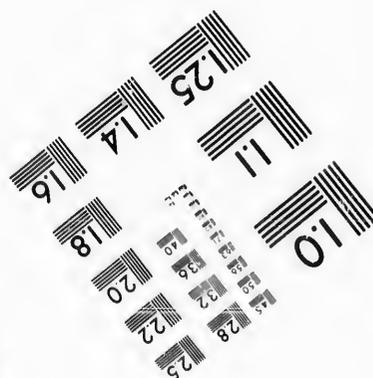
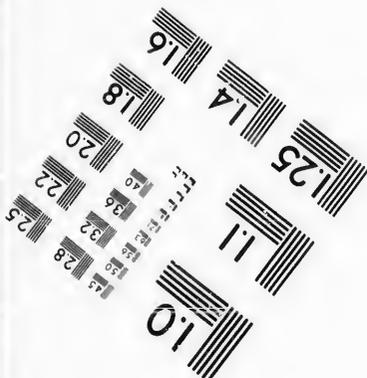
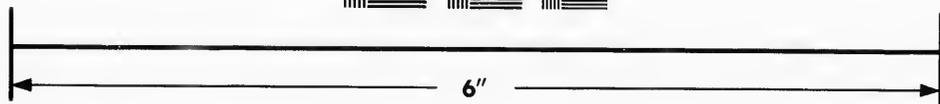
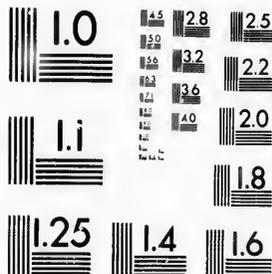


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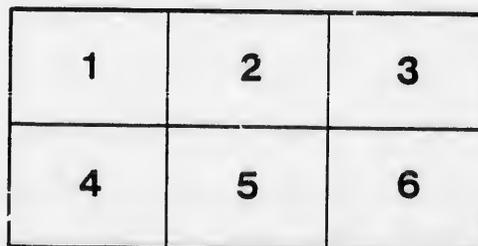
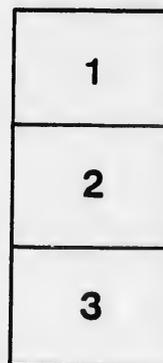
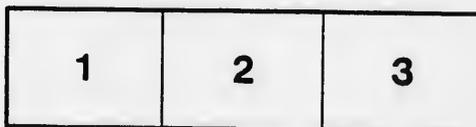
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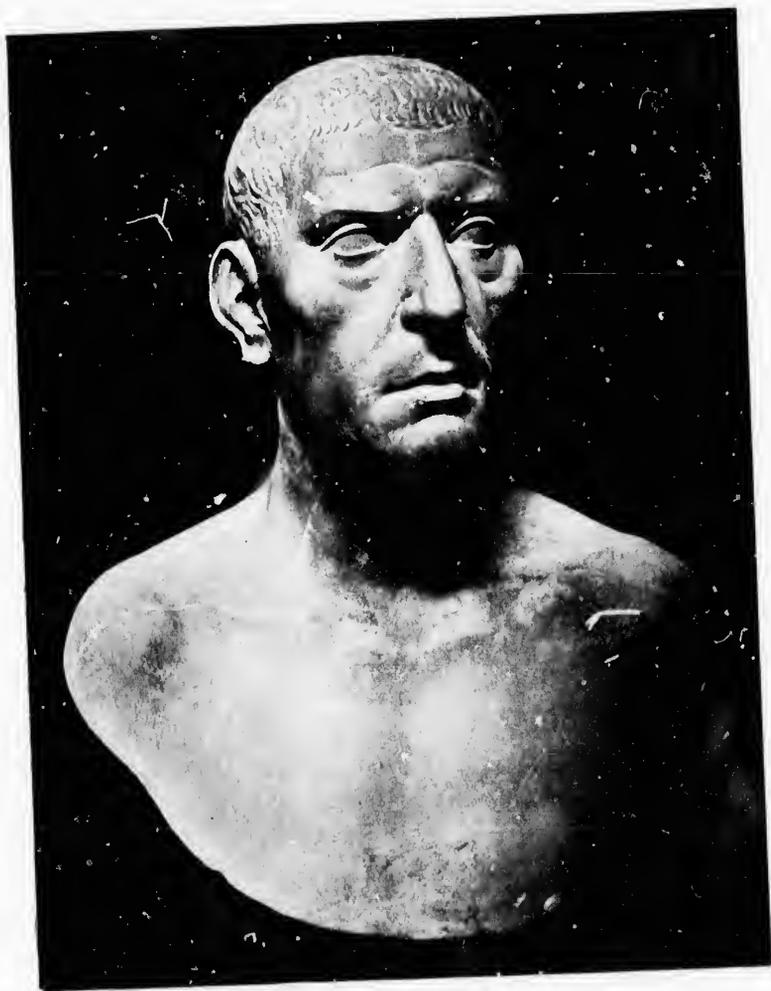
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MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO  
From the bust in Naples Museum

THE ORATIONS  
OF  
CICERO AGAINST CATILINE

WITH  
*INTRODUCTION, NOTES, EXERCISES, AND  
VOCABULARY*

BY  
CHARLES HAINES KEENE, M.A. DUBLIN  
PROFESSOR OF GREEK, QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK

*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS*

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## GENERAL PREFACE

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THE Series of Elementary Latin Classics, of which this volume is a member, aims at satisfying the requirements of junior students under the present conditions of education and examinations. Each book will be, as far as possible, complete in itself. It will be furnished with a full vocabulary; and grammatical difficulties, as well as historical allusions, will be clearly and succinctly explained in the notes. Experience seems to show that reference to standard works in these cases is far from satisfactory; being, as a rule, neglected by the student, and involving, when not neglected, an avoidable expenditure of time and energy which might be better employed. The Introductions will be made as readable and attractive as possible, and the Editors will endeavour to bring the ancient literature into its proper relation with modern literature of the same kind. With this in view, they will take pains to make their renderings from the ancient authors worthy of the literary eminence of those authors, and to avoid baldness and stiffness, while maintaining accuracy and such qualities as are commonly connoted in the term 'scholarship.' The notes on the text,

commonly called critical notes, will only deal with salient points, and will be placed in an Appendix, which will also contain (in the case of the prose books) English exercises for retranslation into Latin, and for practice in the art of composition. The aim of the Editors will be to make each book self-sufficing, so far as is possible, and to foster an intelligent interest in the ancient classics as literature. For this purpose maps and plans will be provided, as well as pictorial illustrations of the social life of the ancient world.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

## P R E F A C E



THE text of this edition is, except where otherwise stated in the notes, that of Karl Halm's thirteenth edition (1891), revised by G. Laubmann, which is based on a Medicean MS. (described as a) of the twelfth or thirteenth century at Florence, and an Ambrosian MS. (described as A) of the tenth century at Milan. It has not been thought necessary to give a full *apparatus criticus*, but the various readings that it seemed desirable to notice are given on pages 57,-63.

My chief obligations in the notes and in the account of the Catiline conspiracy are to this same edition of Halm-Laubmann. I have also consulted Professor Wilkins' edition based on Halm-Laubmann, and Upcott's edition, which contains many concise and spirited renderings.

In the sketch of Cicero's life and the estimate of his character I have made use of Forsyth's *Life of Cicero*, of Gaston Boissier's *Cicero and his Friends*, translated by Adnah David Jones, of *Cicero's Correspondence*, edited by Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser, and of the introduction to Professor Tyrrell's *Cicero in his Letters*.

I have to thank Mr. John Murray for his ready permission to copy from Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* the illustrations on pages xix and xliv.

C. H. K.

April, 1899.

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# INTRODUCTION

## I. CICERO: HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

**Importance of his Correspondence.** Of the Romans who lived in the century before Christ Caesar was perhaps the greatest, Cicero is certainly the most interesting. The fortunate preservation of a considerable portion of his private correspondence has thrown on the man as a living personality a flood of light such as seldom illumines the



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

career of one separated from us by so great a space of time. The importance of private letters as a source of information about current events at the period we are engaged with will be better appreciated, if we remember that politicians of Cicero's day were without the advantage that we possess in the public press. It is true that a

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sort of official gazette called the *Acta Diurna* was published, but it was bare and meagre, and contained little except a brief report of public meetings and of the more important cases tried in the Forum, a list of public ceremonies, and, under the head of religious intelligence, an account of such prodigies as may have been observed at Rome or in the neighbourhood. These matters were hardly of much interest to the statesman, and when he went to his country seat or to a distant province he had to derive his knowledge of the state of parties and the course of events at Rome from some trustworthy friend whose position gave him access to well-informed and influential circles. It was not always easy to find such a correspondent, and even when he was found there was the further difficulty of transmitting letters at a time when there was no regularly organized post at the command of private persons. Correspondence carried on under these difficulties was a serious business conducted with a care and elaboration unknown in our day, and the letters seldom contained matter that was trifling or uninteresting. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, referring to the letters written by Cicero to his friend Atticus, says that one who had read this correspondence would not be tempted to seek the history of the time elsewhere.

In the following century the younger Pliny sketched the social and political events of his day in letters of unsurpassed grace and charm; but the period was less eventful than that of the civil war, and Pliny cannot be compared to Cicero either in the part he played in public affairs or the influence he exercised on them. During the stormy period of transition from the Republic to the Empire, when Cicero lived, men's minds were full of a great and idealized past, and they did not yet see that the change and unrest of their day might lead to a still greater future. The system of government that sufficed for a comparatively small state was unsuitable for one that was rapidly extending to embrace the limits of the known world; but it was natural that those who associated the glory of the past

with the system under which it had been won should be opposed to change and slow to admit its necessity. At such a time fluctuations of feeling were often reflected in inconsistency of action, and men wavering in their own judgement and yet resenting a like hesitancy in their friends were prone to indulge in mutual recriminations and charges of fickleness and time-serving. The course of conduct that gave plausibility to such charges was often due to the exigency of the crisis, not to dishonesty in the man; and the good fortune that has preserved so much of Cicero's correspondence, and so taught us not only his public words and acts, but also in many cases his secret thoughts, enables us to form a juster idea of the uncertainties of judgement on men and affairs that must have agitated many a politician of the day. It is necessary, however, to remember that such an exposure of the secret working of the mind is a severe ordeal, and it should not be allowed to tell to Cicero's prejudice as compared with his contemporaries who are not subjected to a similar trial.

That the vacillation Cicero sometimes showed was due not to want of principle, but to the difficulty of judging aright the tendency of events, is proved by the firmer attitude he assumed in his closing years. Boissier points out that after the battle of Pharsalia the distinction of parties became more precise. The struggle was fairly begun between the Republic and despotism, and when, after the death of Caesar, Antony asserted by force his right to the inheritance of Caesar, neither Cicero nor any one else could be deceived any longer. 'It must have been a great relief to that mind, usually so undecided and uncertain, to see the truth so clearly, to be no longer perplexed by shadows, to have such a complete confidence in the justice of his cause, and after so much doubt and obscurity at last to fight in clear daylight. We feel that his mind is at ease! how much freer and more lively he is! what ardour there is in this old man, and what eagerness for the fight! None of the young men about him show so much decision as he, and he himself is assuredly younger than when he strove against Catiline or Clodius. Not only does

he begin the struggle resolutely, but, what is more unusual with him, he pursues it to the end without giving way. By a strange contrast, the most dangerous enterprise that he had ever undertaken, and which was to cost him his life, was precisely that in which he best resisted his usual fits of discouragement and weakness<sup>1</sup>.

But it is not merely as showing us the secret springs of action and disclosing the hopes and fears of an eminent statesman that Cicero's letters are of so much importance; they are also a chief source of our knowledge about a state of society very different from ours, a due appreciation of which is necessary if we wish to understand either the history of the time or the tone that pervades Roman literature. The domestic surroundings of a Roman of even moderate eminence were on a scale of almost regal magnificence, to which we are strangers. 'As long as we are satisfied with studying the few persons who compose what we should nowadays call his family, and only see him with his wife and children, his life very much resembles our own. The sentiments which are the foundation of human nature have not changed, and they always lead to very nearly the same results. The cares which troubled Cicero's domestic hearth, his joys and misfortunes, are much like ours; but as soon as we leave this limited circle, when we replace the Roman among the crowd of his servants and familiar friends, the difference between that society and ours becomes manifest. Nowadays life has become more plain and simple. We have no longer those immense riches, those extensive connexions, nor that multitude of people attached to our fortunes. What we call a great retinue would scarcely have sufficed for one of those clerks of the farmers of the revenue who went to collect the taxes in some provincial town. A noble, or even a rich Roman knight, did not content himself with so little. When we think of those armies of slaves they gathered together in their houses and on their estates, of those freedmen who

<sup>1</sup> Gaston Boissier, *Cicero and his Friends*, transl. by A. D. Jones, 71.

formed a sort of court around them, of that multitude of clients who encumbered the streets of Rome through which they passed, of those hosts they had throughout the world, of those cities and realms that implored their protection, we can better understand the authority of their speech, the haughtiness of their bearing, the breadth of their eloquence, the gravity of their deportment, the feeling of personal importance which they threw into all their actions and speeches. It is here, above all, that the perusal of Cicero's letters renders us a great service. They give us a notion of lives lived on a scale such as we no longer know, and thus help us to understand better the society of that time<sup>1</sup>.

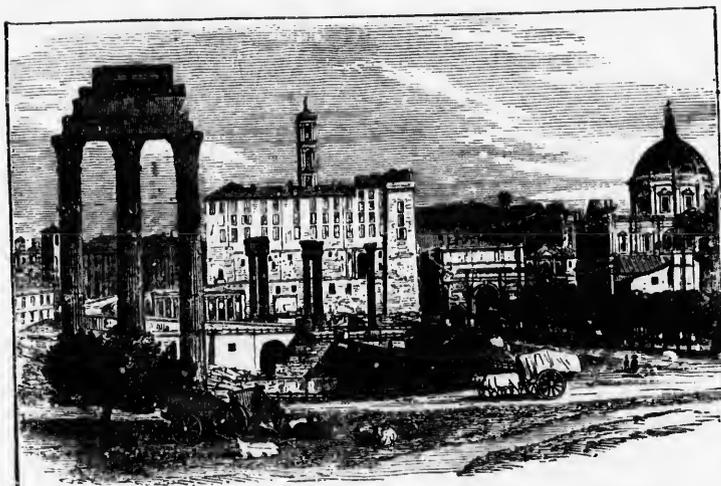
**Birth and Early Years.** Cicero was born in 106 B.C. at Arpinum, now Arpino, a town picturesquely situated among the Volscian hills. The celebrated Marius, the only Roman who was seven times consul, was born in the same town, and the youthful Cicero no doubt often heard the deeds of his great fellow-townsmen discussed; especially his victories over the Teutons at Aquae Sextiae (now Aix, near Marseilles) in 102 B.C., and over the Cimbri in the Campi Raudii near Verceilae (now Vercelli in the north of Italy) in the following year, by which the barbarian hordes were annihilated, and a danger removed that must for some years have been a source of apprehension to every household in Italy.

Cicero's family was old and respectable, though of plebeian, not patrician, rank. He was the third of his family to bear the praenomen of Marcus, and as Arpinum had received the Roman franchise in 188 B.C. and its inhabitants had been enrolled in the Cornelian tribe, his full name ran M. Tullius M. F. M. N. Cor. Cicero, that is, Marcus Tullius, Marci Filius, Marci Nepos, Cornelia (sc. *tribu*, that is, of the Cornelian tribe), Cicero. He was the first of his family to obtain a curule office, and was therefore, like his fellow-townsmen Marius, the founder of his family's Nobilitas, or as it was called a *novus homo*—a term, it is to be observed, never applied to a patrician.

To secure educational advantages for Cicero and his brother

<sup>1</sup> Boissier, *Cicero*, p. 121.

Quintus, their father either himself removed with them to Rome or placed them there with their uncle Aculeo, who had a house in the fashionable quarter of the Carinae, between the Coelian and Esquiline Mounts. One of Cicero's most famous teachers at this time was the poet Archias of Antioch, whom he afterwards defended against the charge of illegally assuming the Roman citizenship. He was intimate with Antonius, the grandfather of the triumvir, and studied law under Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the augur. In 89 B.C. he served in the Social War under Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the



RUINS OF THE ROMAN FORUM WITH THE MODERN CAPITOL.

father of the great Pompey, and thus acquired the military experience that was so important a part of a Roman gentleman's education, especially if he aspired to high office. During the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, Cicero, still too young to attract dangerous notice, joined neither party, but devoted himself to the study of law, philosophy, and rhetoric under the guidance of Phaedrus the Epicurean, Philo the chief of the New Academy, Diodotus the Stoic, and Molo the Rhodian.

**Entry on Public Life.** After the overthrow of the Marian

party in 81 B.C. he made his first extant speech on behalf of P. Quintius, on which occasion the famous advocate Hortensius was retained on the opposite side, an antagonist whom he again encountered afterwards at the trial of Verres. Next year he defended Sex. Roscius of Ameria, charged with parricide by Chrysogonus, a favourite freedman of Sulla. His advocacy was successful, but he went to Greece soon afterwards, nominally on account of his health, but, according to Plutarch, really to avoid the resentment of Sulla. Doubt, however, is thrown on Plutarch's view by the fact that Sulla resigned the Dictatorship in the very year of Cicero's departure for Greece. He spent six months at Athens, the great University town of the day, and he afterwards went to Rhodes, where, for a second time, he attended the instruction of Molo.

**Political Career.** After two years' absence he returned to Rome in 77 B.C., and soon won a leading position as an orator. In 75 he was quaestor in Sicily under Sex. Peducaeus, propraetor of Lilybaeum, the modern Marsala, and the uprightness with which he discharged the duties of his office and the success with which he won the confidence of the Sicilians is shown by the fact that a deputation from the principal cities of Sicily requested him to come forward as the accuser of Verres when that notorious oppressor was arraigned at Rome in 70. As has been already mentioned, Hortensius was retained for the defence on this occasion, but so overwhelming was the evidence against his client that he threw up his brief at an early stage of the proceedings, and Verres retired to Marseilles<sup>1</sup>, where his condemnation to banishment and a heavy fine did not prevent him from enjoying the bulk of his ill-gotten wealth. Cicero published the pleadings he had intended to deliver, and they remain as a record

<sup>1</sup> When the south-eastern corner of Gaul was made a Roman province, Massilia was allowed to retain its independence, and it was a favourite resort of Roman statesmen 'out of suits with fortune.' It was thither Milo retired, and thither, too, Catiline pretended to be going when he left Rome to join the camp of Manlius.

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of how completely the wealth and the art treasures of a province, as well as the persons and lives of the provincials, lay at the mercy of an unscrupulous Roman governor. He was curule aedile in 69, at the age of thirty-eight, praetor in 66, and consul in 63, and was thus able to boast that he had filled each public office *suo anno*, that is at the earliest age it could legally be held. His praetorship fell in a time of much excitement. In the year before it, 67, the tribune Aulus Gabinius passed his law for conferring extraordinary powers on Pompey<sup>1</sup> for carrying on war against the pirates who swarmed in the Mediterranean and went so far as actually to destroy a Roman fleet in the port of Ostia and carry off Roman magistrates and their lictors from the Appian Way. In the following year the Manilian Law conferred on the same general the command in the war against Mithridates. Cicero's speech in support of the latter measure is still extant, and as Catulus, Hortensius, and the leaders of the aristocratical party were opposed to the bill as conferring unconstitutional powers such as the example of Marius and Sulla furnished a warning against, it can be readily understood that the excitement ran high. It was in 67 also that Lucius Roscius Otho carried his famous law assigning to the equites a special place in the theatre in the fourteen rows of seats next to the place of the senators, which was in the orchestra. This measure was naturally very unpopular in a republic like Rome, and gave rise to tumults which Forsyth compares to the O. P. (that is, Old Price) riots at Covent Garden in the early part of the present century. The disturbances on account of the measure continued for a considerable time, and gave Cicero in his consulship several years later an opportunity of showing the power of his ready eloquence. The populace, on seeing Otho enter the theatre, rose in a body and greeted him with hisses; a tumult ensued; Cicero was sent for; he summoned the people into an adjoining temple,

<sup>1</sup> Pompey was not named in this bill, but it was well known who was meant, and on the day it passed the price of provisions fell.

and rebuked them with such sparkling wit as to restore completely their good humour. It is to this triumph of eloquence that Virgil is thought to refer in the famous simile, *Aen. i. 148 sq.* :—

*Ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est  
Seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus;  
Iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat;  
Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem  
Conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus adstant,  
Ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet.*

**Consulship and Exile.** The most important event of Cicero's consulship was the detecting and crushing of the Catiline conspiracy, details of which are given below on page xxxv. There is no doubt that Cicero rendered the state an important service on the occasion, but the manner in which the criminals were condemned to punishment was of doubtful legality, and gave Cicero's enemies an opportunity for attacking him, of which they were not slow to avail themselves.

On the last day of his term of office as consul, when he rose to make the usual address to the people on laying down his authority, the tribune Metellus Nepos interposed his veto, saying that no man should be heard who had put Roman citizens to death without trial. The words must have been particularly galling to Cicero, when he remembered the noble panegyric he had himself spoken on the power of that citizenship to protect the poorest and meanest in the most distant and savage lands, and in what scathing terms he had denounced Verres for violating its privileges in the case of Gavius of Consa. At the time, indeed, he cleverly turned the attack to his advantage; for, debarred from making a speech, and limited to taking the formal oath usual on quitting office, he swore that he had saved the state. The people shouted that he had sworn the truth, and the attempt to injure him only served to heighten his glory. The charge, however, was well grounded, and soon the fickle popular voice turned against him.

Clodius, who was adopted into a plebeian family and

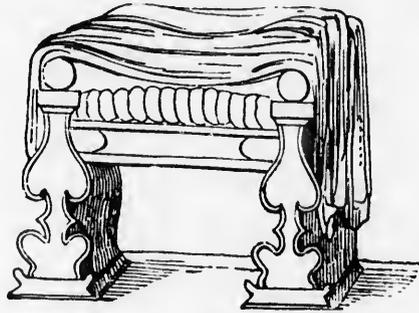
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elected a tribune of the plebs expressly for the purpose, brought forward a bill in 58 interdicting from fire and water, that is banishing, any one who should be found to have put a Roman citizen to death untried. Cicero, though not expressly named in the bill, knew that it was aimed at him, and without waiting for it to become law withdrew from Rome. His name was then introduced into the measure, and it was passed, forbidding that any one should give him shelter within 400 miles of Italy. He took up his residence at Thessalonica, where he gave way to despair, of which we have full knowledge from his correspondence. His exile, however, did not last long. Through the exertions of his friends he was recalled to Rome in the following year, 57, and the enthusiasm with which he was welcomed must have gone far to console him for his temporary disgrace. His progress from Brundisium was one continued ovation. The peasants left their labour in the fields and crowded to see him pass, deputations from distant places met him, and as he approached Rome by the Via Appia the Senate came forth to welcome him. No wonder that he declared that one day to be the equivalent of immortality.

**The Provincial Governor.** Cicero had not claimed the provincial government to which he was entitled at the close of his praetorship, and which was usually eagerly sought as a valuable prize. To a man of his just and upright principles the pecuniary value of the appointment was doubtless comparatively small, and he probably did not wish to leave Rome during the period preceding his candidature for the consulship, a time at which a *novus homo* especially would require to keep himself well in evidence. In 52, however, he was obliged to undertake the government of Cilicia. Pompey had revived the law prohibiting an ex-consul from assuming a provincial command until the expiration of five years from the date of his consulship. The number of persons thus qualified was limited, and Cicero, as not having yet held a government, was pressed into the service. He administered his province in the most praiseworthy manner, and with a purity, disinterested-

ness, and justice not often found in Roman governors. The chief event of his term of office was the conquest of some robber tribes that infested the fastnesses of the Amanus range. For this achievement he vainly claimed a triumph, and persisted in his demand long after more important matters had engaged the public attention.

**The Civil War.** He returned to Rome, or at least to its neighbourhood—for he could not enter the city without forfeiting his claims to a triumph—in 49, just as the civil war between Caesar and Pompey broke out. He chose the side of Pompey and followed his fortunes to Greece. After the battle of Pharsalia in 48, he returned to



PULVINAR OF A LECTISTERNIUM.

From Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*. By permission of Mr. John Murray.

Brundisium, where Caesar arrived in the following year and treated the orator with the greatest favour. For the next three years Cicero took little part in public affairs, and devoted himself chiefly to the composition of works on philosophy and rhetoric.

**Death of Caesar.** On the Ides of March 44 Caesar was assassinated. Though Cicero was not privy to the plot, he approved of the deed, and, taking the lead of the republican party, assailed Mark Antony in his famous Philippic orations, so named after the speeches of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon that more appropriately

bore the title. The second of these speeches, which however was never delivered, is one of the most famous examples of invective extant, and was doubtless, as is hinted by Juvenal, largely responsible for the bitter enmity of Antony that was the cause of Cicero's violent death.

**Death of Cicero.** On the formation of the triumvirate between Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus in 43 Cicero's name was put on the list of the proscribed. He was slain near his villa at Formiae on the coast of Latium, the supposed ruins of which are still to be seen. His head and hands were cut off and carried to Antony, by whose order they were nailed to the Rostra, the orators' platform in the Forum, from which he had so often addressed the people.

The firmness with which he met his death redeemed the weaknesses of his life. 'Notwithstanding his defects,' says Boissier, 'he was an honest man who loved his country well. If he was sometimes too hesitating and feeble, he always ended by defending what he regarded as the cause of justice and right, and when that cause had been for ever conquered, he rendered it the last service it could claim from its defenders, he honoured it by his death<sup>1</sup>.'

**Domestic Life.** In 77 Cicero married Terentia, by whom he had two children, a daughter Tullia and a son Marcus. Terentia was a woman of good sense and great firmness of character, and during the period of Cicero's banishment in 58 tried to cheer him by her letters and exerted herself to secure his return. It is with regret that we learn of her divorce in 46, especially as Cicero's marriage shortly afterwards to Publilia, a young girl of whose property he had the management, makes the orator's conduct appear in a more unfavourable light. It must be remembered, however, that Terentia seems never to have been in real sympathy with her husband's literary labours—a sympathy which he found in his correspondence with Caerellia, whom Professor Tyrrell calls the Stella of Cicero. Moreover Terentia seems to have engaged in speculations

<sup>1</sup> *Cicero and his Friends*, p. 77.

that seriously embarrassed her husband. To his daughter Tullia he was deeply attached, and her death in 45 was a heavy blow to him.

