

In Catilinam

CICERO

November 8, 63 B.C.E.

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1 Chapter I

1. Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora voltusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam iam horum omnium scientia teneri coniurationem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris?

2. O tempora, o mores! Senatus haec intellegit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem fortes viri satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri pestem, quam tu in nos machinaris.

3. An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus interfecit; Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium novis rebus studentem manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens

Just how far, I ask, Catiline, will you misuse our tolerance? For how long still will that madness of yours make fun of us? To what end will your unbridled audacity boast of itself? Hasn't the nightly garrison on the Palatine moved you, haven't the patrols of the city, hasn't the fear of the people, hasn't the agreement of all the good men, hasn't this very fortified place for holding the senate, haven't the faces and expressions of these men moved you? Do you not realise that your plans are exposed? Do you not see that your conspiracy, already bound up, is being held by the knowledge of all these men? Which of us do you judge to be unaware of what you did last night, and the night before, where you have been, which men you have assembled, what plan you have adopted?

What times, what conduct! The senate knows of these things, the consul sees: yet this man lives. He lives? Or rather in truth he still comes into the senate, he is made a participant of public council, he marks and notes with his eyes each one of us for the slaughter. But we, brave men, seem to do enough for the republic, should we avoid the furor and missiles of that man. You, Catiline, ought to have been led to death long ago now by order of the consul, that destruction which you are divising against us ought to have been brought on to you.

But in truth, Publius Scipio, a highly distinguished man, pontifex maximus, while he was a private citizen, killed Tiberius Gracchus when he was somewhat weakening the state of the republic: will we consuls put up with Catiline, wishing to lay waste to the world by means of murder and arson? For I leave out too much of those old examples, namely the fact that Gaius Servilius Ahala killed Suprius Maelius, studying the revolution, with his own hand. There was, there was once such virtue in this republic that brave men repressed a

1 **Quo**: interrogative
1 **usque**: adverb modifies quo
1 **abutere**: future deponent second person singular of abutor, syncopated form of abuteris. quo + indicative = direct question
1 **patientia**: ablative after abutere
2 **quam**: interrogative
2 **eludet**: eludo eludere elusi elusum
3 **sese**: accusative direct object of iactabit
3 **iactabit**: quem + indicative = direct question
3 **audacia**: subject of iactabit
3 **Nihilne**: anaphora of nihil from lines 3–6
4 **Palatii**: genitive of classification/objective
5 **populi**: subjective genitive
5 **omnium**: possessive genitive
6 **habendi**: gerundive, modifies senatus, genitive of classification
7 **Patere**: accusative (consilia) + infinitive = indirect statement depending on sentis
7 **consilia**: accusative + infinitive patere = subject of indirect statement depending on sentis
8 **horum omnium**: genitive of possession
8 **teneri**: accusative (coniurationem) + infinitive = indirect statement dependent on vides
9 **coniurationem**: accusative + infinitive (teneri) = indirect statement dependent on

vides
9 **Quid**: all interrogatives
10 **egeris**: quid + subjunctive = indirect question dependent on ignorare
10 **fueris**: ubi + subjunctive indirect question dependent on ignorare. Same for convocaveris, ceperis, arbitraris. Asyndeton
11 **consilii**: partitive
11 **arbitraris**: quem + indicative = direct question
12 **O tempora, o mores!**: accusative of exclamation
13 **immo**: adverb
14 **consilii**: objective genitive
15 **oculis**: ablative of means
15 **caedem**: ad + accusative
15 **unum**: accusative direct object of notat/designat
15 **nostrum**: partitive genitive
16 **facere**: videmur + prolativ infinitive
16 **rei publicae**: dative of advantage
17 **istius**: genitive of possession
17 **furorem**: accusative direct object of vitemus
17 **vitemus**: subjunctive future unreal condition
17 **te**: accusative + oportebat + infinitive (duci)
18 **duci**: oportebat + accusative (te) +

prolative infinitive
18 **iussu**: means
18 **consulis**: classification
19 **pestem**: oportebat + accusative + infinitive (conferri)
19 **machinaris**: quam + indicative = relative clause
20–21 **pontifex maximus**: in apposition with vir
22 **rei publicae**: genitive of classification
22 **privatus**: modifies vir
23 **caede atque incendiis**: ablative of means
23 **vastare**: cupientem + prolativ infinitive
23 **cupientem**: participle agreeing with Catilinam replacing relative clause
23 **consules**: in apposition with nos
24 **perferemus**: future indicative active of perfero
24 **nimis**: adverb modifies antiqua
25 **novis rebus**: studentem + dative
26 **quondam**: adverb
27 **suppliciis**: ablative of means
28 **acerbissimum**: in apposition with civem after quam
28 **coercerent**: ut + subjunctive = result clause. coerceo coercere coercui coercitum
29 **senatus**: genitive of possession

30 et grave; non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

destructive citizen with more harsh punishment than the worst enemy. We have an agreement of the senate against you, Catiline, strong and serious, the republic does not lack resolution nor authority of this order: we, I say openly, we consuls are lacking. 40R

30 **rei publicae**: deest + dative

31 **ordinis**: genitive of possession

2 Chapter II

4. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet; nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus, occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica; num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum pl. et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim huiusce modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim te interfectum esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed iam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno.

5. Castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus conlocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus; eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videtis intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique interficere, cum iam nemo tam inprobis, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non iure factum esse fateatur.

6. Quam diu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives, sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non

The Senate has decreed long ago, for Lucius Opimius, consul, to see that the republic experiences no harm: darkness obstructed nothing; Gaius Gracchus was killed on account of some suspicion of treachery, descended from a very famous father, grandfather, ancestors; Marcus Fulvius, of consular rank, was killed with his children. By a similar decree of the Senate, the republic was entrusted to consuls Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius; surely the death penalty inflicted by the state did not keep Lucius Saturninus, tribune of the people, and Gaius Servilius, praetor, waiting a single day afterwards? But in contrast it is now the 20th day that we have allowed the sharp edge of the authority of these men to become blunt. For we have a decree of the senate of this kind, but it is enclosed in the records as if it is concealed in a sheath, in accordance with which decree it is fitting that you, Catiline, have been killed immediately. You live, and you live not to resign but to strengthen your audacity. I wish, senators, that I be merciful, I wish that I do not seem careless in such. Great dangers of the republic, but I now condemn me myself of inaction and negligence.

There is a camp in Italy aimed against the Roman people, located in the narrow passes of Etruria, the number of enemies grows day by day, but you see the general of that camp and the leader of the enemy within the city walls and actually in the senate, every day devising some internal destruction of the republic. If I order you to be arrested, Catiline, if I order you to be killed, I believe, I will have to fear, I suppose, not that all loyal men will say I have acted too late, but that someone will say that I have been too cruel. But I am not yet induced to do what ought to have been done long ago. Only then will you be killed, when no one so wicked, so ruined, so similar to you, will be able to be found, who does not admit that it has not been done in accordance with the law.

As long as there is anyone at all that dares to defend you, you will live, but you will live in such a way, as you do now, that you live, besieged by my many strong guards, so that you will be unable to move yourself

- 2 **quid**: accusative direct object of caperet
 2 **detrimenti**: partitive genitive
 2 **caperet**: subjunctive indirect command dependent on videret
 3 **intercessit**: intercedo intercedere intercessi intercessum
 3-4 **seditionum**: genitive of classification
 4 **patre**: all ablatives of origin
 5 **consularis**: agreeing with Fulvius
 6 **consulto**: ablative of means
 6 **C. Mario**: permitto + dative
 8 **L. Saturninum**: acc object of remorata est
 9 **rei publicae**: subjective genitive
 10 **vicesimum**: twenty
 10 **diem**: acc time how long
 10 **hebescere**: patimur + prolativ infinitive
 10 **horum**: possessive
 11 **auctoritatis**: classification
 11 **modi**: classification
 11 **senatus**: possession
 13-14 **interfectum esse**: infinitive + accusative (te) = indirect statement dependent on convenit

- 14 **convenit**: quo + indicative = relative clause
 15 **deponendam**: ad + accusative (audaciam) + gerundive = purpose clause
 16 **esse**: accusative (me) + infinitive = indirect statement depending on cupio (indirect wish)
 16 **clementem**: accusative agreeing with me complement of esse
 17 **rei publicae**: dat of disadvantage/gen of classification
 17 **videri**: accusative (me) + infinitive = indirect statement depending on cupio
 18 **inertiae**: condemno + acc (me) + genitive of the fault
 20 **Etruriae**: possessive/classification
 20-21 **hostium**: partitive
 21 **castrorum**: classification
 23-24 **rei publicae**: classification
 24 **molientem**: perfect active participle agreeing with imperatorem replacing a relative clause
 24 **comprehendi**: accusative (te) + infinitive

- = indirect command dependent on iussero
 25 **iussero**: si + indicative = real condition
 25 **mihi**: dative of agent
 27 **dicat**: ne + subjunctive = fear clause (for the future) depending on erit verendum
 27 **Verum**: adverb = but
 28 **factum esse**: impersonal oportuit + acc (quod) + infinitive
 29 **faciam**: ut + subj = purpose
 29 **interficere**: indic fut pass of interficio, syncopated of interficeris
 30 **tui**: similis + gen
 30 **poterit**: cum + indicative = temporal clause
 31 **iure**: adverb
 31 **fateatur**: qui + subj = relative clause of characteristic
 32-33 **audeat**: qui + subjunctive = relative clause of characteristic
 33 **vivis**: ut + indicative = clause of comparison
 35 **possis**: ne + subj = negative purpose

sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, specularuntur atque
custodient.

against the republic. Moreover the eyes and ears of
many will still be watching you unaware, just as they
have done up to this point.

