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CICERO
THE VERRINE ORATIONS
VOLUME II



Translated by
L. H. G. GREENWOOD

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THE VERRINE ORATIONS

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

L. G. GREENWOOD
藏书章



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THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST
GAIUS VERRES

ACTIONIS SECUNDAE IN C. VERREM LIBER TERTIUS

1 I. Omnes qui alterum, iudices, nullis impulsu inimi-
citiis, nulla privatim laesi iniuria, nullo praemio ad-
ducti in iudicium rei publicae causa vocant providere
debent non solum quid oneris in praesentia tollant,
sed quantum in omnem vitam negotii suscipere co-
nentur. Legem enim sibi ipsi dicunt innocentiae
continentiae virtutumque omnium qui ab altero
rationem vitae reposcunt, atque eo magis si id, ut
ante dixi, faciunt nulla re commoti alia nisi utilitate
2 communi. Nam qui sibi hoc sumpsit, ut corrigat
mores aliorum ac peccata reprehendat, quis huic
ignoscat si qua in re ipse ab religione officii declinarit ?
Quapropter hoc etiam magis ab omnibus eius modi
civis laudandus ac diligendus est, quod non solum ab
re publica civem improbum removet, verum etiam se
ipsum eius modi fore profitetur ac praestat ut sibi
non modo communi voluntate virtutis atque officii,
sed etiam vi quadam magis necessaria recte sit
3 honesteque vivendum. Itaque hoc, iudices, ex
homine clarissimo atque eloquentissimo, L. Crasso,
saepe auditum est, cum se nullius rei tam paenitere

THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST GAIUS VERRES: BOOK III

1. All prosecutors who are neither instigated by 1
personal enmity, nor suffering under private injury,
nor stimulated by the hope of reward, all whose
motive is simply patriotism, must consider, gentle-
men, not merely the heavy burden they are shouldering
for the time being, but the grave responsibility
they are seeking to take upon themselves for life.
To call another man to account for his conduct is to
impose upon ourselves the necessity of integrity, of
self-restraint, of all the virtues, especially if, as I have
said, our action is due to no motive other than the
public advantage. For when a man has deliberately 2
set out to criticize the character and censure the mis-
deeds of other men, what mercy can he look for if at
any point he turns aside from the path of his bounden
duty? Because of this, the applause and esteem of
the public, due in any case to the patriot who relieves
his country of a rascal, are yet more due to him for
the assurance and guarantee he gives them that his
own life will, and must be, upright and honourable,
since for him the general disposition towards virtue
and duty is reinforced by a yet more compelling
necessity. That, gentlemen, is why the famous 3
orator Lucius Crassus was often heard to say that he

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diceret quam quod C. Carbonem umquam in iudicium vocavisset ; minus enim liberas omnium rerum voluntates habebat, et vitam suam pluribus quam vellet observari oculis arbitrabatur. Atque ille his praesidiis ingenii fortunaeque munitus tamen hac cura continebatur, quam sibi nondum confirmato consilio sed ineunte aetate susceperat. Minus enim¹ perspicitur eorum virtus et integritas qui ad hanc rem adulescentuli quam qui iam firmata aetate descendunt. Illi enim, ante quam potuerunt existimare quanto liberior vita sit eorum qui neminem accusarint, gloriae causa atque ostentationis accusant : nos qui iam et quid facere et quantulum iudicare possemus ostendimus, nisi facile cupiditates nostras teneremus, numquam ipsimet nobis praecideremus istam licentiam libertatemque vivendi.

- 4 II. Atque ego hoc plus oneris habeo quam qui ceteros accusarunt —si onus est id appellandum quod cum laetitia feras ac voluptate, verum tamen ego hoc amplius suscepi quam ceteri—quod ita postulatur ab hominibus, ut ab iis se abstineant maxime vitiis in quibus alterum reprehenderint. Furem aliquem aut rapacem accusaris, vitanda tibi semper erit omnis avaritiae suspicio. Maleficum quempiam adduxeris aut crudelem, cavendum erit semper ne qua in re asperior aut inhumanior fuisse videare. Corruptorem, adulterum, providendum diligenter ne quod