His son Marcus served in Pompey's army in Greece at the early age of sixteen. He afterwards went to Athens to complete what we may call his University education. Here he fell into extravagant habits and squandered in debauchery his allowance, which seems to have amounted to the liberal sum of £850 a year. He served as military tribune under Brutus in Macedonia, and after the battle of Philippi in 42 he fled to Sex. Pompey in Sicily. On the conclusion of peace between the triumvirs and Pompey in 39 he returned to Rome, and being favourably received by Octavian was ultimately associated with him in the consulship in 30 B. C., and it was in his term of office that the Senate overthrew the statues of Antony, cancelled the various honours conferred on him, and decreed that none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus, says Plutarch, the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishment for the house of Cicero.

**Sources of Cicero's Wealth.** The source of Cicero's wealth is a matter of some interest. He inherited indeed from his father an estate at Arpinum and a house at Rome, and received as Terentia's portion about £4,000: but before his marriage he was able to afford an extended tour in Greece and Asia, and there is no evidence that he inherited any considerable sum. The plunder of the provinces was one of the chief sources of gain to leading men in those days. But Cicero declined a province when he was entitled to it after his praetorship and consulate, and when at length he was obliged to accept one in 52 he administered it with an integrity that made it a source of comparatively little gain to him. Usury, again, though a frequent road to fortune even for men of distinction, was neglected by Cicero. He was a borrower rather than a lender, and in recovering such money as he might lend to friends he consulted rather his reputation than his pecuniary advantage.

How, then, can we account for the large sums we find from

his letters Cicero was able to lay out on books and works of art, for the liberal allowance he gave his son, and for the fact that he had throughout his life half a dozen country residences in the most delightful parts of Italy, as well as lodges at Terracina, Sinuessa, Cales and Anagnia, which the absence of hotels rendered necessary for persons of distinction who would travel in a manner befitting their rank?

The chief source of his income was doubtless his practice at the Bar. The Cincian law, it is true, forbade fees, but presents to advocates were common, and in the case of wealthy clients, and especially of foreign states and kings, were often of large amounts. There prevailed moreover at Rome in Cicero's day a curious mania for leaving property by will to distinguished men. Such legacies were thought to reflect distinction on the testator; and in this way Cicero received large sums, not only from his friends, but even from persons quite unknown to him.

**The Statesman.** As might be expected in the case of one who lived at a time of change and revolution, very various estimates have been formed of Cicero's character and political conduct. From the graceful eulogies of Gaston Boissier to the scathing epigrams of Theodor Mommsen is a wide range. The charge of being a political trimmer is specially easy in the case of an advocate who, in accordance with the usage of his profession, took any brief that offered, and was bound to do his best for his client, making successful advocacy, not the ascertainment of truth or the formulating of his own views, the object of his speech.

It is, however, as Professor Tyrrell remarks, misleading to say that Cicero, in his early life, made overtures to democracy. He was doubtless a representative of the Equestrian class, and thus on the whole opposed to the Optimates; but his projected defence of Catiline (it is quite improbable that he actually defended him) was certainly not an advance towards the popular party, for Catiline was not at the time of his trial for his malversation in Africa in any sense the accredited successor of Gracchus or Saturninus, of Sulpicius or Cinna. It was not until 63 B.C. that Catiline came forward as

a popular champion. The chief charge, indeed, which Cicero brought against him as his opponent for the consulship was that he had murdered M. Marius Gratidianus, a near relative of C. Marius, in the Sullan proscriptions. Cicero never coquetted with democracy, though he undertook the advocacy of Roscius and Cornelius. He could win his way to distinction in public life only by his position at the Bar; and a high position at the Bar was not to be made by the picking and choosing of briefs. The fact is that the conspiracy of Catiline drove Cicero and the Equites to the side of the nobility, and Cicero began to dream of a restored Republic of the Scipios: his political watchwords are 'senatus auctoritas' and 'ordinum concordia,' and he claims Catulus as his political predecessor: his political triumph was the crushing of the Catiline conspiracy by inducing the wealthy middle class to make common cause with the aristocracy.

The period succeeding his restoration from exile has especially given his detractors grounds for accusing him of time-serving. His position was a difficult one. A practical statesman must consider not only what is ideally best, but what is possible, and of the possible we can, of course, judge better than Cicero. That such characters as Caesar and Pompey appear to us in a very different light from that in which they appeared to their contemporaries is shown by the fact that to Cicero the Triumvirate practically meant Pompey, and Cicero himself might, had he chosen, have joined the body and made it a Quattuorvirate. The best justification of Cicero's position is furnished by Professor Tyrrell's *résumé* of passages in Cicero's own letters, from which it appears that while he clearly discerned the strong points in Caesar's conduct and character, and appreciated his tolerance and wise moderation, he felt it would be dishonourable to join him as being a leader of revolutionists, as being on the wrong side, and as being a *perditus civis* and a *tyrannus*. To the faults on Pompey's side he was not blind. He saw that the Optimates were dilatory, weak, and irresolute; he feared they would inflict a terrible vengeance on their enemies, and that they would strive for tyranny as well as Caesar. But, on the other

hand, he felt bound to Pompey by gratitude and affection, by the fact that he was leader of the Optimates, and because he believed that he was about to restore the Republic.

His attitude towards Caesar after the Civil War has been still more unfairly criticized by writers who apparently do not appreciate the immense importance of noting dates and the order of events if one wishes to understand the significance of the part taken by a public man. The matter has been put in its true light by Professor Tyrrell in a recent number of the *Quarterly Review*<sup>1</sup>



ROMAN STANDARDS.

In 46 B.C. Cicero delivered in the Senate a brilliant speech which has come down to us, the *pro Marcello*. Marcellus had been consul in 51, and had not only taken an active part against Caesar, but had roused his special personal hostility by harsh treatment of the transpadane Gauls, whose cause was patronized by Caesar. After Pharsalia Marcellus retired to Mytilene, and was with difficulty induced to consent to accept pardon if tendered to him. Cicero approached Caesar on the subject, probably without much hope of success, and was delighted to find him ready to offer his enemy

<sup>1</sup> October, 1896, 'Cicero's Case against Caesar.'

a full pardon. Carried away by his enthusiasm at this act of magnanimity, Cicero gave a loose rein to his unbounded powers of panegyric in the oration *pro Marcello*. It is on this speech that Froude has based his fiercest attack on the character and motives of Cicero. 'Such,' he writes, 'was the speech delivered by Cicero in the Senate in Caesar's presence within a few weeks of his murder.' Attention to dates and familiarity with Cicero's private correspondence would have prevented Froude from making this unjust attack on the orator. The speech *pro Marcello* was delivered in the autumn of 46, and therefore not a few weeks, but a year and a half before Caesar's assassination, which was on the Ides of March 44, and that the sentiments of admiration for Caesar and confidence in his patriotism, which Froude so scathingly contrasts with the language of the second Philippic, written two years afterwards, was sincerely felt by Cicero when he delivered the speech, is shown by his private correspondence, which he never intended to meet the eye of any one except his correspondent. Professor Tyrrell shows that it is possible to trace the steps by which Cicero's view of Caesar's character underwent a change: but here it is sufficient to note how unfair it is to omit mention of the testimony furnished by the letters to the sincerity with which Cicero spoke, and to misrepresent as a few weeks the year and a half which furnished only too good grounds for his change of feeling, and made him rejoice in the death of one of whom he had before been inclined to make an idol.

Again, in the same article Professor Tyrrell points out how idle it is to seek to suppress or evade the fact that Cicero was looked on as a great power by Julius Caesar. One of the most picturesque traits in a very picturesque character is the pertinacity with which Caesar refuses to be repulsed by Cicero. After he failed to gain the orator to his own interests, we read with pleasure of the magnanimity shown in offering him one of his own lieutenancies to protect him from Clodius, and afterwards a place among the agrarian commissioners. 'Mommsen's theory of an ironical, contemptuous deference on the part of Caesar towards Cicero, which even

showed itself ready to flatter the weakness of an intellect which it despised, is as untrue to history as it is injurious to the character of Caesar himself. It is simply a fiction, and inartistic fiction. Caesar saw that Cicero was a great power. His speeches not only swayed the assembly, but they discharged the highest work now done by our best newspapers, magazines, and reviews. To gain Cicero was what it would now be to secure the advocacy of the *Times*, or rather what it would be were there no other paper, review, or magazine but the *Times*, and were the leaders of the *Times* written by Burke and Sheridan. He placed the public in possession of the political situation. It is true, as Mommsen points out, that he came forward in the trial of Verres against the senatorial *judicia*, when they were already set aside, that he thundered against Catiline when his departure was already an accomplished fact. It is true that the second Philippic was not published till Antonius had fled to Cisalpine Gaul. But were these speeches therefore useless, or mere exhibitions of powerful pleading? By no means. They put the public in possession of the circumstances in each of these cases, and taught them to look on these circumstances with the eyes of the speaker and his party; they converted resistance into acceptance, and warmed acceptance into enthusiasm; they provided faith with reasons, doubt with arguments, and triumph with words<sup>1</sup>.

‘Cicero, like every politician, was actuated by mixed motives in the line which he took. He desired to achieve the commanding position to which he felt that his powers entitled him; but he did not wish to reach by crooked paths an eminence, however great. He was ambitious to rise, but he was ambitious to rise by inspiring his fellow-countrymen with a strong and abiding sense of those pre-eminent abilities of which he was conscious, and to use his power, when attained, in the honest service of the best interests of the state, as he conceived them. That vanity and self-laudation, which is so repugnant to our sense of

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, October, 1896, p. 14.

fitness, was a vice not only of the man, but also of the age, though no doubt he was vain to a degree conspicuous even then. How different from ours was the spirit of the time when even Caesar, on whose "marvellous serenity" Mommsen dwells so lovingly, could send such a letter to the Senate as *veni, vidi, vici*. With what ridicule would such a despatch now be received by Parliament and the Press. Cicero lived in an epoch when pro-consuls sought and found their "laurels in a must-cake," and on their return to Rome enjoyed the empty pageantry of a triumph or a *supplicatio*, which was often but a mockery of their demonstrated incompetence. But, in spite of characteristic weaknesses, Cicero was a great power in his age. In the opinion of his contemporaries he saved Rome in the time of Catiline, and did his best to save it in the time of Antonius <sup>1</sup>

## II. CICERO'S WORKS.

Cicero is the greatest name in Roman literature, and an adequate account of his works would far exceed the limits of this book. A brief sketch of the most important of them must suffice. Omitting his poems, which seem to have been of little merit, and of which in any case we have but few fragments, his works may be classed under the heads of Orations, Epistles, Rhetoric and Philosophy.

**Orations.** It is above all as an orator that Cicero is known, and we shall therefore first treat of his speeches, some fifty-nine of which are in whole or in part preserved. It was characteristic of his kindly and sympathetic temperament that he appeared for the most part as the defender of the accused, not as the impeacher. Of the few cases in which he assumed the aggressive the most famous are the impeachment of Verres in 70 B. C. and the invectives against Catiline in 63, of both of which I have spoken elsewhere <sup>2</sup>. In 56 he assailed Vatinius, a political adventurer, whom he

<sup>1</sup> *Cicero in his Letters*, by Professor Tyrrell, p. xxxiv.

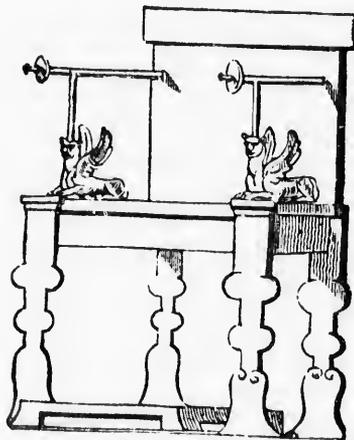
<sup>2</sup> See pp. xvii, xlii sq.

describes as one of the greatest scamps and villains that ever lived, though he afterwards, in 54, defended him when accused of bribery, in order to please Caesar, to whom Vatinius had rendered important service by proposing the bill under which Caesar had obtained the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years. In 55 he delivered a speech against Piso, the father-in-law of Caesar, in which he reiterated charges he had previously brought against him as an unprincipled debauchee and corrupt magistrate. Finally, in 44 and 43, he produced the fourteen brilliant orations against Mark Antony that are known as the Philippics. Of these the Second is called 'divine' by Juvenal, and is generally regarded as Cicero's crowning masterpiece. The greater number of his speeches, as has been already said, were made for the defence. His first extant speech was delivered in 81 on behalf of P. Quintus, and in the following year he defended Sex. Roscius of Ameria, as mentioned above<sup>1</sup>. Of his numerous other speeches the following are some of the most famous: in 70 for Q. Roscius, the famous comic actor; in 66 for the Manilian Law, conferring on Pompey the command in the war against Mithridates; in the same year for Cluentius, on charges of poisoning; in 61 for Archias, a Greek poet and one of Cicero's teachers, accused of illegally assuming Roman citizenship; in 52 for Milo, accused of the murder of Clodius—this speech, however, was never delivered, at least not in the form in which we have it; in 45 for king Deiotarus, charged with designs on Caesar's life.

The extant speeches furnish examples of almost every department of eloquence—deliberative, judicial, descriptive, laudatory and vituperative. Great as he was in all styles it is in the personal and the particular that he excels rather than in the questions involving abstract or general principles. In deliberative oratory it is the force of unwavering resolution that carries weight rather than fiery fluency or graphic description, and Cicero, we have seen, was deficient in steadiness of conviction, whether the fault was in himself or in

<sup>1</sup> P. xvii.

the circumstances of the times. In panegyric he is at his best, and his powers of invective are little inferior. The enthusiasm with which he praises the state or its magistrates, the customs of his country, or the worthy deeds of some individual, makes him the master and model of panegyrists to all ages. For the less pleasing task of invective he was specially qualified by his unrivalled powers of clear and lifelike description. 'His portraits,' as Cruttwell says, 'are photographic. Whether he describes the money-loving Chaerea with his shaven eyebrows and head reeking with



CURULE CHAIR FOUND IN POMPEII.

cunning and malice<sup>1</sup>; or the insolent Verres, lolling on a litter with eight bearers, like an Asiatic despot stretched on a bed of rose-leaves<sup>2</sup>; or Vatinius, darting forward to speak, his eyes starting from his head, his neck swollen, and his muscles rigid<sup>3</sup>; or the Gaulish and Greek witnesses, of whom the former swagger erect across the forum<sup>4</sup>, the latter chatter and gesticulate without ever looking up<sup>5</sup>; we see in each case the master's powerful hand. Other de-

<sup>1</sup> *Rosc. Com.* 7<sup>2</sup> *In Verr.* 2. 5, 11.<sup>3</sup> *In Vatin.* 2.<sup>4</sup> *Pro Font.* 11.<sup>5</sup> *Pro Rabir. Post.* 13.

scriptions are longer and more ambitious: the confusion of the Catiline conspirators after detection<sup>1</sup>; the character of Catiline<sup>2</sup>; the debauchery of Antony in Varro's villa<sup>3</sup>; the scourging and crucifixion of Gavius<sup>4</sup>; the grim old censor Appius frowning on Clodia his degenerate descendant<sup>5</sup>; the tissue of monstrous crime which fills page after page of the Cluentius<sup>6</sup>. These are pictures for all time; they combine the poet's eye with the stern spirit of the moralist. His power of description is equalled by the readiness of his wit. Raillery, banter, sarcasm, jest, irony light and grave, the whole artillery of wit, is always at his command; and though to our taste many of his jokes are coarse, others dull, and others unfair or in bad taste, yet the Romans were never tired of extolling them. These are varied with digressions of a graver cast: philosophical sentiments, patriotic allusions, gentle moralizings, and rare gems of ancient legend, succeed each other in the kaleidoscope of his shifting fancy, whose combinations may appear irregular, but are generally bound together by chains of the most delicate art. His chief faults are exaggeration, vanity, and that inordinate love of words that procured him the epithet *Asiatic*. Nevertheless, if we are to judge his oratory by its effect on those for whom it was intended, and to whom it was addressed; as the vehement, gorgeous, impassioned utterance of an Italian speaking to Italians, his countrymen, whom he knew, whom he charmed, whom he mastered; we shall not be able to refuse him a place as equal to the greatest of those whose eloquence has swayed the destinies of the world<sup>7</sup>.

**Epistles.** Of the importance of Cicero's letters as throwing light on his life and times I have already spoken [pp. xi-xv]. Of these letters we possess more than 800, extending over a period of a quarter of a century, from 68-43 B.C. They are among the most interesting remains of antiquity, and for their graceful, natural and unreserved freedom of

<sup>1</sup> *In Cat.* 3. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro Cael.* 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Phil.* 2. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *In Verr.* 5. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Pro Cael.* 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Pro Cluent.* passim.

<sup>7</sup> Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature*, p. 173 sq.

expression have been compared to the letters of Madame de Sevigné. In some cases they probably served the purpose of political pamphlets, but for the most part they were written for the correspondent to whom they were addressed, not for the world at large, and show us the man free from the mask of conventional life. The most important of them are those addressed to Atticus, dating from 68 to 44, numbering 396 and arranged in sixteen books. As we have seen above, they were already published in the time of Cornelius Nepos, Cicero's contemporary and friend.

The volume of letters entitled *Ad Familiares* or *Ad Diversos* is likewise arranged in sixteen books, and extends from 62 to 43. The twenty-nine letters addressed to his brother Quintus are arranged in three books and date between 59 and 54. They are marked by a somewhat formal tone, and in this respect differ from the letters to Atticus. The two books to Brutus have been denounced as spurious, but their genuineness seems on the whole to be fairly well established.

**Rhetoric.** The two books *De Inventione Rhetorica* appear to have been the earliest of Cicero's prose works, and were never completed. His mature views on the subject are given in the three books *De Oratore*, which were written in 55 and which form the most perfect of Cicero's rhetorical works. The *De Partitione Oratoria* *Dialogus* is a Catechism of the Art of Oratory, arranged in questions and answers for the use of his son Marcus. The *Brutus sive de claris Oratoribus* is a valuable mine of information about the history of the Roman Bar. The *Ad M. Brutum Orator* gives a brilliant picture of his ideal of a perfect orator.

The *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*, which contains an interesting discussion on the comparative merits of the Attic and Asiatic styles, was an introduction to Cicero's translation (now lost) of the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes on the Crown. The *Topica ad C. Trebatium* is an abstract of the Topics of Aristotle, illustrated by examples from Roman law.

**Philosophy.** The philosophical writings of Cicero may be classed under the four heads of Political Philosophy, the Philosophy of Morals, Speculative Philosophy and Theology. Under the first head falls the *De Republica*, in six books founded on the Republic of Plato, and treating of the best form of government and the duty of the citizen. It was written in 54. The *De Legibus*, in three books, is founded on the Laws of Plato. Under the Philosophy of Morals fall the *De Officiis*, in three books, written in 44; the *De Senectute*, written in 44; the *De Amicitia*; the *De Consolatione*, written after the death of his daughter Tullia. Under Speculative Philosophy fall the *Academica*, written in 45; the *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, in five books, treating of the opinions of the Epicureans, Stoics and Peripatetics on the Supreme Good, that is the *finis* or end towards which all our thoughts and actions are or ought to be directed; this work was written in 45; the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, in five books, written in 45 and 44; the *Paradoxa*, six favourite paradoxes of the Stoics explained in familiar language, written in 46; the *Hortensius*, a dialogue in praise of philosophy; the *Timaeus*, a translation of Plato's work of the same name. His works on Theology are the *De Natura Deorum*, written in 44, giving an account of the speculations of the Epicureans, the Stoics and the Academicians on the existence, attributes and providence of a divine being; and the *De Divinatione*, giving the opinions of various schools on the reality of the science of divination.

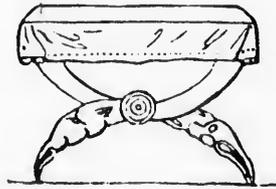
Philosophy to Cicero was not so much a serious study as a resource of his leisure when circumstances prevented him from taking part in public affairs. He does not claim originality of idea in this department, and indeed goes so far as to say that he only furnished the words. He was, however, no mere servile translator; and Cruttwell remarks that as a philosopher he was allowed to be the greatest teacher that Rome ever had, and that he has descended through the middle ages to our own time with his authority, indeed, shaken, but his popularity scarcely diminished.

III. CATILINE AND THE CATILINE CONSPIRACY.

**Life and Character.** L. Sergius Catiline, at the time when Cicero delivered his famous invectives against him, was a man of desperate fortunes. Like Sulla he was of patrician family, and like him, too, his youth was disgraced by vicious indulgence. His family had been reduced to narrow circumstances, and doubtless the troubled times of the proscription were welcome to a man of ruined resources and unbridled passions. At any rate it is as a partisan of Sulla that he first comes into notice, and we are told that he not only killed with his own hand his brother-in-law, Q. Caecilius, and tortured to death Cicero's kinsman and fellow-townsmen, M. Marius Gratidianus, but also murdered his own brother, and took advantage of the proscription to have the murdered man's name entered on the list of the condemned, and so secure his own safety from punishment. He was further suspected of an intrigue with the Vestal Virgin Fabia, sister of Terentia, Cicero's wife, and he was believed to have made away with his first wife, and afterwards his son, in order that he might marry Aurelia Orestilla, who objected to having a grown-up step-child in her household.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the worst charges against him rest to a great extent on the authority of his opponent Cicero, and, in any case, he was not without redeeming qualities. He had the art of making and retaining friends, and was generous in helping them at their need. His personal courage also was great, and he met his death fighting with a valour worthy of a better man and a better cause. Cicero himself, in his speech *pro Caelio*, gives a sketch of his character, differing materially from that in the Catiline Orations, and probably not unfairly drawn, as the purpose of the speech was not only to excuse Cicero's friend Caelius on the ground of being guided by an evil influence, but also to show how attractive were the qualities that had drawn so many Roman youths to Catiline's side. The orator especially

dwells on the strange contrasts that his character presented. He was a monster of inconsistency. The energy that spurred him to unremitting work made him no less active in the indulgence of vice. His love of military glory was equalled by the fire of his licentious passions. While he was a favourite with the most illustrious men he was intimate with the basest. Who could be more greedy of money than he was? Who could lavish it more profusely? The numerous friends he made he retained by placing at their service his money, his influence, and his personal exertions. He could change his very nature and rule himself by circumstances. He lived soberly with the serious, he was a boon companion with the gay; grave with the elders, merry with the young; reckless among the desperate, profligate with the depraved.



CURULE CHAIR FOUND IN HERCULANEUM.

With a nature so complex and many-sided, he not only collected round him wicked and desperate characters, but he also attracted many brave and good men. It would have been impossible for him to have organized his atrocious attack upon the commonwealth, had not that fierce outgrowth of depraved passions rested on some substratum of agreeable qualities and solid powers.

**Public Career.** A man of such varied endowments for good and evil might count with some certainty on success in a public career, whatever stains might deform his character. He became praetor in 68, and was governor of Africa during the following year. He returned to Rome in 66, and became a candidate for the consulship in 65, the election for which would in the regular course take place in July 66. He was,

however, obliged to withdraw from his candidature, as an indictment for extortion in his province was brought against him by P. Clodius Pulcher, afterwards so celebrated as the enemy of Cicero, and the law did not allow a citizen, against whom a suit was pending, to be a candidate for a magistracy. The election for 65 was carried by P. Autronius Pactus and P. Cornelius Sulla, who were, however, soon after convicted of bribery, and their places supplied by their competitors and accusers, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus.

**First Catiline Conspiracy.** Catiline and Autronius, along with Cn. Piso, now formed a plot, commonly known as the First Catiline Conspiracy, to murder the new consuls when they entered on office on January 1, 65, and to seize the consular power for themselves<sup>1</sup>. The design became known, and its execution was consequently postponed till the meeting of the senate on February 5, when the massacre was to have been made a general one. The plot was, however, again frustrated, owing to the impatience of Catiline, who gave the signal before the senate-house on the appointed day, when as yet his armed agents had not assembled in sufficient numbers. Suetonius, however, says that M. Crassus and C. Julius Caesar were the real instigators of this conspiracy. Crassus was to be made dictator and Caesar his *magister equitum*, and after the constitution had been recast on democratic lines, Autronius and Sulla were to be restored as consuls. According to a statement quoted by Sallust from the historian Tanusius Geminus, it was Caesar, not Catiline, who was to have given the signal for the massacre, but he refrained from doing so because Crassus, either from repentance or fear, did not make his appearance on the decisive day.

Though the intended crime was well known, no one ventured to bring the criminals to trial, and the senate was even weak enough, on the motion of Crassus, to send one of the conspirators, Piso, in order to get him out of the way, as quaestor with praetorian power to Spain.

<sup>1</sup> See i. 6. 15.

The prosecution for misgovernment of his province, referred to above, came on in 65, and by bribing Clodius, his accuser, as well as the jury, Catiline succeeded in escaping condemnation. The case, however, was not decided until the consular comitia for 64 were over, and his candidature was therefore postponed until the following year, when Cicero was also a candidate.

