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FRAGMENTARY REPUBLICAN LATIN

ENNIUS

TESTIMONIA
EPIC FRAGMENTS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
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GESINE MANUWALD



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FRL I: ENNIUS

I (= T 18)

a Cic. *Brut.* 75-76

tamen illius, quem in vatibus et Faunis adnumerat Ennius, bellum Punicum quasi Myronis opus delectat. sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior: qui si illum, ut simulat, contemneret, non omnia bella persequens primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum reliquisset. sed ipse dicit cur id faciat.

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scripsere [inquit] alii rem

vorsibus

et luculente quidem scripserunt, etiam si minus quam in polite. nec vero tibi aliter videri debet, qui a Naevio vel sumpsisti multa, si fateris, vel, si negas, surripuisti.

b Cic. *Brut.* 71

et nescio an reliquis in rebus omnibus idem eveniat. nihil est enim simul et inventum et perfectum; nec dubitari debet quin fuerint ante Homerum poetae, quod ex eis carminibus intellegi potest, quae apud illum et in Phaeacum et in procorum epulis canuntur. quid, nostri veteres versus ubi sunt?

quos olim fauni vatesque canebant

cum

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neque Musarum scopulos

nec dicti studiosus [quisquam erat] ante hunc

quisquam erat *Ciceroni tribuit Skutsch*

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ANNALS: BOOK VII

I (= T 18)

a Cicero, *Brutus*

The *Bellum Punicum* of that poet, whom Ennius counts among the soothsayers and Fauns, nevertheless gives pleasure as a work of Myron does. Granted that Ennius is more polished, as he surely is: if, as he pretends, he faulted him, he would not in recounting all our wars have left that first, most bitter Punic war alone. But he himself says why he does so.

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others [says he] have written about this subject

in verses

and they wrote about it splendidly, even if not in as polished a way as you did. Nor in fact should it seem any different to you, who either appropriated, if you confess it, or, if you deny it, stole much from Naevius.

b Cicero, *Brutus*

Something similar undoubtedly happens in all other remaining endeavors, for nothing is simultaneously both invented and perfected. There were without doubt poets before Homer, as can be understood from those poems performed in his epics at the banquets of the Phaeacians and of the suitors. Well, where are our own ancient verses,

which once the fauns and bards used to sing,¹

when

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neither the Muses' peaks

nor [anyone] careful of speech [existed] before him

¹ Ennius refers to the old Saturnian meter of Naevius' poem. For the connotations of this passage, see Suerbaum 1968, 265-77; Hinds 1998, 63-71; Wiseman 2006.

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FRL I: ENNIUS

ait ipse de se nec mentitur in gloriando: sic enim sese res habet.

c Cic. *Orat.* 171

ergo Ennio licuit vetera contemntenti dicere "vorsibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant," mihi de antiquis eodem modo non licebit? praesertim cum dicturus non sim "ante hunc," ut ille, nec quae sequuntur:

210 nos ausi reserare

*2 Fest., p. 432.20-30 L.

SAS Verrius putat significare eas teste Ennio qui dicat in lib. I [F 49] "virgines . . . sas," cum "suas" magis videatur significare. sicuti eiusdem lib. VII fatendum est eam significari cum ait:

211 nec quisquam sophiam,

quae doctrina latina lingua nomen habet

in somnis vidit prius quam sam discere coepit,
sapientia quae perhibetur,

Cf. Paul. *Fest.*, p. 433.4-5 L.: sam eam. idem Ennius "ne quisquam philosophiam in somnis vidit prius quam sam discere coepit."

F 3-5: *Carthaginian Ethnography*

3 Ekkehartus in *Oros. Hist.* 4.6.21 ("Carthaginenses . . . Hamilcarem quandam cognomento Rhodanum virum facundia solertiaque praecipuum ad perscrutandos Alexandri actus direxerunt");

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ANNALS: BOOK VII

So he says about himself and does not lie in his boasting: that's the fact of it.

c Cicero, *Orator*

Since Ennius was allowed, in disparaging old poetry, to say "in verses which once the fauns and bards used to sing," shall I not be allowed to speak the same way about old writers? especially since I am not about to say "before him," as he did, nor what follows,

we dared unbar . . .

*2 Festus

Verrius thinks *sas* means *eas* ["them," fem.], citing Ennius as a witness, who says in Book I. [F 49] "maidens . . . them," although it seems rather to mean "their own." So in the same poet's Book 7, it must be admitted that *eam* is meant when he says:

nor did anyone else see the wisdom,

which is what learning is called in Latin

which is called knowledge,

in his dreams before he began to acquire it

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F 3-5: *Carthaginian Ethnography*

3 Ekkehart on Orosius, *Histories* (" . . . the Carthaginians directed a certain Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, an especially articulate and shrewd individual, to discover Alexander's intentions")

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T E R E N C E

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
JOHN SARGEAUNT

IN TWO VOLUMES
I

THE LADY OF ANDROS
THE SELF-TORMENTOR
THE EUNUCH



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MCMXXIX



PUBLIUS TERENTIUS

ACTVS I

Chr. Quamquam haec inter nos nuper notitia admodumst
 (inde adeo quom agrum in proximo hic mercatus es)
 nec rei fere sane hoc amplius quicquam fuit:
 tamen vel virtus tua me vel vicinitas,
 quod ego in propinqua parte amicitiae puto,
 facit ut te audacter moneam et familiariter,
 quod mihi videre praeter actabem tuam
 facere et praeter quam res te adhortatur tua.
 nam pro deum atque hominum fidem quid vis tibi?
 quid quaeris? annos sexaginta natus es
 aut plus eo, ut conicio; in his regionibus
 meliorem agrum neque preti maioris nemo habet;
 servos compluris: proinde quasi nemo siet,
 ita attente tute illorum officia fungere.
 numquam tam mane egredior neque tam vesperi
 domum revortor quin te in fundo conspicer
 fodere aut arare aut aliquid ferre. denique
 nullum remittis tempus neque te respicis.
 haec non voluptati tibi esse satis certo scio.
 at enim me quantum hic operis fiat paenitet.

THE SELF-TORMENTOR

*The scene is in Attica on a country road without hedges.
 On one side the house and land of Menedemus, on the
 other the houses of Chremes and Phania.*

ACT I

(Time, Afternoon.)

Menedemus IS DISCOVERED ON HIS LAND. HE IS AT
 WORK WITH A MATTOCK. TO HIM *Chremes*.
 Young as this acquaintance of ours is, starting in
 fact from your purchase of the farm next to mine,
 and I must admit there has been no more business
 between us, still there's something—it may be
 your goodness or may be your living next door, a
 thing which I reckon the half-way house to friend-
 ship—something which leads me to admonish you
 with the boldness of an intimate friend. It seems
 to me you are working too hard for your time of
 life, harder than your circumstances demand.
 Heaven and earth, man, what's your meaning?
 what's your object? You are sixty years old, if
 not more, at least I guess so. As for estate there
 is no one hereabouts has a better or one worth
 more. You have plenty of men to work it, yet,
 just as if you hadn't a single one, there you are,
 straining yourself to do *their* work. However early
 I go off in the morning, however late I come home
 in the evening, I always catch sight of you on your
 farm busy with a spade or a plough or carrying a
 some burden. In a word you never ease off for a
 single moment, never spare yourself at all. That
 the work is no pleasure to you I am quite sure.
 You may say you are dissatisfied with the amount
 of work done on the place. If the energy which

PUBLIUS TERENTIUS AFER

quod in opere faciundo operae consumis tuae,
si sumas in illis exercendis, plus agas.

Mene.

Chremes, tantumne ab re tuast oti tibi
aliena ut cures ea quae nil ad te attinent?

Chr.

homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto.
vel me monere hoc vel perccontari puta:
rectumst, ego ut faciam; non est, te ut deterream.
mihi sic est usus; tibi ut opus factost face.
an quoquamst usus homini se ut cruciet?

Mene.

Chr.

Mene.

Chr.

si quid laborist nollem. sed quid istuc malist?
quaeso, quid de te tantum meruisti?

Mene.

Chr.

ne lacruma atque istuc, quidquid est, fac me ut
sciam:

ne retice, ne verere, crede inquam mihi:
aut consolando aut consilio aut re iuvero.
scire hoc vis?

Mene.

Chr.

Mene.

Chr.

hac quidem causa qua dixi tibi.
adpone, ne labora.

Mene.

Chr.

at istos rastros interea tamen
miuume.
quam rem agis?
Mene. sine me vocivom tempus ne quod dem mihi

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THE SELF-TORMENTOR

you use up in personal labour were spent in keep-
ing your men to their work, you would make a
better thing of it.

Chremes, have you so much time to spare from your
own affairs that you can attend to another man's
with which you have no concern?

Chr.

I am a man, I hold that what affects another man
affects me. You may take it that I am offering
advice or asking a question, which you like, so that
if you are right I may do as you, if you are wrong
I may scare you out of this.

Mene.

I have got to do this; you may do what you find
necessary for your own case.

Chr.

Has any man got to torment himself?

Mene.

Chr.

I have. If you have some cause of distress, I am sorry; but
what is it? what's the trouble? Please tell me
what grievous crime you have committed against
yourself.

Mene.

Chr.

Oh! oh! (*in tears*)
Don't weep, tell me your trouble whatever it is:
don't be reserved or afraid. Trust me, I say; you'll
find I can help you either by consolation or by
advice, possibly by direct assistance.

Mene.

Chr.

You would like to be told?

Mene.

Chr.

Yes, for the reason I have given you.
Then you shall.
Well but your mattocks, lay 'em down for the
present; whatever your trouble, don't go on
working.

Mene.

Chr.

No, no.
But what's your object?

Mene.

Don't prevent me giving myself no moment's
holiday from work.

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CATULLUS

Translated by Francis Warre Cornish

TIBULLUS

Translated by J. P. Postgate

PERVIGILUM

VENERIS

Translated by J. W. Mackail

Second Edition, revised by G. P. Goold



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MCMLXXXVIII



GAI VALERI CATVLLI

opus foret volare sive lintheo. 5
 et hoc negat minacis Hadriatici
 negare litus insulasve Cycladas
 Rhodumque nobilem horridamque Thraciam¹
 Propontida, truceumve Ponticum sinum, 10
 ubi iste post phaselus antea fuit
 comata silva : nam Cytorio in iugo
 loquente saepe sibilum edidit coma.
 Amastri Pontica et Cytore buxifer,
 tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima
 ait phaselus ; ultima ex origine
 tuo stetitse dicit in cacumine,
 tuo imbuisse palmulas in aequore,
 et inde tot per impotentia freta
 erum tulisse, laeva sive dextera
 vocaret aura, sive utrumque Iuppiter
 simul secundus incidisset in pedem ;
 neque ulla vota litoralibus deis
 sibi esse facta, cum veniret a mari
 novissime hunc ad usque limpидum lacum.
 sed haec prius fuere : nunc recondita
 senet quiete seque dedicat tibi,
 gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris. 25

V

VIVAMVS, mea Lesbia, atque anemus,
 rumoresque senum severiorum
 omnes unius aestimemus assis.
 soles occidere et redire possunt :
 nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
 nox est perpetua una dormienda.
 da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
 5

¹ Thracia J. A. K. Thomson: "because of a wind blowing from Thrace."

THE POEMS OF CATULLUS V

with canvas. And this (says she) the shore of the blustering Adriatic does not deny, nor the Cyclad isles and famous Rhodes and the wild Thracian Propontis, nor the gloomy gulf of Pontus, where she who was afterwards a pinnacle was formerly a leafy forest : for on the height of Cytorus she often rustled with talking leaves. Pontic Amastris and Cytorus green with box, my galley says that all this was and is well known to thee ; she says that from her earliest birthtime she stood on thy summit, in thy waters first dipped her blades, and thence over so many riotous seas brought her owner, whether the breeze from left or right invited, or Jove came down astern on both sheets at once ; and that no vows to the gods of the shore had been made for her when at the last she was sailing from the sea even to this limpid lake.

But these things are past and gone ; now she rests in old age and retired leisure, and dedicates herself to thee, twin Castor, and to thee, Castor's twin.

V

LET us live, my Lesbia, and love, and value at one farthing all the talk of crabbed old men.
 Suns may set and rise again. For us, when the short light has once set, remains to be slept the sleep of one unbroken night.

(Give me a thousand kisses, then a hundred, then

GAI VALERI CATVLLI LIBER

dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum
dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
aut nequis malus invidere possit,
cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.

10

VI

FLAVI, delicias tuas Catullo,
ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes,
velles dicere, nec tacere posses.
verum nescio quid febriculosi
scorti diligis: hoc pudet fateri.
nam te non viduas tacere noctes
neququam tacitum, cubile clamat
sertis ac Syrio fragrans olivo,
pulvinusque peraeque et hic et illic
atritus, tremulique quassa lecti
argutatio inambulatioque.

5

nil perstare valet, nihil tacere.¹
cur? non tam latera ecfututa pandas,
ni tu quid facias ineptiarum
quare quicquid habes boni malique,
dic nobis. volo te ac tuos amores
ad caelum lepido vocare versu.

10

15

VII

QVAERIS, quot mihi basiationes
tuae, Lesbia, sint satis superque.
quam magnus numerus Libyssae harenae

¹ nil perstare valet *Otto Skutsch*: nam in ista prevalet V

THE POEMS OF CATULLUS VI-VII

another thousand, then a second hundred, then yet another thousand, then a hundred. Then, when we have made up many thousands, we will confuse our counting, that we may not know the reckoning, nor any malicious person blight them with evil eye, when he knows that our kisses are so many.

VI

FLAVIUS, if it were not that your mistress is rustic and unrefined, you would want to speak of her to your Catullus; you would not be able to help it. But (I am sure) you are in love with some unhealthy-looking wench; and you are ashamed to confess it. For that you are not spending nights on your own the bed, vainly dumb, cries out aloud, perfumed as it is with garlands and Syrian scent, as do the dents right and left on the bolster, and the chattering and shuffling of the rickety bed when shaken. It's no use standing fast in denial, no use being silent. You ask why? Well, you wouldn't present such a debauched sight unless you were up to some fancy capers. Well then, whatever you have to tell, good or bad, let me know it. I wish to call you and your love to the skies by the power of my merry verse.

VII

You ask how many kissings of you, Lesbia, are enough for me and more than enough. As great as is the number of the Libyan sand that lies on

GAI VALER

LI LIBER

“at certe tamen, . . .” “quod illic
 natum dicitur esse, comparasti
 ad lecticam homines.” ego, ut puellae
 unum me facerem beatiorem,
 “non” inquam “mihi tam fuit maligne,
 ut, provincia quod mala incidisset,
 non possem octo homines parare rectos.” 20
 at mi nullus erat nec hic neque illic,
 fractum qui veteris pedem grabati
 in collo sibi collocare posset.
 hic illa, ut decuit cinaediorum,
 “quaeso,” inquit mihi! “mi Catulle, paulum 25
 istos commoda! nam volo ad Serapim
 deferri.” “mane,” inquit puellae,
 “istud quod modo dixeram me habere,
 fugit me ratio: meus sodalis
 —Cinnast Gaius—is sibi paravit. 30
 verum, utrum illius an mei, quid ad me?
 utor tam bene quam mihi paratis.²
 sed tu insulsa male ac molesta vivis,
 per quam non licet esse negligentem.”