¹ minus enim *is my conjecture* : quo minus etiam *MSS.* : atque eo magis quo minus etiam *Peterson* : quamquam minus etiam *most editors*. See my note, page 280.

regretted nothing so much as his ever having prosecuted Caius Carbo. In every way he was thenceforward less free to do what he would ; and he felt with regret that his career was being watched by too many critical eyes. And Crassus was a man protected by the advantages of his genius and his fortune ; yet he felt himself hampered by this consideration, because he had committed himself to it not as a man of mature judgement but in early youth. For there is less assurance of the virtue and integrity of those who enter these lists in extreme youth than of those who do so when they are of maturer years. Those young men prosecute, to win fame and show off their powers, while as yet unable to understand the greater freedom of life enjoyed by those who have never prosecuted : we older men, having already shown the extent of both our powers and our understandings, must hold our passions under comfortable control, or we should never be deliberately depriving ourselves of this freedom to conduct our lives as we choose.

II. And indeed it is this which makes my own 4 burden heavier than that of any other prosecutor—or if “burden” is not the right name for a load carried with satisfaction and pleasure, it is this, let me say, which makes my undertaking more extensive than those of others—that the world does thus require men to keep especially clear of the vices for which they have denounced other men. You have prosecuted someone for theft or robbery ? then you must for ever avoid all suspicion of covetousness. You have charged someone with inhumanity and cruelty ? then you must for ever take care not to give the impression of having been, in any matter, harsh or inconsiderate. Or with seduction or adultery ? then

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in vita vestigium libidinis appareat. Omnia postremo quae vindicaris in altero, tibi ipsi vehementer fugienda sunt. Etenim non modo accusator sed ne obiurgator quidem ferendus est is qui, quod in altero
5 vitium reprehendit, in eo ipse reprehenditur. Ego in uno homine omnia vitia quae possunt in homine perditio nefarioque esse reprehendo ; nullum esse dico indicium libidinis, sceleris, audaciae, quod non in istius unius vita perspicere possitis. Ergo in isto reo legem hanc mihi, iudices, statuo, vivendum ita esse ut isti non modo factis dictisque omnibus, sed etiam oris oculorumque illa contumacia ac superbia quam videtis, dissimillimus esse ac semper fuisse videar. Patior, non moleste fero, iudices, eam vitam quae mihi sua sponte antea iucunda fuerit nunc iam mea lege et condicione necessariam quoque futuram.

6 III. Et in hoc homine saepe a me quaeris, Hortensi, quibus inimicitiiis aut qua iniuria adductus ad accusandum descenderim ? Mitto iam rationem officii mei necessitudinisque Siculorum, de ipsis tibi inimicitiiis respondeo. An tu maiores ullas inimicitias putas esse quam contrarias hominum sententias ac dissimilitudines studiorum ac voluntatum ? Fidem sanctissimam

see to it carefully that your life reveal no trace of licentiousness. Everything, in fact, for which you have brought others to justice, you must yourself shun with all your might. For assuredly not only prosecution but even abuse is intolerable from one who denounces another man for offences that may be denounced in himself. Now I am denouncing a single 5 man for all the offences of which an abandoned scoundrel can be guilty; I assert that in this one man's life you may discern all the possible signs of licentious and unscrupulous wickedness. And it follows, gentlemen, that in prosecuting him I am imposing upon myself the need for a life that shall be felt neither to have now, nor ever to have had, any feature that may in the least resemble either any of this man's deeds or words, or even the surly and contemptuous expression which, as you see, his face now wears. To this, gentlemen, I submit; nor am I ill contented that the behaviour which hitherto I have adopted freely because it pleased me should, through the law I now impose upon myself, henceforth become not merely pleasant but compulsory.