**The Elections of 64.** The pressure of his debts now made it a matter of supreme importance for Catiline that he should secure the consulship, not only that while in office he might carry measures for a general reduction or even cancelling of debts, and tending in other ways to advance his own interests, but especially that he might secure a rich province, and in that way retrieve his fortunes. On this, the second occasion of his being a candidate, he allied himself in his canvass with a man involved in similar difficulties, C. Antonius Hybrida, son of the famous orator M. Antonius, and uncle of the triumvir of the same name. Despite the evil antecedents of these men their chance of election was good, as both Caesar and Crassus supported them against Cicero. The latter, indeed, had but slight hope of victory, for though his reputation was brilliant and his popularity great, he was opposed by the nobility, who disliked him as being a *novus homo*, and because of the bitter attacks he had made in the past on members of their order. They also feared he would, in the future, work in the democratic interest and favour the ambitious designs of Pompey. The excesses of Catiline and Antony in their canvass, however, proved of advantage to their opponent. For the senate judged it necessary to check them by a measure more rigorous than the *lex Calpurnia de ambitu*, and when the tribune Q. Mucius Orestinus put his veto on the measure, Cicero, some days before the elections, rose in the senate, and, in a powerful speech (*oratio in toga candida habita*), exposed the intrigues and bribery of Catiline and Antony, and hinted at still more powerful opponents, who stood in the background. Alarmed at these disclosures, and at the danger that threatened their own safety, the nobility gave

their votes to Cicero, and he was elected consul for 63 along with Antony; Catiline, however, being in a minority of only a few centuries. Though Antony had joined Catiline in his canvass, he cared for office only as a means of making gain, and consequently, after the election, Cicero had no difficulty in buying off his opposition by surrendering to him the rich province of Macedonia.

**The Elections of 63. Development of the Conspiracy.**

Catiline now adopted bolder measures, and resolved to secure his election for 62 by a social revolution if necessary. The time was favourable for his purpose. Many of the younger nobility were bankrupt both in character and fortunes, the Roman mob was restless and discontented, and many of Sulla's veterans, having squandered their ill-gotten gains, were eager for fresh opportunities of plunder and bloodshed. Many of the democratic party, too, even probably such men as Caesar and Crassus, were not wholly unfavourable to schemes that tended to check the growing military power of Pompey. There was, moreover, no regular army in Italy; Pompey was fighting in the far east; the senate was negligent and powerless. These circumstances, rather than any brilliant abilities on the part of Catiline or of his fellow-conspirators, seem to have been the secret of the influence they obtained. A conspiracy was formed that soon spread over all Italy, and troops were levied in many places, but especially near Faesulae, under the direction of C. Manlius, one of the veteran centurions of Sulla.

From the time that he entered on his consulship in 63, Cicero received regular information of Catiline's plans through Fulvia, the mistress of Curius, one of the conspirators.

It was doubtless at this time, and not, as Sallust says, in 64, that Catiline held at his house the private meeting at which he announced his programme of social revolution, of plunder, and repudiation of debts.

At length, the day before the consular elections for 62 were to have been held, Cicero made a speech in the senate upon the danger in which the state was. The senate here-

upon resolved not to hold the elections next day, but to discuss the position of public affairs. At this sitting Cicero gave information of the latest steps taken by the conspirators, and called on Catiline, who had the hardihood to appear in the assembly, to express his opinion on the revelations thus made. Instead of justifying himself, Catiline declared openly that the state had two bodies, an infirm one with a weak head and a strong one without a head, and said that the latter should never want for a head while he breathed. Despite this defiant language the senate took no active measures, and the consul had to depend on his own resources in meeting the danger.

On the day of the election, accordingly, which was probably a few days later<sup>1</sup>, Cicero appeared in the Campus Martius with a glittering cuirass under his toga, and surrounded by a strong bodyguard. No conflict, however, took place: the rabble of Catiline, who had gathered in considerable numbers, were overawed, and Decimus Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena were elected consuls for 62.

Catiline was thus for a third time disappointed in his hopes of the consulship, and immediately exerted himself to carry out violent measures. It was arranged that Manlius, of whose preparations mention has been made above, should raise the standard of revolt in Etruria on October 27, and that on the next day the consul and the leading optimates should be murdered at Rome.

**Action of the Senate. Progress of the Conspiracy.** Cicero, informed as usual of these plans, summoned the senate on October 21, and made known the critical situation of affairs. After two days' deliberation it passed what was known as the *ultimum decretum*, '*videant consules ne quid*

<sup>1</sup> 'It has been commonly held that the first public attack of Cicero upon Catiline's plans was made on October 21. This assumes that the consular elections were for some reason postponed from the month of July, their usual date, to the end of October. But Jahn (*Entstehungsgeschichte der Catilinarischen Verschwörung*) has clearly shown that there is no reason for such a supposition. The intervening time may well have been spent by Catiline in making preparations for his armed rising.'—WILKINS.

*res publica detrimenti capiat,*' the formula by which, in cases of emergency, the consuls were called on to provide for the safety of the state.

When, a few days after, a letter was received from Fae-sulae stating that Manlius had taken up arms at that place on October 27, and news also came in of risings of slaves at Capua and in Apulia, the senate ordered extensive military preparations to be made, and offered rewards for information as to the conspiracy. Catiline himself, as the author of the troubles, was accused of a breach of peace under the *lex Plautia de vi* by a young patrician L. Aemilius Paullus. He thereupon, as though still undetected, offered to place himself in free custody, under the charge of some citizen of acknowledged position<sup>1</sup>, as a security that he was prepared to meet the charge. He had, however, determined to leave the city, but wishing to strike a decisive blow before doing so, he, on the night between November 6 and 7, called a meeting of his followers at the house of M. Porcius Laeca to arrange the details of the measures to be adopted. He announced his own intended departure for Etruria, decided who were to remain in the city and who to join the army, allotted to those who were to remain in the city the several parts they were to take in the murder and conflagration that had been determined on, and finally demanded the immediate assassination of Cicero. Hereupon the senator L. Vargunteius and the knight C. Cornelius offered to murder the consul at his house the following morning at daybreak, gaining access to his presence under the pretext of attending his usual morning levée. This danger, however, Cicero escaped, as he was informed of the plot, and the conspirators were refused admission when they presented themselves at his house.



FASCES.

<sup>1</sup> See i. 8. 19.

**First Oration against Catiline.** On November 8<sup>1</sup> Cicero called a meeting of the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which, for the sake of security, he surrounded with armed Roman knights. At this meeting Catiline had the audacity to appear in his place as usual, and Cicero thereupon delivered the speech commonly called the First Oration against Catiline. In this he showed that he possessed exact information about all the details of the conspiracy, and he advised Catiline to avoid the punishment that threatened him by withdrawing into voluntary exile. Catiline replied that it was little likely that he, a patrician, sprung of distinguished ancestors, should desire the overthrow of the republic, while its saviour was to be M. Tullius, a mere immigrant into the city of Rome. He was, however, interrupted by cries of 'enemy' and 'traitor,' and, overwhelmed by the indignation of his hearers, he rushed from the temple, and the same night set out for the camp of Manlius, spreading a report, however, that his destination was Massilia, whither he said he was going into exile, driven by the intrigues and calumnies of his enemies.

**Second Oration against Catiline.** Next day, November 9, Cicero addressed the people in the Second Oration against Catiline, in which he endeavoured, on the one hand, to quiet the general apprehension by making a statement as to the position of affairs, and, on the other, to deter from further efforts the conspirators who remained in the city. The latter, however, continued their activity, and prepared to carry out the plan arranged with Catiline. This was, according to Sallust's account, that when Catiline with his army had entered the district of Faesulae, the tribune L. Bestia should complain of Cicero's measures in an assembly of the people, and lay all the blame of the war on the consul. When public feeling was thus embittered, the conspirators were, on the following night, to carry out the parts assigned to each. Statilius and Gabinius, with their followers, were to set the city on fire in twelve places at once; Cethegus was to beset the doors of Cicero's house and attack him,

<sup>1</sup> On this date see Notes, p. 19.

while other leaders did the same to other distinguished men ; the younger conspirators, most of whom belonged to noble families, were to kill their parents, and then, when the confusion through murder and fire had become universal, an attempt was to be made by force of arms to break through to Catiline.

The date fixed for this monstrous attempt was the feast of the Saturnalia, December 17, on which day clients were wont to bring presents to their patrons, and the houses stood open. Cicero had secret information of the plot, but considering the number of persons incriminated, and the influential position of some of them, he did not consider the evidence in his hands sufficient to justify him in taking action.

**Envoys of the Allobroges seized.** At this conjuncture a fortunate accident furnished him with the proofs he desired. Envoys of the Allobroges from Transalpine Gaul happened to be at Rome seeking from the senate assistance against the oppression of officials and the avarice of usurers. Lentulus, by means of one P. Umbrenus, promised to these men relief from their grievances on condition of their giving armed assistance to Catiline, and, in particular, furnishing cavalry. The envoys at first agreed to co-operate, but on maturer consideration judged it would be more to their advantage to reveal the matter to their patron, Q. Fabius Sanga. Through him Cicero learned of the transaction, and perceiving he had got the very opportunity he desired, directed the envoys to feign participation in the scheme, and to procure, before leaving Rome, as they were about to do, papers from the heads of the conspiracy as credentials to their countrymen on their return home. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius fell into the trap, and gave, as requested, a written form of oath with their seals affixed, but Cassius refused to give a written pledge on the ground that he was himself shortly going to Gaul. As the envoys would pass through Etruria on their homeward way, it was determined that they should conclude the treaty with Catiline in person, and a certain T. Volturcius of Crotona was sent with them

bearing an autograph letter from Lentulus and verbal instructions to Catiline. The envoys, carrying this important evidence with them, left Rome on the night between December 2 and 3, and, in accordance with orders given by Cicero, were arrested by the praetors L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, on the Mulvian bridge, now the Ponte Molle, to the north of Rome, by which the Via Flaminia crosses the Tiber.

**Arrest of the Conspirators.** Cicero, being informed of the important capture, at once, before daybreak, summoned to his house Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, who had taken a principal part in the negotiations with the Gauls, and a certain Ceparius of Terracina, who was about to leave for Apulia to take command of a slave-revolt. Ceparius had heard of the treachery of the envoys and had fled from the city,<sup>1</sup> but the others came without suspicion. Cicero then summoned a meeting of the senate in the temple of Concord, where the prisoners were heard in their defence, and soon convicted upon the statements of the Allobroges and the evidence of their own hands and seals. It was resolved that the prisoners, and also Ceparius, who had in the meantime been brought back from his flight, should be given over to the custody of various senators.

**Third Oration against Catiline.** The sitting of the senate lasted until evening, and when it broke up the consul, to relieve the anxiety of the people, who had collected in large numbers, made a public statement of the facts in the speech that has been preserved under the name of the Third Catiline Oration.

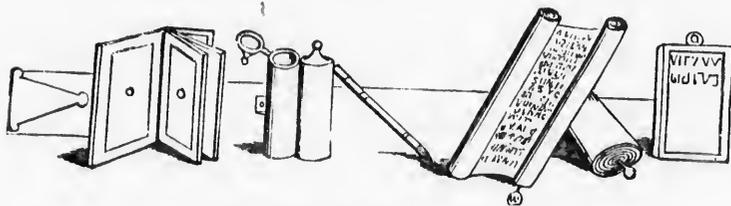
Next day a rumour spread that an attempt would be made to free the prisoners by violence, and Cicero accordingly occupied the Capitol and Forum with a strong guard.

**Debate in the Senate.** On the following day, that is, December 5, he called the senate together in the temple of Concord, protected by a large armed force, in order to decide the fate of the prisoners, which the senate had not constitutionally the right to do. D. Junius Silanus, who, as consul elect, was asked his opinion first, spoke in favour of the

punishment of death being inflicted on the five prisoners in custody, namely, Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius, and also on L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annius, if they should be captured. The consulars who voted next agreed with this view, until it came to the turn of C. Julius Caesar, who was at the time praetor elect, and who gave a different turn to the course of the debate. Having first pointed out the illegality of the proposed course, and the dangerous consequences it might have for its supporters, he proceeded to propose that the property of the conspirators should be confiscated, that they themselves should be sent into perpetual custody in various municipia, which should be made responsible for their safe detention, and that any proposal before the senate or the people for the abatement or remission of their punishment should be declared an attempt against the safety of the state. This speech made a deep impression, and the next opinions began to waver, so that even Quintus Cicero, the consul's brother, agreed to Caesar's proposal.

**Fourth Oration against Catiline.** Cicero now judged it necessary to take part in the discussion, and to urge the senate to make their decision without regard to his personal safety, for which Caesar's proposal seemed more favourable. His speech, known as the Fourth Catiline Oration, though apparently merely an explanation of the views of Silanus and Caesar as bearing on his own personal safety, evidently favours the adoption of the death penalty. It has been conjectured that the speech as we have it is not in its original form, but has received considerable embellishments that would hardly have been suitable in the midst of the discussion, and this view has been held to account for the somewhat pusillanimous exordium, and also for the occurrence of several passages that would have been expected rather in the opening speech of a presiding consul. As Cicero wrote down the speech, it was to appear as a complete whole in the *corpus orationum invectiviarum*, and not as the isolated portion of a conciliatory *sententia* in the course of the discussion. We are not expressly told at what point of the debate Cicero

made his speech, but it appears certain that he spoke before Cato and Tiberius Nero, the latter of whom proposed a middle course by the adjournment of the decision. As Cicero does not refer to their speeches we may feel pretty confident in putting his speech before theirs. Cicero does not seem to have completely overcome the hesitation of the senate; at least, all historians agree that it was the speech of M. Porcius Cato, at that time tribune elect, that decided them in their resolution. The prisoners were condemned to death, and were strangled before nightfall in the Tullianum, or state prison, on the slope of the Capitoline. Catiline himself and his forces were annihilated at the battle of Pistoria, at the beginning of 62, after they had fought with a desperate courage, worthy of a better cause.



ANCIENT WRITING MATERIALS.

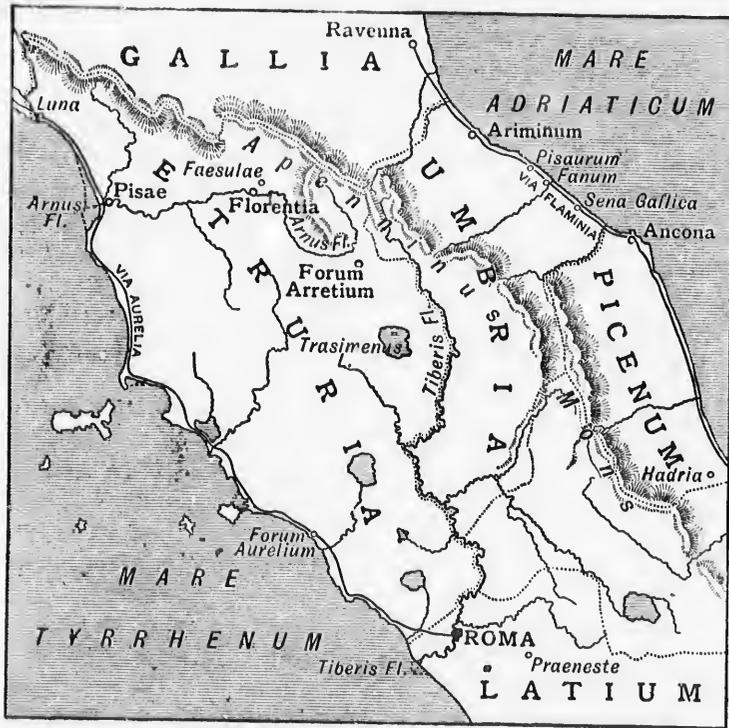
From Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*. By permission of Mr. John Murray.

**On the Legality of the Execution.** The Valerian, Porcian, and Sempronian laws enacted that no citizen should be put to death except by a vote of the people after a formal trial before them. On what grounds, then, can the execution of the Catiline conspirators on a vote of the senate be justified? Cicero gives two reasons; firstly, that the conspirators by their act had become *hostes*, and forfeited the rights of citizens; secondly, that the *ultimum decretum* of the senate armed the consul with dictatorial powers. As to the first point, the very question at issue was whether the conspirators were *hostes*, and to make the assumption of this, as a fact, the ground of depriving them of their rights as citizens

was a *petitio principii*. As to the second point, it is doubtful what were the exact powers conferred on the consuls by the *ultimum decretum*. Cicero no doubt claims that they included the power of summary execution, and Sallust distinctly says that the senate possessed the power of arming the consuls with exceptional powers in cases of emergency, but this was by no means universally admitted. The leaders of the popular party disputed the right, and this was the very point raised by the case of the aged senator C. Rabirius, who, in this very year (63), was accused of murder, as having been concerned in the death of Saturninus thirty-seven years before. Cicero was advocate for the defence, but a conviction would certainly have been obtained had not the praetor, Q. Metellus Celer, removed the military standard which floated on the Janiculum, and so, in accordance with an ancient custom, broken up the assembly. In any case it is clear that the senate had no right to enforce the death penalty. At most they could arm the consul with the power of inflicting it; and the sentence would be pronounced on his responsibility, not theirs. The execution of the conspirators, then, may have been justified by the necessities of the crisis, but it can hardly be defended as strictly legal.

In conclusion, a point may be noticed that cannot fail to strike the reader of the Catiline Orations as showing how different was the standard of good taste in the age of Cicero from that which now prevails, namely, the unlimited licence allowed to a speaker in abusing his adversary and praising himself. What ridicule would a speaker now bring on himself who ventured to pronounce, with however entire justification in facts, such a panegyric on his own achievement as Cicero utters in iv. 10! The unlimited vituperation of an antagonist may indeed easily be paralleled from the speeches of modern parliamentary representatives, both inside and outside the House, but it is rarely heard from the lips of a responsible minister, and it must be remembered that Cicero was consul and presiding magistrate, Premier, we might say, and Speaker of the House, when in the senate he delivered, in the very presence of Catiline himself, the invective

contained in the First Catiline Oration. The sting of that great speech no doubt lay in the undeniable truth of the charge of treason, but the orator does not confine himself to such public grounds of accusation, but, in the plainest language, brings the most revolting charges against the private life of the person he is assailing.



CENTRAL ITALY.

THE ORATIONS  
OF  
CICERO AGAINST CATILINE

ORATIO PRIMA

HABITA IN SENATU.

*Catiline's designs are known. He deserves death. There are precedents for his execution. It is the consuls who are wanting in zeal.*

1. Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia 1  
nostra? quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet?  
quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia? Nihilne  
te nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae,  
5 nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium,  
nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum  
ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis?  
constrictam iam horum omnium scientia teneri coniura-  
tionem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore  
10 nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii  
ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O tempora, 2  
o mores! senatus haec intellegit, consul videt: hic tamen  
vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit  
publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad  
15 caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, fortes viri,

satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela  
vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis  
iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri pestem, quam tu in  
3 nos machinaris. An vero vir amplissimus P. Scipio,  
pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum, mediocriter labefac- 5  
tantem statum rei publicae, privatus interfecit : Catilinam,  
orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem,  
nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua prae-  
terco, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium, novis rebus  
studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam 10  
in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciiis  
civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coërcerent.  
Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens  
et grave; non deest rei publicae consilium neque auc-  
toritas huius ordinis : nos, nos, dico aperte, consules 15  
desumus.

*Former consuls in like cases acted promptly; we spare you  
only that your acts may make your treason clear to  
all men.*

4 2. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul  
videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet : nox  
nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam sedi-  
tionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, 20  
maioribus, occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis.  
Simili senatus consulto C. Maric et L. Valerio consulibus  
est permissa res publica; num unum diem postea  
L. Saturninum tribunum pl. et C. Servilium praetorem  
mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero nos 25  
vicesimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum  
auctoritatis. Habemus enim huiusce modi senatus con-  
sultum, verum inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in vagina  
reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim te inter-  
fectum esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad 30

reponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed iam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. Castra sunt in 5  
 5 Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus collocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus, eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videtis intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si  
 10 te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique  
 15 interficere, cum iam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non iure factum esse fateatur. Quam diu quisquam erit, qui te defendere 6  
 audeat, vives, sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam  
 20 possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

*Abandon your plans. They are known to me, as I knew and frustrated your former designs to massacre the better classes and to seize Praeneste.*

3. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis  
 25 tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt claria nobis tua consilia omnia, quae iam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine me ante diem XII Kalendas Novembres 7  
 30 dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus

esset ante diem VI Kalendas Novembres, C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu, caedem te optimatum 5 contulisse in ante diem V Kalendas Novembres, tum cum multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num infitiri potes te illo ipso die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere te 10 contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu discessu ceterorum nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, caede te 8 contentum esse dicebas? Quid? cum te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo 15 iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

*As a proof that I know your plot I will tell you what was planned at Laeca's house the night before last. The course I took to frustrate those plans proves my knowledge of them.*

4. Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem: iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad 20 salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—non agam obscure—in M. Laecae domum; convenisse eodem complures eiusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? quid taces? convincam, si negas; video enim 25 esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. 9 O di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam rem publicam habemus? Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae

sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium  
 interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum  
 exitio cogitent. Hos ego video consul et de re publica  
 sententiam rogo, et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos  
 5 nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa  
 nocte, Catilina; distribuisti partes Italiae: statuisti quo  
 quemque proficisci placeret, delegisti quos Romae re-  
 linqueres, quos tecum educeres, discripsisti urbis partes  
 ad incendia, confirmasti te ipsum iam esse exiturum,  
 10 dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego  
 viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista  
 cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem  
 me in meo lectulo interfecturos esse pollicerentur. Haec 10  
 ego omnia, vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, comperi,  
 15 domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi,  
 exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseras, cum  
 illi ipsi venissent, quos ego iam multis ac summis viris  
 ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram.

*Formerly you attacked me only, now you attack the whole  
 state; therefore leave the city and take your comrades  
 with you. I will not kill you, as then your adherents  
 would remain in the city.*

5. Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo coepisti,  
 20 egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae: proficiscere.  
 Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra  
 desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si minus,  
 quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis,  
 dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum  
 25 versari iam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar,  
 non sinam. Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque 11  
 huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis,  
 gratia. quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque  
 infestam rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus. Non

est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae. Quam diu mihi, consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere 5 voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotienscumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei 12 publicae esse coniunctam. Nunc iam aperte rem publicam 10 universam petis; templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam totam ad exitium et vastitatem vocas. Quare quoniam id, quod est primum et quod huius imperii disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severi- 15 tatem lenius, ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus: sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa 20 sentina rei publicae. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas 20 id me imperante facere, quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me: num in exsilium? non iubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

*You can have no pleasure here. You are feared and hated. Your deeds of shame, your crimes, your attempts at murder are known.*

6. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te iam in hac urbe 25 delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam coniurationem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat, nemo, qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus 30

a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore  
 auit? cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illece-  
 bris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidi-  
 nem facem praetulisti? Quid vero? nuper, cum morte 14  
 5 superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses,  
 nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti?  
 quod ego praetermitto et facile patior sileri, ne in hac  
 civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse aut non  
 vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum  
 10 tuarum, quas omnes proximis Idibus tibi impendere  
 senties: ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam  
 vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem  
 ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad  
 omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent. Potestne 15  
 15 tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucun-  
 dus, cum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat, te pridie  
 Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse  
 in comitio cum telo? manum consulum et principum  
 civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac  
 20 furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed  
 fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac iam illa omitto  
 —neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa commissa  
 postea—: quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens vero  
 consulem interficere conatus es! quot ego tuas petitiones  
 25 ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva qua-  
 dam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! Nihil  
 agis, nihil adsequeris, neque tamen conari ac velle  
 desistis. Quotiens tibi iam extorta est ista sica de 16  
 manibus! quotiens excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est!  
 30 quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit,  
 nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore  
 defigere.

*You are shunned by the senators. Your country loathes you and bids you be gone.*

7. Nunc vero quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim iam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? 5 Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid, quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque 10 adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? 17 Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et si me meis 15 civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me adspectu civium quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallet: tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque 20 vulneras, eorum adspectum praesentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quae communis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil 25 te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: huius tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec iudicium sequere nec vim 18 pertimesces? Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: 'Nullum iam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni 30 multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum

impunita fuit ac libera ; tu non solum ad neglegendas  
 leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfrin-  
 gendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda  
 non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli : nunc vero me totam  
 5 esse in metu propter unum te, quidquid increpauerit  
 Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri  
 posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum.  
 Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe,  
 si est verus, ne opprimar, sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando  
 10 timere desinam.'

*Your offer to surrender yourself proves your guilt. The  
 senate silently acquiesce when I bid you go into exile.  
 The knights I can hardly restrain from slaying you.*

8. Haec si tecum ita ut dixi patria loquatur, nonne 19  
 impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit?  
 Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quod  
 vitandae suspicionis causa ad M'. Lepidum te habitare  
 15 velle dixisti? a quo non receptus etiam ad me venire  
 ausus es atque ut domi meae te adservarem rogasti.  
 Cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo  
 posse isdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in  
 periculo essem, quod isdem moenibus contineremur, ad  
 20 Q. Metellum praetorem venisti: a quo repudiatus ad  
 sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum demigrasti,  
 quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum diligentissimum et  
 ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortis-  
 simum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere  
 25 atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse iam dignum  
 custodia iudicavit?

Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo 20  
 animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras et vitam istam  
 multis suppliciis iustis debitisque ereptam fugae solitu-  
 30 dinique mandare? 'Refer' inquis 'ad senatum'; id enim

postulas et, si hic ordo placere decreverit te ire in exsili-  
 um, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id  
 quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam ut  
 intellegas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe,  
 Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exsili- 5  
 um, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid  
 attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiun-  
 tur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium,  
 21 quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicias? At si hoc  
 idem huic adulescenti optimo, P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro, 10  
 M. Marcello, dixissem, iam mihi consuli hoc ipso in  
 templo senatus iure optimo vim et manus intulisset. De  
 te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiun-  
 tur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant; neque hi solum,  
 quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, 15  
 sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi  
 viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum,  
 quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et  
 voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix  
 abs te iam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile 20  
 adducam, ut te haec, quae vastare iam pridem studes,  
 relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

*For my country's sake I wish you would go into exile, though  
 that would bring odium on me. For my honour it were  
 better that you should join the army of Manlius, and  
 this I know you will do.*

22 Θ. Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat? tu  
 ut umquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditare? tu  
 ut ullum exsili- 25  
 um cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem  
 di immortales duint! tametsi video, si mea voce perter-  
 ritus ire in exsili-  
 um animum induxeris, quanta tempestas  
 invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus, recenti  
 memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendat.

Sed est tanti, dum modo ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicae periculis seiungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicae cédas, non est postulandum; neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocarit. Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exsilium: vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris, vix molem istius invidiae, si in exsilium iussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu, confer te ad Manlium, concita perditos cives, secerne te a bonis, infer patriae bellum, exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati? cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem? a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas, a cuius altaribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?