XI

FURI et Aureli, comites Catulli,
 sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,
 litus ut longe resonante Eoa
 tunditur unda,
 sive in Hyrcanos Arabasve molles, 5
 seu Sagas sagittiferosque Parthos,

¹ So punctuated by Otto Skutsch: “mihi, mi . . .” previous scholars

² paratis Statius: pararim V

THE POEMS OF CATULLUS XI

“you must have got some bearers for your chair. I am told that is the country where they are bred.” I, to make myself out to the girl as specially fortunate above the rest, say, “Things did not go so unkindly with me—bad as the province was which fell to my chance—as to prevent my getting eight straight-backed fellows.” Now I had not a single one, here or there, strong enough to hoist on his shoulder the broken leg of an old sofa. At this, just like the shameless hussy she was, “Please,” says she to me, “dear Catullus, do lend those slaves you speak of for a moment, for I want to be taken to the temple of Serapis.” “Stop,” said I to the girl, “what I said just now about those slaves, that they were mine, it was a slip; there is a friend of mine—Gaius Cinna that is—it’s he who brought them. But whether his or mine, I use them just as if I had bought them: but you are damned awkward and a nuisance, who will never let a fellow be off his guard.”

XI

Furius and Aurelius, who will be Catullus’s fellow-travellers, whether he makes his way even to distant India, where the shore is beaten by the far-resounding eastern wave, or to Hyrcania and soft Arabia, or to the Sacae and archer Parthians, or those plains which

GAI VALERI CATULLI LIBER

sive quae septemgeminus colorat
 aequora Nilus,
 sive trans altas gradietur Alpes,
 Caesaris visens monumenta magni,
 Gallicum Rhenum, † horribilesque † † ul-
 mosque Britannos, 10
 omnia haec, quaecumque feret voluntas
 caelitum, temptare simul parati,
 pauca nuntiate meae puellae 15
 non bona dicta.
 cum suis vivat valeatque moechis,
 quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,
 nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium 20
 ilia rumpens:
 nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
 qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
 ultimi flos, praeter eunte postquam
 tactus aratrost.

XII

MARRUCINE ASINI, manu sinistra
 non belle uteris in ioco atque vino:
 tollis lintae neglectiorum.
 hoc salsum esse putas? fugit te, inepte:
 quamvis sordida res et invenustast. 5
 non credis mihi? crede Pollioni
 fratri, qui tua furta vel talento
 mutari velit: est enim leporum
 differtus puer ac facetiarum.
 quare aut hendecasyllabos trecentos 10
 horribiles quoque *Wilkinson*

THE POEMS OF CATULLUS XII

sevenfold Nile dyes with his flood, or whether he will
 tramp across the high Alps, to visit the memorials of
 great Caesar, the Gaulish Rhine, the formidable
 Britons, remotest of men—O my friends, ready as you
 are to encounter all these risks with me, whatever the
 will of the gods above shall bring, take a little mes-
 sage, not a kind message, to my mistress. Bid her live
 and be happy with her paramours, three hundred of
 whom she holds at once in her embrace, not loving one
 of them really, but again and again draining the
 strength of all. And let her not look to find my love,
 as before; my love, which by her fault has dropped,
 like a flower on the meadow's edge, when it has been
 touched by the plough passing by.

XII

ASINIUS MARRUCINUS, you do not make a pretty use
 of your left hand when we are laughing and drinking;
 you take away the napkins of people who are off their
 guard. Do you think this is a good joke? You are
 mistaken, you silly fellow; it is ever so ill-bred, and
 in the worst taste. You don't believe me? believe
 your brother Pollio, who would be glad to have
 your thefts redeemed at the cost of a whole talent;
 for he is a boy who is brimful of all that is witty
 and amusing. So now either look out for three

L

HESTERNO, Licini, die otiosi
 multum lusimus in meis tabellis,
 ut convenerat esse delicatos.
 scribens versiculos uterque nostrum
 ludebat numero modo hoc modo illoc,
 reddens mutua per iocum atque vinum.
 atque illinc abii tuo lepore
 incensus, Licini, facetiisque,
 ut nec me miserum cibus iuvaret
 nec somnus tegeret quiete ocellos,
 sed toto, indomitus furore, lecto
 versarer, cupiens videre lucem,
 ut tecum loquerer simulque ut essem.
 at defessa labore membra postquam
 semimortua lectulo iacebant,
 hoc, iucunde, tibi poema feci,
 ex quo perspiceres meum dolorem.
 nunc audax cave sis, precesque nostras
 oramus cave despuas, ocelle,
 ne poenas Nemesis repositat a te.
 est vemens dea : laedere hanc caveto.

LI

ILLE mi par esse deo videtur,
 ille, si fas est, superare divos,
 qui sedens adversus identidem te
 spectat et audit
 dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis
 eripit sensus mihi ; nam simul te,
 Lesbia, aspexi, nihil est super mi
 [vocis in ore]¹

¹ supplied by Ritter and Döring

L

YESTERDAY, Licinius, we made holiday and played
 many a game with my¹ tablets, as we had agreed to
 take our pleasure. Each of us pleased his fancy in
 writing verses, now in one metre, now in another,
 answering each other, while we laughed and drank our
 wine. I came away from this so fired by your wit and
 fun, Licinius, that food did not ease my pain, nor sleep
 spread rest over my eyes, but restless and fevered² I
 tossed about all over my bed, longing to see the dawn,
 that I might talk to you and be with you. But when
 my limbs were worn out with fatigue and lay half dead
 on my couch, I made this poem for you, my sweet
 friend, that from it you might learn my
 suffering. Now be not too proud, and do not, I pray
 you, apple of my eye, do not reject my prayers, lest
 Nemesis demand penalties from you in turn. She is
 an imperious goddess—beware of offending her.

LI

HE seems to me to be equal to a god, he, if it may be,
 seems to surpass the very gods, who sitting opposite
 you again and again gazes at you and hears you
 sweetly laughing. Such a thing takes away all my
 senses, alas ! for whenever I see you, Lesbia, at
 once no sound of voice remains within my mouth, but

¹ Possibly "your" (reading *tuus* with Schwabe).

² *indomitus*, "raging," as LXIV. 54, ciii. 2.

GAI VALERI CATVLLI LIBER

lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus
 flamma demanat, sonitu suoapte
 tintinant aures, gemina teguntur
 lumina nocte.
 otium, Catulle, tibi molestumst:
 otio exultas nimiumque gestis.
 otium et reges prius et beatas
 perdidit urbes.

10

15

LII

QVID est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?
 sella in curuli struma Nonius sedet,
 per consulatum peterat Vatinius:
 quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?

LIII

RISI nescio quem modo e corona,
 qui, cum mirifice Vatimiana
 meus crimina Calvus explicasset,
 admirans ait haec manusque tollens,
 "di magni, salaputium disertum!"

LIV

OTHONIS caput (oppidost pusillum)
 et, trirutice,¹ semilauta crura,

¹ tri- *Munro*: eri V

THE POEMS OF CATULLUS LIA-LIV

my tongue falters, a subtle flame steals down through
 my limbs, my ears ring with inward humming, my
 eyes are shrouded in twofold night.¹

Idleness, Catullus, does you harm, you riot in your
 idleness and wanton too much. Idleness ere now has
 ruined both kings and wealthy cities.

LII

WHAT is it, Catullus? why do you not make haste to
 die? The wen Nonius sits in a curule chair; Vatinius
 forswears himself by his consulship. What is it,
 Catullus? why do you not make haste to die?

LIII

A FELLOW in the crowd made me laugh just now:
 when my dear Calvus had drawn out in splendid style
 his accusations against Vatinius, he lifted up his hands
 in wonder, and "Great gods," says he, "what an
 eloquent manikin!"

LIV²

I could wish, you utter bumpkin, that Otho's head
 (and right puny it is) and half-washed legs and

¹ Possibly *geminatae* (Schrader) "both my ears . . . , my eyes
 are shrouded in night."

² The interpretation of the poem is Munro's.

GAI VALERI C

LIBER

nec sibi postilla metuebant talia verba,
cum subito affertur nuntius horribilis,
Ionios fluctus, postquam illuc Arrius isset,
iam non *Ionios* esse, sed *Hionios*.

10

LXXXV

ODI et amo. quare id faciam, fortasse requiris.
nescio, sed feri sentio et excrucior.

LXXXVI

QUINTIA formosast multis; mihi candida, longa,
rectast. haec ego sic singula confiteor,
totum illud formosa nego: nam nulla venustas,
nulla in tam magnost corpore mica salis.
Lesbia formosast, quae cum pulcherrima totast,
tum omnibus una omnis surripuit Veneres.

5

LXXXVII

NULLA potest mulier tantum se dicere amatam
vere, quantum a me Lesbia amata mea's.
nulla fides ullo fuit unquam¹ foedere tanta,
quanta in amore tuo ex parte reperta meast.

LXXXVIII

QUID facit is, Gelli, qui cum matre atque sorore
prurit et abiectis pervigilat tunicis?
quid facit is, patrum qui non sinit esse maritum?
ecquid scis quantum suscipiat scelesteris?

¹ unquam (in) *Döring*, restoring the preposition

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THE POEMS OF CATULLUS LXXXV-LXXXVIII

for the future: when on a sudden a dreadful message arrives, that the Ionian waves, ever since Arrius went there, are henceforth not "Ionian," but "Hionian."

LXXXV

I HATE and love. Why I do so, perhaps you ask. I know not, but I feel it, and I am in torment.

LXXXVI

QUINTIA is thought beautiful by many; I think her fair, tall, and straight. I so far allow each of these points, but I demur to "beautiful," for she has no grace; there is not in the whole compass of her tall person one grain of salt. Lesbia is beautiful: for she possesses all the beauties, and has stolen all the graces from all the women alone for herself.

LXXXVII

No woman can say truly that she has been loved as much as you, Lesbia mine, were loved by me. No faithfulness in any bond was ever such as has been found on my part in my love for you.

LXXXVIII

WHAT is he doing, Gellius, who keeps vigil with mother and sister, tunics all thrown off? What is he doing, who will not let his uncle be a husband? Do you know how much guilt he incurs? More he

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GAI VALERI CATULLI LIBER

XLVII

PORCI et Socratio, duae sinistrae
Pisonis, scabies famaeque munda,¹
vos Veraniolo meo et Fabullo
verpus praeponit Priapus ille?
vos convivia lauta sumptuose
de die factis, mei sodales
quaerunt in trivio vocaciones?

5

XLVIII

MELLITOS oculos tuos, Iuventi,
si quis me sinat usque basiare,
usque ad milia basiem trecenta,
nec mi unquam videar satur futurus,
non si densior aridis² aristis
sit nostrae seges osculationis.

5

XLIX

DISERTISSIME Romuli nepotum,
quot sunt quotque fuere, Marce Tulli,
quotque post aliis erunt in annis,
gratias tibi maximas Catullus
agit pessimus omnium poeta,
tanto pessimus omnium poeta
quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.

5

¹ munda *Reese*: mundi *V*

² Africae "than Africa's ears" *Markland*

THE POEMS OF CATULLUS XLVII-XLIX

XLVII

PORCUS and Socratio, Piso's two left hands, you plague and mere famine, has that obscene Priapus preferred you to my dear Veranius and Fabullus? Are you spending money and holding splendid rich banquets at vast expense in broad daylight, whilst my old friends must walk about the streets to hunt for an invitation?

XLVIII

YOUR honeyed eyes, Juventius, if one should let me go on kissing still, I would kiss them three hundred thousand times, nor would I think I should ever have enough, no, not if the harvest of our kissing were thicker than the ripe ears of corn.

XLIX

MOST skilled in speech of the descendants of Romulus, all who are, and all who have been, and all who shall be hereafter in other years, Marcus Tullius,—to thee his warmest thanks Catullus gives, the worst of all poets; as much the worst poet of all as you are the best advocate of all.

LUCRETIUS
DE RERUM NATURA

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
W. H. D. ROUSE, Litt.D.

REVISED WITH NEW TEXT,
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDEX BY
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T. LUCRETI CARI
DE RERUM NATURA

LIBER PRIMUS

AENEADUM genetrix, hominum divomque voluptas, alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum concepitur visitque exortum lumina solis : te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila caeli adventumque tuum, tibi suavis daedala tellus summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum. 10 nam simul ac species patefactast verna diei et reserata viget genitabilis aura favoni, aeriae primum volucres te, diva, tuumque significanc intum percussae corda tua vi. 15 inde ferae, pecudes persultant pabula laeta 14 et rapidos tranant annis : ita capta lepore 15

⁶ Venus in this invocation is a figure of extraordinary complexity : as well as being the goddess of traditional religion and mythology who was mother of Aeneas and the Roman people, who was loved by Mars, and who appears on the coins of the gens *Memmia*, she is the Empedoclean principle of Love (as opposed to Mars = Strife), representing

LUCRETIUS

BOOK I

MOTHER of Aeneas and his race, darling of men and gods, nurturing Venus,⁶ who beneath the smooth-moving heavenly signs fill with yourself the sea full-laden with ships, the earth that bears the crops, since through you every kind of living thing is conceived and rising up looks on the light of the sun : from you, O goddess, from you the winds flee away, the clouds of heaven from you and your coming : for you the wonder-working earth puts forth sweet flowers, for you the wide stretches of ocean laugh, and heaven grown peaceful glows with outpoured light. For as soon as the vernal face of day is made manifest, and the breeze of the teeming west wind blows fresh and free, first the fowls of the air proclaim you, divine one, and your advent, pierced to the heart by your might. Next wild creatures and farm animals dance over the rich pastures and swim across rapid rivers : so greedily does each one follow you, held captive by your charm,

the creative forces in the world, and she is the personification of the Epicurean *summum bonum*, pleasure (*voluptas*). Lucr. addresses her not only as the power of physical creation, but also as the giver of charm to his poetry (21-25). Spenser imitates 1-25 in *The Faerie Queene* 4.10.44-47.

LUCRETIVS

te sequitur cupide quo quamque inducere pergis,
denique, per maria ac montis fluviosque rapacis
frondiferasque domos avium camposque virentis,
omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem,
efficit ut cupide generatim saecula propagent. 20

Quae quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,
nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
exoritur neque fit laetum neque amabile quicquam,
te sociam studeo scribendis versibus esse
quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor 25
Memmiadae nostro, quem tu, dea, tempore in omni
omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.
quo magis aeternum da dictis, diva, leporem.

Effice ut interea fera moenera militaria
per maria ac terras omnis sopita quiescant; 30
nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuvare
mortalis, quoniam belli fera moenera Mavors
armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se
reicit aeterno devictus vulnere amoris, 35
atque ita suspiciens tereti cervice reposta
pascit amore avidos inhians in te, dea, visus,
eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore.
hunc tu, diva, tuo recubantem corpore sancto
circumfusa super, suavis ex ore loquellas
funde petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem; 40
nam neque nos agere hoc patriae tempore iniquo

³⁴ reicit *Laetantibus Placidius* on *Statius*, *Theb.* 3.296
(*manuscripts LP*^b): reicit *QG*, *Lact. Plac.*, *loc. cit.* (*MP*^a):
reicit *O*

^a The title of the poem—a translation of *Περὶ Φύσεως*, the title both of Epicurus' chief work and of one of the poems of Empedocles, whom Lucr. deeply admired (716-733).

^b It has been suggested (D. E. W. Wormell in *G and R*

DE RERUM NATURA, I. 16-41

whither you go on to lead them. Then throughout seas and mountains and sweeping torrents and the leafy dwellings of birds and verdant plains, striking alluring love into the breasts of all creatures, you cause them greedily to beget their generations after their kind.