III. But can you, Hortensius, continue to ask me, 6 the man being what he is, what feelings of private enmity, what personal wrong, can have led me to undertake his prosecution? I will not, for the moment, take account of the obligation imposed upon me by my close connexion with the people of Sicily; I will give you a direct answer in this matter of private enmity. Why, think you that any enmity between human beings can be more bitter than such as arises from the conflict of their ideals, from the diversity of their aims and purposes? Can one who holds loyalty

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in vita qui putat, potest ei non inimicus esse qui quaestor consulem suum consiliis commissis, pecunia tradita, rebus omnibus creditis spoliare, relinquere, prodere, oppugnare ausus sit? Pudorem ac pudicitiam qui colit, potest animo aequo istius cotidiana adulteria, meretriciam disciplinam, domesticum lenocinium videre? Qui religiones deorum immortalium retinere vult, ei qui fana spoliavit omnia, qui extensarum orbitis praedari sit ausus, inimicus non esse qui potest? Qui iure aequo omnes putat esse oportere, is tibi non infestissimus sit, cum cogitet varietatem libidinemque decretorum tuorum? Qui sociorum iniuriis provinciarumque incommodis doleat, is in te non expilatione Asiae, vexatione Pamphyliae, squalore et lacrimis Siciliae concitetur? Qui civium Romanorum iura ac libertatem sanctam apud omnes haberi velit, is non tibi plus etiam quam inimicus esse debeat, cum tua verbera, cum secures, cum cruces ad
7 civium Romanorum supplicia fixas recordetur? An si qua in re contra rem meam decrevisset aliquid iniuria, iure ei me inimicum esse arbitrare: cum omnia contra omnium bonorum rem, causam, rationem, utilitatem voluntatemque fecerit, quaeris cur ei sim inimicus cui populus Romanus infestus est? qui praesertim plus etiam quam pars virilis postulat

the most sacred thing in life help hating a man who, being as quaestor admitted to his consul's secrets, given the charge of his money, trusted in every way, then did not scruple to rob and desert him, to betray him and fight against him? Can one who reverences modesty and chastity contemplate with indifference that man's daily adulteries, his school of mistresses and his household of panders? When one who seeks to maintain the sanctions of religion meets this universal plunderer of sanctuaries, this shameless maker of profit at the expense even of the wheels of the sacred coaches, how can he fail to hate him? Shall one who believes in equal justice for all not be your bitter enemy, Verres, when he thinks of your judicial pronouncements, shifted to suit your wanton pleasure? Shall one who deplores our allies' wrongs and our provinces' misfortunes feel no resentment towards you for stripping Asia, and making havoc of Pamphylia, and plunging Sicily into tears and mourning? Shall one who would have the rights and liberties of Roman citizens held sacred everywhere not inevitably be your enemy, and more than your enemy, when he remembers how you dealt with Roman citizens, scourging them, beheading them, setting up crosses to crucify them? Why, had the man by some ⁷ decision of his in some respect wronged me in my private purse, you would allow, Hortensius, that I was justified in hating him: his whole career has wronged the purses and attacked the principles, damaged the interests and outraged the feelings, of every honest man—and then do you ask why I should hate this man who is loathed by the Roman nation? I, of all men, who must be ready to serve the nation's will by undertaking even heavier tasks

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pro voluntate populi Romani oneris ac muneris suscipere debeam.

IV. Quid ? illa quae leviora videntur esse non cuiusvis animum possunt movere, quod ad tuam ipsius amicitiam ceterorumque hominum magnorum atque nobilium faciliorem aditum istius habet nequitia et audacia quam cuiusquam nostrum virtus et integritas ? Odistis hominum novorum industriam, despicitis eorum frugalitatem, pudorem contemnitis, ingenium vero et virtutem depressam extinctamque cupitis :
8 Verrem amatis ! Ita credo ; si non virtute, non industria, non innocentia, non pudore, non pudicitia, at sermone, at litteris, at humanitate eius delectamini. Nihil eorum est, contraque sunt omnia cum summo dedecore ac turpitudine tum singulari stultitia atque inhumanitate oblita. Huic homini si cuius domus patet, utrum ea patere an hiare ac poscere aliquid videtur ? Hunc vestri ianitores, hunc cubicularii diligunt ; hunc liberti vestri, hunc servi ancillaeque amant ; hic cum venit extra ordinem vocatur ; hic solus introducitur, ceteri saepe frugalissimi homines excluduntur. Ex quo intellegi potest eos vobis esse carissimos qui ita vixerint ut sine vestro
9 praesidio salvi esse non possint. Quid ? hoc cuiquam ferendum putas esse, nos ita vivere in pecunia tenui

and even greater services than those which it is every man's duty to perform.