*In the camp of Manlius, surrounded by every kind of wickedness, you will be in your element.*

10. Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te iam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat: neque enim tibi haec res adfert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium con-

cupisti. Nactus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflata improborum  
 26 manum. Hic tu qua laetitia perfruire! quibus gaudiis  
 exsultabis! quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in  
 tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quem- 5  
 quam neque videbis! Ad huius vitae studium meditati  
 illi sunt qui feruntur labores tui, iacere humi non solum  
 ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeun-  
 dum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum  
 verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes tuam 10  
 illam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum  
 omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties.  
 27 Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut  
 exsul potius temptare quam consul vexare rem publicam  
 posses, atque ut id, quod esset a te scelerate susceptum, 15  
 latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

*I may be charged with remissness for letting Catiline depart  
 from the city.*

11. Nunc ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope  
 iustam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecet, per-  
 cipite, quaeso, diligenter quae dicam, et ea penitus  
 animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim si mecum 20  
 patria, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta  
 Italia, si omnis res publica sic loquatur: 'M. Tulli, quid  
 agis? tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem  
 ducem belli futurum vides, quem expectari imperatorem  
 in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem 25  
 coniurationis, evocantem servorum et civium perditorum,  
 exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus  
 in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincla duci, non  
 ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis?  
 28 Quid tandem te impedit? Mosne maiorum? At persaepe 30  
 etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte

multarunt. An leges, quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae sunt? At numquam in hac urbe, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium iura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione maiorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiae aut alicuius periculi metum salutem civium tuorum neglegis. Sed si quis est invidiae metus, non est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda. An cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagaturum?

*But I reply that I have spared Catiline only that his guilt may become apparent to all, and that leaving the city he may draw his adherents with him.*

12. His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu iudicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram horae gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiae in posteritatem redundaret. Quodsi ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea quae imminent non videant, aut ea quae vident dissimulent, qui spem Catilinae mollibus sentiis aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt: quorum auctoritate multi, non solum improbi, verum

etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intellego, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat coniurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem 5 uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quodsi se eiecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos adgregarit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, 10 verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

*The death of Catiline would give but a temporary relief. What we want is that the seditious should separate themselves from the well-affected. Begone, therefore, Catiline, and may Jupiter defend us from you and your fellows.*

31 13. Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quodsi ex tanto 15 latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati, periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam 20 gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflctantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius 32 reliquis vivis ingravescet. Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro 25 denique, quod saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos

et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare : sit denique  
 inscriptum in fronte unius cuiusque, quid de re publica  
 sentiat. Polliceor hoc vobis, patres comitiū, tantam  
 in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis  
 5 auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem,  
 tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae  
 profectione omnia patefacta illustrata, oppressa vindicata  
 esse videatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae 33  
 10 salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio,  
 qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, pro-  
 ficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tu, Iuppiter,  
 qui isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es con-  
 stitutus, quem Statorem huius urbis atque imperii vere  
 15 nominamus, hunc et huius socios a tuis ceterisque templis,  
 a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium  
 omnium arcebis, et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes  
 patriae, latrones Italiae, scelerum foedere inter se ac  
 nefaria societate coniunctos, aeternis suppliciis vivos  
 20 mortuosque mactabis.

## ORATIO SECUNDA

## HABITA AD POPULUM.

*Catiline has been driven from the city. This, as he feels, is a great success for us; for he is now an open enemy and is no longer in our midst.*

1 1. TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem, ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit excessit, 5 evasis erupit. Nulla iam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur; non in campo, non in foro, 10 non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nullo impediēte bellum iustum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in 15 2 apertum latrocinium coniecimus. Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse afflictum et profligatum 20 putatis? Iacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se percussum atque abiectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus

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CICERO'S ORATION IN THE SENATE  
From the fresco by Maccari

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ereptam esse luget : quae quidem mihi laetari videtur,  
quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.

*He deserved death, but had he been killed, many would have  
doubted his guilt, his adherents would all have remained  
in the city, and they would have been more difficult to  
punish.*

2. Ac si quis est talis, quales esse omnes oportebat, 3  
qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea,  
5 me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non  
comprehenderim potius quam emisero, non est ista me-  
culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Cati-  
linam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem  
oportebat, idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperii  
10 severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos  
fuisse putatis, qui quae ego deferrem non crederent, quam  
multos, qui etiam defenderent? Ac si illo sublato depelli  
a vobis omne periculum iudicarem, iam pridem ego  
L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae  
15 periculo sustulissem. Sed cum viderem, ne vobis quidem 4  
omnibus re etiam tum probata, si illum, ut erat meritis,  
morte multassem, fore ut eius socios invidia oppressus  
persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam  
pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem  
20 quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris  
esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod etiam  
illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit  
Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset! Ton-  
gilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta coeperat,  
25 Publicium et Minucium, quorum aes alienum contractum  
in popina nullum rei publicae motum adferre poterat :  
reliquit quos viros ! quanto aere alieno, quam valentes,  
quam nobiles !

*It is not his army in the field we have to fear but his partisans in the city. Their plans are known to me, as they are aware.*

5 3. Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legionibus et hoc dilectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, 10 qui fulgent purpura, malletm secum suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt, neque tamen 15 permoventur. Video, cui sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias caedis atque incendiorum depoposcerit; omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die; 20 Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid exspectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

*I will grant them but one favour, permission to join Catiline. The state will be happy in the departure of the scum of the city who constitute his friends.*

4. Quod exspectavi, iam sum adsecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam 25 videretis; nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinae similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est iam lenitati locus;

severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam : exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter : Aurelia via profectus est ; si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis eiecerit ! Uno mehercule Catilina exhausto levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit ? quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subiecto, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor iuventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur ? Quae caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est, quod nefarium stuprum non per illum ? Iam vero quae tanta unquam in ullo iuventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo ? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam adiuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat ! Nemo non modo Romae, sed ne ullo quidem in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus adsciverit.

*Punishment threatens his profligate adherents. We have peace abroad ; the conflict with our domestic foes I undertake.*

5. Atque ut eius diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae, nemo in scaena levior et nequior, qui se non eiusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen,

stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione adsuefactus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta  
10 virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumeret. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim iam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae et tolerandae audaciae: nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua 10 profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt, res eos iam pridem, fides nuper deficere coepit: eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quodsi in vino et alea commissationes solum et scorta quaerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi: 15 hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebrios sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati 20 stupris eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque 11 urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod et poenam iam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut instare iam plane aut certe appropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare 25 non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus, nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit; omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet, 30 intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis: cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites, suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum: quae

sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo; quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea quae merentur expectent.

*I am accused of driving Catiline into exile. All I did was to declare to the senate the details of his plans, and to ask him why he hesitated to go whither he had been long preparing to go, namely to join Manlius.*

5 6. At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirites, a me eiectum 12  
in exsilium esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo adsequi  
possem, istos ipsos eicerem, qui haec loquuntur. Homo  
enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem  
consulis ferre non potuit; simul atque ire in exsilium  
10 iussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesterno die, Quirites, cum domi  
meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis  
Statoris convocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos  
detuli: quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator  
appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita adspexit ut  
15 perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum  
hostem? quin etiam principes eius ordinis partem illam  
subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque  
inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui 13  
verbo cives in exsilium eicio, quaesivi a Catilina, in  
20 nocturno conventu apud M. Laecam fuisset necne.  
Cum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus  
primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera: quid ea nocte egisset,  
quid in proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset  
ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Cum haesitaret,  
25 cum teneretur, quaesivi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo  
iam pridem pararet, cum arma, cum secures, cum fasces,  
cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam  
argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suae  
fecerat, scirem esse praemissam. In exsilium eiciebam, 14

quem iam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant, et ille eiectus in exsilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in 5 haec castra conferet.

*How hard a ruler's lot! If Catiline now changes his plans and seeks exile at Massilia I shall be covered with odium. But I would gladly bear it, if war might be averted. That however may not be, for he would rather die fighting than live an exile.*

7. O condicionem miseram non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, 10 deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abiecerit et ex hoc cursu sceleris ac belli iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus, innocens in exsilium 15 eiectus a consule vi et minis esse dicitur, et erunt qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. Est mihi tanti, Quirites, huius 20 invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis huius horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane eiectus esse a me, dum modo eat in exsilium: sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego ab dis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae 25 meae relevandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiat, sed triduo tamen audietis; multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius quam 30

quod eiecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, eiectum esse dicant, idem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam 16 Massiliam ire dicitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam 5 verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule hoc, quod agit, numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc praeter 10 ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius ut eat in exsilium quam queramur.

*I shall name and warn the several classes of our foes at Rome. They are firstly, men with large debts but larger estates.*

8. Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo 17 hoste, qui iam fatetur se esse hostem et quem, quia, 15 quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque, id quare fieri non 20 possit, si me audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam. Unum 18 genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno maiores 25 etiam possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima—sunt enim locupletes—, voluntas vero et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus 30 sis, et dubites de possessione detrahere, adquirere ad

fidem? Quid enim exspectas? bellum? Quid ergo? in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabulas novas? Errant qui istas a Catilina exspectant: meo beneficio tabulae novae proferuntur, verum auctionariae; neque enim isti, qui possessiones 5 habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent neque, id quod stultissimum est, certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut 10 deduci de sententia possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.

*Secondly, men deep in debt but ambitious of office. Thirdly, Sulla's veterans.*

19 9. Alterum genus est eorum, qui, quamquam premuntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, 15 rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata se consequi posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent se id quod conantur consequi posse: primum omnium me ipsum 20 vigilare, desse, providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam adesse multitudinem, magnas praeterea militum copias; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris 25 praesentes auxilium esse luros. Quodsi iam sint id, quod summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, consules se aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, 30 quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi

sit necesse? Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed 20  
 tamen exercitatione robustum, quo ex genere iste est  
 Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines  
 ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit: quas ego universas  
 5 civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio,  
 sed tamen ii sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis  
 pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque iactarunt. Hi dum  
 aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis lectis, familiis  
 magnis, conviviis apparatus delectantur, in tantum aes  
 10 alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab  
 inferis excitandus: qui etiam nonnullos agrestes, homines  
 tenues atque egentes, in eandem illam spem rapinarum  
 veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque in eodem  
 genere praedatorum direptorumque pono, sed eos hoc  
 15 moneo: desinant furere ac proscriptiones et dictaturas  
 cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus  
 est civitati, ut iam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecu-  
 des quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.

*Fourthly, indolent bankrupts. Fifthly, assassins and despera-  
 does. Sixthly, dissolute youths and debauchees.*

10. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et 21  
 20 turbulentum, qui iam pridem premuntur, qui numquam  
 emergunt, qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo  
 negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno  
 vacillant, qui vadimoniis, iudiciis, proscriptione bonorum  
 defatigati, permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra  
 25 conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres  
 quam infitiores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines  
 quam primum, si stare non possunt, corruant, sed ita, ut  
 non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant.  
 Nam illud non intellego, quam ob rem, si vivere honeste  
 30 non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore  
 perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur.

- 22 Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique  
 omnium facinorosorum : quos ego a Catilina non revoco ;  
 nam neque ab eo divelli possunt et pereant sane in  
 latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere  
 non possit. Postremum autem genus est, non solum 5  
 numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod pro-  
 prium Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero de  
 complexu eius ac sinu, quos pexo capillo nitidos aut  
 imberbes aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus  
 tunicis, velis amictos, non togis, quorum omnis industria 10  
 vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur.
- 23 In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes  
 impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac  
 delicati non solum amare et amari, neque saltare et  
 cantare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didi- 15  
 cerunt : qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina  
 perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum  
 futurum. Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt ?  
 num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi ?  
 Quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his prae- 20  
 sertim iam noctibus ? quo autem pacto illi Appenninum  
 atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent ? nisi idcirco se  
 facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis  
 saltare didicerunt.

*Against these forces we can array all the resources of the  
 state, all the might of moral superiority, and therefore  
 we need not fear.*

- 24 11. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc 25  
 sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam !  
 Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras  
 Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus :  
 et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules  
 imperatoresque vestros opponite ; deinde contra illam 30

naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius  
 Italiae ac robur educite. Iam vero urbes coloniarum ac  
 municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus.  
 Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra  
 5 cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo.  
 Sed si omissis his rebus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget 25  
 ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus,  
 cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si  
 his rebus omissis causas ipsas, quae inter se configunt,  
 10 contendere velimus, ex eo ipso, quam valde illi iaceant,  
 intellegere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat,  
 illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc  
 fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc  
 constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitude;  
 15 hinc continentia, illinc libido; denique aequitas, tem-  
 perantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant  
 cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis  
 omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum  
 perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum  
 20 omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In eius modi  
 certamine ac proelio nonne, si hominum studia deficient,  
 di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus  
 tot et tanta vitia superari?

*Guard your houses; I will guard the city. I once more bid  
 Cataline's adherents leave the city. If they remain and  
 attempt any design against the state, they will be  
 rigorously punished.*

12. Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad modum 26  
 25 iam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque defendite:  
 mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu  
 satis esset praesidii, consultum atque provisum est.  
 Coloni omnes municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti  
 de hac nocturna excursionem Catilinae, facile urbes suas

finesque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit—quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum—, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet 5 hominem aut eius omnes motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

27 Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe 10 a Catilina relictis sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc expectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam non possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me 15 horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae; si qui exire volunt, conivere possum: qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cuius ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam 20 deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiores nostri esse voluerunt.

*I will temper firmness with mercy, and with the help of the gods will guard the state from impending danger.*

28 13. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maxime 25 mae res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus 30 quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris

sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus  
 5 quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis. Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia 29  
 neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque  
 10 sum ingressus : qui iam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt. Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam floren-  
 15 tissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

## ORATIO TERTIA

## HABITA AD POPULUM.

*This day the state has been saved from great danger. I will tell you what has taken place in the senate.*

1 1. REM PUBLICAM, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum,  
 bona fortunas, coniuges liberosque vestros atque hoc  
 domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherri-  
 mamque urbem hodierno die deorum immortalium  
 summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis 5  
 meis e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati  
 2 ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. Et  
 si non minus nobis iucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies,  
 quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur, quod  
 salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio, et 10  
 quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur,  
 profecto, quoniam illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad  
 deos immortales benevolentia fama que sustulimus, esse  
 apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debet is, qui  
 eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. 15  
 Nam toti urbi, templis delubris, tectis ac moenibus  
 subiectos prope iam ignes circumdatosque restinximus,  
 idemque gladios in rem publicam destructos rettudimus  
 3 mucronesque eorum a iugulis vestris deiecimus. Quae  
 quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt 20  
 per me, vobis iam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et  
 quanta et quam manifesta et qua ratione investigata

et comprehensa sint, vos, qui et ignoratis et exspectatis, scire possitis.

Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, huiusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romae reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus.

*The attempt to tamper with the envoys of the Allobroges.  
Their arrest at the Mulvian bridge.*

2. Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam—non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit  
10 timenda, quod vivus exierit—, sed tum, cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam coniuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. Atque ego ut vidi, quos maximo  
15 furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum  
20 animis saluti vestrae provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere cum litteris mandatisque ad  
25 Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adiunctum esse T. Volturcium atque huic esse ad Catilinam datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum quodque ego semper optabam ab dis immortalibus, ut tota res non solum a me, sed etiam  
30 a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetores,

fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me vocavi, rem exposui, quid fieri placeret ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica praeclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt et, cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem 5 Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipertito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cuiusquam suspicione multos fortes viros eduxerant, et ego ex praefectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera utor 10 adsidue in rei publicae praesidio, cum gladiis miseram.

6 Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum iam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobroges ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res praetoribus 15 erat nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris.

*The conspirators brought before the senate. Seizure of arms at the house of Cethegus.*

3. Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, quae erat commissa, sedatur. Litterae, quaecumque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis praetoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum iam dilucesceret, deducuntur. 20 Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium statim ad me, nihildum suspicantem, vocavi; deinde item accersitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo, quod in litteris dandis praeter consuetudi- 25 nem proxima nocte vigilarat. Cum summis et clarissimis huius civitatis viris, qui audita re frequentes ad me mane convenerant, litteras a me prius aperiri quam ad senatum deferri placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus iniectus civitati videretur, negavi me 30 esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium

publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quae erant ad me delata, reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitraber in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum  
 5 frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. Atque interea 8  
 statim admonitu Allobrogum C. Sulpicium praetorem, fortem virum, misi, qui ex aedibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret, ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiatorum extulit.

*Confession of Volturcius. Statement by the Gauls.*

10 4. Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis, fidem publicam  
 iussu senatus dedi, hortatus sum ut ea quae sciret sine  
 timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno  
 timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam  
 mandata et litteras, ut servorum praesidio uteretur, ut ad  
 15 urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet; id autem  
 eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem  
 ad modum discriptum distributumque erat, incendissent  
 caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille,  
 qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus  
 20 coniungeret. Introducti autem Galli ius iurandum sibi 9  
 et litteras ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem  
 data esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio  
 esse praescriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum  
 mitterent; pedestres sibi copias non defuturas; Len-  
 25 tulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspi-  
 cumque responsis, se esse tertium illum Cornelium, ad  
 quem regnum huius urbis atque imperium pervenire  
 esset necesse; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse: eun-  
 demque dixisse fatalem hunc annum esse ad interitum  
 30 huius urbis atque imperii, qui esset annus decimus post  
 virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem  
 vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris contro- 10

versiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur.

*The letters found on the Gauls produced and acknowledged by the writers. Cross-examination of the Gauls. Evident guilt of the accused.*

5. Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri iussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primo ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit; nos linum incidimus, legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese quae eorum legatis confirmasset facturum esse; orare ut item illi facerent quae sibi eorum legati recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abiectus conscientia repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam: recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem fere sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi, cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. 'Est vero' inquam 'notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos, quae quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.' Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque litterae. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto iam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit, quaesivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum iis, quam ob rem domum suam venissent, itemque a Volturcio. Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, quaesissentque ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, 30

tum ille subito scelere demens, quanta conscientiae vis esset, ostendit: nam cum id posset infitiri, repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper 5 valuit, sed etiam propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit. Volturcius vero subito litteras proferri 12 atque aperiri iubet, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime per- 10 turbatus Lentulus tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant autem sine nomine, sed ita: 'Quis sim, scies ex eo, quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis et cogita, quem in locum sis progressus; vide, ecquid tibi iam sit necesse, et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adiungas, 15 etiam infimorum.' Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quae Galli insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi 13 quidem, Quirites, cum illa certissima visa sunt argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellae, signa, manus, denique 20 unius cuiusque confessio, tum multo certiora illa, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnumquam inter sese adspiciebant, ut non iam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur.

*The senate pass a vote of thanks to the consuls and praetors. The accused, to the number of nine, are placed under arrest. A 'supplicatio' is decreed in honour of Cicero, who was the first, holding no military command, to receive that distinction.*

25 6. Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consului, de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictae sunt a principibus acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus. Et quoniam

nondum est perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria  
14 vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit exponam. Primum  
mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute,  
consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis periculis  
sit liberata; deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praeto- 5  
res, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito  
ac iure laudantur; atque etiam viro forti, collegae meo,  
laus impertitur, quod eos, qui huius coniurationis par-  
ticipes fuissent, a suis et a rei publicae consiliis removisset.  
Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cum se praetura 10  
abdicaasset, in custodiam traderetur; itemque uti C.  
Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes praesentes  
erant, in custodiam traderentur; atque idem hoc decre-  
tum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incen-  
dendae urbis depoposcerat, in M. Ceparium, cui ad 15  
sollicitandos pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat  
indicatum, in P. Furium, qui est ex iis colonis, quos  
Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit, in Q. Annium Chilonem,  
qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum  
sollicitatione versatus, in P. Umbrenum, libertinum 20  
hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos  
15 esse constabat. Atque ea lenitate senatus est usus,  
Quirites, ut ex tanta coniuratione tantaque hac multitudine  
domesticorum hostium novem hominum perditissimorum  
poena re publica conservata, reliquorum mentes sanari 25  
posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam supplicatio dis immor-  
talibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta  
est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato  
contigit, et his decreta verbis est 'quod urbem incendiis, 25  
caede cives, Italiam bello liberassem.' Quae supplicatio 30  
si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest,  
quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica  
constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primum  
fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, 30

quamquam patefactis indiciiis, confessionibus suis, iudicio senatus non modo praetoris ius, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit, ut, quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

*Catiline's hopes are now crushed. Had he remained in the city it would have been more difficult to counteract his designs.*

7. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, consceleratissimi periculo- 16  
sissimique belli nefarios duces captos iam et compre-  
10 hensos tenetis, existimare debetis, omnes Catilinae copias,  
omnes spes atque opes his depulsis urbis periculis  
concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam,  
hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non  
mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassii adipem nec  
15 C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille  
erat unus timendus ex istis omnibus, sed tam diu, dum  
urbis moenibus continebatur. Omnia norat, omnium  
aditus tenebat; appellare, temptare, sollicitare poterat,  
audebat; erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum, consilio  
20 autem neque lingua neque manus deerat. Iam ad certas  
res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos  
habebat. Neque vero, cum aliquid mandarat, confectum  
putabat: nihil erat quod non ipse obiret occurreret, vigi-  
laret laboraret; frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc 17  
25 ego hominem tam acrem, tam audacem, tam paratum,  
tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis  
rebus diligentem nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense  
latrocinium compulsem - dicam id quod sentio, Quirites  
- non facile hanc tantam inoleam mali a cervicibus  
30 vestris depulsem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constitueret

neque tanto ante exitii ac lati diem rei publicae denuntiavisset, neque commisisset ut signum, ut litterae suae testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quae nunc illo absente sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum umquam sit tam palam inventum, quam 5 haec tanta in re publica coniuratio manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quodsi Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus eius consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos umquam, 10 cum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus.

*The course of events has been guided by the gods as appears both from various prodigies and because the conspiracy was detected on the very day that the new statue of Jupiter was erected in accordance with the warning of the soothsayers.*

18 8. Quamquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur; idque cum coniectura 15 consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse, tum vero ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos paene oculis videre possemus. Nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces 20 ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera, quae tam multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, canere di immortales viderentur, hoc certe, quod sum dicturus, 25 neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, Cotta et Torquato consulibus complures in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, cum et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuæ veterum 30

hominum deiectae et legum aera liquefacta et tactus etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio, parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi di immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque illorum responsis tum et ludi per decem dies facti sunt, neque res ulla, quae ad placandos deos pertineret, praetermissa est: idemque iusserunt simulacrum Iovis facere maius et in excelso collocare et, contra atque antea fuerat, ad orientem convertere; ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum et forum etiamque conspiceret, fore ut ea consilia, quae clamarent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspicere possent. Atque illud signum collocandum consules illi locaverunt, sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur.

*It is evidently Jupiter who has delivered us.*

9. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam praiceps, tam mente captus, qui neget haec omnia, quae videmus, praecipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari? Etenim cum esset ita responsum, caedes, incendia, interitum rei publicae comparari, et ea per cives: quae tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensitis. Illud vero nonne ita praesens est, ut nutu Iovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur,

ut, cum hodierno die mane per forum meo iussu et  
 coniurati et eorum indices in aedem Concordiae duce-  
 rentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo collo-  
 cato atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia et senatus  
 5 et vos, quae erant contra salutem omnium cogitata,  
 illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quo etiam maiore sunt 22  
 isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris  
 domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque  
 delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati.  
 10 Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam  
 et non sim ferendus: ille, ille Iuppiter restitit; ille  
 Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille cunctam urbem, ille  
 vos omnes salvos esse voluit. Dis ego immortalibus  
 ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi  
 15 atque ad haec tanta indicia perveni. Iam vero ab  
 Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam dementer  
 tantae res creditae et ignotis et barbaris commissaeque  
 litterae numquam essent profecto, nisi ab dis immortalibus  
 huic tantae audaciae consilium esset ereptum. Quid  
 20 vero? ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, quae  
 gens una restat, quae bellum populo Romano facere  
 posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii ac rerum maxi-  
 marum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam neg-  
 legerent vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent,  
 25 id non divinitus esse factum putatis, praesertim qui nos  
 non pugnando, sed tacendo superare potuerint?

*Never was a thanksgiving better deserved, for never did the  
 state escape such danger.*

10. Quam ob rem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pul- 23  
 vinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum  
 coniugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepe honores  
 30 dis immortalibus iusti habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto

iustiores numquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione; togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, 24  
5 omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit: C. Marium, custodem huius urbis, multosque fortes viros partim eiecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius consul armis 10 expulit ex urbe collegam: omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario: tum vero, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est huius victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla, ne dici quidem opus est, 15 quanta deminutione civium et quanta calamitate rei publicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo et fortissimo viro Q. Catulo: attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum quam ceterorum. Atque illae tamen 25 omnes dissensiones erant eius modi, Quirites, quae non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinerent. Non illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quae esset, se esse principes, neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium 25 rei publicae quaesivit, eius modi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed interneccione civium diiudicatae sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla umquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello 30 lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut salvi omnes conservaremini, et, cum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinitae

caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

*I ask no reward except your remembrance of my services.*

26 11. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, 5 nullum monumentum laudis postulabo praeterquam huius diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis insignia condi et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, 10 nihil denique eius modi, quod etiam minus digni adsequi possint. Memoria, vestra, Quirites, nostrae res alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis invetrescent et corroborabuntur; eandemque diem intellego, 15 quam spero aeternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, unoque tempore in hac re publica duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii non terrae, sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter eiusdem imperii domicilium sedesque servaret. 20

*Unlike those who conquer a foreign foe, I must live among those I have defeated. Do you take care I do not suffer for what I have done in your service. Now go to your homes and keep guard to-night. The danger will soon be over.*

27 12. Sed quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non eadem est fortuna atque condicio quae illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt, quod mihi cum iis vivendum est, quos vici ac subegi, illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt, vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris 25 facta sua recte prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint

providere. Mentēs enim hominū audacissimorum  
 sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent ego  
 providi : ne mihi noceant vestrum est providere. Quam-  
 quam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis iam noceri  
 5 potest. Magnum enim est in bonis praesidium, quod  
 mihi in perpetuum comparatum est, magna in re publica  
 dignitas, quae me semper tacita defendet, magna vis  
 conscientiae, quam qui neglegunt, cum me violare volent,  
 se indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, 28  
 10 ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes  
 improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quodsi omnis im-  
 petus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me  
 unum converterit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, qua  
 condicione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute  
 15 vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus : mihi  
 quidem ipsi quid est, quod iam ad vitae fructum possit  
 adquiri, cum praesertim neque in honore vestro neque  
 in gloria virtutis quidquam videam altius, quo mihi  
 libeat adscendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, 29  
 20 ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus tunc atque  
 ornem, ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda re publica  
 suscepta, laedat invidios, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Deni-  
 que ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper  
 quae gesserim, curemque ut ea virtute, non casu gesta  
 25 esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam iam est nox,  
 venerati Iovem illum, custodem huius urbis ac vestrum,  
 in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quamquam iam est peri-  
 culum depulsum, tamen aequae ac priore nocte custodiis  
 30 sit atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis providebo.