²¹ Since therefore you alone govern the nature of things, since without you nothing comes forth into the shining borders of light, nothing joyous and lovely is made, you I crave as partner in writing the verses, which I essay to fashion on the Nature of Things,^a for my friend Memmius, whom you, goddess, have willed at all times to excel, endowed with all gifts. Therefore all the more grant to my speech, goddess, an ever-living charm.

²⁹ Cause meanwhile the savage works of war to sleep and be still over every sea and land. For you alone can delight mortals with quiet peace, since Mars^b mighty in battle rules the savage works of war, who often casts himself upon your lap wholly vanquished by the ever-living wound of love, and thus looking upward, with shapely neck thrown back, feeds his eager eyes with love, gaping upon you, goddess, and, as he lies back, his breath hangs upon your lips.^c There as he reclines, goddess, upon your sacred body, do you, bending around him from above, pour from your lips sweet coaxings, and for your Romans, illustrious one, crave quiet peace. For in this time of our country's troubles neither can I do

ser. 2, 7 [1960] 61) that Lucr. uses the archaic form *Mævors* to emphasize the connexion between Mars and *mors*.

^c Lucr.'s description, which may owe something to a painting or sculpture, probably had some influence, through Politian, on Botticelli's *Marte e Venere* (cf. note on 5.740). Certainly Byron had it in mind in *Childe Harold* 4.51.

LUCRET

possumus aequo animo nec Memmi clara propago
 talibus in rebus communi desse saluti.
 45
 omnis enim per se divom natura necesses
 immortalis aevo summa cum pace fruatur
 semota ab nostris rebus seunctaque longe;
 nam privata dolore omni, privata periculis,
 ipsa suis pollens opibus, nil indiga nostri,
 nec bene promeritis capitur neque tangitur ira.

Quod superest, vacuas auris animumque sagacem
 51
 semotum a curis adhibe veram ad rationem,
 ne mea dona tibi studio disposta fidei,
 intellecta prius quam sint, contempta relinquo.
 nam tibi de summa caeli ratione deumque
 55
 disserere incipiam, et rerum primordia pandam,
 unde omnis natura creet res auctet alataque
 quove eadem rursus natura premissa resolvat,
 quae nos materiem et genitalia corpora rebus
 reddunda in ratione vocare et semina rerum
 appellare suemus et haec eadem usurpare
 60
 corpora prima, quod ex illis sunt omnia primis.

Humana ante oculos foede cum vita iaceret
 in terris oppressa gravi sub religione,

44-49, which recur in 2.646-651, are excluded or bracketed by most editors. However, strong arguments for the retention of the lines are summarized by Bailey 601-602, 1750. It is true that the passage comes in abruptly, and it may be assumed that Lucr. first wrote it in Book 2, and later inserted it here without adjusting it properly to its new context. In view of this manifest lack of revision, it seems unnecessary and unwise to assume a lacuna either before or after the lines 50 vacuas auris animumque sagacem scholia Veronensia on Vergil, G. 3.3: ut (deleted by O corr.) vacuas auris OQG

6

DE RERUM NATURA, 1. 42-63

my part with untroubled mind, nor can the noble
 sition of the Memmi at such a season be wanting to
 the common weal.^a [I pray to you for peace,] for
 the very nature of divinity must necessarily enjoy in eternal
 immortal life in the deepest peace, far removed and
 separated from our affairs; for without any pain,
 without danger, itself mighty by its own resources,
 needing us not at all, it is neither propitiated with
 services nor touched by wrath.^b

⁵⁰ For the rest,^c ears unpreoccupied and keen intelligence detached from cares you should apply to true philosophy, that my gifts, set forth for you with faithful solicitude, may not by you be contemptuously discarded before they have been apprehended.

For I shall begin to discourse to you upon the most (1) heaven high system of heaven and of the gods, and I shall disclose the first-beginnings of things,^d from which nature makes all things and increases and nourishes them, and into which the same nature again reduces them when dissolved—which, in discussing philosophy, we are accustomed to call matter, and bodies that generate things, and seeds of things, and to entitle the same first bodies, because from them as first elements all things are.

⁶² When man's life lay for all to see foully grovelling upon the ground, crushed beneath the weight of

^a Probably an allusion to Memmius' praetorship of 58 B.C.

^b Cf. Epicurus, *Sent.* 1.

^c The absence of the expected address to Memmius by name is probably due to lack of revision rather than to a textual loss (cf. critical note on 44-49), unless—and this is improbable—the name has dropped out of 50, a defective line in the manuscripts (see critical note).

^d The atoms.

7

LUCRETIVS

quae caput a caeli regionibus ostendebat
 horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans, 65
 primum Graius homo mortalis tollere contra
 est oculos ausus primusque obsistere contra,
 quem neque fama deum nec fulmina nec munitanti
 murmure compressit caelum, sed eo magis acrem 70
 irritat animi virtutem, effringere ut arta
 naturae primus portarum claustra cupiret.
 ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
 processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
 atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque, 75
 unde refert nobis victor quid possit oriri,
 quid nequeat, finita potestas denique cuique
 quamvis sit ratione atque alte terminus haerens.
 quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim
 obteritur, nos exaequat victoria caelo.

Illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis 80
 impia te rationis inire elementa viamque
 indugredi sceleris. quod contra saepius illa
 religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta :

66 tollere *QQGP*: tendere *Nonius* p. 662 *Lindsay*, which may be right (cf. 4.325, *Virgil, Aen.* 2.405), since *Nonius* quotes the line specifically to illustrate this use of the verb

^a This or "false religion," not "religion," is the meaning of *religio*. The Epicureans were opposed not to religion (cf. 6.68-79), but to the traditional religion which taught that the gods govern the world. That *Lucr.* regarded *religio* as synonymous with *superstitio* is implied by *super . . . instans* in 65. The connection of superstition with the celestial regions, stated in 64, is emphasized by the fact that the letters of *RELLIGIONE* are contained in *caeli REGIONIBUS* (for further examples of this kind of play upon words in *Lucr.*, see P. Friedländer in *AJP* 62 [1941] 16-34). On

DE RERUM NATURA, I. 64-83

Superstition,^a which displayed her head from the regions of heaven, lowering over mortals with horrible aspect, a man of Greece^b was the first that dared to uplift mortal eyes against her, the first to make stand against her; for neither fables of the gods could quell him, nor thunderbolts, nor heaven with menacing roar, but all the more they goaded the eager courage of his soul, so that he should desire, first of all men, to shatter the confining bars of nature's gates. Therefore the lively power of his mind prevailed, and forth he marched far beyond the flaming walls of the world,^c as he traversed the immeasurable universe in thought and imagination; whence victorious he returns bearing his prize, the knowledge what can come into being, what can not, in a word, how each thing has its powers limited and its deep-set boundary mark.^d Therefore Superstition is now in her turn cast down and trampled under-foot, whilst we by the victory are exalted high as heaven.

⁸⁰ One thing I fear in this matter, that in this your apprenticeship to philosophy you may perhaps see impiety, and the entering on a path of crime; whereas on the contrary more often it is that very Superstition which has brought forth criminal and

the imagery in 62-79, see especially D. West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius* 57-63.

^b Epicurus.

^c Cf. Thomas Gray, *The Progress of Poesy* 3.2 (of Milton): "He pass'd the flaming bounds of space and time." *Lucr.* refers to the fiery belt around our world (cf. 2.1144, 5.454), but also is picturing Epicurus as a general successfully storming the walls and setting them ablaze.

^d 76-77 = 595-596, 5.89-90, 6.65-66.

LIBER SECUNDUS

SUAVE, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis,
 e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem ;
 non quia vexari quemquamst iucunda voluptas,
 sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est. 5
 e suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri
 s per campos instructa tua sine parte pericli.
 sed nil dulcius est bene quam munia tenere
 edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
 despiceret unde queas alios passimque videre
 errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae, 10
 certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
 noctes atque dies niti praestante labore
 ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri.
 o miseris hominum mentes, o pectora caeca !
 qualibus in tenebris vitae quantisque periculis
 degitur hoc aevi quodcumquest ! nonne videre
 nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut qui
 corpore se iunctus dolor absit, mensque fruatur
 iucundo sensu cura semota metuque ?

5-6 transposed by Avancius and all recent editors except
 Büchner, who, like Merrill and Bailey, overlooks the fact that
 the transposition was rejected by ed. Juntina, Nangerius, and
 Wabefeld 18 mensque Marullus : mente OGG

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BOOK 2

PLEASANT it is, when over a great sea the winds trouble the waters, to gaze from shore upon another's great tribulation : not because any man's troubles are a delectable joy, but because to perceive what ills you are free from yourself is pleasant. Pleasant is it also to behold great encounters of warfare arrayed over the plains, with no part of yours in the peril. But nothing is more delightful than to possess lofty sanctuaries serene, well fortified by the teachings of the wise, whence you may look down upon others and behold them all astray,^a wandering abroad and seeking the path of life :—the strife of wits, the fight for precedence, all labouring night and day with surpassing toil to mount upon the pinnacle of riches^b and to lay hold on power. O pitiable minds of men, O blind intelligences ! In what gloom of life,^c in how great perils is passed all your poor span of time ! not to see that all nature barks for is this, that pain be removed away out of the body, and that the mind, kept away from care and fear, enjoy a feeling of delight !

^a Cf. Cicero, *Fin.* 1.19.62 (of the wise man as represented by Epicurus) : *cum stultorum vitam cum sua comparat, magna afficitur voluptate.*

^b 12-13 (*noctes . . . opes*) = 3.62-63.

^c For the darkness of ignorance from which Epicurus rescued mankind, cf. e.g. 3.1-2, 5.11-12.

LUCRETIVS

aut quia quae veniunt aliqua ratione recedunt
pulsata prius quam quid noccant sentire queamus,

praeter enim quam quod morbis cum corporis aegret,
advenit id quod eam de rebus saepe futuris 825
macerat inque metu male habet curisque fatigat,
praeteritisque male admissis peccata remordent,
adde furorem animi proprium atque obliviam rerum,
adde quod in nigras lethargi mergitur undas.

Nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum, 830
quandoquidem natura animi mortalis habetur ;
et, velut anteactio nil tempore sensimus aegri,
ad confugiendum venientibus undique Poenis,
omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu 835
horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris auris,
in dubioque fuere utrorum ad regna cadendum
omnibus humanis esset terraque marique,
sic, ubi non erimus, cum corporis atque animai
discidium fuerit, quibus e sumus uniter apti,
scilicet haud nobis quoquam, qui non erimus tum, 840
accidere omnino poterit sensumque movere,
non si terra mari miscerbitur et mare caelo.
Et si iam nostro sentit de corpore postquam
distractast animi natura animaeque potestas,

823 *Lambinus is almost certainly right in assuming a lacuna after this line. He inserts scilicet a vera longe ratione remouet, which Marullus had supplied after 820. Bailey suggests e.g. hoc fieri totum contra manifesta docet res (cf. 690), already adopted by Menro in his translation. Büchner, who assumes an ellipse instead of a lacuna, overlooks the fact that Wakefield and Heinze take the same view 835 auris OP: auris Q: oris, Giffanius, is supported by 5.143, but auris should be retained in view of aetherias . . . auris (405) and altas aeris auris (456); see also Virgil, Aen. 4.445-446*
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DE RERUM NATURA, 3. 822-844

or because all that does come goes back, in some way repulsed before we can perceive what harm it does, [experience manifestly shows that this cannot be true.] For not to mention that it sickens along with bodily disease, something often comes that torments it about the future, keeps it miserable in fear, wears it with anxiety, and, when there has been evil done in the past, its sins bring remorse. Add madness which is peculiar to the mind, and forgetfulness of all things, add that it is drowned in the black waters of lethargy.

830 Therefore death is nothing to us,^a it matters not one jot, since the nature of the mind is understood to be mortal; and as in time past we felt no distress, while from all quarters the Carthaginians were coming to the conflict, when the whole world, shaken by the terrifying tumult of war, shivered and quaked under the lofty and breezy heaven, and was in doubt under which domination all men were destined to fall by land and sea^b; so, when we shall no longer be, when the parting shall have come about between body and spirit from which we are compacted into one whole, then sure enough nothing at all will be able to happen to us, who will then no longer be, or to make us feel, not if earth be commingled with sea and sea with sky.

843 And grant for the moment that the nature of mind and power of spirit does feel after it has been torn away from our body, yet that is nothing to us,

^a *nil . . . mors est ad nos (cf. 845, 850, 852, 926, 972) = δ θάνατος οὐδέν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (Epicurus, Sent. 3).*
^b The reference is chiefly to the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.).

LUCRETIVS

nil tamen est ad nos, qui comptu coniugioque . . . 845
 corporis atque animae consistimus uniter apti.
 nec, si materiem nostram collegerit aetas
 post obitum rursusque redegerit ut sita nunc est,
 atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vitae,
 pertineat quicquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,
 interrupta semel cum sit repetentia nostri. 851
 et nunc nil ad nos de nobis attinet, ante
 qui fuimus, neque iam de illis nos adficiet angor.
 nam cum respicias immensi temporis omne
 praeteritum spatium, tum motus materiai
 multimodi quam sint, facile hoc adcredere possis,
 semina saepe in eodem, ut nunc sunt, ordine posta
 855 haec eadem, quibus e nunc nos sumus, ante fuisse.
 858 nec memori tamen id quimus reprehendere mente;
 859 inter enim ictast vitali pausa, vageque 860
 860 deerrarunt passim motus ab sensibus omnes.
 861 Debet enim, misere si forte aegreque futurumst,
 862 ipse quoque esse in eo tum tempore, cui male possit
 863 accidere. id quoniam mors eximit, esseque probet
 864 illum cui possint incommoda conciliari, 865
 scire licet nobis nil esse in morte timendum,
 nec miserum fieri qui non est posse, neque filum
 differre an nullo fuerit iam tempore natus,
 mortalem vitam mors cum immortalis ademit.

^a 853 neque *Lachmann*: omitted by OQ: nec *Marullus*: nil
Merrill (1917). 856 multimodi OQACFL: multimodis
B, *Codex Musaei Britannici*. *Buhl*. 11912

^a The tmesis *inter* . . . *ictast* (860) well emphasizes the
 interruption of life which *Lucr.* is describing. *Cf.* e.g. 5.287,
 where the interruption of the sun's light is reflected and
 emphasized in *radios inter quasi rumpere lucis*. And the
 tmesis is similarly appropriate to the sense in e.g. 1.452, 651,
 3.262, 5.299, 1374, 6.332.

^b The atoms may be the same, but their motions have lost
 all connexion with the earlier sensations.

DE RERUM NATURA, 3. 845-869

who by the welding and wedding together of body its separa-
 and spirit exist compacted into one whole. Even if the body
 time should gather together our matter after death that would
 and bring it back again as it is now placed, and if to us. be nothing
 once more the light of life should be given to us, yet these same
 it would not matter one bit to us that even this had atoms were
 been done, when the recollection of ourselves has anew as
 once been broken asunder. And even now we are not they are
 concerned at all about any self which we have been since there
 before, nor does any anguish about it now touch us. memory. would be no
 For when you look back upon all the past expanse
 of measureless time, and think how various are the
 motions of matter, you may easily come to believe
 that these same seeds of which now we consist have
 been often before placed in the same arrangement
 they now are in. And yet we cannot call that back
 by memory; for in between has been cast a stoppage
 of life,^a and all the motions have wandered and
 scattered afar from those sensations.^b

^a For, c if by chance anyone is to have misery and
 pain in the future, he must himself also exist then in
 that time to be miserable. Since death takes away
 this possibility, and forbids him to exist for whom
 these inconveniences may be gathered together, we
 may be sure that there is nothing to be feared after
 death, that he who is not cannot be miserable, that it
 makes not one jot of difference whether or not ^a he
 has ever been born, when death the immortal has
 taken away his mortal life.