IV. Nay, there are facts that seem less grave, and yet are enough to excite any man's resentment against him. There is the fact that your friendship, Hortensius, and the friendship of all men of rank and birth, is more freely available for this unprincipled rogue than for any of us honest and honourable men. When men have risen from the ranks, you resent their industry, you scorn their honesty, you laugh at their sense of decency, you seek to thwart and suppress their abilities and their virtues, and you are devoted to—Verres! Ah well, he may lack virtue ⁸ and industry and integrity, the sense of honour and the sense of decency; but no doubt you enjoy his conversation, his culture, his good taste? He has no such quality; on the contrary, his whole conduct is defiled not more by extreme indecency and vile-ness than by exceptional stupidity and coarseness. When anyone opens his house to such a man, is it opened, think you? does it not open itself, is it not a mouth seeking food? This is the man who enjoys the favour of your hall-porters and footmen; this is the man who gains the devotion of your freedmen and manservants and maidservants; it is he whom they bid come in before his turn, he who alone is admitted to your presence, while the rest of us, good honest men, are often denied admission. Whence we may conclude that your most valued friends are men whose lives have been such that without your protection they cannot escape disaster. And then ⁹ again, do you suppose that anyone can find it tolerable that while we honest men, slender as our means are, have no wish to add one penny to our wealth,

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ut prorsus nihil acquirere velimus, ut dignitatem nostram populiue Romani beneficia non copiis sed virtute tueamur, istum rebus omnibus undique ereptis impune eludentem circumfluere atque abundare? huius argento dominia vestra, huius signis et tabulis forum comitiumque ornari, praesertim cum vos vestro Marte his rebus omnibus abundetis? Verrem esse qui vestras villas suis manubiis ornet? Verrem esse qui cum L. Mummio certet, ut plures hic sociorum urbes quam ille hostium spoliasset videatur, plures hic villas ornamentis fanorum quam ille fana spoliis hostium ornasse? Et is erit ob eam rem vobis carior ut ceteri libentius suo periculo vestris cupiditatibus serviant?

- 10 V. Verum haec et dicentur alio loco et dicta sunt; nunc proficiscemur ad reliqua, si pauca ante fuerimus a vobis, iudices, deprecati. Superiore omni oratione perattentos vestros animos habuimus. Id fuit nobis gratum admodum; sed multo erit gratius si reliqua voletis attendere, propterea quod in iis omnibus quae antea dicta sunt erat quaedam ex ipsa varietate ac novitate rerum et criminum delectatio, nunc tractare causam instituimus frumentariam, quae magnitudine iniuriae et re criminibus ceteris antecellet, iucundi-

but make our merit, and not our money, the means whereby we maintain our dignity and justify the favours conferred upon us by the Roman nation, this indiscriminate robber should escape all punishment and enjoy a luxurious superfluity of everything? that from him comes silver to adorn the banquets of you and your friends, and statues and pictures to adorn the forum and place of assembly, in spite of the abundance of all such things with which your own campaigns have enriched you? that Verres should be the man who equips *your* country-houses with *his* spoils? that Verres should be outdoing Lucius Mummius, that we should find him plundering more cities of our allies than Mummius plundered cities of our enemies, and decorating more country-houses with ornaments taken from temples than Mummius decorated temples with spoils taken from our enemies? And shall your devotion to him be stimulated by the prospect of thus inducing other men the more readily to risk their own destruction in order to minister to your greedy passions?

V. However, I have spoken of this already, and ¹⁰ will return to it on another occasion; I will now go on to deal with the rest of my charges. But first, gentlemen, let me in a few words ask a favour of you. In all the earlier part of my speech I have enjoyed your close attention, to my very great satisfaction; but my satisfaction will be greater still if you kindly continue to give me that attention. For whereas in all that has hitherto been said the very variety and novelty of the facts and charges have yielded you some entertainment, I now proceed to deal with the agricultural part of my case; and though this is in substance, in the extent of the wrongs committed,