## ORATIO QUARTA

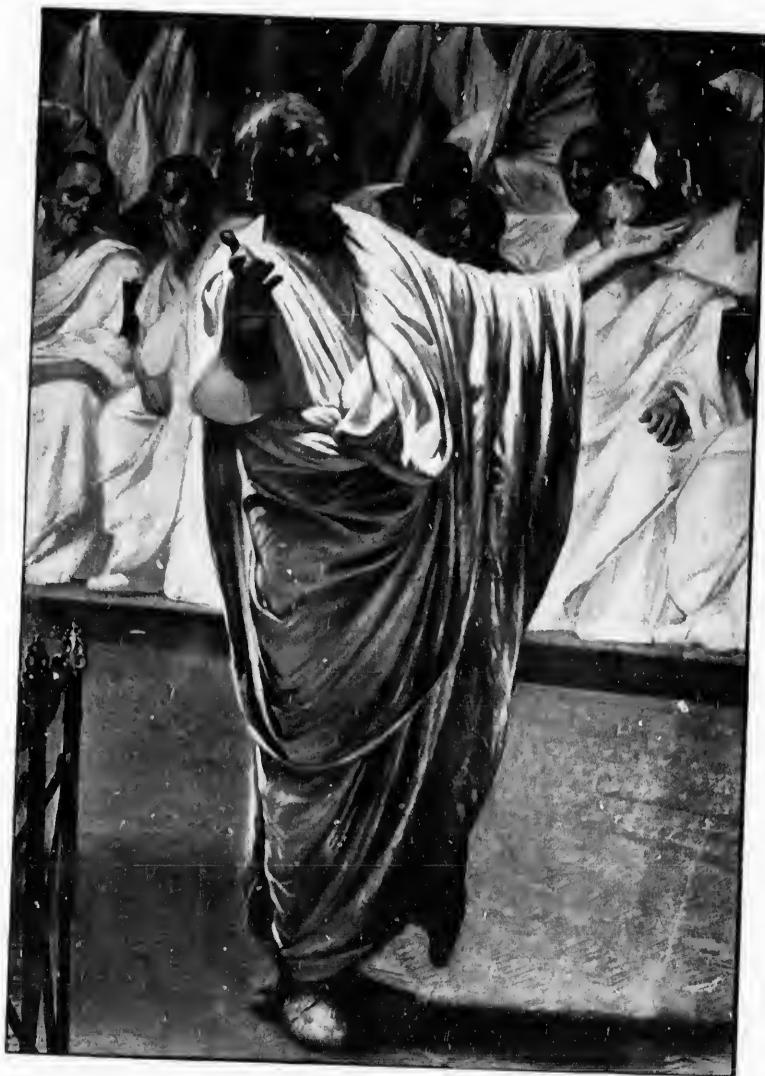
## HABITA IN SENATU.

*Senators, I see your anxiety for my safety, and I thank you for it. I care not however about my own fate, provided I can save the state from danger.*

- 1 1. VIDEO, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum  
 ora atque oculos esse conversos ; video vos non solum  
 de vestro ac rei publicae, verum etiam, si id depulsum  
 sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi iucunda  
 in malis et grata in dolore vestra erga me voluntas, sed 5  
 eam, per deos immortales, deponite atque obliti salutis  
 meae de vobis ac de vestris liberis cogitate. Mihi si  
 haec condicio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates,  
 omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum  
 fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dum modo meis laboribus 10  
 vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur.
- 2 Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui non forum,  
 in quo omnis aequitas continetur, non campus, consulari-  
 bus auspiciis consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium  
 omnium gentium, non domus, commune perfugium, 15  
 non lectus, ad quietem datus, non denique haec sedes  
 honoris umquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis  
 fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi,  
 multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi.  
 Nunc si hunc exitum consulatus mei di immortales esse 20  
 voluerunt, ut vos populumque Romanum ex caede mi-  
 serrima, coniuges liberosque vestros virginesque Vestales

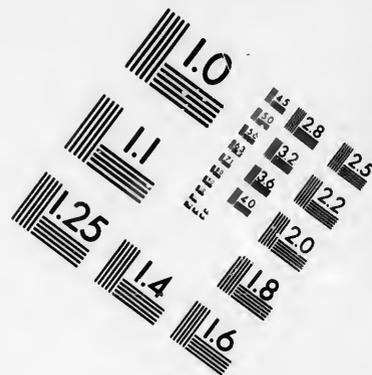
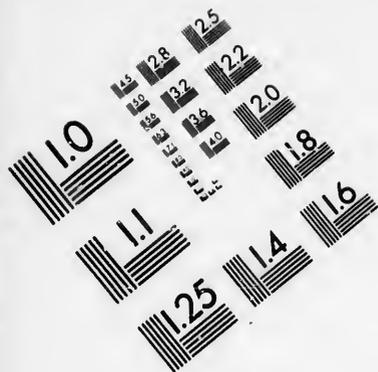
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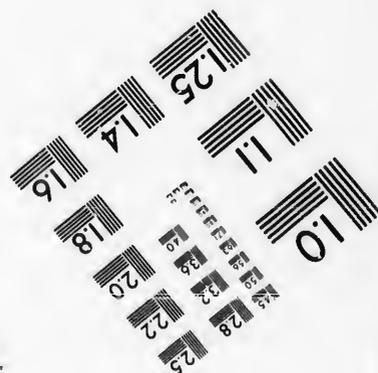
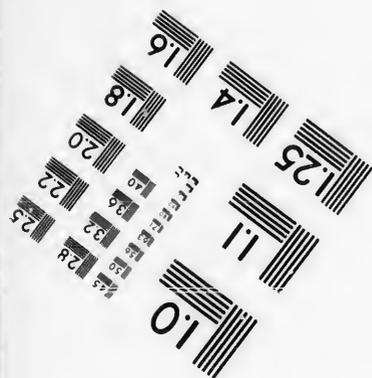
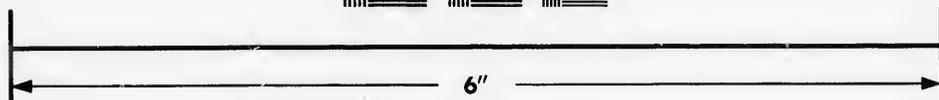
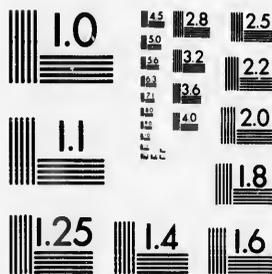


**CICERO ADDRESSING THE SENATE**  
From Prof. Maccari's fresco in the palace of the Senate, Rome



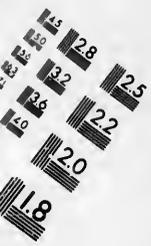


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ex acerbissima vexatione, templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. 5 Etenim si P. Lentulus suum nomen inductus a vatibus fatale ad perniciem rei publicae fore putavit, cur ego non laeter meum consulatum ad salutem populi Romani prope fatalem exstitisse ?

*Regard not my interests. Look to the safety of the state, the gravity of the crisis is unparalleled. The proofs of treason are clear.*

2. Quare, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite 3  
 10 patriae, conservate vos, coniuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite : mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum deo sperare, omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident, pro 15 quid obtigerit, aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari nec misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi atque amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear horumque omnium 20 lacrimis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor et abiecta metu filia et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei, neque ille, qui exspectans huius exitum diei stat in 25 conspectu meo, gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius, quam et illi et nos una rei publicae peste pereamus. Quare, patres conscripti, 4 incumbite ad salutem rei publicae, circumspicite omnes 30 procellas, quae impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti.

Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis iudicium adducitur : tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium 5 caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae restiterunt ; tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque confessio ; sollicitantur Allobroges, servitia excitantur, Catilina accersitur, id est initum consilium, ut interfectis omnibus nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Ro- 10 mani nomen atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

*Your minds are already made up, as appears by the votes you have passed. Yet I will once more lay the facts before you and ask you to take steps to check this widespread danger.*

- 5 3. Haec omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis iam iudiciis iudicavistis, primum quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis et mea virtute atque 15 diligentia perditorum hominum coniurationem patefactam esse decrevistis, deinde quod P. Lentulum se abdicare praetura coëgistis, tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus iudicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis, maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui 20 honos togato habitus ante me est nemini ; postremo hesterno die praemia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia eius modi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur. 25
- 6 Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, tamquam integrum, et de facto quid iudicetis et de poena quid censeatis. Illa praedicam, quae sunt consulis. Ego magnum in re publica versari furorem et nova quaedam

misceri et concitari mala iam pridem videbam, sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi coniurationem a civibus numquam putavi. Nunc quidquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis adfines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum: manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes et obscure serpens multas iam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando aut prolatando nullo pacto potest: quacumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

*There are two proposals before us. D. Silanus would put the conspirators to death, C. Caesar would imprison them for life. The latter penalty is difficult to carry out and perhaps really more severe than the other.*

4. Video duas adhuc esse sententias, unam D. Silani, 7 qui censet eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos, alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam 15 removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum 20 temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere, atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos cives in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intellegit mortem a dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut 25 laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Itaque eam sapientes numquam inviti, fortes saepe etiam libenter oppetiverunt. Vincula vero et ea sempiterna certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dis-

pertiri iubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare : decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suae dignitatis recusare. Adiungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit: horribiles custodias circumdat et dignas scelere hominum perditorum. Sancit, ne quis eorum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum levare possit: eripit etiam spem, quae sola homines in miseriis consolari solet. Bona praeterea publicari iubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus, quam si eripuisset, multos una dolores animi atque corporis et omnes scelerum poenas ademisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos eius modi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt, quod videlicet intellegebant his remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

*My interest is clear. Caesar is a popular leader and therefore if his proposal is adopted I shall have little to fear from popular violence.*

9 5. Nunc, patres conscripti, ego mea video quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quae popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore huiusce sententiae, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam alteram, nescio an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat. Habemus enim a Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et maiorum eius amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem, saluti populi  
10 consulentem. Video de istis, qui se populares haberi 30

volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat: is et nudius tertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et indices hesterno die maximis 5 praemiis adfecit. Iam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quaesitori gratulationem, indici praemium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa iudicarit. At vero C. Caesar intellegit legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam, qui autem rei publicae sit hostis, 10 eum civem esse nullo modo posse; denique ipsum latorem Semproniae legis iniussu populi poenas rei publicae dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, cum de pernicie populi Romani, exitio huius urbis tam acerbe, tam crudeliter cogitarit, 15 etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare et sancit in posterum, ne quis huius supplicio levando se iactare et in pernicie populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit: adiungit 20 etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

*If you adopt Caesar's proposal, it has the support of a favourite of the people. If you prefer to follow Silanus, you need not fear the charge of cruelty. True humanity calls for severity against such crimes as these.*

6. Quam ob rem sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi 11 comitem ad contionem populo carum atque iucundum, sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque 25 vos a crudelitatis vituperatione populo Romano purgabo, atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? ego enim de meo sensu iudico. Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum per-

frui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor — quis enim est me mitior? — sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno 5 incendio concidentem; cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium; versatur mihi ante oculos adspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede  
 12 bacchantis. Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis sperasse confessus est, 10 purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco, et quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea 15 perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque praebebo. Etenim quaero, si quis pater familias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo, supplicium de servo non quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus 20 esse videatur? Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore et cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui coniuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt, qui singulas unius cuiusque nostrum domos et hoc universum 25 rei publicae domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis huius urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civium- 30  
 13 que pernicie fama subeunda est. Nisi vero cuiquam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nudius tertius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem et audientem vita

privandum esse dixit, cum avum suum iussu consulis  
interfectum filiumque eius impuberem, legatum a patre  
missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod  
simile factum? quod initum delendae rei publicae con-  
5 silium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata  
est et partium quaedam contentio. Atque illo tempore  
huius avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum  
est persecutus; ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne  
quid de summa re publica deminueretur: hic ad ever-  
10 tenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos accersit, servitia  
concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos  
Cethego et ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem  
inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripien-  
damque Catilinae. Vereamini censeo, ne in hoc scelere  
15 tam immani ac nefando nimis aliquid severe statuisset  
videamini: multo magis est verendum, ne remissione  
poenae crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitate animad-  
versionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse  
videamur.

*There will be no difficulty in carrying out your decision, for  
every class in the state is with us.*

20 7. Sed ea, quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare 14  
non possum. Iaciuntur enim voces, quae perveniunt ad  
aures meas, eorum qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis  
praesidii ad ea, quae vos statueritis hodierno die, transi-  
gunda. Omnia et provisae et parata et constituta sunt,  
25 patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia,  
tum multo etiam maiore populi Romani ad summum  
imperium retinendum et ad communes fortunas con-  
servandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum  
homines, omnium generum, omnium denique aetatum;  
30 plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni  
omnes aditus huius templi ac loci. Causa est enim post

urbem conditam haec inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem, praeter eos, qui cum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli  
15 perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter, neque in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, di immortales, qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque consentiunt! Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de  
10 amore rei publicae certent; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa coniungit. Quam si coniunctionem, in consulatu confirmatam meo, perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus,  
15 confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicae partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendae rei publicae convenisse video tribunos aerearios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos quos cum casu hic dies ad aerearium frequentasset, video  
20 ab expectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non haec templa, adspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et commune patriae solum cum sit carum, tum  
25 vero dulce atque iucundum?

*Even freedmen and those in the humblest positions are on our side.*

8. Operae pretium est, patres conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere, qui sua virtute fortunam huius civitatis consecuti vere hanc suam patriam iudicant, quam quidam hic nati et summo nati loco non patriam  
30 suam, sed urbem hostium esse iudicaverunt. Sed quid

ego hosce homines ordinesque commemoro, quos privatae fortunae, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili 5  
condicione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non haec stare cupiat, qui non, quantum audet et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem, voluntatis. Quare si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, 17  
quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare 10  
circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum, est id quidem coeptum atque temptatum, sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate perdit, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestus cotidiani locum, qui non cubile 15  
ac lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, immo vero — id enim potius est dicendum—genus hoc universum amantissimum est otii. Etenim omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque 20  
quaestus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quaestus oclusis tabernis minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

*As you have such support, think of the gravity of the crisis and take steps to make such a conspiracy impossible for the future.*

9. Quae cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi 18  
Romani praesidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano 25  
deesse videamini providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiae con- 30  
iurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis,

vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de coniugum; ves- 5 trarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis iudicandum 19 est. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quae non semper facultas datur; habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod 10 in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque for- 15 tunas una nox paene deleverit. Id ne umquam posthac 15 non modo confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque haec, non ut vos, qui mihi studio paene praecurritis, excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox, quae debet esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari videretur. 20

*I know the danger I incur, but it is balanced by the glory  
I have won, which equals that of our national heroes.  
Every bad citizen is my enemy, but I trust to the senate,  
to the knights, to all loyal citizens to protect me.*

20 10. Nunc antequam ad sententiam redeo, de me paucim dicam. Ego, quanta manus est coniuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam; tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video, sed eam esse iudico turpem et infirmam et abiectam. Quodsi aliquando alicuius 25 furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicae dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum numquam patres conscripti, paenitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi fortasse minitantur,

omnibus est parata : vitae tantam laudem, quanta vos  
 me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est adsecutus ;  
 ceteris enim bene gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica  
 gratulationem decrevistis. Sit Scipio clarus ille, cuius 21  
 5 consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque  
 Italia decedere coactus est ; ornatur alter eximia laude  
 Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas,  
 Carthaginem Numantiamque, delevit ; habeatur vir egre-  
 gius Paulus ille, cuius currum rex potentissimus quondam  
 10 et nobilissimus Perses honestavit ; sit aeterna gloria  
 Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis  
 liberavit ; anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cuius res  
 gestae atque virtutes isdem quibus solis cursus regionibus  
 ac terminis continentur ; erit profecto inter horum laudes  
 15 aliquid loci nostrae gloriae, nisi forte maius est patefacere  
 nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare ut  
 etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant quo victores revertantur.  
 Quamquam est uno loco condicio melior externae vic- 22  
 toriae quam domesticae, quod hostes alienigenae aut  
 20 oppressi serviunt aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant ;  
 qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati,  
 hostes patriae semel esse coeperunt, eos cum a pernicie  
 rei publicae reppuleris, nec vi coërcere nec beneficio  
 placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus aeternum  
 25 bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorum-  
 que omnium auxilio memoriaque tantorum periculorum,  
 quae non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed in  
 omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper haere-  
 bit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido.  
 30 Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quae coniunc-  
 tionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam con-  
 spirationem bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare  
 possit.

*I ask no reward but that you remember my services and protect my son should occasion arise. Vote boldly, and I will carry out your decision.*

- 23 11. Quae cum ita sint, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia, quam neglexi, pro triumpho ceterisque laudis insignibus, quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitiisque provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus non minore 5 labore tueor quam comparo, pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis proque hac, quam perspicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia nihil a vobis nisi huius temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo: quae dum erit in vestris 10 fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitror. Quodsi meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium, cui profecto satis erit praesidii non solum ad salutem, verum 15 etiam ad dignitatem, si eius, qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conservarit, illum filium esse memineritis.
- 24 Quapropter de summa salute vestra populi que Romani, de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focus, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica 20 decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet et ea, quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum praestare possit.

## VARIOUS READINGS

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IN Halm's commentary as revised by Laubmann the MSS. containing the Catiline Orations are divided into three classes indicated by the Greek letters  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\gamma$ .

$\alpha$  includes  $a$  = a Medicean MS. at Florence of the twelfth or thirteenth century; and  $A$  = an Ambrosian MS. at Milan of the tenth or eleventh century.

$\beta$  includes  $b$  = Benedictoburanus at Munich of the twelfth century.

$i$  = Indersdorfensis at Munich of the thirteenth century.

$s$  = Salisburgensis at Munich of the eleventh or twelfth century.

$\gamma$  includes  $t$  = Tegernseensis at Munich of the eleventh century.

$u$  = Bruxellensis at Brussels of the eleventh century.

### ORATIO I.

1, 1. Some editions omit *nos*, taking *eludet* absolutely as in Livy 2. 45: *adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat*.

For *concursum* Quintilian 9, 3, 30 reads *consensus*.

Wichmann reads *quid proxime* for *quid proxima*.

3. For *quod* the MSS. read *quodque*. See explanatory note.

2, 5. *videtis a*, *videntur*  $\beta\gamma$ .

6. *sed vives* Weiske. *et vives*  $\omega$ : *obsessus a*, *oppressus*  $\beta\gamma$ : *coetus a* *coeptus*  $\beta\gamma$ : *coniurationis tuae*  $a\beta$ , *tuae* is omitted in  $A\gamma$ .

3, 7. *VI* is fixed by Sallust Cat. 30 and Priscian. The MSS. vary between *VI* and *VIII*.

8. *quod non ego*, the *non* is supplied by Halm. *quin ego* Madvig.

4, 9. *discripsisisti* Bucheler, *descripsisti*  $\omega$ .

10. Eberhard suggests that the words *cum illi ipsi venissent* may be a later addition to lessen the harshness of the two successive relative clauses *quos tu* and *quos ego* without a conjunction.

6, 14. *sileri* is omitted in  $\beta\gamma$ .

15. For *ac iam* Boot conjectures *ac tamen*.

The words *nihil moliris* are found in some MSS. after *nihil adsequeris*. They are however wanting in A.

16. After *elapsa est* the MSS. read *tamen ea carere diutius non potes*, which words are rejected by Heumann as being introduced from 24.

7, 17. Cobet conjectures *tu opinor. nihil te* Halm and A, *nihil de te*  $\beta$ , *de te nihil* a.

18. *evertendas* u, *vincendas* c t, *evincendas*  $\beta$ . See explanatory notes.

8, 19. *M* Manutius, *M*  $\omega$ , *Metellum* a, *Marcellum*  $\beta\gamma$ .

20. For *ecquid* the MSS. read *et quid* or *quid*.

9, 22. *unquam* after *pudor* is wanting in the MSS. It is restored from Quintil. 9, 3, 62.

24. *sacrarium scelerum* a, *sacrarium scelerum tuorum*  $\beta\gamma$ . *sacrarium* Halm.

10, 26. The passage *quibus—senties* is rejected by Eberhard and Nohl.

12, 30. *iam adulta* Pluygers.

31. *morbis, qui est (= edit) rempublicam* J. S. Speyer.

13, 33 *ominibus* Naugerius, *omnibus*  $\omega$ .

## ORATIO II.

1, 1. *ferrum flammamque* β γ.  
*perhorrescemus* β for *pertimescemus*.  
*ex urbe est expulsus* β.

2, 3. After *non crederent* the clause *quam multos, qui propter stultitiam non putarent* occurs in several MSS., after *etiam defenderent*, the clause *quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent* occurs in all MSS. Halm regards the former clause as a gloss, and Bloch and Madvig reject the latter on the same ground. Both clauses are printed in brackets by Halm-Laubmann, but most editors omit them.

3, 5. *prae Gallicanis* Lambinus, *ex Gallicanis* ω, et Klotz. Haase explains the ablative without *prae* as causal.

4, 8. *in ullo homine* β γ.  
*ne ullo quidem in angulo* Halm, *ne ullo in angulo* ω, *ullo in angulo* Madvig.

5, 9. The words *esse fateatur* are found after *Catilinae* in a γ.  
*consumerentur* β γ.

10. *ebrios* α A, *ebriosos* β γ.  
*mihi* is wanting in β.

11. *manere* ω, *manare* Manutius, Lambinus, Eberhard.

6, 12. *paruit, iuit* Graevius, *paruit quid ut* α, *paruit qui ut* β γ, *paruit qui* A, *paruit atque iuit* Madvig, *paruit quietus* Novak, *paruit qui vel* Richter, *paruit*. *Quid? Ut hesterno die* Halm.

13. *sacrarium* i, *sacrarium scelerum* α γ, *scelerum sacrarium* β.

7, 14. In β *et* is omitted before *ex*.  
*miserum* α γ, *timidum* β.

15. *relevandae* α b u, the other MSS. have *levandae*.

8, 17. *volunt* β γ.

18. *proferuntur* α: *proferentur* β γ.

9, 19. *maximam multitudinem* A β γ, the words are rejected by Halm, *maxima multitudine* α, *maxima in multitudine* Klotz,

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[*maxima*] in *multitudine* Koch, Heine, *maximam adesse multitudinem* Noh.1, *maximam fortitudinem* Hammer.

20. For *ii sunt coloni* Eberhard reads *insunt* or *in iis sunt [coloni]*, *insunt nonnulli* Novak.

*se in insperatis* Ernesti, *se insperatis* ω.  
*utrosque* α, *Quirites* βγ, *Quirites utrosque* a few MSS., Nohl, Hachtmann.

10, 21. *quam primum* Halm, *primum* ω.

22. *belle barbato* Polle.

11, 24. For *urbes* Garatoni conjectures *arces*.

12, 26. Muretus rejects *dixi* after *antea*.

*motu* β u, *metu* α t.

27. *qui nati sunt cives* A γ: *qui nostri sunt cives*, Luterbacher.  
*convivere possum* γ, *consulere sibi possunt* α β.

## ORATIO III.

- 2, 4. *cum iitteris mandatisque*, see the explanatory notes.
5. Madvig reads *in re publica* (so  $\alpha \beta$ ), *praesidio cum gladiis miseram*.
6. For *educuntur*,  $\alpha \beta$  have *ducuntur*.  
P. Lentulus Eberhard.
- 4, 9. *ab Lentulo* Halm.  
*data*  $\alpha$ , *datam*  $\beta$ , *datas*  $\gamma$ .
- 5, 10. *recepissent* Maretus, *praecepissent*  $\omega$ .  
*deprehensa*  $\alpha \beta$  t, *deprehensae* u. Cf. the variants of *data* in 4, 9.  
*est* after *introducitur* is wanting in  $\alpha \beta$ , whence Nohl conjectures  
*Item introductus Statilius cognovit*.
11. For *tamen* Eberhard reads *tandem*, Binsfeld *statim*.
12. *ecquid* Halm, *et quid*  $\alpha \beta$ , *et vide quid*  $\gamma$ .
13. *inter se*  $\beta$  t.
- 8, 14. Q. Mantium  $\omega$ , Q. Anniuum Halm, because the name is so given twice by Sallust, Cat. 17 and 50, and also by Q. Cicero in *de petit. cons.* 10.
15. *patefactis* A  $\beta \gamma$ , *patefacta*  $\alpha$ , *patefactis* (as a substantive) *indicum*, *confessionibus suis* Novak, *patefactis indicis, convictus confessionibus suis* Heine, *patefacta indicis conscientia et confessionibus suis* C. A. Lehmann, *manifestis indicis* Eberhard.
- 7, 16. *somnum* b, *sonnium* nearly all the better MSS.
17. *cum*  $\alpha$  t, *dum*  $\beta$  u.
20. *conlocaverunt*  $\alpha \beta$ , *statuerunt*  $\gamma$ .
22. *iam vero ab Lentulo* Mommsen, *iam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, iam ab Lentulo*  $\omega$ .  
*commissae* B. Halm rejects the words *commissaeque litterae*.  
*potuerint* Madvig, *potuerunt*  $\omega$ .  
The passage *praesertim qui* to *potuerint* is rejected by Halm as an interpolation.
- 10, 23. Halm following  $\beta$  omits *erepti* before *sine*, and reads comma instead of semicolon after *dimicatione*.