^b *Lucr.* abruptly resumes his main argument, which he
 interrupted at 843. The intervening passage (843-861) is
 parenthetic, though relevant to the contention that death is
 nothing to us.

^a In 868, between *differre* and *an*, supply *utrum aliquo*
tempore natus fuerit.

LUCRETIVS

Nec minimam partem ex agris is maeror in urbem
 confuxit, languens quem contulit agricolarum 1260
 copia conueniens ex omni morbida parte.
 omnia complebant loca tectaque; quo magis aestu
 confertos ita acervatim mors accumulabat.
 multa siti prostrata viam per proque voluita
 corpora silanos ad aquarum strata iacebant 1265
 interclusa anima nimia ab dulcedine aquarum,
 multaque per populi passim loca prompta viasque
 languida semanimo cum corpore membra videres
 horrida paedore et pannis cooperta perire
 corporis inluvie, pelli super ossibus una, 1270
 ulceribus taetris prope iam sordete sepulta.
 Omnia denique sancta deum delubra replebat
 corporibus mors exanimis, onerataque passim
 cuncta cadaveribus caelestium templa manebant,
 hospitibus loca quae complebant aedituentes. 1275
 nec iam religio divom nec numina magni
 pendebantur enim: praesens dolor exsuperabat.
 nec mos ille sepulturae remanebat in urbe,
 quo prius hic populus semper consuerrat humari;
 perturbatus enim totus trepidabat, et unus 1280
 quisque suum pro re et pro tempore maestus huma-
 bat.

1259 is maeror attributed to Munro by himself and subsequent editors, but already suggested by Lachmann as being preferable to maeror is: m(a)eroris OQ: moeros is Wakefield: maeror is Forbiger (not Diels): aegror is Simeon Bosius in Lambinus (1570) 1270 pelli attributed by the editors to Lambinus, but Lambinus notes "quidam vir doctus legendum censet, pelli, in seato casu": pelli OQUP 1274 so punctuated by Naugervius, Lambinus, and most modern editors (Merrill wrongly states that this punctuation was unknown before Wakefield). Pius, Giffanius, and, recently, Diels, Martin, Ernout place colon after pendebantur 1279 prius QUP: pius OL 1281 pro re et pro tempore 588

DE RERUM NATURA, 6. 1259-1281

1259 And in no small degree this affliction flowed from the country into the city, for the fainting crowd of countrymen brought it, gathering from all quarters with disease. They filled all places and buildings; so by the stifling heat death all the more piled them in heaps, being thus packed. Many bodies, thrown down by thirst and rolling over the road, lay stretched by the water-spouts, cut off from the breath of life by the too great sweetness of water; many in public places and roads you might see all about, bodies half-dead with fainting limbs caked with squalor and covered with rags, perishing in filth of body, nothing but skin on their bones, and that almost buried in foul ulcers and dirt.

1272 Moreover, death had filled all the sanctuaries even in the of the gods with lifeless bodies, all the temples of the celestials everywhere remained burdened with corpses, all which places the sacrificians had crowded with guests. For indeed now neither the worship of the gods nor their power was much regarded: the present grief was too great. Nor did that custom of sepulture remain in the city, with which this nation in the past had been always accustomed to be buried; for the whole nation was in trepidation and dismay, and each man in his sorrow buried his own dead as time and circumstances allowed. Sudden need also and

M. F. Smith. Cf. Caesar, BGall. 5.8.1 pro tempore et pro re, Cicero, Fam. 12.19.3. pro tempore could easily have been omitted after pro re, because of the repeated pro and the ending -re: pro re OQUBL: pro tempore Housman (see T. B. Habber, CJ 51 [1956] 388): pro re cognatum Avancius: pro re compositum Lachmann: pro re praesenti Munro 589

LUCRETIIUS

multaque res subita et paupertas horrida suasit ;
namque suos consanguineos aliena rogorum
insuper extracta ingenti clamore locabant
subdebantque faces, multo cum sanguine saepe 1285
rixantes potius quam corpora desererentur.

1282 res C : omitted by *QQE*: vis *F*: mors *Bernays*

DE RERUM NATURA, 6. 1282-1286

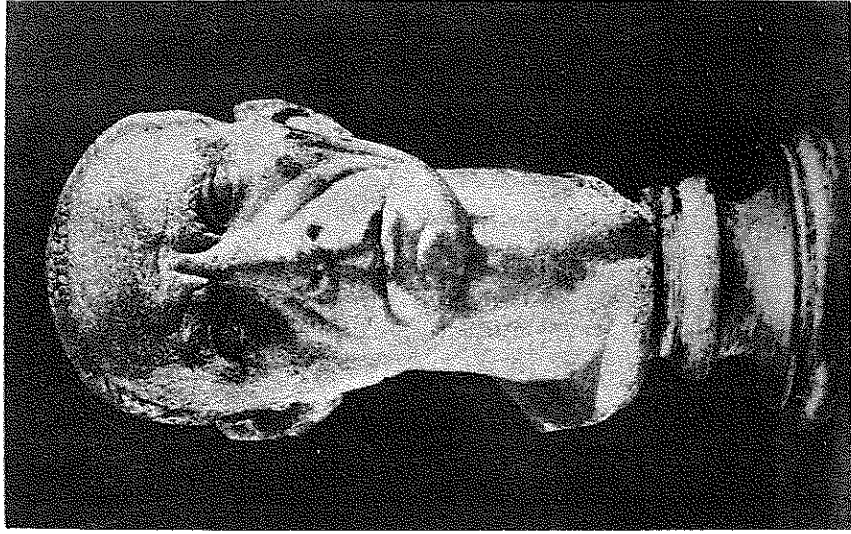
poverty persuaded to many dreadful expedients :
for they would lay their own kindred amidst loud
lamentation upon piles of wood not their own, and
would set light to the fire, often brawling with much
shedding of blood rather than abandon the bodies.

CAESAR
THE GALLIC WAR

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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C. JULIUS CAESAR,
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Nostri ommissis pilis gladiis . . . unt. Repente post tergum equitatus cernitur; cohortes aliae appropinquant. Hostes terga vertunt; fugientibus equites occurrunt. Fit magna caedes. Sedulius, dux et princeps Lemovicum, occiditur; Vercassivellaunus Arvernus vivus in fuga comprehenditur; signa militaria septuaginta quattuor ad Caesarem referuntur: pauci ex tanto numero se incolumes in castra recipiunt. Conspicati ex oppido caedem et fugam suorum desperata salute copias a munitionibus reducunt. Fit protinus hac re audita ex castris Galorum fuga. Quod nisi crebris subsidiis ac totius diei labore milites essent defessi, omnes hostium copiae deleri potuissent. De media nocte missus equitatus novissimum agmen consequitur: magnus numerus capitur atque interficitur; reliqui ex fuga in civitates discedunt.

89 Postero die Vercingetorix concilio convocato id bellum se suscepisse non suarum necessitatum, sed communis libertatis causa demonstrat, et quoniam sit fortunae cedendum, ad utramque rem se illis offerre, seu morte sua Romanis satisfacere seu vivum tradere velint. Mittuntur de his rebus ad Caesarem legati. Iubet arma tradi, principes produci. Ipse in munitione pro castris consedit: eo duces producuntur; Vercingetorix deditur, arma prociuntur. Reservatis Aeduis atque Arvernīs, si per eos civitates recipere posset,

Our troops discarded their pikes and got to work with their swords. Suddenly the cavalry was noticed in the rear; other cohorts drew near. The enemy turned to flee; the cavalry met them in flight, and a great slaughter ensued. Sedulius, commander and chief of the Lemovices, was killed; Vercassivellaunus the Arvernian was captured alive in the rout; seventy-four war-standards were brought in to Caesar; of the vast host few returned safe to camp. The others beheld from the town the slaughter and rout of their countrymen, and, in despair of safety, recalled their force from the entrenchments. Directly they heard what had happened the Gauls fled from their camp. And if the troops had not been worn out by frequent reinforcing and the whole day's effort, the entire force of the enemy could have been destroyed. The cavalry were sent off just after midnight and caught up the rearguard: a great number were taken and slain, the rest fled away into the different states.

On the morrow Vercingetorix summoned a council, at which he stated that he had undertaken that campaign, not for his own occasions, but for the general liberty; and as they must yield to fortune he offered himself to them for whichever course they pleased—to give satisfaction to the Romans by his death, or to deliver him alive. Deputies were despatched to Caesar to treat of this matter. He ordered the arms to be delivered up, the chiefs to be brought out. He himself took his seat in the entrenchments in front of the camp: the leaders were brought out to him there. Vercingetorix was surrendered, arms were thrown down. Keeping back the Aedui and the Arverni, to see if through them he could recover their states, he distributed the rest of the prisoners, one

ex reliquis captivis toto exercitui capita singula praedae nomine distribuit.

90 His rebus confectis in Aeduos proficiscitur; civitatem recipit. Eo legati ab Arvernīs missi quae imperaret se facturos pollicentur. Imperat magnum numerum obsidum. Legiones in hiberna mittit. Captivorum circiter viginti milia Aeduis Arvernisque reddit. Titum Labienum duabus cum legionibus et equitatu in Sequanos proficisci iubet: huic Marcum Sempronium Rutilum attribuit. Gaium Fabium legatum et Lucium Minucium Basilum cum legionibus duabus in Remis collocat, ne quam ab finitimis Bellovacis calamitatem accipiant. Gaium Antistium Regnum in Ambivaretos, Titum Sextium in Bituriges, Gaium Caninium Rebilum in Rutenos cum singulis legionibus mittit. Quintum Tullium Cicernem et Publium Sulpicium Cabillonem et Matisconem in Aeduis ad Ararim rei frumentariae causa collocat. Ipse Bibracte hiemare constituit. His litteris cognitis Romae dierum viginti supplicatio redditur.

apiece to each man throughout the army, by way of plunder.

When these affairs were settled he started for the country of the Aedui and recovered the state. The Arverni sent deputies to him there who promised to carry out his commands: he required of them a great number of hostages. He sent the legions into cantonnments. He restored some twenty thousand prisoners to the Aedui and the Arverni. He ordered Titus Labienus with two legions and cavalry to march off into the country of the Sequani, attaching Marcus Sempronius Rutilus to him. Gaius Fabius, the lieutenant-general, and Lucius Minucius Basilus he stationed with two legions in the country of the Remi, in order that they might suffer no damage from the neighbouring Bellovaci. Gaius Antistius Reginus he sent into the territory of the Ambivareti, Titus Sextius to the Bituriges, Gaius Caninius Rebilus to the Ruteni, with a legion apiece. Quintus Tullius Cicero and Publius Sulpicius he stationed at Cabillonum and Matisco, Aeduan towns near the Arar, to secure the corn-supply. He himself decided to winter at Bibracte. When the despatches of the campaign were published at Rome a public thanksgiving of twenty days was granted.

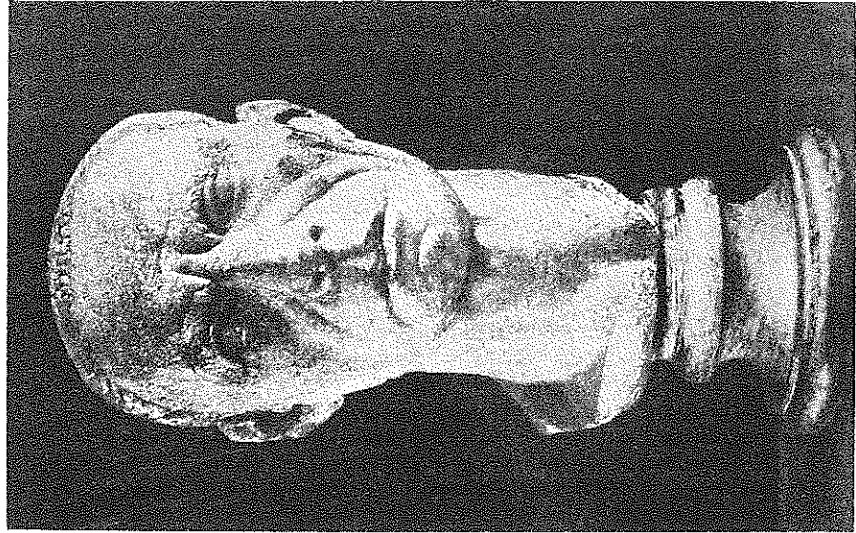
CAESAR
THE CIVIL WARS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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C. JULIUS CAESAR.
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CAESAR

refugerant milites, et animo perterriti e
 confecti, missis plerique armis signisque
 magis de reliqua fuga quam de castrorum defensione
 cogitabant. Neque vero diutius, qui in vallo con-
 stiterant, multitudinem telorum sustinere potuerunt,
 sed confecti vulneribus locum reliquerunt, protinusque
 omnes ducibus usi centurionibus tribunicisque militum
 in altissimos montes, qui ad castra pertinebant,
 confugerunt.

96 In castris Pompei videre licuit trichilas structas,
 magnum argenti pondus expositum, recentibus
 caespitibus tabernacula constrata, Lucii etiam
 Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta edera,
 multaque praeterea, quae nimiam luxuriam et vic-
 toriae fiduciam designarent, ut facile existimari pos-
 set nihil eos de eventu eius diei timuisse, qui non
 necessarias conquirerent voluptates. At hi miserrimo
 ac patientissimo exercitui Caesaris luxuriam obieci-
 bant, cui semper omnia ad necessarium usum de-
 fuissent. Pompeius, iam cum intra vallum nostri
 versarentur, equum nactus, detractis insignibus im-
 peratoris, decumana porta se ex castris eiecit pro-
 tinusque equo citato Larisam contendit. Neque ibi
 constitit, sed eadem celeritate, paucos suos ex fuga
 nactus, nocturno itinere non intermisso, comitatu
 equitum xxx ad mare pervenit navemque frumen-
 tariam conscendit, saepe, ut dicebatur, querens
 tantum se opinionem fefellisse, ut, a quo genere

CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

from the battlefield, panic-stricken in spirit and exhausted by fatigue, many of them having thrown away their arms and their military standards, were thinking more of further flight than of the defence of the camp. Nor could those who had planted themselves on the rampart stand up any longer against the multitude of javelins, but, worn out by wounds, quitted their position, and forthwith all, following the guidance of centurions and military tribunes, fled for refuge to some very lofty hills that stretched up to the camp.

In the camp of Pompeius one might see bowers constructed, a great weight of silver plate set out, soldiers' huts laid with freshly cut turf, and those of Lucius Lentulus and some others covered over with ivy, and many other indications of excessive luxury and confidence of victory, so that it could easily be supposed that they had felt no fear about the issue of the day, inasmuch as they sought out unnecessary indulgences. Yet these men kept taunting Caesar's most wretched and long-suffering army with luxurious indulgence, though it had always lacked every article of necessary use. When our men were now circulating within the rampart, Pompeius, procuring a horse and tearing off his insignia as Imperator, flung himself out of the camp by the decuman gate and, putting spurs to his horse, hurried straight off to Larisa. Nor did he halt there, but, coming across a few of his men in flight, with undiminished speed, not stopping his course at night, arrives at the sea with a retinue of thirty horsemen and embarks on board a corn-ship, often complaining, as it was said, that his expectations had been so utterly falsified that it almost seemed as if he had been betrayed, the flight having originated with that particular

CAESAR

hominum victoriam sperasset, ab eo initio fugae facti
paene proditus videretur.

