulla was victorious, but Marius returned in 86, and, having named himself consul, died a few weeks afterwards.

Legatus. A lieutenant. These were sort of deputies taking the place of the commander-in-chief, and were generally men who had held a curule office; *tribunus, i.e. militarius*, answered somewhat to our colonel; *præfectus* was a commander of the auxiliary forces.

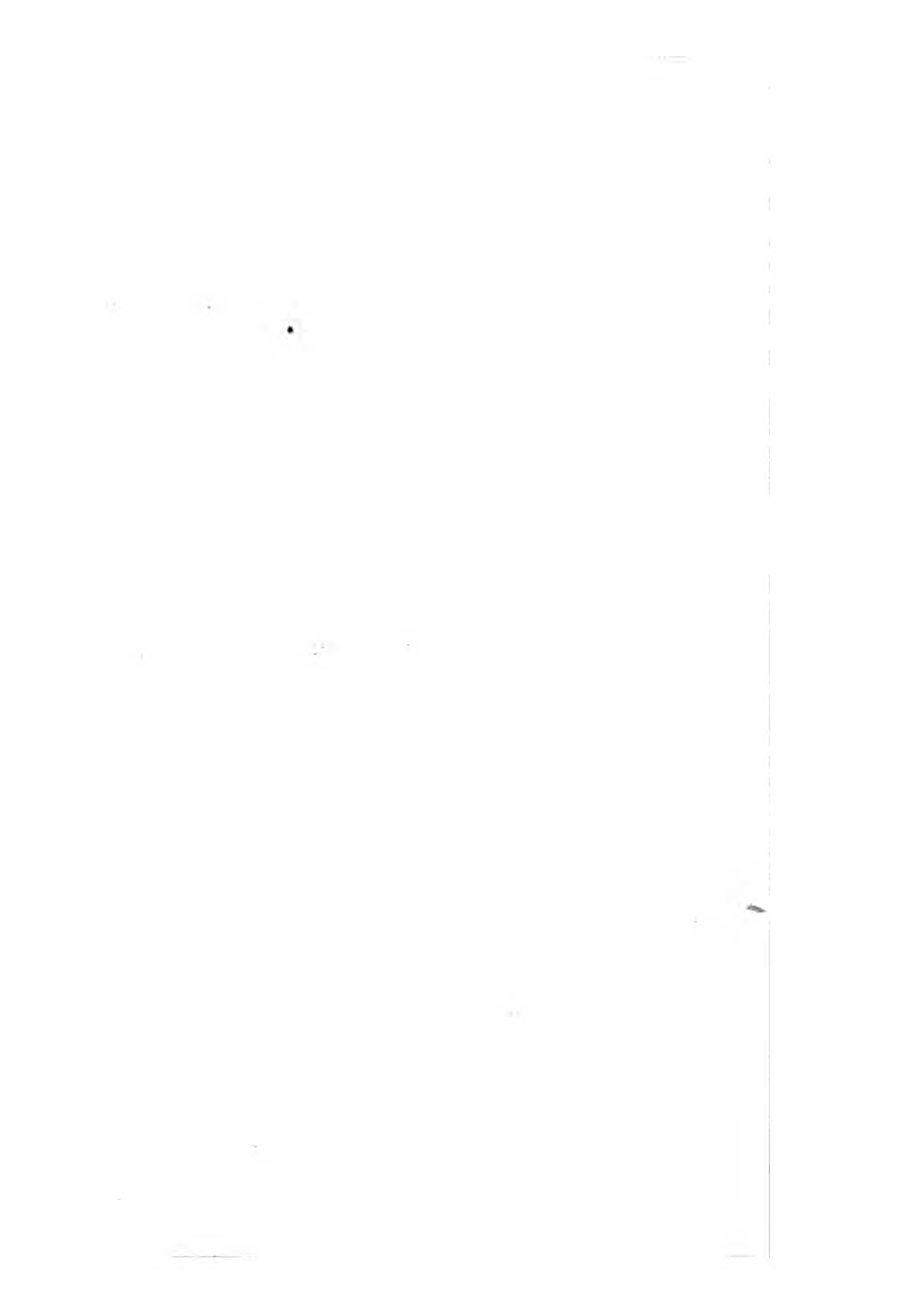
LX. *Cohortem prætoriam.* A picked band or regiment, forming a sort of body guard for the general.

LXI. *Quisquam civis ingenuus.* As the noun is expressed, we should have expected *ullus* instead of *quisquam*. *Ingenui* were those whose parents had always been free.

press fiercely on, hand to hand, the others resist manfully. They strive with the greatest fury on both sides. Meanwhile, Catiline, with his light armed men, moves about in the first line, relieves those who were hard pressed, brings up fresh men instead of the wounded, sees to everything, himself fights fiercely, and frequently kills some of the enemy, and performed at the same time the duties of a hardy soldier and a good commander. Petreius, when he sees Catiline, contrary to his expectation, fight with great obstinacy, brings the prætorian cohort into the enemy's centre, and slays them, thrown into confusion and making a stand, some in one place and some in another; then he attacks the rest in flank on both sides. Manlius and the officer from Fæsulæ were among the first to fall fighting. When Catiline sees his forces routed and himself left with but a few, mindful of his race and former dignity, he rushes into the thickest of the enemy, and there is slain fighting.

LXI. But when the battle was finished, then in truth you might see how much boldness, and how great strength of spirit had been in the army of Catiline; for almost everywhere, whatever place each man, when living, had taken up for fighting, that, when he had lost his life, he covered with his corpse. But a few, in the centre, whom the prætorian cohort had dispersed, had fallen in a somewhat more scattered manner, all, however, with wounds in front. But Catiline was found at a great distance from his own men, amongst the corpses of the enemy, still breathing a little, and retaining in his features the fierceness of soul which he had when living. Finally, of all the force, neither in the battle nor in the retreat was any free-born citizen taken prisoner; thus all had spared the lives of their enemies as little as their own. Nor, however, had the army of the Roman people gained a joyful or bloodless victory; for all their bravest men either had fallen in battle or gone away seriously wounded. But many who had gone out of the camp, either for the sake of reconnoitring or pillaging, as they turned over the corpses of the enemy, found, some a friend, others a guest or relation. There were some also who recognized their enemies. Thus were variously experienced through the whole army, delight, sorrow, grief and joy.

THE END.







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