24. *oppressit Lambinus, oppressit, eiecit ex urbe* ω.

25. The words *Atque illae tamen—diudicatae sint* after *voluerunt* are rejected by Bloch and Madvig as a repetition of the opening part of section 25. Halm rejects the words *erant eius modi Quirites* and *Atque illae—quaesivit*. In β *pertinebant* not *pertinerent* is found, and probably the whole passage ran *Atque illae t. o. d.* (omit *erant—Quirites*), *quae n. a. d. s. a. c. r. p. pertinebant* (then take as parenthesis *non illi—voluerunt*, and omitting *Atque illae—quaesivit* which merely repeat what has been already expressed, run on), *eius modi fuerunt, ut, &c.* Owing to the length of the parenthesis *non illi, &c.*, the words *erant eius modi, Quirites*, were inserted as predicate of *dissensiones*, and then of course *pertinebant* had to be changed into *pertinerent*. But as now the words *eius modi fuerunt* below had no subject, the tautological words *Atque illae—quaesivit* were inserted to supply one

For *infinite caedi* Mommsen conjectures *infinite e caede*.

For *cives integros incolumesque* we find in β *cives omnes incolumes, Quirites*.

11. 26. Madvig omits *que* of *unoque* and regards the sentence *uno—exstitisse* as epexegetical of *ad memoriam consulatus mei*.

12, 28. *est etiam in nobis is animus* γ, *est enim nobis animus* α β, *denique* (instead of *enim*) Eberhard, *autem* C. F. W. Müller, *vero* Hammer.

## ORATIO IV.

1, 2. After *sedes honoris* the MSS. have *sella curulis*, which Muretus strikes out as an obvious gloss.

2, 3. Eberhard reads *praesenti* after one MS.

4, 7. C. F. W. Müller conjectures that *dictas* has fallen out after *duas*.

After *qui nos omnes* all the MSS. have *qui populum Romanum*, which Bloch rejects as a gloss, Nohl conjectures *omnes, p. c.* (i. e. *patres conscripti*). C. F. W. Müller conjectures *aut necessitate naturae aut ad laborum . . . quietem*.

8. *putent* Ernesti, *putet*  $\omega$ .

*multos una dolores* Eberhard and Kayser, *multas uno dolore*  $\omega$ , *multos uno dolore dolores* Graevius, *multas uno dolore animi atque corporis aerumnas* Halm.

*posita*  $\omega$ , *proposita* Eberhard and Müller.

5, 9. *vincat* Muretus, *vindicat*  $\omega$ .

10. Pluygers brackets *Semproniae legis*.

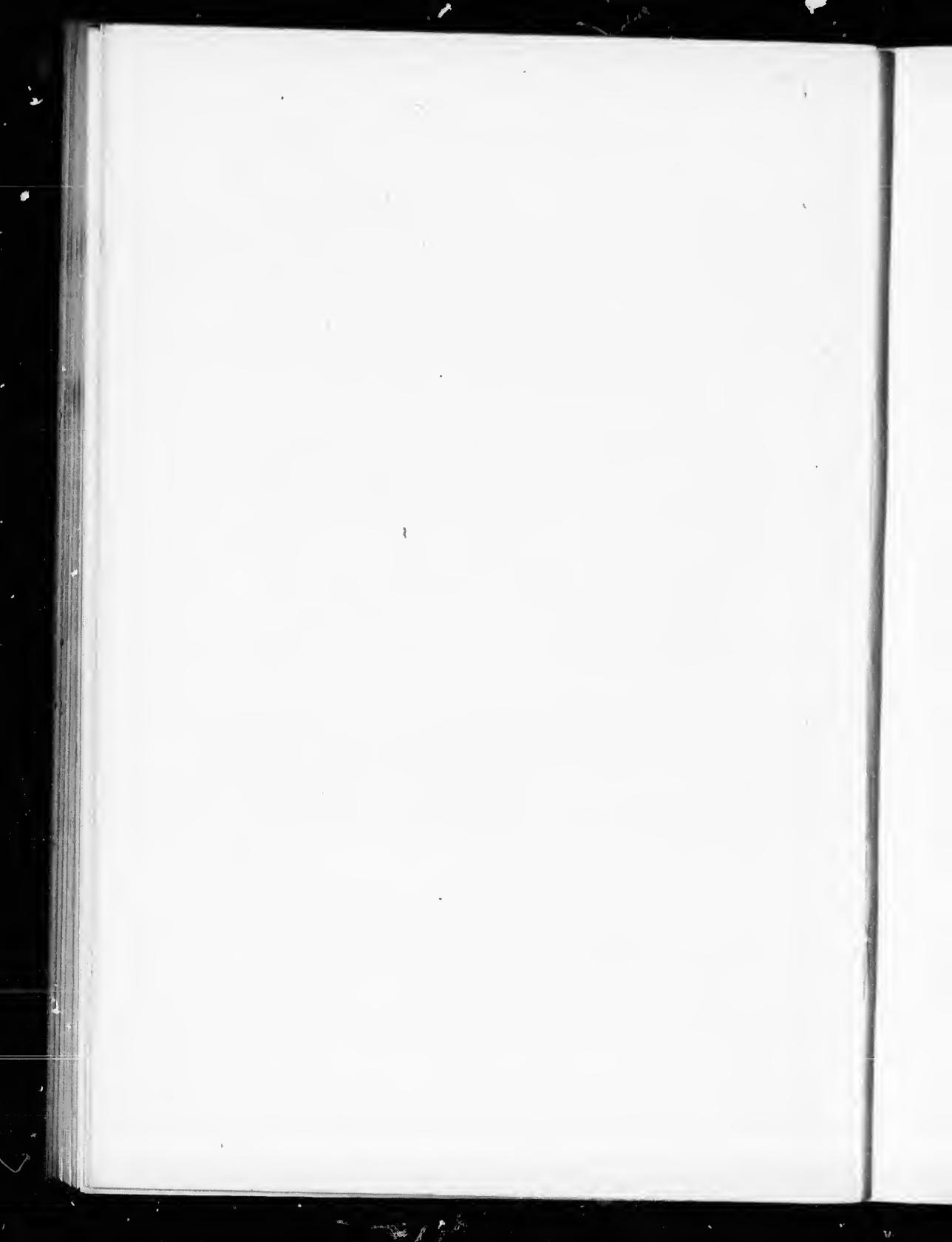
*iniussu* Bucher and Ernesti, *iussu*  $\omega$ .

11. *populo Romano purgabo* a much disputed passage.  $\alpha$  and A have *p. R.* with no verb following, a deficiency variously supplied, *exsolvitis*  $\beta$ , *defendetis*  $\gamma$ , *exsolvam* Halm, *exsolverim* Eberhard, *praestabo* Hammer, *populus Romanus exsolvet* Madvig, *vos a crudelitatis vituperatione prohibebo* Kornitzer. The reading adopted in the text is that of Müller and Nohl.

6, 13. Eberhard inserts *iure* before *avum*, Nohl before *iussu*.

7, 14. *omnium generum* is added by Putsche, as *denique* would be strange if only one clause preceded. *sentirent* is the reading of the inferior MSS., *sentire*  $\alpha$ , *sentiant*  $\beta$ , Nohl conjectures *in qua omnes sentire unum atque idem videmus*.

11, 24. Heumann and Madvig reject *possit*.



## NOTES



CICERO'S speeches on the Catiline conspiracy are commonly called *Orationes in Catilinam*, though the first of them alone is a direct attack on Catiline. Cicero himself, in the list of his consular speeches intended for publication (Att. ii. 1. 3), describes the four Catiline speeches as follows: *septima, cum Catilinam emisit, octava, quam habui ad populum postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione, quo die Allobroges indicarunt, decima in senatu Nonis Decembribus*. It is probable that the speeches were severally called *in Catilinam, ad Populum, in Contione, and in Senatu*. The general title, *Invectivarum in Catilinam libri IIII*, is found in the oldest MSS., and is often used by the grammarians, on whose authority perhaps it depends.

### ORATIO I.

Delivered before the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, most probably on Nov. 8, 63 B.C. There is some doubt as to whether the exact day was Nov. 7 or 8. Cicero (Sull. 52) says the meeting in Laeca's house took place *nocte ea quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium*, 'on the night that followed the day after the Nones of November,' that is, on the night of Nov. 6. At this meeting Cicero's assassination was resolved upon, so the attempt would naturally be made on the morning of Nov. 7, and the meeting of the senate held the same day. This agrees with what Sallust says (Cat. 28), and with Cicero's words i. 5. 9 *illa ipsa nocte*. But elsewhere Cicero seems to imply that the night of the meeting and the night of the attempt on his life were different, for in i. 1. 1 he distinguishes between what had happened on the 'night before last' (*superiore nocte*), i. e. the meeting in Laeca's house, and 'last night' (*proxima nocte*), i. e. the attempt on his own life. In i. 4. 8 *noctem illam superiorem* and *priore nocte* both refer to the night of the meeting at Laeca's house. In ii. 6. 13, again, two different nights are distinguished, though there, as the night of the meeting at Laeca's house is first described as *ea nocte*, the word

*proximam*, which is again used to designate the night of the attempt on Cicero's life, must be translated 'next night,' or 'the succeeding night,' not 'last night.' Hence it seems better to assume that there was an interval of a day between the meeting at Laeca's house and the attempted murder of Cicero, and that the meeting of the senate was on Nov. 8.

In this speech, which was delivered in Catiline's presence, Cicero reveals particulars of the plot of Catiline, and calls on him to leave the city.

## 1.

Page 1, l. 1. *abutère*, future, not *abutere*, present, as is clear both from the sense and from the other verbs *eludet*, *iactabit*.

*patientia*. As the meeting of the senate was for the express purpose of taking measures against Catiline's revolutionary schemes, it was an audacious act on his part to presume so far on their long-suffering as to actually appear in his place in the house. His motive for doing so is mentioned by Sallust, *Cat.* 31 *dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi si iurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit*.

1. 2. *etiam*, 'still,' is to be joined with *quam diu*; translate, 'how much longer?'

1. 3. *quem ad finem*, 'to what limit?' 'how long?' like *quam diu*.

*sese iactabit*, 'display itself,' 'show itself off.'

*Nihilne*, &c.: *nihil* is repeated at the beginning of each clause for emphasis, but the interrogative particle *-ne* is expressed only once.

1. 4. *nocturnum praesidium Palatii*. The Palatine hill was an important military point in a time of disturbance, and Cicero had posted additional guards there the night before the delivery of this speech. On this hill Hortensius, Cicero, Catiline, Clodius and other celebrated men had houses. On the site of the house of Hortensius, where the Villa Mills now stands on the south of the hill overhanging the Circus Maximus, Augustus had his residence at a later period, and hence since the Augustan period *palatium* was used in the sense of 'palace.'

1. 5. *bonorum*. Cicero often uses *boni*, 'the better classes,' 'the loyal citizens,' for the members of his own party. Cf. *bonus civis*, which Cicero thus defines *Off.* 1. 34. 124 *in re publica ea velle quae tranquilla et honesta sint; talem enim solemus et sentire bonum civem et dicere*. Cf. also the use of *optimates*, 'the aristocratic party,' as opposed to the *populares*, 'the popular party,' and the Greek *καλοκάγαθοί*.

1. 6. *munitissimus . . . locus*. The meeting was held in the temple of Jupiter Stator, on the northern slope of the Palatine (whence the appeal to Jupiter 13. 33), a place probably chosen for the sake of the security offered by the military force with which the Palatine

had been occupied. The senate usually met in one of the temples of the Forum or Capitol, most commonly in the Curia Hostilia.

1. 7. *Patère*, inf. of *pateo*, not *patère* from *patior*.

1. 8. *constrictam . . . tenēri*, 'held in check.' The metaphor is from binding a man hand and foot.

*horum*, the senators.

1. 9. *proxima . . . superiore*, 'last night and the night before,' i. e. the night before the day of the speech, and the night before that again, namely the night of the meeting at the house of Laeca. See p. 65.

1. 10. *quos convocaveris*. According to Sallust (Cat. 17) they were; of the senatorial class, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. and Servius Sulla, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, at whose house the conspirators met, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; of the equestrian class, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius, besides many men of distinction from the colonies and municipal towns.

*consilii* is the partitive genitive depending on *quid*.

1. 11. *quem nostrum; quem* is the direct interrogative, 'which of us?' *quid egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid ceperis*, are indirect questions depending on *ignorare* (whence the subjunctive is used), and are placed first for emphasis.

11. 11, 12. *O tempora, o mores*, 'what times! what conduct!'

1. 12. *hic*, Catiline.

1. 13. *Vivit? immo vero*, &c. 'Lives, did I say? Nay, he actually comes into the senate.' *Immo vero*, like *μὲν οὖν*, corrects or qualifies something that has been said.

*in senatum vēnit*. Catiline had been praetor in 68, and therefore as an ex-praetor (*praetorius*) had the right of entering the senate.

11. 13, 14. *fit particeps*, 'takes part in.'

1. 15. *unum quemque nostrum*, 'us, one by one,' 'individually,' i. e. picking out those he thought most opposed to him.

*fortes viri*, ironical.

Page 2, l. 1. *satis facere rei publicae*, 'to be doing our duty to the state.'

11. 1, 2. *si . . . vitemus*. The subjunctive is used in the protasis because *satisfacere videmur* in the apodosis, involving the idea of contingency, is practically equivalent to *satisfaciamus*. Cf. iv. 4. 7 *habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis*; ii. 11. 25 *si . . . contendere velimus . . . intellegere possumus*.

1. 1. *istius* is Catiline, who three times before was spoken of as *hic*. *Hic* is the demonstrative pronoun of the first person, *iste* of the second, and the ordinary use of the latter word occurs often in the

Catiline Orations, e. g. in section 1 *furor iste tuus*; 7. 16 *tua ista vita*; iv. 4. 7 *ista res*, 'that proposal of yours'; i. 7. 16 *adventu tuo ista subsellia*, 'those seats near you.' *Iste* may also be used to distinguish the words of the speaker, when, having been uttered, they are, as it were, transferred to the hearer and left to his consideration, as in i. 9. 22 *Utinam tibi istam mentem di immortales duint!* 'I wish the gods would give you such a purpose as that which I have mentioned to you.' In the present passage *istius* means 'that man you have heard described,' while above he is called *hic*, because he is viewed in his relation to the speaker, 'what times these are that I find this fellow (*hic*) allowed to live!' The same use of the two pronouns occurs in 12. 30, where *hunc* and *iste* both refer to Catiline, the former in relation to the speaker on whom his punishment might bring discredit, the latter to the hearers, 'that man you have heard described.' A good example of this use is Hor. Ep. i. 6. 67 sq. *Si quid novisti rectius istis, Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum*, 'if you know anything more correct than what I have mentioned to you, frankly communicate it; if not, join me in acting on these principles of mine,' where *istis* and *his* refer to the same things. In the language of the law courts *hic* often means 'my client,' *iste*, 'my opponent,' 'the defendant.' Not unfrequently, too, *iste* expresses contempt.

1. 2. **Ad mortem.** Notice the emphatic position of these words, as of *in te* in the next clause.

**iussu consulis.** He claims the right to put citizens to death in virtue of the decree '*videant consules ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat*,' passed by the senate at their meeting of October 21 and 22, more than a fortnight before the present meeting. Despite the distinct statement of Sallust (Cat. 29), it is very doubtful if the right here claimed was legally vested in the consuls by the decree. See p. xlvii.

1. 3. **in te conferri,** 'concentrated upon you,' 'directed against you.'

1. 4. **An vero, &c.** Quintilian (8, 4. 13) remarks that the passage gains force by the clause *an vero, &c.*, being co-ordinated with the clause *Catilinam, &c.*, i. e. by the two clauses being put as separate questions. We should more naturally subordinate the first clause, introducing it by 'while': 'while Scipio slew Gracchus, shall we put up with Catiline?'

**P. Scipio.** His full name was P. Corn. Scipio Nasica Serapio. He had been consul in 138. In 133, when the consuls refused to adopt violent measures, he took the lead in the attack upon Ti. Gracchus. P. Saturnius and L. Rufus however claimed to be the actual murderers.

1. 5. **mediocriter labefactantem.** Elsewhere Cicero speaks much less favourably of Ti. Gracchus and his brother Caius, though he praises highly their father Tiberius. For example, in *De Fin.*

4. 65, in speaking of Tiberius, the son, he substitutes *evertere rem publicam* for *mediocriter labefactare*. Here, however, he naturally makes light of the conduct of Ti. Gracchus as compared with that of Catiline, because his object is to show that rigorous measures against citizens, such as he is now advocating, had on a former occasion been adopted under less provocation.

1. 6. *privatus*, 'though a private person,' 'though holding no magistracy,' in apposition to Scipio. So in the next line but one 'we, though consuls.' In 133 B.C. Scipio held no magisterial position to justify the part he took against Gracchus. The office of *pontifex maximus* was not considered a magistracy. It was a permanent dignity, and did not prevent a man from holding other military, civil, or priestly offices.

1. 7. *orbem terrae*. In this expression the pl. *terrarum* is more usual, but apparently without any difference of meaning. Both expressions occur in the same sentence in 4. 9.

1. 8. *illa antiqua*. Though only one instance is given, the plural is used perhaps to intimate that other cases might have been cited, so that the meaning would be 'such cases as that very ancient one.' It is, however, to be noted that instead of the following *quod* the MSS. read *quodque*, so that it is very likely another instance besides that of Servilius Ahala and Sp. Maelius, likewise introduced by *quod*, has fallen out, which would explain the plural *illa nimis antiqua*.

1. 9. C. Servilius Ahala, being Master of the Horse to the dictator Quintus Cincinnatus in 439 B.C., struck Sp. Maelius dead when he refused to appear before the dictator's tribunal.

11. 9, 10. *novis rebus studentem*. Sp. Maelius was a rich plebeian knight, who during a famine at Rome in 440 B.C. bought up corn and distributed it to the poor gratuitously or at a low price. He was therefore accused of entertaining revolutionary projects, or, in other words, aiming at kingly power.

1. 12. *coercerent* is the consecutive subjunctive after *ut*.

1. 13. *senatus consultum*, namely that referred to above 'vident consules, &c.'

1. 14. *rei publicae* is the dat. depending on *deest*.

11. 14, 15. *consilium . . . auctoritas*. The senate, who are the deliberating and authorizing body, have done their part: it is the consuls, who are the executive, that prove wanting. *Auctoritas* here is not used in the technical sense of a resolution of the senate vetoed by a tribune, but bears the general sense of 'sanction.'

## 2.

Page 2, l. 17. L. Opimius was consul in 121 along with Q. Fabius Maximus, and took a leading part in the proceedings that ended in the murder of C. Gracchus. The formula by which the consuls were

armed with dictatorial power was usually in the plural, as given in note on p. 2, l. 2, but on this occasion Opimius alone received the authority, as his colleague was at the time engaged in the war with the Allobroges and their allies the Arverni in the south of Gaul, the modern Provence, from which he got the surname Allobrogicus. The words of the resolution appointing Opimius are quoted by Cicero in Phil. 8. 14, and the verb is in the singular, expressly naming Opimius.

ll. 19, 20. *seditionum suspiciones*. The tendency of his measures was to overthrow the authority of the senate.

l. 20. *clarissimo patre*, &c., the ablative of source or origin often accompanied by such words as *ortus*, *oriundus*, *natus*, 'born of' or 'sprung from.' The adjective *clarissimo* being before all the substantives qualifies them all. Translate 'the son, grandson, and descendant of most distinguished men.' The father of C. Gracchus was Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, who was twice consul, and afterwards censor, and enjoyed two triumphs over the Celtiberians and the Sardinians.

*avo*. The mother of C. Gracchus was Cornelia, the daughter of P. Scipio Africanus Maior.

l. 21. *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had been consul in 125, was put to death as well as his two sons (*cum liberis*) by Opimius in 121 along with other partisans of C. Gracchus.

ll. 22, 23. In 100 B.C., when Marius was consul for the sixth time along with L. Valerius Flaccus, the consuls were armed with dictatorial power in order to repress the outrages of L. Appuleius Saturninus and C. Servilius Glaucia. Marius was unable to save his old associates, though unwilling to act against men who had done so much to secure his election to the consulship.

l. 22. *consulto* is the ablative of the instrument.

l. 23. *num unum*, &c., 'did death, the punishment appointed by the state, grant a single day's reprieve to Saturninus?' or more literally 'did death keep Saturninus, &c., waiting for a single day (*unum diem*, acc. of duration of time)?' The meaning is that Saturninus and Glaucia were put to death on the very day that the consuls received dictatorial power, and the use of *remorata* suggests that they were criminals expecting their doom. Cicero somewhat unfairly here ignores the circumstance that in fact they were killed by a riotous attack of the mob, or, as we should say, were 'lynched.'

*postea* does little more than emphasize *unum diem*: not a single day elapsed between the decree of the senate and the infliction of punishment.

l. 25. *mors ac rei publicae poena*. The English idiom would rather omit *ac*; the shade of emphasis the conjunction gives might however be conveyed by translating 'death, even the penalty imposed by the state.'

1. 26. *vicesimum*, in round numbers, for it was really only the 18th, as the decree was passed on Oct. 22, and it was now Nov. 8.

*hebescere*, &c., we are allowing the edge of the authority conferred by these men (i. e. the senators, as in p. 1, l. 8), to grow dull, 'to be blunted.'

1. 27. *huiusce modi* is explained by *quo ex*, &c., 'we have a resolution of the senate (but enclosed in records as in a sheath) of such a kind that in accordance with it you should have been at once put to death.'

ll. 29, 30. *te interfectum esse . . . convenit*, for the construction cp. 5 *quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit*.

1. 30. *et vivis*, a rhetorical repetition equivalent to *et quidem* or *idque*. We would say, 'you live, and that, not to lay aside, &c.'

Page 3, ll. 1, 2. *Cupio . . . cupio*. This repetition in each clause of one or more words as a substitute for the use of annexive conjunctions is called *anaphora*. The expression here, as the second *cupio* is followed by *non*, is equivalent to *cupio me esse clementem neque tamen dissolutum videri*. The more usual construction is *cupio esse clemens*.

1. 2. *patres conscripti*. This title of the senate either means *patres* and *conscripti*, referring to the new senators enrolled after the expulsion of the kings, in which case, however, *adscripti* would seem the more suitable word; or the term *conscripti* (enrolled) simply distinguished *patres* who were in the senate from those who were not.

1. 3. *dissolutum*, 'lax,' 'remiss.'

ll. 3, 4. *me ipse* in such expressions differs from *me ipsum* in this respect, that in the former the emphasis is laid on the subject, in the latter on the object. So *me ipse* here means, I myself take the part of accuser instead of waiting (as would be natural) for others to do so: *me ipsum* would mean, it is on myself and not on others that I lay the blame.

1. 4. *inertiae nequitiaeque*, genitive of the charge after a verb of condemning.

1. 5. in *Etruriae faucibus*. On Oct. 27 Manlius had taken up arms at Faesulae, now Fiesole, about four miles NE. of Florence.

1. 6. in *dies* not *cotidie* is used for daily, when increase or diminution and not mere repetition (as three lines below) is expressed. The addition of *singulos* makes the expression more emphatic, 'the number increases every single day.'

1. 7. *eorum autem . . . videtis*. Catiline, the true leader of the outbreak, had the audacity to take his seat as usual in the senate while Cicero was exposing his treason.

1. 8. *atque adeo*, 'aye, and,' 'nay even,' 'actually.' Cf. note on p. 5, l. 2.

1. 10. *iam*, 'at once.' Cf. note on page 4, l. 20.

*credo* is ironical. 'I suppose, I shall have to fear that all patriots will not rather call my action tardy, than any one call it too cruel.'

l. 11. *mihi* is dative of the agent after the gerund.

l. 12. *dicat* not *dicant*, the verb being, as usual, attracted into the number of the clause containing the comparison. Cf. Phil. 4. 9 *quis illum igitur consullem nisi latrones putant?*

l. 14. *certa de causa*. The reason is given in the following words: *tum denique*, &c. Cicero refrained from putting Catiline to death until the justice of the punishment should be evident to all.

l. 15. *interficiere* is used rather than *interficiam te*, as the latter expression would have an offensive tone.

*improbis*, 'disaffected,' contrasted with *boni*, 'the well-affected,' 'the patriotic party.'

l. 17. *fateatur* is the consecutive subjunctive after *qui*: so *audeat* in the next line.

*quisquam*, 'any one at all.' Roby remarks that *quisquam* and *ullus* mean 'any whatever,' 'any at all,' where all are excluded, and are used in negative or quasi-negative sentences (the negative being always prefixed), or after comparatives, or in relative and conditional sentences, where the barest minimum is sufficient to justify an affirmative. The present passage is quasi-negative, for the meaning is that Catiline will be suffered to live until there is not a single person left to maintain his innocence.

ll. 19, 20. *ne . . . possis* is the final subjunctive expressing purpose, 'that you may not be able.'

l. 21. *sicut . . . fecerunt*. *Facio*, like the English *do*, is often used in such sentences as the present, to avoid the repetition of the principal verb or verbs. Thus the expression in the text is equivalent to *sicut speculati sunt atque custodiverunt*.

### 3.

Page 3, l. 22. *Etenim quid est*, &c. This clause explains the words above, *sed vives ita*, &c.

l. 23. *tenebris obscurare*, 'veil with darkness.'

l. 24. *parietibus continere*, 'keep within its walls,' literally 'keep within by means of its walls.' *paries* is chiefly used of house walls. The word for city walls is *moenia* or *murus*. See p. 5, l. 24, and p. 9, ll. 18 & 19.