97 Caesar castris potitus a militibus contendit, ne in
praecia occupati reliqui negotii gerendi facultatem
dimitterent. Qua re impetrata montem opere cir-
cummunire instituit. Pompeiani, quod is mons erat
sine aqua, diffisi ei loco relicto monte universi
ingis eius Larisam versus se recipere coeperunt.
Qua re animadversa Caesar copias suas divisit par-
temque legionum in castris Pompei remanere iussit,
partem in sua castra remisit, iuxta secum legiones
duxit commodioreque itinere Pompeianis occurrere
coepit et progressus milia passuum vi aciem in-
struxit. Qua re animadversa Pompeiani in quodam
monte constitierunt. Hunc montem flumen suble-
bat. Caesar milites cohortatus, etsi totius diei conti-
nenti labore erant confecti noxque iam suberat, ta-
men munitione flumen a monte seclusit, ne noctu
aquari Pompeiani possent. Quo perfecto opere illi
de deditione missis legatis agere coeperunt. Pauci
ordinis senatorii, qui se cum eis coniunxerant, nocte
fuga salutem petiverunt.

98 Caesar prima luce omnes eos, qui in monte con-
sederant, ex superioribus locis in planiciem descen-
dere atque arma proicere iussit. Quod ubi sine
recusatione fecerunt passisque palmis protecti ad
terram flentes ab eo salutem petiverunt, consolatus
consgurgere iussit et pauca apud eos de lenitate sua
locutus, quo minore essent timore, omnes conservavit

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CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

part of his force from which he had hoped for the
victory.

Caesar, having got possession of the camp, urgently
demands of his men not to let slip an opportunity of
completing their task through absorption in plunder.
Having gained his object, he begins to surround the
hill with earthworks. The Pompeians, as the hill
had no water supply, distrusting the position, began
to withdraw in mass by its ridges towards Larisa.
Caesar, observing this, divided his forces and ordered
a part of the legions to remain in Pompeius' camp,
and sent back part to his own camp; four legions he
took with him and began to advance against the Pom-
peians by a more convenient route, and when he
had proceeded four miles drew up his line. On
observing this the Pompeians halted on a certain
hill. The foot of this was washed by the river.
Caesar exhorted his troops, and then, although they
were worn out by the continuous toil of a whole day,
and night was now coming on, nevertheless cut off
the river from the hill by a line of fortification, so
that the Pompeians might be unable to get water at
night. When this work was concluded the enemy
sent a deputation and began to treat of surrender.
A few men of the senatorial order who had joined
them sought safety in flight at nightfall.

At early dawn Caesar ordered all those who had
taken up their position on the hill to come down from
the higher ground to the plain and to throw down
their arms. When they did this without demur and,
flinging themselves on the ground in tears, with
outstretched hands begged him for safety, he con-
soled them and bade them rise, and addressing a few
words to them about his own lenity to lessen their
fears, preserved them all safe and commended them

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CICERO
THE VERRINE ORATIONS

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

AGAINST VERRES: PART TWO
BOOKS III, IV AND V



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CICERO

bebat patientem atque impigrum. XI. Nam, ut mos fuit Bithyniae regibus, lectica octaphoro ferebatur, in qua pulvinus erat perlicidus Melitensis rosa fartus; ipse autem coronam habebat unam in capite, alteram in collo, reticulumque ad nares sibi admovebat tenuissimo lino, minutis maculis, plenum rosae. Sic confecto itinere cum ad aliquod oppidum venerat, eadem lectica usque in cubiculum deferrebat. Eo veniebant Siculorum magistratus, veniebant equites Romani, id quod ex multis iuratis audistis; controversiae secreto deferebantur, paulo post palam decreta auferrebantur. Deinde, ubi paulisper in cubiculo pretio, non acquitate iura discriperat, Veneri iam et Libero reliquum tempus deberi arbitrabatur. Quo loco non mihi praetermittenda videtur praecleari imperatoris egregia ac singularis diligentia. Nam scitote oppidum esse in Sicilia nullum ex iis oppidis in quibus consistere praetores et conventum agere soleant, quo in oppido non isti ex aliqua familia non ignobili delecta ad libidinem mulier esset. Itaque non nullae ex eo numero in convivium adhibebantur palam; si quae castiores erant, ad tempus veniebant, lucem conventumque vitabant. Erant autem convivia non illo silentio praetorum populi Romani atque imperatorum, neque

AGAINST VERRES II v 10 § 27—11 § 28

active that no one ever saw him on horseback. XI. No; following the custom of the old kings of Bithynia, he rode in a litter carried by eight bearers, which contained a cushion of transparent Maltese embroidery stuffed with rose-leaves, he himself wearing one garland on his head and another round his neck, and putting to his nostrils a fine-meshed bag of delicate linen gauze stuffed with rose petals. Whenever, his journey thus effected, he reached a town, he would be carried, in this same litter, direct to his bed-chamber. To this apartment Sicilian magistrates, to this apartment Roman knights betook themselves—you have heard many witnesses swear to the truth of this. Legal controversies were there brought before him privately, and shortly afterwards his decisions were brought away from him openly. Having thus briefly administered the law in his bedroom for an hour or two on principles more profitable than equitable, he felt it his duty to devote the rest of the day to the service of Venus and Bacchus. And I think it proper to mention the exceptional, the unparalleled thoroughness displayed in this connexion by our illustrious commander. You must know that, among all the towns in Sicily where it is customary for governors to stay and to hold assizes, there is no single town in which some woman belonging to some respectable family was not selected for the gratification of his lust. Some of these were openly brought to his dinner-table: the less abandoned ones came later at an appointed hour, avoiding the daylight and the society of his guests. Nor were his dinner-parties the quiet gatherings proper for a Roman governor and commander, nor had they the decency normally maintained at the tables of our

eo pudore qui in magistratuum conviviis versari solet, sed cum maximo clamore atque convicio ; non numquam etiam res ad pugnam atque ad manus vocabatur. Iste enim praetor severus ac diligens, qui populi Romani legibus numquam parvisset, illis legibus quae in oculis ponebantur diligenter obtemperabat. Itaque erant exitus eius modi ut alius inter manus e convivio tamquam e proelio auferretur, alius tamquam occisus relinqueretur, plerique ut fusi sine mente ac sine ullo sensu iacerent, ut quisvis, cum aspexisset, non se praetoris convivium, sed Cannensem pugnam nequitiae videre arbitraretur.

29 XII. Cum vero aestas summa esse coeperat, quod tempus omnes Siciliae semper praetores in itineribus consumere consuerunt, propterea quod tum putant obeundam esse maxime provinciam, cum in areis frumenta sunt, quod et familiae congregantur et magnitudo servitii perspicitur et labor operis maxime offendit, frumenti copia commonet, tempus anni non impedit : tum, inquam, cum concursant ceteri praetores, iste novo quodam genere imperator pulcherrimo Syracusarum loco stativa sibi castra faciebat. 30 Nam in ipso aditu atque ore portus, ubi primum ex alto sinus ab litore ad urbem inflectitur, tabernacula carbasis intenta velis collocabat. Huc ex illa domo praetoria, quae regis Hieronis fuit, sic emigrabat ut eum per illos dies nemo extra illum locum videre

^a Or possibly "and their hard work most irritates them."

magistrates : they were celebrated with loud shouts and cries of abuse, and sometimes things would go as far as an actual hand-to-hand fight. For this strict and thorough governor of ours, who never in his life obeyed the laws of Rome, was none the less most careful to observe all the laws prescribed for the drinking of wine ; which led to such final scenes that one man would be carried away from the party, as though from a battlefield, in other people's arms, another would be left there for dead, and most of them would be lying about the place fuddled and unconscious : so that any spectator would have thought he had been looking on not at a governor's dinner-party but at some disastrous battle between two gangs of ruffians.

XII. As soon as midsummer arrived, a season 29 which it is always the practice of all Sicilian governors to spend in travelling about, because they hold that the most important time for inspecting their province is the time when the grain is on the threshing-floors, since the hands are then gathered together, the number of the slaves can be reckoned, and their labours most easily catch the eye ^a ; besides which, the abundance of corn invites travel and the weather does not hinder it :—at this season, I repeat, when all other governors move actively about, this new variety of military commander used to pitch a fixed camp for himself in the loveliest part of Syracuse. At the very entrance of the harbour, where the bay 30 begins to run in from the open coast towards the city, he set up a number of pavilions, made of linen canvas stretched on poles. From the governor's residence, once King Hiero's palace, he moved house to this new spot so completely that during these periods nobody

CICERO
THE SPEECHES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN CATILINAM I-IV—PRO MURENA—
PRO SULLA—PRO FLACCO

BY
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ORATIO IN CATILINAM PRIMA

HABITA IN SENATU

1 I. 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 Palati, 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 tenexi coniurationem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consili ceperis, quem nostrum 2 ignorare arbitraris? O tempora, o mores! Senatus haec intellegit, consul videt; hic tamen vivit. Vivit? Immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consili particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem fortes viri satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela

^e To insure its safety the senate was meeting in the temple of Jupiter Stator—at the upper end of the forum—not in the senate-house.

THE FIRST SPEECH AGAINST LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINE

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE

I. In heaven's name, Catiline, how long will you abuse our patience? How long will that madness of yours mock us? To what limit will your unbridled audacity vaunt itself? Is it nothing to you that the Palatine has its garrison by night, nothing to you that the city is full of patrols, nothing that the populace is in a panic, nothing that all honest men have joined forces, nothing that the senate is convened in this stronghold,^a is it nothing to see the looks on all these faces? Do you not know that your plans are disclosed? Do you not see that your conspiracy is bound hand and foot by the knowledge of all these men? Who of us do you think is ignorant of what you did last night, what you did the night before, where you were, whom you called together, what plan you took? What an age! What morals! The senate knows these things, the consul sees them. Yet this man lives. Lives, did I say? Nay, more, he walks into the senate, he takes part in the public counsel. He singles out and marks with his glance each one of us for murder. But we, brave men indeed, seem to be doing our duty by the state if we avoid his fury and his shafts. You ought

vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri pestem quam tu in nos omnis iam diu machinaris. 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 supplicis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coërcerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave; non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

4 II. Decrevit quondam senatus uti L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quoddam 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 plebis et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero

^a *i.e.*, Publius Scipio Nasica, pontifex maximus in 133 B.C. Not one of the civil administrative officers—like the consul—nor a military functionary.

^b In a famine in 489 B.C. Maelius sold grain at a reduced price. He was suspected of doing so to win popular favour. When he did not appear promptly to answer charges preferred to Cincinnatus, the Dictator, he was murdered by Ahala.

^c The *senatus consultum ultimum*. See Introduction, p. 6.

to have been led to death long ago by the consul's order, Catiline. That destruction which for a long time you have been planning for all of us ought to be visited on you yourself. Shall that distinguished man, Publius Scipio, the pontifex maximus, though he was a private citizen,^a have killed Tiberius Gracchus, who was only slightly undermining the foundations of the state, and shall we, who are consuls, put up with Catiline, who is anxious to destroy the whole world with murder and fire? For I pass over these precedents as too old, that Gaius Servilius Ahala^b with his own hand killed Spurius Maelius, who was getting up a revolution. There was once, there was indeed in this state such courage that brave men suppressed a traitorous citizen with more severity than the most hated enemy. We have, Catiline, a decree of the senate against you, potent and stern.^c The state does not lack the approval nor the support of this body. It is we, I say it openly, we, the consuls, who are lacking.

II. The senate once decreed^d that Lucius Opimius, the consul, should "take measures that the state might suffer no harm." Not a single night intervened. There was killed because of a vague suspicion of treason Gaius Gracchus, whose father, grandfather, and ancestors were most distinguished men. There was killed with his children Marcus Fulvius, an ex-consul. A similar decree of the senate^e entrusted the state to Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius, the consuls. Did death and the vengeance of the state have to wait a day for the punishment of Lucius Saturninus, the tribune of the people, and Gaius Servilius, the praetor? But we have now for twenty days been

^d 121 B.C.

^e 100 B.C.

CICERO

THE SPEECHES

PRO CAELIO—DE PROVINCIIIS
CONSULARIBUS—PRO BALBO

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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severus (negare non possum), sed...
 ab huius saeculi licentia, verum etiam a maiorum
 consuetudine atque concessis. Quando enim hoc
 non factitatum¹ est, quando reprehensum, quando non
 permissum, quando denique fuit, ut, quod licet, non
 liceret? Hic ego iam rem² definiam, mulierem nullam
 49 nominabo; tantum³ in medio relinquam. Si quae
 non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit omnium
 cupiditati palamque sese in meretricia vita collocarit,
 virorum alienissimorum conviviis uti instituerit, si hoc
 in urbe, si in hortis, si in Baiarum illa celebritate
 faciat, si denique ita sese gerat non incesso solum,
 sed ornatu atque comitatu, non flagrantia oculorum,
 non libertate sermonum, sed etiam complexu, oscu-
 latione, actus, navigatione, conviviis, ut non solum
 meretrix, sed etiam proterva meretrix procaxque
 videatur: cum hac si qui adulescens forte fuerit,
 utrum hic tibi, L. Herenni, adulter an amator, ex-
 pugnaire pudicitiam an explere libidinem voluisse
 50 videatur? Obliviscor iam iniurias tuas, Clodia, de-
 pono memoriam doloris mei; quae abs te crudeliter
 in meos me absente facta sunt, neglego; ne sint
 haec in te dicta, quae dixi. Sed ex te ipsa requiro,
 quoniam et crimen accusatores abs te et testem eius
 criminis te ipsam dicunt se habere. Si quae mulier
 sit eius modi, qualem ego paulo ante descripsi, tui

¹ Σ, *Lambinus*: factum *other mss.*

² *Clark*, *with Helm* ipsam rem.

³ totum *Klotz following Koch.*

^a L. Herennius Balbus, one of the joint accusers (*sub-
 scriptores*) of Caecilius.

^b See on *Pro Sestio*, 54: the behaviour of Clodius, brother
 of Clodia, towards Cicero's family during his exile.

doubtless eminently austere (I cannot deny it), but
 his view is contrary not only to the licence of this
 age, but also to the custom and concessions of our
 ancestors. For when was this not a common practice?
 When was it blamed? When was it forbidden?
 When, in fact, was it that what is allowed was not
 allowed? Here and now I will explain the matter;
 I will mention no woman by name; I will leave just
 so much open. If a woman without a husband opens 49
 her house to all men's desires, and publicly leads the
 life of a courtesan; if she is in the habit of attending
 dinner-parties with men who are perfect strangers;
 if she does this in the city, in her park, amid all those
 crowds at Baiae; if, in fact, she so behaves that not
 only her bearing but her dress and her companions,
 not only the ardour of her looks and the licentious-
 ness of her gossip but also her embraces and caresses,
 her beach-parties, her water-parties, her dinner-
 parties, proclaim her to be not only a courtesan, but
 also a shameless and wanton courtesan; if a young
 man should happen to be found with this woman,
 would you, Lucius Herennius,^a consider him to be
 an adulterer or a lover? Would you think that he
 desired to ravage her chastity, or only to satisfy his
 passion? I am now forgetting, Clodia, the wrongs 50
 you have done me; I am putting aside the memory
 of what I have suffered; I pass over your cruel
 actions towards my family during my absence^b; I
 pray do not imagine that what I have said was
 meant against you. But I ask you yourself, since the
 accusers assert that you are the source of this charge
 and that they have you yourself as a witness to this
 charge, I ask you, if there existed a woman such as I
 painted a short while ago, one quite unlike you, with

dissimilis, vita institutoque meretricio, cum hac aliquid adulescentem hominem habuisse rationis num tibi perturpe aut perflagitiosum esse videatur? Easi tu non es, sicut ego malo, quid est, quod obiciant Caelio? Sin eam te voluit esse, quid est, cur nos crimen hoc, si tu contemnis, pertimescamus? Quare nobis da viam rationemque defensionis. Aut enim pudor tuus defendet nihil a M. Caelio petulantius esse factum, aut impudentia et huic et ceteris magnam ad se defendendum facultatem dabit.