3 Chapter III

Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis tuae potest, si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede, obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia; quae iam mecum licet recognoscas.

7. Meministine me ante diem XII Kalendas Novembris dicere in senatu fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI Kal. Novembris, C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu caedem te optumatum contulisse in ante diem V Kalendas Novembris, tum cum multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num infitiri potes te illo ipso die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu discessu ceterorum nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, caede te contentum esse dicebas?

8. Quid? cum te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

And as a matter of fact what is, Catiline, what more can you expect, if neither the night can obscure your evil meetings with darkness nor can a private house contain the voices of your conspirators with its walls, if everything is lit up, if everything is bursting out? Change that mind of yours already, believe me, forget about slaughter and arson. You are held from all sides; all. Your plans are clearer to use than light; which now you may review with me.

Do you remember that I said in the senate on October 21st that Gaius Manlius, the accomplice and servant of your reckless attempt would be in arms on a certain fixed day which was going to be the 27th of October? Surely, Catiline, I was not mistaken about not only such a great matter, so atrocious and unbelievable, but, much more remarkable, the day? I likewise said in the senate, that you had fixed the slaughter of the nobles for the 28th of October, at a time when many leading citizens had fled from Rome not so much for the sake of saving themselves, as for suppressing your plans. Surely you cannot deny that you could not have moved against the republic on that very day, because you were shut in by my many guards, my diligence; while you were saying that you were content with the departure of the rest, with my murder, I who had remained behind.

Well. Although you were confident that you would seize control of the Palestrina on the very first day of November by a nocturnal attack, did you realise that the colony was fortified by my command with my guards, sentinels, and patrols? You do nothing, you labour at nothing, you plan nothing, which I do not not only hear, but also see and plainly realise.

1-2 **expectes**: quod + indicative = relative clause of purpose
 2 **tenebris**: ablative of means
 2 **obscurare**: potest + infinitive
 3 **coniurationis**: classification
 4 **illustrantur**: si + present indicative = present real condition
 4 **Muta**: imperative direct command
 5 **mihi**: crede + dative
 5 **caedis**: obliviscere + gen
 6 **luce**: ablative of comparison
 6 **nobis**: reference
 7 **licet**: quae + indicative = relative clause
 7 **recognoscas**: impersonal verb licet + subjunctive
 9 **dicere**: infinitive + accusative (me) = indirect statement depending on meministine

9 **fore**: infinitive + accusative C. Manlium = indirect statement depending on dicere
 9 **certo die**: time when
 10 **futurus esset**: qui + subjunctive = relative subordinating clause in indirect statement depending on fore
 10 **C. Manlium**: acc + infinitive (fore) = indirect statement depending on dicere
 11 **audaciae**: objective
 12 **fefellit**: num + indicative = direct question expecting negative answer
 13 **multo**: ablative measure of difference
 14 **caedem**: acc direct object of contulisse
 14-15 **optumatum**: objective
 16 **civitatis**: possession
 16 **sui**: causa + genitive + gerundive (conservandi) = purpose clause

17 **conservandi**: gerundive modifying sui
 19 **mea diligentia**: ablative of cause
 19 **circumclusum**: ppp agreeing with te replacing a causal clause
 21 **ceterorum**: subjective
 21 **caede**: contentum + abl
 22 **contentum**: accusative complement of esse agreeing with te
 22 **dicebas**: cum + indicative = temporal clause
 23 **Praeneste**: acc dir object
 24 **confideres**: cum + subj = concessive
 25 **meo iussu**: cause
 25 **praesidiis**: means
 27 **audiam**: quod + subj = relative clause of characteristic

4 Chapter IV

Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superio-
rem; iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem
quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore noc-
te venisse inter falcarios — non agam obscure — in M.
5 Laecae domum; convenisse eodem complures eiusdem
amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? quid
taces? Convincam, si negas. Video enim esse hic in
senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt.