*coniurationis*, abstract for concrete, 'conspiracy' for 'conspirators,' or 'band of conspirators.'

l. 26. *mihi crede*, 'trust me,' i. e. 'take my advice.'

*caedis atque incendiorum*, genitive after verb of forgetting.

l. 27. **Tenēris** not *tenēris*.

luce, 'daylight,' ablative after comparative.

l. 28. **licet recognoscas**, 'you may review.' This expression is more courteous than *recognosce*, which occurs in p. 4, l. 19, but is naturally used there in the course of the supposed review of the facts, while the more courteous expression is used in inviting Catiline to make the review.

l. 29. **ante diem xii, &c.**, also written *a. d. xii* (i. e. *duodecimum*) *Kal. Nov.* is equivalent to *die duodecimo ante Kalendas Novembres*, i. e. Oct. 21.

l. 30. **in senatu**. See Introduction, p. xl.

**certo die**, ablative of time when.

**futurus esset**. The subjunctive is used because the words form part of the quotation, 'which day, as I said, was to be, &c.'

**Page 4, l. 1. ante diem vi (sextum), &c.**, 'Oct. 27.' The MSS. here fluctuate between *vi* and *viii*, but the reading of the text is determined by Sallust, *Cat.* 30.

**C. Manlium**. Cicero's words were verified a few days later when the senator L. Saenius read in the senate a letter from Faesulae to the effect that C. Manlius had taken up arms on Oct. 27.

ll. 2, 3. **Num me fefellit, &c.**, 'was I not right, not only as to the gravity of the design, savage and incredible as it was, but—what is more remarkable—in the date?' Upcott.

l. 5. **idem**, masc., 'I the same person,' equivalent to 'also,' 'I also said.'

l. 6. **in ante diem**. The meeting of the two prepositions, a combination generally avoided, creates no difficulty in this case, as *ante* is merely part of the phrase for naming the day, 'I said you had fixed the massacre for (*in*) the 28th of October.'

ll. 6-9. **tum cum . . . profugerunt**. *Cum* usually takes the indicative when the object is merely to define the time without any idea of consequence, cause, or limitation. This is made clearer here by the addition of **tum**. So in the next sentence *illo ipso die . . . cum . . . dicebas*. On the other hand, in 8: *cum . . . confideres*, 'seeing that you were sure.'

l. 7. **Roma** is ablative of the place whence.

ll. 7, 8. **non tam sui conservandi, &c.** These words are added to soften the censure implied in saying that they fled, for the plot of Catiline would be frustrated when those whose murder he was planning were removed from his reach. The incident referred to is not known from other sources.

**sui** is the gen. sing. neut. of *suus*, used to supply a gen. plural as well as a gen. sing. of the personal pronoun *se*.

l. 8. *tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum*. This recurrence of the same termination does not seem to have offended the Roman ear. Cf. iv. 10. 20.

ll. 11, 12. *discessu ceterorum*, 'on the departure of the rest,' i. e. when the rest had departed (*ἐξεληθόντων τῶν ἄλλων*), the verbal substantive being used instead of an ablative absolute, as *discedere* lacks a past participle with active sense. Cf. Dom. 32. 85 *quis meorum amicorum testamentum discessu meo (ἐξεληθόντος ἐμοῦ) fecit, qui mihi non idem tribuerit, quod si adessem?*

l. 12. *nostra . . . qui*. The relative *qui* agrees in number and gender with its personal pronoun *nos* implied in the possessive pronoun *nostra*, and the verb *remansissemus* is subjunctive because the relative clause is in *oratio obliqua*.

l. 13. *Quid?* 'again,' 'nay more,' a particle of transition.

*Praeneste*, now *Palestrina*, lay south-east of Rome. Its occupation would have secured for Catiline one of the strongest points in Latium. Cicero is our sole authority for the statement here made.

l. 14. *ipsis* is added, though *Kalendis* of itself would have sufficed, because *ante diem v Kalendas*, and other dates, including the word *Kalendas*, have preceded.

l. 17. *Nihil agis . . . quod non . . . audiam* is equivalent to *omnia quae agis audio*. The *non* after *quod* is to be taken with the clause beginning *sed etiam* as well as with *non modo audiam*. Note the climax, 'everything you do, attempt, or think, I not only hear but actually see.' *audiam* is subjunctive, because *quod* is equivalent to *tale ut*, 'all you do must reach my ears.'

## 4.

Page 4, l. 19. *noctem illam superiorem*, i. e. 'the night before last,' see Notes, p. 65. The same night is called *priore* in the next line but one.

l. 20. *iam intelleges*. We usually connect the future result of a recommended action by 'and'; 'review that night and you will at once understand.' Cicero always omits the conjunction whether he uses *iam* or *tum* to connect the future or not; later writers insert or omit it indifferently. In such cases the imperative has the force of a hypothetical clause; *recognosce* is equivalent to *si recognosces*. For the use of *iam* cf. p. 3, l. 10.

*ad*, 'with a view to,' 'to secure.'

l. 21. *Dico*, 'I assert.' Note the emphatic position of the word at the beginning of the sentence.

l. 22. *priore*, 'the night before last,' is used instead of *superiore*, as above, for the sake of variety. 'Last' night would be *haec* or *proxima*.

*inter falcarios*, 'in the scythe-makers' or sickle makers' street

or quarters.' Cf. Liv. 35. 41 *inter lignarios*, 'in joiners' street,' a place in Rome before the Porta Trigemina, at the foot of the Aventine. The scythe-makers' quarter was where Laeca's house stood.

*non agam obscure*, i. e. I will speak plainly.

l. 23. in *M. Laecae domum*. See Introduction, p. xxxix.

l. 24. *sceleris*, 'wickedness,' 'villainy,' as often, and not merely one particular crime. The genitive depends on *socios*, 'partners in the same folly and wickedness.'

l. 27. *ubinam gentium*. This expression occurs chiefly in rhetorical language, and in the comic writers.

l. 29. *orbis terrae*. See note on p. 2, i. 7.

Page 5, l. 1. *sanctissimo consilio*. The epithet 'sacred' was applied to the senate, the chief governing power of Rome, as we apply it to the reigning sovereign, Her Sacred Majesty. Translate *sanctissimo gravissimoque*, 'most venerable and dignified.'

ll. 1-3. *qui . . . cogitent*. The subjunctive is used because a class is described—'men capable of planning,' 'so base as to plan.' With the indicative the meaning would simply be 'the men who (as a fact) are planning.'

*nostro omnium*. The gen. *omnium* agrees with the gen. of the personal pronoun implied in the possessive pronoun *nostro*.

l. 2. *atque adeo*, 'and in fact,' 'or rather.' Cf. p. 3, l. 8, note.

l. 5. *nondum voce vulnero*, 'I still abstain from paining by my words,' because he neither named them nor brought a formal accusation against them. For the figurative use of *vulnero*, cf. note on p. 8, l. 21.

*igitur*, 'so then,' referring to the question above *Num negare audes?* which Catiline had not ventured to answer. Note the emphatic position of the verb *fuisti*.

*apud Laecam*, 'at the house of Laeca.'

ll. 5, 6. *fuisti, distribuisti, statuisti, &c.*, 'you *were*, you *did* allot, you *did* appoint, &c.' Catiline's silence is taken as an admission of the several charges against him.

ll. 7, 8. *placeret, relinqueres, educeres* are subjunctives in indirect questions.

l. 7. *Romae*, locative, 'at Rome.'

l. 8. *discripsisti*, 'apportioned,' 'allotted.' The MSS. give *descripsisti*, but *discribo* is the correct form when the notion is that of distribution or division, like *distribuo, divido, dispono*. *Describo* is to copy off, transcribe, sketch out. See ii. 6. 13.

l. 10. *etiam nunc*. We should have expected *tunc*, but the word Catiline used at the time is retained in quoting what he said.

*morae*, partitive genitive depending on *paulum*.

l. 11. *duo equites*; C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius, the latter of whom Sallust (Cat. 28) calls a senator. The plot to assassinate Cicero was made known to him by Fulvia, the mistress of Q. Curius, who was one of Catiline's fellow-conspirators. Haim conjectures that Vargunteius may have lost his seat in the senate through having been convicted on a charge of bribery (*de ambitu*). Plutarch (Cicero 16), differing from Sallust, says that Catiline ordered Marcius and Cethegus to make the attack on Cicero.

ll. 11, 12. *ista cura*, 'that anxiety of yours,' ablative of separation.

ll. 12, 13. *liberarent, pollicerentur*, final subjunctives after the relative *qui*.

l. 12. *nocte paulo ante lucem*. "Ἐσθεν is the word used by Plutarch. It was the Roman usage for great men to hold a levée of visitors very early in the morning, and the assassins were to take advantage of this custom to gain access to Cicero's presence. Juvenal (3. 127) uses *nocte* to describe the hour of these early visits.

l. 13. *lectulo*. The diminutive is probably used to emphasize the baseness of the crime; they undertook to murder me in 'my comfortable bed,' cf. iv. 8. 17.

l. 14. *vixdum etiam*, 'hardly as yet.'

*comperi*. This was the regular expression used by a consul when he wished to indicate his knowledge of facts without revealing his sources of information. The frequent use of the word by Cicero in reference to the Catiline conspiracy was a constant subject of banter on the part of his enemies.

l. 16. *exclusi eos*, 'I had them refused admission.'

*salutatam mane*, 'to pay their morning call,' supine after *miseras*.

ll. 16, 17. *cum illi ipsi venissent*, literally, 'since those very persons had come.' The meaning seems to be 'since the persons who came were the very persons whom I had foretold would come.' Eberhard suggests that these words may be a later addition intended to soften the asyndeton of the two successive relative clauses *quos tu, quos ego*. For the subjunctive *venissent* cf. note on p. 4, ll. 6-9.

l. 18. *id temporis*, 'at that time,' the acc. being used to denote a point of time, and not, as usual, duration of time.

## 5.

This whole chapter down to *vastitatem vocas* is a remarkable example of the effect of asyndeton.

Page 5, l. 20. *egredere aliquando*, 'now at last leave the city.' Cf. the use of *πὸτέ* with imperatives, *μέθες πὸτέ, dimitte tandem aliquando*.

l. 21. *illa Manliana castra*, at Faesulae in Etruria.

l. 22. *desiderant*, 'crave.'

l. 24. **dum modo**, &c., 'provided the city wall is between you and me.'

The same expression is used by Plutarch, Cic. 16. Note the order of the pronouns. In Latin the natural order is adopted, while in English it is a matter of courtesy to give precedence to the person addressed.

l. 25. **non feram**, &c. The three synonymous verbs with the repetition of *non* before each, by the figure *anaphora*, express forcibly 'I will not suffer it under any circumstances'; 'I will not bear it, I will not submit to it, I will not permit it,' or more concisely 'I cannot, I will not, I must not endure it.'

ll. 26, 27. **atque huic**, for the conjoining of the Genus (namely, the gods) with the Species (namely, the individual god Jupiter Stator), cf. the familiar Homeric phrase *Τρώας τε καὶ Ἴκτορα*.

l. 27. **huic ipsi**. The senate were assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator.

**antiquissimo**. Romulus vowed a sanctuary to Jupiter Stator, see note on p. 15, l. 13.

l. 29. **pestem**, 'bane,' abstract for concrete.

**totiens**. Cf. p. 7, l. 23 *quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens vero consulem interficere conatus es!*

Page 6, l. 1. **Non est saepius**, &c., 'the safety of the state must not be risked again and again in the person of one man.'

l. 2. **consuli designato**. Between the time of his election and his entry on office the successful candidate was called 'consul elect.'

ll. 3, 4. **praesidio, diligentia**, ablatives of the instrument.

l. 4. **proximis comitiis**, 'at the late election,' 'the election just past,' ablative of the time when. In 6. 14 *proximis* means 'the next to come,' 'the approaching.'

l. 5. **in campo**, supply *Martio*. Cf. ii. 1. 1.

**competitores**, D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, who were elected, and the jurist Servius Sulpicius.

l. 7. **nullo tumultu**, &c., ablative absolute, 'without exciting any warlike movement on the part of the state,' 'without any official call to arms.' **Publice** means 'by public authority,' not 'publicly' which is *palam*. In iii. 3. 7 *tumultus* has a different meaning, 'internal disquiet,' 'anxiety.'

l. 8. **per me**, 'by my own resources.'

l. 13. **quoniam id**, &c., 'since I do not yet venture to take the course that would be most natural (literally, first), and that would best accord with this authority I hold and the usage of our ancestors.' **quod est primum**, the English expression is 'would be' rather than 'is.' The *imperium* referred to is the special authority conferred by the decree of the senate, *videant consules*, &c.

ll. 15, 16. *ad severitatem*, 'as regards rigour,' is equivalent to *si severitatem spectes*, 'if you have regard to rigour,' and is used for the sake of rhetorical neatness to correspond with *ad communem salutem*.

l. 19. The gen. *tuorum comitum* depends on *sentina rei publicae*, regarded as one compound expression—'the dregs of the state consisting of your companions.' Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 37 *omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, in Romam, sicuti in sentinam* (the hold where the bilge water collects), *confluxerant*.

l. 21. *quod iam, &c.*, 'what you were ready to do of yourself.' *Faciebas* is the conative imperfect, and is equivalent to *facere*. *volebas*, 'were for doing,' 'were ready to do.' Cf. ii. 7. 14 *eiцеbam*.

l. 23. *num in exsilium?* 'not into exile, surely?'

## 6.

Page 6, ll. 26, 27, 28. *possit, metuat, oderit*, for the use of the subjunctive cf. p. 3, l. 17.

l. 26. *coniurationem*, here in a concrete sense, 'band of conspirators.' Cf. p. 3, l. 24.

l. 28. *nota*, 'brand,' such as was burned into a runaway slave.

*domesticæ turpitudinis* refers to family scandals, such as that about his wife in 14.

l. 29. *privatarum rerum dedecus* is of wider scope, but still confined to private as contrasted with political life.

l. 30. *facinus* is a crime that injures others, *flagitium* a disgraceful act that discredits oneself, cf. 7. 18.

Page 7, l. 2. *adolescuntulo*. The diminutive perhaps expresses a weak, easily misled lad, 'poor lad' as we would say. Sallust, *Cat.* 14, gives a similar description of Catiline: *sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat; eorum animi, molles et aetate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam uti cuiusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praeberere, aliis canes atque equos mercari.*

*quem . . . irretisses*. For the subjunctive cp. note on p. 5, ll. 1-3.

ll. 3, 4. *ad libidinem facem praetulisti*, the metaphor is from a slave lighting his master with a torch to a rendezvous by night. For the alliteration *ferrum aut . . . facem*, cf. ii. 1. *in ferro flammaque*.

l. 4. *Quid vero?* This expression serves to introduce another and stronger argument.

*morte* is the ablative of the instrument.

l. 5. *nuptiis* is the dative of advantage.

*vaeuefecisses*. This charge is not mentioned elsewhere.

1. 6. *alio scelere*, the murder of his son, whom he killed because Aurelia Orestilla, whom he wished to marry after the death of his first wife, objected to a grown-up stepson.

*cumulasti*, 'fill up the measure of,' 'crown.'

11. 8, 9. *non vindicata*, supply *si exstiterit*. There was no public prosecutor at Rome, and unless some one voluntarily came forward as an accuser the magistrates could take no step to punish a crime. Cicero regards it as a disgrace to the state that in the case of so heinous a crime no one had ventured to accuse Catiline. Wilkins judiciously adds that it may also be a proof of the weakness of the evidence on which the charge was based.

1. 9. *esse videatur*. Quintilian in more than one passage mentions this phrase as a rhetorical commonplace. *Esse videtur* is avoided, as forming the close of a hexameter line.

1. 10. *proximis*, 'the next,' 'the approaching.' See note on p. 6, l. 4. As soon as the failure of Catiline's plans became known, all sums lent him would naturally be called in by his creditors. This was usually done on the Kalends, notice of the withdrawal of the loan being given on the Ides of the preceding month, and consequently on the latter day Catiline would learn the ruin that was threatening him.

1. 11. *privatam ignominiam*, &c., 'the personal disgrace attaching to your vices!'

1. 12. *difficultatem*. So we speak of a man being 'in difficulties,' meaning 'in want of money.' The fuller expression occurs in Verr. 4. 11 *quaerendum est, num tanta difficultas cum rei nummariae tenuerit*.

1. 13. *summam rem publicam*, 'the highest welfare of the state,' 'the safety of the state.' Cf. iii. 6. 13.

1. 15. *haec lux, huius caeli spiritus*, as we would say, 'the light we see, the air we breathe.' *Hic* in such cases was doubtless explained by a gesture. Cf. Plaut. Am. 1. 3. 45 *lucescit iam hoc*, 'there's daybreak.'

11. 16, 17. *pridie Kalendas Ianuarias*, Dec. 31, 66 B.C. The reference is to the first Catiline conspiracy. See Introduction, p. xxxvii. M. Aemilius Lepidus and C. Volcatius Tullus were consuls for 66. The day here referred to was the day before the intended murder of the consuls for 65, L. Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, who took the place of the consuls elect, P. Sulla and P. Autronius Paetus, on their condemnation for bribery, and who would enter on office on January 1, 65.

1. 18. *comitio*. The singular denotes the place of assembly: the plural *comitia* the assembly itself.

*cum telo*, i. e. armed. Cf. 13. 32 *cum gladiis*.

1. 20. *mentem aliquam*, 'any reflection.'

*timorem tuum*, 'fear on your part.'

l. 21. *fortunam*. The plot, according to Sallust, failed because Catiline gave the signal to his confederates prematurely.

*illa*, those old attempts.

l. 22. *neque enim*, &c., equivalent to *nam et nota sunt et multa (alia) postea a te commissa*; translate—'for they are no secret, nor have your later offences been few.'

l. 23. *quotiens*. Cf. 5. 11.

*designatum*, 'when consul elect.'

l. 24. *petitiones*, 'thrusts,' 'passes,' a technical fencing term of the gladiatorial school.

ll. 25, 26. *parva quadam*, &c., 'by a slight swerve, and, as they say, by a movement of my body.' *corpore* is the technical expression for evading a thrust by an agile movement instead of parrying it by shield or weapon. Cf. Curtius, 6. 1. 4 *alia tela clipeo excipiebat, corpore alia vitabat*; Ib. 9. 7. 21 *Macedo lanceam emisit, quam Dioxippus cum exigua corporis declinatione vitasset*, &c.

l. 30. *quae . . . quibus*, &c., equivalent to *et nescio quibus ea initiata sacris sit*; *quae* (= *et ea*) being the connecting relative, and *quibus* introducing the indirect question depending on *nescio*, which requires the subjunctive *sit*. For the usage of an assassin dedicating his weapon to a god in ease of success, cf. Tac. An. 15. 74 *ipse eum pugionem apud Capitolium sacravit inscripsitque Iovi Vindici*.

## 7.

Page 8, l. 1. *Nunc vero*, now that your plans have been detected and you see the contempt in which you are held.

l. 3. *nulla* is stronger than *non*, 'which is not due to you at all.' Cf. Rosc. Am. 44. 128 *haec bona in tabulas nulla redierunt*.

l. 4. *paulo ante*, i. c. just now.

l. 6. *contigit*. *Contingo* is generally used of good fortune happening to one, but it properly denotes some connexion between the occurrence and the person so that the one fits the other, and when used, as here, of bad fortune it implies that such fortune is deserved.

ll. 6-8. *vocis . . . taciturnitatis*. The abstract terms are used in the elevated rhetorical style for the concrete terms *loquentium . . . tacitorum* which occur below 8. 20.

l. 8. *Quid, quod*, 'what shall be said to this, that,' 'moreover,' passing to a new point. Cf. note on p. 9, l. 13.

l. 10. *tibi*. The dative, which often occurs with *constitutus*, is not exactly the same as *a te*; the meaning is 'in your judgement' rather than 'by you'; 'who were very often destined to slaughter in your mind.'

*constituti fuerunt*, 'were destined,' marking that the danger was now past, not *constituti sunt*, 'have been, or, are destined.'

l. 13. *si . . . metuerent*, 'if they feared' (which they do not). Distinguish 8. 19 *si patria loquatur*, 'if your country were to speak,' where the contingency is represented as still open.

*isto pacto*, 'in the way they fear you.' See note on p. 2, l. 1. *Isto* is explained by the following words *ut te*, &c.

l. 14. *omnes cives*. Cicero says 'all' citizens because he does not recognize the fellow-conspirators of Catiline as citizens. See 11. 28.

l. 15. *urbem non arbitraris*? sc. *relinquendam esse*.

l. 17. *adspectu*, ablative of separation with *carere*.

l. 18. *oculis*, ablative of the instrument.

l. 21. *vulneras*, 'pain'; for the figurative sense cf. note on p. 5, l. 5 *voce vulnero*. Throughout this passage note the emphasis on the contrasted words *servi* and *cives*, *iniuria* and *iustum*, *parentes* and *patria*.

l. 24. *nunc*, 'as it is,' 'as matters now stand,' contrasts the actual facts with the instances that were merely assumed for illustration. So in Greek *νῦν*.

ll. 25, 26. *nihil . . . cogitare* is equivalent to *de nulla re cogitare*.

l. 26. *parricidio* is naturally used for *interitu* in reference to *patria*, which has just been called *communis parens*.

*huius tu*, the asyndeton is characteristic of lively rhetorical language. The full logical form would have been, *nunc cum te patria oderit, huius tu auctoritatem non verebere?*

l. 27. *sequere*, 'will you not follow (obey) its judgement?' Note the climax—will you neither respect its authority, nor obey its decision, nor fear its power?

l. 28. *sic agit*, 'pleads thus,' this is the figure *προσωποποιία* or personification, by which objects without life are represented as speaking.

ll. 28, 29. *quodam modo*, 'in a manner,' softens the harshness of the oxymoron or paradoxical expression *tacita loquitur*, 'pleads with silent eloquence.' Cf. iii. 5. 10 *quae quidem* (sc. *imago avi tui*) *te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit*.

l. 29. *annis*, ablative of time within which.

l. 31. *multorum civium neces*, referring to the active part he had taken in the proscriptions of Sulla.

*sociorum*. The conquered provincials were euphemistically called *socii*, 'allies,' and the allusion here is to Catiline's extortions when he was propraetor in Africa in 67 B.C.

Page 9. l. 2. *quaestiones*. The allusion is doubtless to the *quaestio perpetua de repetundis*, 'the standing commission on malversation,' before which Catiline was indicted, but was acquitted by means of bribery. The use of the plural does not necessarily imply that more than one *quaestio* is referred to.

**overtendas** is the reading usually adopted, and is probably correct, though it is found only in a Brussels MS. of the eleventh century. The other MSS. read *vincendas* or *evinendas* which might perhaps be used in the sense of overcoming the obstacles presented by the laws.

**perfringendas.** The metaphor is from bursting through *laquei* or *vincula*.

l. 4. **me totam.** It is his country, *patria*, that is speaking, hence the feminine.

l. 5. **quidquid increpauerit,** 'at every breath of rumour.' The subjunctive is used because the clause occurs in *oratio obliqua*.

l. 7. **abhorreat,** no plan which 'is foreign to,' 'unconnected with' your villainy, or as we would rather say 'no plan can be mooted from which your villainy would shrink.' For the subjunctive see note on p. 3, l. 17.

## 8.

Page 9. l. 11. **si . . . loquatur.** See note on p. 8, l. 13 *si metuerent*.

l. 12. **vim adhibero,** i. e. enforce its command to depart (*discede* in 7. 18).

l. 13. **Quid, quod,** 'what shall be said to this, that,' 'furthermore.' These words introduce a new argument, as often. Cf. note on p. 8, l. 8. The line of thought is—your country's mere request (literally, if she spoke thus even without being able to enforce what she proposed) ought to be enough to make you go into exile; but furthermore (*quid, quod, &c.*) you have voluntarily surrendered to stand your trial and therefore, as Cicero (not very fairly) seems to infer, admit that you are guilty of the charges laid against you. As this then is so (*20 Quae cum ita sint*) why do you hesitate to go into exile?

**te ipse.** See note on p. 3, ll. 3-4.

**in custodiam dedisti,** that is into *libera custodia*. Accused persons as a rule were not imprisoned while waiting their trial, if they could find bail. But for open and flagrant crimes the *triumviri capitales* imprisoned offenders at once. So too those who confessed crimes were imprisoned before trial. In cases of crimes committed against the state persons of rank were put under surveillance in their own houses or in the house of a magistrate, and this form of restraint was called *libera custodia*.

The occasion here referred to is when L. Aemilius Paullus impeached Catiline under the *Lex Plautia de vi*, as the rising under Manlius in Etruria raised strong suspicions against him. He here-upon as a guarantee of good faith offered to surrender himself into custody as mentioned in the text. The trial never came off.

l. 14. *ad* is here equivalent to *apud*, 'at the house of.' Cf. Verr. 1. 22 *ex his quasi decem fiscos ad senatorem illum relictos esse*.

**M'**. *Lepidus* was consul in 66.

l. 16. *domi meae*, locative, 'at my house.'

ll. 18, 19. *parietibus . . . moenibus*, 'house-walls . . . town-walls,' a good instance of the distinction pointed out in note on p. 3.

l. 24. After Catiline left Rome, this same Q. Caecilius Metellus, who was surnamed *Celer*, received charge of the Picentine and Senonian districts, and by blocking the passes so as to prevent Catiline from crossing the Apennines and entering Gaul compelled him to give battle at Pistoria.

l. 21. *virum optimum*; this is said ironically.