51 XXI. Sed quoniam emersisse iam e vadis et scopulos praetervecta videtur oratio mea, perfacilis mihi reliquus cursus ostenditur. Duo sunt enim crimina una in muliere summorum facinorum, auri, quod sumptum a Clodia dicitur, et veneni, quod eiusdem Clodiae necandae causa parasse Caelium erimantur. Aurum sumpsit, ut dicitis, quod L. Lucei servis daret, per quos Alexandrinus Dio, qui tum apud Luceium habitabat, necaretur. Magnum crimen vel in legatis insidiandis vel in servis ad hospitem dormini necandum sollicitandis, plenum sceleris consilium, plenum auda-52 ciae! Quo quidem in crimine primum illud requiro,

^a A wealthy Roman who was a friend of Cicero. In 64 B.C. he brought a charge of murder against Catiline whose acquittal was secured through Caesar. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the consulship of 59 B.C. (*Epp. ad Att.* i. 17. 11; Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 19). He is better known as the recipient of a letter from Cicero (*Epp. ad Fam.* v. 12) requesting him to allow the insertion in his *History of Rome* of a chapter on Cicero's consulship.

^b Dio was one of a deputation of one hundred Alexandrians who in 57 B.C. set out for Rome to complain to the Senate of the violence of Ptolemy Auletes, who at the end of 58 B.C. had

the life and manners of a courtesan—would you think it very shameful or disgraceful that a young man should have had some dealings with such a woman? If you are not this woman, as I prefer to think, for what have the accusers to reproach Caelius? But if they will have it that you are such a person, why should we be afraid of this accusation, if you despise it? Then it is for you to show us our way and method of defence; for either your sense of propriety will disprove any vicious behaviour by Caelius, or your utter impropriety will afford both him and the rest a fine opportunity for self-defence.

XXI. But since my speech now seems to have made its way out of the shallows and to have escaped the reefs, the rest of my course presents itself as quite easy. Two indictments, for the gravest crimes, are brought against Caelius, and in both the name of one woman appears: he is charged with having taken some gold from Clodia, and with having prepared poison to murder this same Clodia. The gold, according to you, he took to give to the slaves of Lucius Luceius,^a to procure the assassination of Dio of Alexandria,^b who at the time was living with Lucius. It is a grave charge against a man, that he either plotted against the life of an ambassador,^c or incited slaves to murder their master's guest—it is a plot rich in villainy, rich in daring! And in regard to this charge, I first ask, whether he told Clodia for fled to Rome to press upon Pompey a claim for reinstatement. See pp. 402-403.

^c See Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iii. 9: "legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset"; also Cicero, *In Verrem*, ii. 1. 85: "eternim nomen legati eiusmodi esse debet quod non modo inter sociorum iura sed etiam inter hostium tela incolume versetur."

CICERO DE ORATORE

IN TWO VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I, II

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ISTITUTO

' ipsa acula, quae describitur, quam . . . atione crevisse : et, quod ille durissimis pedibus fecit, ut se abiceret in herbam, atque ita illa, quae philosophi divinitus ferunt esse dicta, loqueretur, id meis pedibus certo concedi est aequius. Tum Crassum : Immo vero commodius etiam ; pulvinosque poposcisse, et omnes in eis sedibus, quae erant sub platano, con-sedissee dicebat.

VIII. Ibi, ut ex pristino sermone relaxarentur animi omnium, solebat Cotta narrare, Crassum ser-mone quemdam de studio dicendi intulisse. Qui cum ita esset exorsus, non sibi cohortandum Sul-picium et Cottam, sed magis utrumque collaudandum videri, quod tantam iam essent facultatem adepti, ut non aequalibus suis solum anteponebantur, sed cum maioribus natu compararentur. Neque vero mihi quidquam, inquit, praestabilius videtur, quam posse dicendo tenere hominum coetus, mentes allicere, voluntates impellere quo velit ; unde autem vellet, deducere. Haec una res in omni libero populo, maximeque in pacatis tranquillisque civitatibus, praecipue semper floruit, semperque dominata est. 31 Quid enim est aut tam admirabile, quam ex infinita multitudine hominum existere unum, qui id, quod omnibus natura sit datum, vel solus, vel cum paucis facere possit ? Aut tam iucundum cognitu atque auditu, quam sapientibus sententis gravibusque verbis ornata oratio et polita ? Aut tam potens, 22

littérivulet' described by Plato than to the language of his dialogue—and what Socrates did, whose feet were thoroughly hardened, when he threw himself down on the grass and so began the talk which philo-sophers say was divine,—such ease surely may more reasonably be conceded to my own feet." " Nay," answered Crassus, " but we will make things more comfortable still," whereupon, according to Cotta, he called for cushions, and they all sat down together on the benches that were under the plane-tree.

VIII. In that place, as Cotta was fond of relating, ^{Thesis: the importance of oratory to society and the state.} Crassus introduced a conversation on the pursuit of oratory, with a view to relieving all minds from the discourse of the day before. He began by saying that Sulpicius and Cotta seemed not to need exhortation from him but rather commendation, seeing that thus early they had acquired such skill as not merely to be ranked above their equals in age, but to be com-parable with their elders. " Moreover," he con- tinued, " there is to my mind no more excellent thing than the power, by means of oratory, to get a hold on assemblies of men, win their good will, direct their inclinations wherever the speaker wishes, or divert them from whatever he wishes. In every free nation, and most of all in communities which have attained the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity, this one art has always flourished above the rest and ever reigned supreme. For what is so marvellous as that, out of the innumerable company of mankind, a single being should arise, who either alone or with a few others can make effective a faculty bestowed by nature upon every man ? Or what so pleasing to the under-standing and the ear as a speech adorned and polished with wise reflections and dignified language ? Or 23

tamque magnificentum, quam populi motus, iudicium religiones, Senatus gravitatem, unius oratione concipitur? Quid tam porro regium, tam liberale, tam munificum, quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate? Quid autem tam necessarium, quam tenere semper arma, quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis, vel provocare improbos,¹ vel te ulcisci lacessitus?

Age vero, ne semper forum, subsellia, rostra, Curiamque meditare, quid esse potest in otio aut iucundius, aut magis proprium humanitatis, quam sermo facetus ac nulla in re rudis? Hoc enim uno praestamus vel maxime feris, quod colloquimur inter nos, et quod exprimere dicendo sensa possumus.

Quam ob rem quis hoc non iure miretur, summeque in eo elaborandum esse arbitretur, ut, quo uno homines maxime bestiis praestent, in hoc hominibus ipsis antecellat? Ut vero iam ad illa summa veniamus; quae vis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare, aut a fera agrestique vita ad hunc humanum cultum civilemque deducere, aut, iam constitutis civitatibus, leges, iudicia, iura describere? Ac, ne plura, quae sunt paene innumera-

¹ improbos is the reading of *Friedrich for the unintelligible* integros of the better MSS.

what achievement so mighty and glorious as that the impulses of the crowd, the consciences of the judges, the austerity of the Senate, should suffer transformation through the eloquence of one man? What function again is so kingly, so worthy of the free, so generous, as to bring help to the suppliant, to raise up those that are cast down, to bestow security, to set free from peril, to maintain men in their civil rights? What too is so indispensable as to have always in your grasp weapons wherewith you can defend yourself, or challenge the wicked man, or when provoked take your revenge?

Nay more (not to have you for ever contemplating public affairs, the bench, the platform, and the Senate-house), what in hours of ease can be a pleasanter thing or one more characteristic of culture, than discourse that is graceful and nowhere uninstructed? For the one point in which we have our very greatest advantage over the brute creation is that we hold converse one with another, and can reproduce our thought in word. Who therefore would not rightly admire this faculty, and deem it his duty to exert himself to the utmost in this field, that by so doing he may surpass men themselves in that particular respect wherein chiefly men are superior to animals? To come, however, at length to the highest achievements of eloquence, what other power could have been strong enough either to gather scattered humanity into one place, or to lead it out of its brutish existence in the wilderness up to our present condition of civilization as men and as citizens, or, after the establishment of social communities, to give shape to laws, tribunals, and civic rights? And not to pursue any further instances—wellnigh countless as they are—I will

V

CICERO

LETTERS TO ATTICUS
VOLUME II

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY



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1999

LETTER 144 (VII.20)

144 (VII.20)

Capua, 5 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

The facts of the situation now make me laconic. I have given up hope of peace, and our people are doing nothing to wage war—don't imagine these Consuls are worth twopence. To meet them (?), in the hope of getting some news and acquainting myself with our preparations, I arrived at Capua in pouring rain on the 4th, as instructed. They have as yet (i.e. on the Nones) not arrived, but are on their way, empty-handed and unprepared. Gnaeus is said to be at Luceria, visiting cohorts of Appius' legions, which are none too reliable. As for Caesar, they say he is plunging, will be down on us any minute, not to join battle (who is there for him to fight with?) but to cut off escape.

For my part, in Italy I am ready 'e'en to die with him,¹ and on that I don't ask your advice. But out of Italy? What do I do? 'Stay' say winter, lictors, improvident and negligent leadership: 'go' say my friendship for Gnaeus, the cause of the honest men, the dishonour of alliance with a despot, as to whom it is doubtful whether he will take Phalaris or Pistratus as his model. Please sort it all out and help me with your advice, though I suppose you yourself have now got plenty to think about in Rome. But do your best. If I hear any news here today you shall know of it—the Consuls will be here presently for their Nones. I shall expect a letter from you every day. Please reply to this when you can. I have left the ladies and the boys at Formiae.

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CICERO

144 (VII.20)

Scr. Capuae Non. Febr. an. 49 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1 Brevisloquentem iam me tempus ipsum facit. pacem enim desperavi, bellum nostri nullum administrant; cave enim putēs quicquam esse minoris his consiliis, quorum ego * * *¹ spe audiendi aliquid et cognoscendi nostri apparatus maximo imbri Capuam veni prid. Non., ut eram iussus: illi autem adhuc, id est Nonis, nondum venerant, sed erant venturi inanes, imparati. Gnaeus autem Luceriae dicebatur esse et adire cohortis legionum Appianarum² non firmissimarum. at illum ruere nuntiant et iam iamque adesse, non ut manum conserat (quicum enim?) sed ut fugam intercludat.

2 Ego autem in Italia 'καὶ συναποθαιέην', nec te id consulo; sin extra, quid ago? ad manendum hiems, lictores, improvidi et negligentes duces, ad fugam hortatur amicitia Gnaei, causa bonorum, turpitudine coniungendi cum tyranno; qui quidem incertum est Phalarimne an Pistratum simitaturus. haec velim explices et me iuves consilio, etsi te ipsum istic iam calere puto; sed tamen quantum poteris ego si quid hic hodie novi cognoro, scies; iam enim adierunt consules ad suas Nonas, tuas cottidae litteras exspectabo; ad has autem cum poteris rescribes. mulieres et Cicerones in Formiano reliqui.

¹ ad congressum vel sim. *εσχάτισσε censuit* SB

² itinerum vel itinerum vel a(c)tinarum (*Lippus*)

¹ Greek, perhaps from an unknown play.

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SALLUST

THE WAR WITH CATILINE
THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA

TRANSLATED BY
J. C. ROLFE

REVISED BY
JOHN T. RAMSEY



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Sa BC ag: joi th att ca: ap: mi ro: in up m: an: co: wa
Alt pa wc en: Tal ing tio con ter ski tra
Foi tra be: mc
Jof Cl: cag

gressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus rei publicae animus liber erat.

3 Igitur de Catilinae coniuratione quam verissime potero paucis absolvam; nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existimo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De quoius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

5. L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique inventum suam exercuit. Corruptus patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae supra quam quocquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolos, varius, quoius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator; alieni adpetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxima invaserat rei publicae capiundae, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferrox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque eis artibus auxerat quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos

² After his victory in the civil war (83-82), Sulla was elected dictator in November 82 and ruled Rome with absolute power until he retired into private life in 80, after holding a second consulship.

advancement had held me back, and to write up the deeds of the Roman people selectively, according to whatever seemed to me worthy of record; all the more was this my intention because I possessed a mind free from hope, fear, and partisanship.

Therefore, concerning the conspiracy of Catiline I shall provide a brief account, as truthfully as I can; for I regard that enterprise especially worthy of notice because of the novelty of the crime and danger arising from it. But before I can begin my narrative, a few remarks must first be made concerning that man's character.

5. Lucius Catiline, born of a noble family, had great vigor of both mind and body, but an evil and depraved nature. From an early age he delighted in civil wars, bloodshed, pillage, and political dissension, and amid these he spent his early manhood. His body could endure hunger, cold and want of sleep to an incredible degree. His mind was reckless, cunning, adaptable, capable of any form of pretense or concealment; covetous of others' possessions, he was prodigal of his own; he was intense in his passions; he possessed adequate eloquence, but too little discretion. His insatiable mind always craved the excessive, the incredible, the impossible. After the tyranny of Lucius Sulla,² Catiline had been assailed by the greatest passion for seizing control of the government, and he did not consider it at all important by what means he achieved his objective, provided he gained sovereignty for himself. His fierce spirit was goaded more and more every day by his lack of wealth and a consciousness of his crimes, both of which he had increased by the practices I have already mentioned. He was spurred on, also, by corrupt public morals, which were being exacerbated by two very de-

SALLUST

9 pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant.

Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere ac paucis instituta maiorum domi militiaeque, quo modo rem publicam habuerint quantumque reliquerint, ut paulatim inmutata ex pulcherrima <atque optuma.>⁴ pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

6. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius⁵ alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint; <ita brevi multitudo divorsa atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat.>⁶

3 Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortaliū habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu percussi a periculis aberant.

5 At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam

⁴ 5. *Aug. Civ. 2.18*

⁵ II, *codd. plerique*; alii B¹N² 6 II (facta est), *Aug. Ep. 138.10*, s: om. ω

³ Sallust indicates that he is drawing on a historical tradition; conspicuously absent in this version is Romulus, the eponymous founder of Rome, and his brother, Remus.

⁴ The name traditionally used to designate the indigenous populace living in the region of Rome.

THE WAR WITH CATILINE, 5.8-6.5

structive evils of an opposite character, extravagance and greed.

Since the occasion has raised the topic of public morals, the subject matter itself seems to encourage me to go back in time and talk briefly about the established practices of our forefathers in peace and in war, how they administered the state, how great it was when they passed it on, and how by gradual changes, instead of the noblest and the best, it has become the worst and the most infamous.

6. The city of Rome, as I have learned,³ was at the outset founded and inhabited by Trojans, who were wandering in exile, without any fixed abodes, under the leadership of Aeneas; their cofounders were the Aborigines,⁴ a rustic folk, without laws, without government, free and unrestrained. After these two peoples, different in race, unlike in speech and living according to different customs, came together within the same walls, it is unbelievable to relate how easily they merged, so quickly did harmony change a heterogeneous and roving throng into a body of citizens. But after their community had grown in population, civilization, and territory, and was beginning to appear fairly rich and fairly strong, then, as generally happens in mortal affairs, prosperity gave rise to envy. Therefore, neighboring kings and peoples⁵ put them to the test in war, and only a few of their friends came to their aid; for the rest were struck with fear and kept clear of dangers. But the Romans, alert at home and on campaign, made haste, prepared themselves, encouraged one another, went to meet the foe, and defended with arms their

⁵ Such as the Sabini, Aequi, Rutuli, and Volsci.