9. O di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in
10 qua urbe vivimus? quam rem publicam habemus? Hic,
hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc
orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui
de nostro omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque
15 adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent! Hos ego video
consul et de re publica sententiam rogo et, quos ferro
trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce volnero. Fuisti
igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina, distribuisti par-
tes Italiae, statuisti, quo quemque proficisci placeret,
20 delegisti, quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educes,
discripsisti urbis partes ad incendia, confirmasti te
ipsum iam esse exiturum, dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam
nunc morae, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equi-
tes Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa
25 nocte paulo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos
esse pollicerenturo.

Haec ego omnia vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso
comperi; domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi
atque firmavi, exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum
mane miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego iam
30 multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse
praedixeram.

Pray, review with me that night before last and
now you will understand that I am much more heavily
watchful for the safety of the republic than you are
watchful for the destruction of the republic. I say that
you, on the night before last, came in the sickle makers'
5 street — I will deal with you plainly — in the house of
Marcus Laeca; I say that several accomplices of your
same mad criminality came together to the same place.
You don't dare to deny it, do you? Why are you silent?
10 I'll prove you wrong, if you do deny it; for I see that
there are certain people in the senate who were together
with you there.

O immortal gods! Where in the world are we? In
what city do we live? What republic do we have? Here,
they are here in our number, senators, in this most
venerable and influential advisory council in the world,
who think about the death of us all, who think about the
15 ruin of this city and as far as the destruction of the world.
I see these men as a consul, and I ask for their opinion on
the republic, and they should have been killed by sword,
while I not yet wound them with my voice. Therefore
you were at the house of Laeca that night, Catiline; you
divided Italy into districts; you arranged where each
man would go, you picked out those who you would
leave behind at Rome, those who you would lead away
25 with yourself, you assigned the parts of the city for
burning, you established that you yourself would now
leave, you said that there was a short delay for you still,
because I was alive. Two Roman knights were found, to
free you from that concern of yours and they promised
30 that they would kill me in my bed on that very night a
little before dawn.

I found out all these things when your meeting had
scarcely been broken up; I fortified and strengthened
my home with a larger guard; I shut them out, those
whom you had sent to pay an early call, since they them-
selves had come, those very men whom I had already
35 foretold to many very great men that they would come
to me at that time.

2 **multo**: measure of difference

3 **rei publicae**: objective

4 **venisse**: infinitive + acc (te) = indir
statement depending on dico

6 **amentiae**: classification

7 **Convincam**: indicative apodosis of real
present condition

8 **fuerunt**: qui + indicative = relative clause
of characteristic indicating fact

9 **gentium**: partitive

5 Chapter V

Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge, quo coepisti, egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae; proficiscere. Nimum diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari iam diutius non potes; non feram, non patiar, non sinam.

11. Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus. Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae. Quamdiu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotienscumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam.

12. Nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis, templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam [denique] totam ad exitium et vastitatem vocas. Quare, quoniam id, quod est primum, et quod huius imperii disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus; sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciose sentina rei publicae.

13. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id me imperante facere, quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me, num in exilium; non iubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

Since these things are thus, Catiline, proceed to where you have begun, now at last go out from the city; the gates are open: set out. That Manlian camp of yours has been longing for you, its general, for an excessively long time. Also, lead out with you all your men, if less, as many as possible; cleanse the city. You will free me from a great fear, only provided that there is a wall between me and you. You cannot dwell with us now any longer: I will not bear it, I will not endure it, I will not allow it.

Great thanks must be given to the immortal gods and to this Jupiter Stator himself, the most ancient guardian of this city, because we have already so often escaped this scourge, so foul, so dreadful and so hostile to the republic. The utmost safety of the republic must not be so often put at risk by one man. Catiline, all the time you plotted against me, (when I was) the consul elect, I defended myself not with a public garrison but with private vigilance. When at the most recent consular elections you wished to kill me, the consul, and your fellow candidates on the plain (of Mars), I suppressed your wicked attempts with a garrison of friends and with my troops, with no riot publicly instigated; in short, as often as you attacked me, I prevented you through my own means, although I saw that my destruction was linked with great damage to the republic.

Now you are already openly attacking the entire republic; you are calling for the destruction and devastation of the temples of the immortal gods, the buildings of the city, the lives of all the citizens and the whole of Italy. Therefore, since I do not yet dare to do that which is most important and which is in keeping with this supreme authority and the teaching of our ancestors, I shall do that which is more lenient regarding severity and more useful regarding the common safety. For if I order you to be killed, there will remain behind in the republic the rest of the band of conspirators; but if you go out, which I have been urging you (to do) for a long time now, the great dregs of your companions, dangerous to the republic, will be drained out of the city.

What is it, Catiline? Surely you are not hesitating to do at my order what you were already doing of your own accord? The consul orders the enemy to go out of the city. You put the question to me: surely not into exile? I do not order it, but if you ask my advice, I advise it.