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12. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit. Igitur ex divitiis inventum luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere; rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere, pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere.

3 Operae pretium est, quom domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri maiores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere.

4 Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimum viri victores reliquerant; proinde quasi iniuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

13. Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi eis qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse? Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed lubido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat; viri mulieribus pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vendendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere, dormire prius quam somni cupido esset, non famem aut sitim neque

¹² Wealthy Romans in Sallust's day cut through hills to bring salt water into their fishponds (Plin. *HN* 9.170) and built villas on pilings sunk into the sea, especially on the Bay of Naples, at Baiae (Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.33-37).

THE WAR WITH CATTILINE, 12.1-13.3

12. After riches began to be held in honor and led to the acquisition of glory, positions of authority, and political influence, then virtue began to lose its edge, poverty to be considered a disgrace, blamelessness to be regarded as spitefulness and malevolence. Therefore, as a result of riches, the youth were suddenly consumed with luxury and greed, together with insolence. They robbed, squandered, valued little their property, coveted that of others; they treated without distinction modesty, chastity, things human and divine; they had no scruples and no moderation.

It is worthwhile, when you have acquainted yourself with houses and villas built on the scale of cities, to visit the temples of the gods fashioned by our forefathers, most reverent mortals. But those men adorned the shrines of the gods with piety, their own homes with glory, while from the vanquished they took nothing except the license to do harm. The men of today, on the contrary, most worthless fellows, through their supreme wickedness take from our allies all that those most courageous men had left them in the hour of victory; as though to do a wrong were precisely what it means to exercise power.

13. Why should I speak of things which no one will believe except those who have seen them, that a great many individuals have leveled mountains and built upon the seas?¹² To such men their riches seem to me to have served as a mere plaything; for they rushed shamelessly to misuse wealth which they could have possessed honorably. But there had arisen an equally strong passion for lewdness, gluttony, and other accompaniments of luxury; men played the woman, women offered their chastity for sale; the land and sea were scoured for everything to gratify their palates; they slept before they felt a desire for sleep;

laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem fore, victorem domum redditurum, alia huiusce modi animis trahabant, et eos non paulum oratione sua Marius adreixerat. Nam postquam omnibus quae postulaverat decretis milites scribere volt, hortandi causa, simul et nobilitatem uti consueverat exagitandi, contionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

85. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere et postquam adepti sunt gerere; primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse, dein per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere. Sed mihi contra ea videatur; nam quo pluris est univorsa res publica quam consuetus aut praetura, eo maiore cura illam administrari quam haec peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vostro negoti sustineam. Bellum parare simul et aerario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis offendere, domi forisque omnia curare et ea agere inter invidios, occurrentis, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, maiorum fortia facta, cognatorum et affinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia

it was thought that military service was unpopular with the commons and that Marius would lose either resources for the war or the devotion of the masses. But this outcome was hoped for in vain; such passion for accompanying Marius had seized almost everyone. Each man fancied in his mind that he would be enriched by booty, would return home a victor, and other such visions; and Marius had excited them in no slight degree by a speech of his. For when all the decrees which he had demanded had been passed and he wished to enroll soldiers, he called a public meeting in order to encourage enlistment and at the same time, according to his custom, to criticize the nobles. Then he discussed the issues in the following manner:

85. "I know, Citizens, that most men seek power from you by one set of practices and then exercise it, after it has been obtained, by quite another; that at first they are industrious, humble and modest, but afterward they lead lives of indolence and arrogance. But just the opposite course seems right to me; for just as the whole nation is of more value than a consulate or a praetorship, so it ought to be governed with much greater care than political offices are sought. Nor am I unaware how great a task I am taking upon myself in accepting this signal favor of yours. To prepare for war and at the same time to spare the treasury; to force into military service those whom one would not wish to offend; to have a care for everything at home and abroad—to do all this amid envy, enmity and intrigue, is a harder task than you might suppose, Citizens. Furthermore, if *others* make mistakes, their ancient nobility, the brave deeds of their ancestors, the power of their relatives and in-laws, their many retainers, are all at their disposal

haec praesidio adsunt; mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est virtute et innocentia tutari. Nam alia infirma sunt.

5 "Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse, aequos bonosque favere, quippe mea bene facta rei publicae procedunt, nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius admittendum est uti neque vos capiamini et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fuit uti omnis labores et pericula consueta habeam. Quae ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti accepta mercede deseram non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit.

10 Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha iussistis, quam rem nobilitas aegerrime tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi; scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque evenit ut quem vos imperare iussistis, is imperatorem alium quaerat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam consules facti sunt et acta maiorum et Graecorum

251. See 4.5n.

for protection; my hopes are all vested in myself and must be maintained by my own worth and integrity. For other resources are weak.

"This too I understand, Citizens, that the eyes of all are turned on me, that fair-minded and decent men favor me because my good deeds benefit our country, while the nobles are looking for an opening to attack me. Wherefore I must strive the more vigorously, so that you may not be taken in and so that they may be disappointed. From childhood to my present time of life, I have lived in such a way that I am familiar with every kind of toil and danger. As to the deeds I did voluntarily, Citizens, before the conferral of your favors, it is not my intention to abandon them now that they have brought me their reward. To exercise restraint in office is difficult for those who from interested motives have merely pretended to be virtuous; as for me, I have spent my entire life in the best practices, and good conduct has become second nature as a result of habit. You have appointed me to wage the war against Jugurtha, a decision that has greatly annoyed the nobles. I ask you, reconsider in your hearts whether it would be better to change your minds, if you should send on this or any similar undertaking someone of that clique of nobles, a man of ancient lineage and many ancestral images²⁵¹—but no military experience; doubtless with the result that in his complete ignorance he quakes in the face of such an assignment and rushes to appoint some member of the populace as a mentor in carrying out his duties. So it generally happens that the man whom you have appointed to exercise a command seeks out someone else to be the *de facto* commander. I personally know of men, Citizens, who, after being elected consuls, have begun to study both

militaria praecepta legere coeperint: praeposteri homines, nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est.

13 "Compare nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novom. Quae illi audire aut¹¹⁸ legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur.¹¹⁹ Quamquam ego naturam unam et commune omnium existimo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac si iam ex patribus Albinus aut Bestia quaeri posset mense an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese liberos quam optimos voluisse?"

17 "Quod si iure me despiciunt, faciant¹²⁰ idem maioribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissimas res pariter expectant, ignaviae voluptatem et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam, quom apud vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione maiores suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariora sese putant. Quod contra est. Nam quanto vita illorum

118 VA: et *reil*. 119 obiciuntur VP² 120 faciunt PA¹

²⁵² I.e., before one can be a successful commander (*after* being elected to office), it is necessary first to gain experience in the ranks (*before* standing for election).

the deeds of their forefathers and the military treatises of the Greeks; such individuals are wrongheaded, for whereas engaging in action follows upon election with respect to time, in practical experience it precedes it.²⁵²

"Compare me now, Citizens, a 'new man,' with those arrogant nobles. What they are accustomed to hear about or read, I have partly seen with my own eyes, in other cases done personally. What they have learned from books I have learned by service in the field. Judge now for yourselves whether words or deeds are worth more. They scorn my lack of pedigree, I their worthlessness; I am reproached with my lot in life, they with their scandals. To be sure, I personally believe that all men have one and the same nature, but that the bravest is of the best stock. And if the fathers of Albinus and Bestia could now be asked whether they would have preferred to sire me or those men, what do you suppose they would reply, except that they desired the best possible children?"

"But if they rightly look down on me, let them do likewise in the case of their own forefathers, whose nobility began, as does mine, from personal merit. They begrudge me my office; therefore, let them begrudge my toil, my integrity, even my dangers, since it was through those that I won the office. In fact, these men, spoiled by pride, live as if they scorn the honors you confer; they seek them as if they have lived honorably. Surely they are deluded in looking forward with equal confidence to polar opposites, namely, the pleasure of idleness and the rewards of merit. And furthermore, when they deliver remarks in front of you or in the senate, they eulogize their ancestors in most of their speeches; by recounting the brave deeds of those men, they imagine themselves more glorious. But it is just

- 23 praeclearior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profecto
ita se res habet: maiorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est,
24 neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. Huiusce
rei ego inopiam fateor,¹²¹ Quirites, verum, id quod multo
25 praeclearius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc vi-
dete quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant,
id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia imagines
non habeo et quia mihi nova nobilitas est, quam certe pe-
perisse melius est quam acceptam corrupisse.
- 26 "Equidem ego non ignoro, si iam mihi respondere ve-
lint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore.
Sed in maximo vostro beneficio quom omnibus locis
meque¹²² vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere,
27 ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me qui-
dem ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest.
Quippe vera necesse est bene praedicent, falsa vita mo-
28 resque mei superant. Sed quoniam vostra consilia accu-
santur, qui mihi summum honorem et maximum nego-
tium inposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate num eorum
29 paenitendum sit. Non possum fidei causa imagines neque
triumphos aut consulatus maiorum meorum ostentare; at,
si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria
30 dona, praeterea cicatrices adorso corpore. Hae sunt
meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut

¹²¹ fateor V; patior ω¹²² V; me ω²⁵³ "Trophy spears" denote a military award known as the *hasta pura*, a headless spear presented in recognition of valor.

the reverse. For the more glorious the life of their ancestors was, the more shameful is the idleness of these men. And assuredly the matter stands thus: the glory of ancestors is, as it were, a light shining upon their posterity, and it suffers neither their virtues nor their faults to be hidden. Of such glory I acknowledge my poverty, Citizens; but—and that is far more glorious—I may speak of my very own deeds. Now see how unfair those men are; that which they lay claim to for themselves as a result of others' merit they do not allow to me as the result of my own, no doubt because I have no ancestral images and because mine is a freshly minted nobility; yet surely it is better to have brought nobility into being than to have sullied it after it has been inherited.

"I am, of course, well aware that if they want to reply to me, their language will be eloquent and well structured. But since in connection with your very great kindness to me they savagely attack both you and me with invective at every opportunity, I have decided not to be silent so that no one will misinterpret reticence on my part as a guilty conscience. For, according to what I feel in my heart, no speech can injure me. Naturally the truth has to be told to my credit; my past life and character refute any falsehoods. But since those men are criticizing your judgment in giving me the highest office and a most important commission, consider over and over again whether you ought to regret those decisions. To inspire trust, I cannot display ancestral images and triumphs or consulships of my forefathers; but if occasion requires, I can display trophy spears;²⁵³ a distinguished-service banner, medals and other military decorations, as well as scars on my breast. These are my ancestral images, these my nobility, not left

illa illis, sed quae ego meis plurimum laboribus et periculis quaesivi.

31 "Non sunt composita verba mea; parvi¹²³ id facio. Ipsa se virtus satis ostendit. Illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Graecae didici, parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerant. At illa multo optima rei publicae doctus sum: hostem ferire, praesidia agitare, nihil metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem iuxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare.

34 His ego praeceptis milites hortabor, neque illos arte colam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque quom tute per molliorem¹²⁴ agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque alia talia¹²⁵ maiores vestri faciendo seque remque publicam celebravere. Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit, et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit.

38 "Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Maiores eorum omnia quae licebat illis reliquere: divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram; virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant; ea sola neque datur dono neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia

¹²³ parvi VP², Non. 257M.36: parum ω

¹²⁴ molliam V

¹²⁵ alia talia s: alia VP β: talia AB²Y

²⁵⁴ I.e., in the Greeks themselves.

to me by inheritance as theirs is, but a nobility sought by my own innumerable efforts and perils.

"My words are not carefully composed; I care little for that. Merit displays itself well enough on its own. They have need of artfulness to cover up their shameful deeds with rhetoric. I have not studied Greek literature; it held no allure for me to study it since it had not promoted virtue in its teachers.²⁵⁴ But I have learned those skills which are by far the best for the nation—to strike down the foe, to maintain defenses, to fear nothing except ill repute, to endure winter and summer alike, to sleep on the bare ground, to bear privation and toil at the same time. With such guiding principles as these, I shall encourage my soldiers; I shall not treat them stingily and myself lavishly, nor convert their toil into my personal glory. The exercise of command that I am describing is beneficial, is what a Roman citizen deserves. (For to control one's army by means of punishment, while living yourself a life of ease, is to be a master of slaves, not a commander.) By performing these and other such deeds, your forefathers made themselves and their nation renowned. But the nobles, relying upon the achievements of past generations, though they themselves are of very different character, despise us who emulate the men of old, and they claim from you all honors, not on the basis of merit, but as though owed to them.

"But those arrogant men stray far from the truth. Their ancestors have left them all that was permitted—riches, ancestral images, their own glorious fame; prowess they have not left them, nor could they; prowess alone is neither bestowed nor received as a gift. They say that I am coarse and of unrefined manners because I do not know

parum scite convivium exorno neque histrionem ullum neque pluris preti coquam quam vilicum habeo. Quae mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites; nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accipi: munditias mulieribus, laborem viris convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non suppellectilem decorasse.

40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

"Quin ergo quod iuvat, quod carum aestumant, id semper faciant: ament, potent; ubi adulescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis. Sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis incundiora sunt. Verum non ita est. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimum viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita iniustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessumae artes, illis qui coluere eas nihil offi-
ciunt, rei publicae innoxiae cladi sunt.

"Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non illorum flagitia posebant, respondi, pauca de re publica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. Nam quae ad hoc tempus Iugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, inperitiam atque superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix. Nam magna pars eius avaritia aut temeritate ducum adrita est. Quam ob rem vos, quibus militaris aetas est, admittimini mecum et capessite rem publicam, neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut

²⁵⁵ A high-priced cook and actor would be required to make elegant a dinner party and its accompanying entertainment (cf. Liv. 39.6.8-9).

²⁵⁶ The vices of, respectively, the commanders in 111 (Bestia), 110 (Sp. Albinus and his brother Aulus), and 109-108 (Metellus).

how to give an elegant dinner and do not pay an actor or cook more than my farm overseer.²⁵⁵ This I cheerfully admit, Citizens; for this is what I have learned from my father and other upright men: that elegance is becoming to women but toil to men, that all virtuous men ought to have more fame than riches, that arms, not fine trappings, confer luster.

"Well then, let them keep right on doing what gives them pleasure: carrying on love affairs, drinking, and passing their old age where they have spent their youth, in banquets, as slaves to their belly and the most shameful part of their body. Let them leave sweat, dust, and other such things to us, men who find those things more pleasurable than banquets. But this is not the way it is. For when those depraved men have disgraced themselves by their crimes, they proceed to snatch away rewards belonging to the virtuous. Thus, most unjustly do the most abominable practices of luxury and sloth not at all work to the disadvantage of those who practice them, but are the ruin of a blameless nation.

"Now, inasmuch as I have replied to them to the extent that my character—but not their crimes—demanded, I shall say a few words about our nation. First of all, take heart, Citizens, concerning Numidia. For you have taken away everything which up to this time has protected Jugurtha—greed, incompetence, and arrogance.²⁵⁶ Next, our army in Africa is familiar with the country, but, by Hercules, is more valiant than fortunate. For a great part of it has been destroyed by the greed or rashness of its leaders. Therefore, do you, who are of military age, join your efforts with mine and take part in your nation's affairs, and let no one feel fear as a result of the disaster of

imperatorum superbia metus cepit. Egomet in agmine
 aut in proelio consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum
 48 adero, meque vosque in omnibus rebus iuxta geram. Et
 profecto dis iuvantibus omnia matura sunt: victoria,
 praeda, laus. Quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis
 49 bonos rei publicae subvenire decebat. Etenim nemo igno-
 via immortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis
 uti aeterni forent optavit, magis uti boni honestique vitam
 50 exigent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidus virtutem
 verba adderent. Nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

86. Huiusce modi oratione habita Marius, postquam
 plebis animos adrectos videt, prope comneatu, stipen-
 2 dio, armis aliisque utilibus navis onerat; cum his A. Man-
 lium legatum proficisci iubet. Ipse interea milites scribere,
 non more maiorum neque ex classibus, sed uti quousque
 3 lubido erat, capite census plerosque. Id factum alii inopia
 honorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant,
 quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini
 potentiam quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunitas-
 mus, quod neque sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt, et
 omnia cum pretio honesta videntur.

²⁵⁷ Perhaps as early as February 107.

²⁵⁸ I.e., the five classes from which soldiers were drawn, said to have been established by King Servius Tullius, based on property qualifications (Liv. 1.42.4-43). In this period, to be enrolled in the fifth and lowest census class, the minimum property qualification was a very modest 1,500 bronze asses (Cic. *Rep.* 2.40).

²⁵⁹ Lit. the *capite censi*, those who were enrolled by the censors as mere "persons" (*capiti*) because they had insufficient property to be eligible for inclusion in even the fifth and lowest Servian class; as such, they were exempt from military service.

others or the arrogance of generals. I myself, one who both
 takes counsel concerning danger and shares in it, shall be
 right there with you on the march or in battle; and I shall
 treat myself and you alike in all situations. And surely ev-
 erything, with the help of the gods, is on the point of being
 realized—victory, spoils, glory. But even if those incen-
 tives were uncertain or remote, it would still be fitting for
 all good men to come to the aid of the nation. Truly, no
 one ever became immortal through cowardice; and no
 parent has prayed for his children to live forever but rather
 that their lives might be noble and honored. I would say
 more, Citizens, if words could instill courage in cowards.
 For those who are resolute I think I have spoken long
 enough."

86. After Marius had made a speech of this sort and
 saw the spirits of the commons aroused, he quickly loaded
 his ships with provisions, money, arms, and other ser-
 viceable things; he ordered his deputy commander Aulus
 Manlius to set sail with these.²⁵⁷ Meanwhile, he himself
 enrolled soldiers, not according to the census classes,²⁵⁸ in
 keeping with the ancestral tradition, but just as the fancy
 took anyone, for the most part the poorest of the poor.²⁵⁹
 Some say that he did this because of a dearth of qualified
 recruits, others out of a desire to curry favor, because that
 class had given him honor and advancement; and to a
 man aspiring to power, the most serviceable is the poor-
 est man who has no regard for his own possessions, having
 none, and considers anything accompanied by remunera-
 tion honorable.

VIRGIL

ECLOGUES · GEORGICS
AENEID I-VI

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH

REVISED BY G. P. GOOLD



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LIBER I

MRV Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
 Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit
 litora—multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
 vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
 5 multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
 inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
 Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.
 Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
 quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
 10 insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
 impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?
 Urbs antiqua fuit (Iyri tenuere coloni)
 Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe
 ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli,
 15 quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
 posthabita coluisse Samo; hic illius arma,
 hic currus fuit, hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,
 si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.

Title (explicitis): P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber . . . MPR
²Laviniaque γR, Servius, CIL 2.4967.31: -niaque M²p: -nia M²
 (to secure correct metre). See further Coold (1992) 115

¹ Many of the great senatorial families of Rome, including the Julii, claimed descent from the families of Alba Longa.

BOOK I

Arms and the man I sing, who first from the coasts of Troy,
 exiled by fate, came to Italy and Lavinian shores; much buf-
 feted on sea and land by violence from above, through
 cruel Juno's unforgiving wrath, and much enduring in war
 also, till he should build a city and bring his gods to Latium;
 whence came the Latin race, the lords of Alba,¹ and the
 lofty walls of Rome.²

Tell me, O Muse, the cause; wherein thwarted in will
 or wherefore angered, did the Queen of heaven drive a
 man, of goodness so wondrous, to traverse so many perils,
 to face so many toils. Can heavenly spirits cherish resent-
 ment so dire?

There was an ancient city, the home of Tyrian settlers,
 Carthage, over against Italy and the Tiber's mouths afar,
 rich in wealth and stern in war's pursuits. This, 'tis said,
 Juno loved above all other lands, holding Samos itself less
 dear. Here was her armour, here her chariot; that here
 should be the capital of the nations, should the fates per-
 chance allow it, was even then the goddess's aim and cher-

² Reference is thus made to three stages of growth—Lavinium
 founded by Aeneas, Alba Longa by Ascanius, Rome by Romulus
 and Remus.

AENEID

- 640 *perficere est animus finemque imponere curis
Dardaniique rogi capitis permittere flammae.
sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili
at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido,
sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque tremantis
interfusa genas, et pallida morte futura,
interiora domus inrumpit limina, et altos
conscendit furibunda rogos, ensempque recludit
Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
hic, postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
incubuitque: toro dixitque novissima verba:
"dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
accipite hanc animam meque his exsolve curis.
vixi et, quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi,
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
urbem praeclearam statui, mea moenia vidi,
ultra virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
felix, heu! nimium felix, si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae!"
dixit et os impressa toro, "moriemur inultae,
sed moriamur," ait. "sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.
hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis."
Dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensempque cruore
spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta
atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
lamentis genitumque et femineo ululatu
tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,*

640 flammae *Pap*: -is *M*

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BOOK IV

that I have duly ordered and begun, to put an end to my woes, and give over to the flames the pyre of that Dardan wretch." She spoke; the nurse hastened her steps with an old woman's zeal. But Dido, trembling and frantic with her dreadful design, rolling bloodshot eyes, her quivering cheeks flecked with burning spots, and pale at the imminence of death, bursts into the inner courts of the house, climbs the high pyre in a frenzy and unsheathes the Dardan sword, a gift sought for no such purpose. Then, as she saw the Trojan garb and the familiar bed, pausing awhile in tearful thought, she threw herself on the couch and spoke her last words: "O relics once dear, while God and Fate allowed, take my spirit, and release me from my woes! My life is done and I have finished the course that Fortune gave; and now in majesty my shade shall pass beneath the earth. A noble city I have built; my own walls I have seen; avenging my husband, I have exacted punishment from my brother and foe—happy, too happy, had but the Dardan keels never touched our shores!" She spoke, and burying her face in the couch, "I shall die unavenged," she cries, "but let me die! Thus, thus I go gladly into the dark! Let the cruel Dardan's eyes drink in this fire from the deep, and carry with him the omen of my death!"

She ceased; and even as she spoke her handmaids see her fallen on the sword, the blade reeking with blood and her hands bespattered. A scream rises to the lofty roof; Rumour riots through the stricken city. The palace rings with lamentation, with sobbing and women's shrieks, and

641. celerabat *Map*: -brabat *P*. *Servius* *knous* both | anili *M*: -em

Pap

651 sinebat *MPa*: -ant *Fp*

467

AENEID

- FMPR hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino."
860 Atque hic Aeneas (una namque ire videbat
egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,
sed frons laeta parum et delecto lumina vultu)
"quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?
865 filius, anne aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?
qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!
sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra."
Tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis:
"o gnate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum;
ostendit terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra
870 esse sinent. nimum vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.
MPR quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
campus ager gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
875 funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!
nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam
ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.
FMPR heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello
880 dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem
seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!
tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis

865 qui FP: quis MR

⁵⁴ *Spolia optima* were the spoils taken when a general slew the general of the enemy. Marcus Claudius Marcellus won them at

BOOK VI

the Roman state is reeling under a brutal shock, he will steady it, will ride down Carthaginians and the insurgent Gaul, and offer up to Father Quirinus a third set of spoils.⁵⁴

At this Aeneas said—for by his side he saw a youth of passing beauty in resplendent arms, but with joyless mien and eyes downcast: "Who, father, is he that thus attends the warrior on his way? Is it his son, or some other of his progeny's heroic line? What a stir among his entourage! What majesty is his! But death's dark shadow flickers mournfully about his head."

Then, as his tears well up, Father Anchises begins: "My son, seek not to taste the bitter grief of your people; only a glimpse of him will fate give earth nor suffer him to stay long. Too powerful, O gods above, you deemed the Roman people, had these gifts of yours been lasting. What sobbing of the brave will the famed Field⁵⁵ wait to Mars' mighty city! What a cortege will you behold, Father Tiber, as you glide past the new-built tomb!⁵⁶ No youth of Trojan stock will ever raise his Latin ancestry so high in hope nor the land of Romulus ever boast of any son like this. Alas for his goodness, alas for his chivalrous honour and his sword arm unconquerable in the fight! In arms none would have faced him unscathed, marched he on foot against his foe or dug with spurs the flanks of his foaming steed. Child of a nation's sorrow, could you but shatter the cruel barrier of fate! You are to be Marcellus. Grant me to scatter in hand-

Clastidium in 222 B.C. by killing the chief of the Insubrian Gauls.

His only predecessors in the feat were Romulus and Cossus (841).

⁵⁵ The Campus Martius.

⁵⁶ The Mausoleum of Augustus, built in 27 B.C.

AENEID

- 885 purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem acumulem donis, et fungar inani
munere." sic tota passim regione vagantur
aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant
quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit
incenditque animum famae venientis amore,
exim bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,
Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini,
et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.
Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.
his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna:
ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit;
tum se ad Caietae recto fert litore portum.
900 *ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.*

889 venientis FPR: melioris M (4.221)

887 ibi FPR: ubi M (5.816)

901 (= 3.277, its original position) FM2P2R2] del. Bentley

BOOK VI

fuls lilies of purple blossom, to heap at least these gifts on my descendant's shade and perform an unavailing duty." Thus they wander at large over the whole region in the wide airy plain, taking note of all. After Anchises had led his son over every scene, kindling his soul with longing for the glory that was to be, he then tells of the wars that the hero next must wage, the Laurentine peoples and Latinus' town, and how he is to face or flee each peril.

Two gates of Sleep⁵⁷ there are, whereof the one, they say, is horn and offers a ready exit to true shades, the other shining with sheen of polished ivory, but delusive dreams issue upward through it from the world below. Thither Anchises, discoursing thus, escorts his son and with him the Sibyl, and sends them forth by the ivory gate: Aeneas speeds his way to the ships and rejoins his comrades; then straight along the shore he sails for Caieta's haven. *The anchor is cast from the prow; the sterns stand ranged on the shore.*

⁵⁷ The gates of Sleep are taken from Homer, *Odyssey* 19, 562-7, where Penelope speaks of her dream of Odysseus' vengeance as a delusion. By making Aeneas leave by the gate of delusive dreams Virgil represents his vision of Rome's destiny as a dream which he is not to remember on his return to the real world; the poet will have us know that from the beginning of Book 7 his hero has not been endowed with superhuman knowledge to confront the problems which face him. See further Goold (1992) 122f.

VIRGIL

AENEID VII-XII
APPENDIX VERGILIANA

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH

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- 910 nec spatium evasit totum neque pertuli
ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida
velle videmur et in mediis conatibus aegri
succidimus; non lingua valet, non corpore notae
sufficiunt vires nec vox aut verba sequuntur:
sic Turno, quacumque viam virtute petivit,
successum dea dira negat. tum pectore sensus
vertuntur varii; Rutulos aspectat et urbem
cunctaturque metu letumque instare tremescit,
nec quo se eripiat, nec qua vi tendat in hostem,
nec currus usquam videt auriganve sororem.
915 Cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat,
sortitus fortunam oculis, et corpore toto
eminus intorquet. murali concita nunquam
tormento sic saxa fremunt nec fulmine tanti
dissultant crepitus. volat atri turbinis instar
920 exitium dirum hasta ferens orasque recludit
loricae et clipei extremos septemplex orbis;
per medium stridens transit femur. incidit ictus
ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.
925 consurgunt gemitu Rutuli totusque remugit
mons circum et vocem late nemora alta remittunt.
930 ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem
protendens "equidem merui nec deprecor" inquit,
"utere sorte tua. miseri te si qua parentis
tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
935 et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
redde meis. vicisti et victum tendere palmas

916 letum *P.*: telum *MR*

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tance, nor drive home its blow. And as in dreams, when
langorous sleep has weighed down our eyes at night, we
seem to strive in vain to press on our eager course, and
in mid effort collapse helpless: our tongue lacks power,
our wonted strength fails our limbs, and neither voice nor
words will come: so Turnus, however bravely he sought
to win his way, the dread goddess denies fulfilment. Then
shifting fancies whirl through his mind; he gazes on his
Rutulians and the town, he falters in fear, and trembles at
the death that looms; he sees nowhere to escape, nowhere
to attack his foe; he cannot see his chariot anywhere, or his
sister, the charioteer.

As he wavers, Aeneas brandishes the fateful spear, see-
ing a favorable chance, then hurls it from afar with all his
strength. Never do stones shot from a siege engine roar so
loud, never do such great crashes burst from a thunder-
bolt. Like a black whirlwind the spear flies on, bearing fell
destruction, and pierces the corslet's rim and the sevenfold
shield's outermost circle: whizzing it passes right through
the thigh. Under the blow, with his knee bent down to
earth beneath him, huge Turnus sank. The Rutulians start
up with a groan; all the hills re-echo round about, and far
and near the wooded slopes send back the sound. In sup-
plication he lowered his eyes and stretched out his right
hand: "I have earned it," he cried, "and I ask no mercy; use
your chance. If any thought of a parent's grief can touch
you, I beg you—you too had such a father in Anchises—
pity Daunus' old age, and give me—or, if you prefer, my
lifeless body—back to my kin. You are the victor; and the

918 auriganve *MF.*: auriganque *R*
922 tanti *MR.*: tanto *R* 930 supplex *PR.*: supplexque *M*

365

AENEID

Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx,
 ultertus ne tende odii." stetit acer in armis
 Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit,
 et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
 coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
 balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
 Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
 straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
 ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris
 exuviisque hausit, furis accensus et ira
 terribilis: "tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
 eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
 immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit."
 hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
 fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
 vitaeque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

952 = 11.831

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BOOK XII

Ausonians have seen me stretch forth my hands as the van-
 quished: Lavinia is your wife; do not press your hatred fur-
 ther." Fierce in his armour, Aeneas stood still shifting his
 eyes, and restrained his hand; and now, as he paused, these
 words began to sway him more and more, when high on
 the shoulder the luckless baldric met his gaze, and the
 belt flashed with its well-known studs—the belt of young
 Pallas, whom Turnus had wounded and stretched van-
 quished on the earth, and now he wore on his shoulders his
 foeman's fatal emblem. Aeneas, as soon as his eyes drank in
 the trophy, that memorial of cruel grief, ablaze with fury
 and terrible in his wrath: "Clad in the spoils of one of mine,
 are you to be snatched from my hands? Pallas it is, Pallas
 who sacrifices you with this stroke, and takes retribution
 from your guilty blood!" So saying, in burning rage he bur-
 ies his sword full in Turnus' breast. His limbs grew slack
 and chill and with a moan his life fled resentfully to the
 Shades below.

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