**M**. *Metellum*; some MSS. read *Marcellum*, but *Metellus* is the name given in the Ambrosian and the Medicean MSS., and also by Quintilian (9. 2. 45) in referring to this passage. The same reading is supported by the words of Dion, 37. 32, for he says that Catiline voluntarily took up his residence with the praetor, Q. Metellus, and then says that, evading the notice of Metellus, he attended the meeting at the house of Laeca. He has probably fallen into the easy mistake of confounding Q. Metellus with another Metellus, but had Catiline's friend been named Marcellus he would hardly have been confused with the praetor Metellus. Moreover, to read *M. Marcellum* here would be inconsistent with the reference in 21 *si fortissimo viro M. Marcello*, &c.

l. 22. *diligentissimum*; ironical, as Catiline's presence at the gathering in Laeca's house showed how lax the watch kept over him had been.

ll. 24, 25. *a carcere atque a vinculis*; detention in the state prison, as distinguished from *libera custodia* in a private house. The state prison was used only for detention before trial and for executions, not for penal imprisonment.

l. 27. *si emori*, &c. Catiline by his acts had deserved death, but if he lacked courage to face it he is urged to go into voluntary exile. The Romans regarded exile not as a punishment but as a means of avoiding a severer penalty such as death.

l. 30. *Refer*, &c. Catiline is represented as consenting to go into exile on condition that the senate passed a resolution that he should do so. It was the function of the consul or other presiding magistrate to lay before the senate any matter for discussion. The technical expression for this was *referre ad senatum*.

**Page 10.** l. 2. *Non referam*, &c. Cicero refuses to bring the matter forward on the ground that it was foreign to his character to act with such severity. The real reason of his refusing was that the senate was not a judicial court, and could not legally pass such a sentence.

l. 3. *tamen faciam ut intellegas*, &c. Though Cicero refuses to put the question formally to the senate, he proposes to ascertain their feelings in another way. He bids Catiline go into exile, and as they express no opposition he concludes that it is their wish he should do so.

l. 4. *hi*, the senators. Cf. note on p. 1, l. 8.

l. 6. *voce*, 'word.' Cf. Cic. Fin. 2. 2. 6 *dico*, *Epicurum non intellegere quid sonet haec vox voluptatis, id est, quae res huic voci subiciatur*.

After *proficiscere*, Cicero pauses to allow the senators to speak, but as they remain silent he assumes they approve of the banishment of Catiline.

*Quid est?* introducing a further question may be translated 'well.'

l. 8. *Quid exspectas*, &c., the meaning is, Why do you await an expression of their will in words, as you perceive their wish though they remain silent?

l. 10. *P. Sestius* was at this time quaestor. In 57 he was tribune of the plebs, and took an active part in procuring Cicero's return from exile. In 56 he was accused of violence during his tribunate, and was defended by Cicero.

l. 11. *M. Marcellus* was an intimate friend of Cicero. He was consul in 51. He opposed Caesar, but was recalled from exile and pardoned by him in 46. The speech in which Cicero thanked Caesar for this act of clemency is still extant.

*si dixissem*, the pluperf. subjunctive expresses a supposition contrary to fact relating to past time, 'if I had said' (as I did not).

l. 12. *vim et manus*, a hendiadys: would have laid on me 'violent hands.'

l. 14. *cum tacent, clamant*, an oxymoron, 'their silence speaks louder than words.' On the indicative see note on p. 4, ll. 6-9.

l. 15. *auctoritas*, 'expression of opinion.'

*videlicet*, 'plainly,' 'of course,' ironical. Cf. ii. 6. 12.

*cara*, referring to the words in 20 *si hic ordo placere decreverit*, &c., in which he expressed himself willing to follow the wish of the senate.

l. 16. *illi*, pointing to the knights who were standing before the temple, where the senate were holding their meeting.

l. 17. *ceterique fortissimi cives*, citizens who were neither senators nor knights.

l. 19. *paulo ante*, 'a little before,' 'just now,' when entering the senate. Wilkins, however, suggests that as the words are inserted only with the last clause they may refer to the cries of execration which might have been heard during the speech; for the senate was held with open doors.

**exaudire**, 'to hear clearly,' is chiefly used of hearing from a distance or in spite of some obstacle.

1. 20. **iam diu contineo**, 'have been long restraining,' and so in the next line **iam pridem studeo**, 'have been long desiring.' Cf. the Greek use of *πάλαι* with present, *πάλαι επιθυμῶ*.

1. 21. **haec**, what is before our eyes, the city of Rome. Cf. iv. 4. 7 *qui haec delere conati sunt*, where, however, the meaning is rather the Roman empire, as appears from the following words.

1. 22. **prosequantur**, in accordance with the custom that citizens going into exile were escorted by their friends out of the city. Cf. ii. 1. 1 *ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus*.

## 9.

Page 10. 1. 23. **Quamquam**, 'and yet.' For this use of *quamquam* as a rhetorical particle of transition introducing an objection made by the speaker himself, cf. 12. 30.

**te**, note the emphatic position of the pronoun in this and the following clauses; 'could anything break *your* resolution? could *you* ever reform?'

**ut**, with the subjunctive put interrogatively, expresses an impossible supposition.

1. 25. **istam mentem**, would that the gods would inspire you with 'that purpose,' namely of going into exile.

1. 26. **duint**. This form is chiefly used in prayers and imprecations.

1. 28. **si minus in praesens tempus**, 'if not at present.'  
**recenti, &c.**, 'while the memory of your crimes is fresh.'

Page 11. 1. 1. **Sed est tanti**, 'but it is worth while,' sc. *invidiam istam mihi impendere*, i. e. to have that unpopularity threatening me.

**privata**, i. e. affects me only.

1. 3. **legum poenas**, subjective genitive, 'the punishment prescribed by the laws.'

ll. 3, 4. **temporibus rei publicae cedas**, 'yield to,' 'make a sacrifice for the exigencies of the state.' Both the plural *tempora* and the sing. *tempus* are often used of 'critical times,' 'times of need.' The meaning is that it cannot be expected that Catiline should sacrifice his own convenience to the interest of the state, and leave his country for his country's good.

1. 4. **is**, 'such a man.'

ll. 5, 6. **pudor . . . metus . . . ratio**, 'modesty—fear—reflection.'  
Cf. Clu. 15 *vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia*.

ll. 7, 8. *ut praedicas*, 'as you give out.' Catiline represented Cicero as personally unfriendly to him, so that the steps Cicero took as consul might seem prompted by private illwill.

l. 8. *conflare invidiam*, 'kindle or inflame unpopularity.' Cf. 11. 29 *invidiae incendio conflagraturum*. The metaphor is from smelting metal in a blast furnace. See 10. 25 *conflatam*. Our idiom is 'fan the flame of unpopularity,' or 'raise a storm of unpopularity,' the latter of which metaphors is also found in Latin. See ii. 7. 15 *invidiae tempestatem subire*.

*rectā*, sc. *viā*, 'straightway,' 'directly,' i. e. without further delay.

l. 14. *impio*, 'unholy,' as being directed against his country, and therefore unpatriotic and undutiful.

*latrocinio*, 'brigandage,' as opposed to *bellum*, regular 'war.' Cf. 10. 27. Plautus often uses *latro* of 'a mercenary soldier,' 'a soldier of fortune,' and the word naturally passed to the meaning 'freebooter.'

l. 16. *sciam*: the subjunctive is used as giving a reason, 'in that I know persons have been sent on by you.'

l. 19. *diem* is sometimes fem. as here, but only in the sing., and mostly in the sense 'a set day,' 'an appointed time.'

*aquilam illam argenteam*. From the time of Marius the eagle was the standard of the legion. The one referred to here is said by Sallust (Cat. 59) to have been used by Marius in the war against the Cimbri.

l. 21. *sacrarium scelerum*, 'a shrine of crime.' In the camp the eagle was placed in a shrine, and the expression here seems natural enough; a shrine in Catiline's house would be polluted by the taint of his crimes. Some MSS. read *tuorum* after *scelerum*, but it should doubtless be omitted. *Scelerum* on the other hand has good MS. authority, and should probably be retained, though it is omitted by some editors. Whether it be retained or not, there seems to be no reason for assigning to *sacrarium*, either here or in ii. 6. 13, the meaning 'secret place,' as Lewis and Short and others do.

l. 22. *tu ut illa*. Cf. note on p. 10, l. 23.

l. 23. *altaribus*: the singular is not used in classical Latin. Catiline is represented as worshipping the eagle in proof of his having succeeded Marius as head of the democratic party.

## 10.

Page 11. l. 28. *haec res*, that is, the war against your country into which your passions are hurrying you.

*quandam incredibilem*, &c., 'a quite inconceivable delight.' For *quidam* used to indicate that the word to which it is attached does not exactly convey the writer's meaning, or is not strong

enough, and that the terms used are only makeshifts, Holden compares de Amic. 29 *admirabilis quaedam benevolentiae magnitudo*, 'a really eminent greatness.'

l. 30. *voluntas*, 'inclination.'

*fortuna servavit*. Catiline had so far been happy in escaping a judicial condemnation.

*Numquam tu non modo*, &c. Here *non modo* stands for *non modo non* in accordance with the rule that, when two clauses are negative and a predicate or other word is common to both clauses, but stands with the latter, the *non* after *modo* may be omitted. The second clause implies a stronger statement than the first, 'so far from desiring peace, you did not desire even war unless it were unholy.' The negatives in the two clauses here do not cancel but repeat the negative in *numquam*. This is the regular usage when a negative sentence has two clauses. Cf. ad Fam. 14. 13 *ea Caesar numquam neque fecit neque fecisset*. Cf. ii. 4. 8.

l. 31. *nefarium*, 'unholy,' 'unnatural,' i. e. civil war.

Page 12. l. 2. *conflatam*, 'fused,' 'smelted together,' a metaphor from working metals. Cf. note on p. 11, l. 8.

l. 3. *perfruere*, fut., not *perfrere* pres., as appears from the following *exsultabis*.

l. 4. *bacchabere*, 'will revel.' Cf. iv. 6. 12.

l. 6. *Ad huius vitae studium*, that is, for the life of a bandit.

*meditati*, in passive sense, like the participle of many other deponents, e. g. *comitatus*, *expertus*, *exsecratus*.

l. 7. *feruntur* = *praedicantur*, 'are spoken of,' 'those exertions of yours that men speak of,' 'that are in every one's mouth.'

ll. 7-9. The infinitives *iacere* and *vigilare* are in apposition to *labores*: Catiline always made it his task to lurk in wait for opportunities of vicious indulgence and for the commission of crime, and to keep a watchful eye on the property of peaceable citizens.

l. 10. *otiosorum*: the peaceable, quiet-going citizen is contrasted with the strong man armed who keeps his house in safety. Cf. Marc. 18 *quidam enim non modo armatis, sed interdum etiam otiosis minabantur*.

*Habes, ubi ostentes*, 'you have an opportunity to parade.'

l. 11. *inopiae rerum omnium*: the things referred to are enumerated in ii. 11. 25 *omissis his rebus, quibus . . . eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus*.

l. 12. *quibus* refers to *famis, frigoris, inopiae*, not to *omnium rerum*.

l. 13. *tantum*, 'thus much, if no more.'

*tum, cum . . . reppuli*. See note on p. 4, ll. 6-9.

a *consulatu*. At the consular elections for 62, which had taken place a short time before this speech was delivered, Cicero's firm attitude had prevented Catiline's band of ruffians from securing their master's election by violent means.

l. 14. *exsul . . . consul*. Note the play on words of similar form, as in 11. 27 *emissus . . . immissus*; 12. 30 *reprimi . . . comprimi*.

l. 16. *latrocinium*: see note on p. 11, l. 14.

## 11.

Page 12. l. 22. *si . . . loquatur*. The apodosis is at the beginning of next chapter, *His ego*, &c. On the present subjunctive here see note on p. 8, l. 13.

l. 23. *comperisti*. Cicero was bantered for his frequent use of the expression *omnia comperi* in connexion with the affair of Catiline. Hence the words of Cicero, Att. 1. 14. 5 (*Clodius*) *me tantum comperisse omnia criminabatur*. See note on p. 5, l. 14.

l. 26. *evocatorem servorum*, &c. Lentulus urged Catiline to make use of the service of slaves and the lowest of the people. See iii. 4. 8 and 5. 12. Catiline, however, according to Sallust (Cat. 56), refused to do so.

l. 27. *emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem*, 'not let out of the city, but let loose upon it.'

l. 29. *mactari imperabis*. Cicero and Caesar use the acc. and inf. after *impero* only with passive verbs; otherwise they use *ut* and the subjunctive.

l. 30. *persaepe*. This is an exaggeration. The only case of a private person putting an offender to death that Cicero cites is when P. Scipio Nasica put Ti. Gracchus to death. See note on p. 2, l. 6.

Page 13. l. 1. *leges . . . de civium Romanorum supplicio*. These laws provided an appeal to the people from a magistrate in criminal cases (*provocatio*). Livy tells us that the surviving Horatius, who slew his sister, made such an appeal from the judgment of the *duumviri*. This right, however, seems to have been first legally recognized by the Lex Valeria of 509 B.C. The Lex Porcia of 197 B.C. enacted that a Roman citizen might save himself from death or flogging by going into exile, and the Lex Sempronia de capite civium carried by C. Gracchus in 123 B.C. reaffirmed the principle that the final judgment on the life and person of a citizen lay with the people.

ll. 2, 3. *numquam . . . civium iura tenuerunt*. For instances of traitors to the state losing their rights as citizens and being treated as public enemies (*hostes*), see l. 3; ii. 6. 12; iii. 6. 15; iv. 5. 10. On the legal point involved see Introduction, p. xlvi.

l. 4. *invidiam posteritatis*, 'the hatred of (felt by) future ages,' subjective genitive. For the use of *posteritas*, cf. 9. 22 and 12. 29.

ll. 4, 5. *Præclaram* . . . refers *gratiam*, 'a fine return you are making,' ironical.

l. 5. *per te cognitum*, 'known only on your own merits.' Cicero was a *novus homo*, see Introduction, p. xv.

l. 6. *nulla commendatione maiorum*, 'without ancestry to recommend you.'

*tam* mature, 'early.' It was a frequent boast of Cicero's that he had obtained each magistracy *suo anno*, 'in his year,' that is, at the earliest age when he was legally qualified. The *Lex Villia Annalis*, passed in 180 B.C., fixed the minimum age for a quaestor at 31, aedile at 37, praetor at 40, consul at 43. Cicero says of himself in *Leg. Agr. 2. 2* *reperietis me esse unum ex omnibus novis hominibus, de quibus meminisse possumus, qui consulatum petierim, cum primum licitum sit, consul factus sim, cum primum petierim.*

l. 8. *invidiae*, 'unpopularity,' 'hatred.'

ll. 9, 10. *invidiae metus* . . . *severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia*, the genitives are objective, 'fear of (felt towards) hatred, hatred of (felt towards) strictness and firmness.'

l. 13. *invidiae incendio*. Cf. note on p. 11, l. 8.

## 12.

Page 13. l. 14. *His ego, &c.* Here begins the apodosis to *si* . . . *sic loquatur* in ll. 27.

l. 15. *mentibus* opposed to *vocibus*, 'secret thoughts,' contrasted with 'spoken words.'

l. 18. *Etenim, &c.* This is the answer to the question asked in ll. 28 *An invidiam posteritatis times?* To the question, *An leges, quae, &c.* no answer is given, for the laws were undoubtedly against the summary punishment of Roman citizens.

l. 19. *summi viri*, referring to the magistrates mentioned in 2. 4. *clarissimi cives*, referring to the private citizens mentioned in l. 3.

*Saturnini et Gracchorum*. See notes on l. 3.

l. 20. *Flacci*. See note on p. 2, l. 21.

l. 22. *mihi* goes in sense with *redundaret*, as well as with *verendum non erat*.

*parricida civium*. The phrase is appropriate, for he who attacks his fellow citizens attacks his country, which is the common parent. So Sallust (*Cat. 51. 25*) calls Catiline's associates *parricidae reipublicae*.

l. 23. *invidiae* is the partitive genitive depending on *ne quid. redundaret*. Metaphor from a stream overflowing: 'Lest any flood of unpopularity should overwhelm me hereafter.'

l. 26. *quamquam*, 'and yet.' See note on p. 10, l. 23.

ll. 26-29. *qui . . . videant . . . dissimulant, qui . . . aluerunt . . . corroboraverunt*. The first *qui* is consecutive, and being practically equivalent to *tales ut* is followed by the subjunctive. The second *qui* is connective, being equivalent to *hi autem*, and so takes the indicative. Translate: 'and yet there are some in this house *who* either do not see what is threatening or disguise what they see, *and these men* have fed Catiline's hopes by their mild votes, and strengthened the conspiracy at its beginning by not believing it.' Cf. Mur. 51 *congemuit senatus neque tamen satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit; nam partim ideo fortes in decernendo non erant, quia nil timebant, partim quia timebant cuncta*.

l. 27. *dissimulant*, sc. *se videre*.

l. 28. *mollibus sententiis*. Referring to the senate's hesitation about taking a bold course on the eve of the consular elections, see Introduction, p. xl.

l. 30. *improbi*, in the political sense, opposed to *boni*. Cf. 13, 32.

Page 14. l. 2. *regie*, 'imperiously,' the Latin word for *tyrannice*, τυραννικῶς. Cf. Verr. 2. 3. 48. § 115 *ea quae regie seu potius tyrannice statuit*.

l. 7. *reprimi . . . comprimi*, 'curbed . . . crushed.' Cf. note on p. 12, l. 14.

ll. 7, 8. *se eiecerit*, sc. *ex urbe*.

l. 9. *naufragos*, 'of wrecked fortunes,' 'ruined,' 'castaways.' *Naufragus* when metaphorically used refers to loss of fortune, *perditus* refers to moral corruption. Cf. ii. 11. 24, and Sull. 14. 41 *ut aliquis patrimonio naufragus*, and for *perditus* Verr. 2. 3. 58. § 134 *homo contaminatus, perditus, flagitiosus*.

l. 10. *haec tam adulta . . . pestis*, 'this fully-developed plague.'

### 13.

Page 14. l. 12. *iam diu, &c.*, 'we have been long living amidst &c.,' namely since the first Catiline conspiracy formed two years before in 65 by Catiline and Piso.

l. 13. *nescio quo pacto*, 'somehow,' treated as a single word, and therefore not affecting the mood of the following verb *erupit*. Nägelsbach points out that it is here almost equivalent to 'alas!' 'God knows how it happens!'

l. 15. *in nostri consulatus tempus erupit*, 'has burst upon the time of my consulship.' In Sull. 6. 7 *furorem erupisse in meo consulatu*, means 'has burst out during my consulship.' *Erumpere* is the word regularly used by Pliny of a plant sprouting or bursting into flower, and therefore carries on the metaphor of *maturitas*, 'ripening,' Catiline's daring has reached maturity and burst into full flower.

l. 16. **latrocinio**, abstract for concrete, 'band of brigands.'

l. 18. **in venis**, &c., 'in the veins and vitals of the state.' For the metaphor, cf. Phil. 8. 15 *sic in rei publicae corpore, ut totum saluum sit, quidquid est pestiferum amputetur*.

l. 20. **aestu febrique**, when they toss in 'burning fever,' probably a hendiadys, though Halm denies this and regards the expression as an accumulation of synonymous conceptions. For the middle force of *iactantur*, cf. Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 121 *Maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem*.

l. 23. **relevatus**, the participle takes the place of a regular prothesis, 'si relevatus erit.'

l. 26. **saepe**, in 5. 10 the expression *dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit* occurs, and the same idea is practically expressed in 7. 18; 8. 19; 9. 23.

l. 27. **circumstare tribunal**, &c. The meaning is that Catiline and his party tried to intimidate the praetor. There were at this time eight praetors, of whom the *praetor urbanus* tried cases between citizens at a fixed tribunal in the Forum, the *praetor peregrinus* cases between citizens and foreigners, and the remaining six acted as judges in criminal cases.

l. 28. **cum gladiis**, that is, armed. Cf. 6. 15 *cum telo*.

**malleolos**, 'fire-darts,' a kind of rocket having lighted tow and pitch attached to one end, used in sieges for setting buildings on fire. It was probably named from its hammer-shaped head.

Page 15. ll. 2, 3. **quid de re publica sentiat**, 'his political views.'

ll. 4, 5. **tantam in vobis auctoritatem**. He can promise this because as consul he would take care to have what the senate might decree carried out.

l. 6. **omnibus bonis**, all the other loyal citizens besides those included under the senators and knights. For the same threefold division see 8. 21.

l. 8. **videatis**. After the future in clauses of result the present is regularly used in the subjunctive clause to denote an action contemporary with the principal clause. Cf. ii. 13. 28 and iii. 11. 29.

l. 9. **Hisce ominibus**, 'under these auspices,' 'with these prophetic words.'

ll. 9, 11. **cum**, &c., 'to the salvation of the state, to your own bane and destruction, to the ruin of those who have joined you in every kind of crime and treason.' *Cum* is often used to express accompanying circumstances, but it is omitted with expressions denoting a condition such as *ea lege, his conditionibus*, and in the immediately preceding words *hisce ominibus*.

l. 12. **Tu, Iuppiter**, these words are addressed to the statue in the temple where the meeting of the senate was being held.

l. 13. *isdem . . . auspiciis*. The temple of Jupiter Stator, though not built until 294 B. C., was vowed by Romulus during the fight with the Sabines. See Livy I. 12. 5 *at tu* (the speaker is Romulus), *pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem Romanis fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi voveo*.

*constitutus*, 'set up.' For this application to the deity himself of a word appropriate rather to the erection of his temple or statue, cf. Hor. Od. I. 31. 1 *Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem Vates?* where the dedication of Apollo means the dedication of his temple.

l. 14. *Statorem*. Romulus in making his vow used this word in the sense of 'the stayer' of flight, but in the present passage it means 'supporter,' 'upholder' of the city.

l. 19 *aeternis suppliciis . . . mactabis*, 'will visit with everlasting punishment.' *Macto* here means 'punish,' it often means 'slay' or 'sacrifice.'

ll. 19, 20. *vivos mortuosque*, 'alive and dead,' the English idiom is rather 'alive or dead,' in this world and the next. Cf. iv. 4. 8.

## ORATIO II.

DELIVERED before the people in the Forum, on November 9, 63 B. C. Cicero recounts what had taken place in the senate on the previous day, and explains and justifies his action. Catiline had left Rome the preceding evening.

## 1.

Page 16, l. 2. *scelus anhelantem*, 'breathing out crime.'

l. 3. *ferro flammaque minitantem*. Distinguish this construction from that in iv. 10. 20: *mors, quam illi mihi fortasse minantur*. Madvig's rule is 'Malum alicui minitatur, sed minitatur instrumento (velut baculo).' If you threaten a man *with death* the accusative is used, but if you threaten *with a sword* the ablative is used. Here fire and sword are said emphatically to be held up to the view of those threatened.

l. 4. *vel eiecimus, &c.*, 'I have either driven him forth, or you may say suffered him to depart, or have wished him good speed as he left of his own accord.' *vel . . . vel* are used of things both or all of which may co-exist, or where the choice is a matter of indifference to the speaker, or (as here) concerns the expression only. *aut . . . aut* are used of things mutually exclusive, especially where an alternative is put distinctly. *sive (seu) . . . sive (seu)* are used where it is uncertain or indifferent which conception should be taken.

*ipsum*, 'of himself,' 'of his own accord,' *sua sponte*.

l. 5. *Abiit, &c.* The asyndeton, that is, absence of conjunctions, increases the force of the climax in these words.

l. 6. *a monstro, &c.*, *monstrum* and *prodigium* are here used as epithets of a person, and therefore take the personal construction with *a*.

l. 9. *latera*, 'flank,' 'exposed points'; 'that poniard will no longer play on our exposed side,' a more realistic expression than *inter nos*. Cf. Ligar. 9: *cuius latus ille mucro petebat*.

l. 10. *campo*, the Campus Martius where the comitia centuriata met for the elections. Cf. i. 5. 11, note p. 6, l. 5.

l. 12. *Loco ille motus est, &c.*, 'he has been driven from his vantage ground, in being expelled from the city.' Note the force of the mood and tense in *est depulsus*, and cf. i. 3. 7, note p. 4,

ll. 6-9. *Loco movere* is a technical fighting term like *petitiones corpore*, and others in i. 6. 15.

l. 13. *hoste*. Catiline's departure had made him a declared enemy.

ll. 13, 14. *bellum iustum*, 'regular war.'

ll. 15, 16. *cum . . . coniecimus*, 'in forcing him from secret plots to open brigandage.'

l. 16. *Quod vero*, &c., 'but in that he did not carry off his dagger stained with gore, . . . with what grief think you was he overwhelmed?'

l. 17. *extulit*, the indicative is used, and not *extulerit* the subjunctive, to emphasize the *fact* that his dagger was not stained with gore. The subjunctive would have been used if the meaning were merely—how grieved think you was he at not carrying off his dagger stained with blood? The use of the indicative conveys the further statement that as a fact he did not stain his dagger with blood. On the other hand, below, *laetari quod . . . evomuerit* means 'rejoiced at the thought of having spewed out that bane.'

## 2.

Page 17, l. 3. *si quis est talis*, &c., 'if any one is of such a mood (and all ought to be so) as to find bitter fault with me on that very point on which I speak with pride and triumph, namely, for not having arrested so deadly an enemy, rather than suffered him to depart,' &c.

ll. 9, 10. *huius imperii severitas*, 'the rigour of this authority.' The reference is doubtless to the special authority conferred by the decree of the senate, and not merely to the ordinary consular power.

l. 12, 13. *si . . . iudicarem*, 'if I had been of opinion,' referring to the past, not to the present.

l. 12. *illo sublato*, 'by his removal.'

l. 14. *non modo invidiæ*, &c., 'at the risk not merely of ill-will to myself, but even of my life.'

l. 15. *Sed cum viderem*, &c., 'but since I saw that if when not even you were all as yet convinced of the matter (namely, the conspiracy), I punished,' &c.

ll. 15, 16. *ne vobis quidem omnibus*, 'not all even of you,' much less therefore those who favoured Catiline; see above: *quam multos, qui etiam defenderent*.

l. 16. *re . . . probata*, ablative absolute, 'the matter not being even then satisfactorily proved to you.'

l. 18. *rem huc deduxi*, 'I brought the matter to this.'

l. 20. *quam vehementer*, ironical.

*foris*, i. e. when outside the city.

l. 22. *parum comitatus*, 'with so few companions.' Plutarch (Cicero, 16) says that he went out with 300 armed men; but this number perhaps includes those who awaited him at Forum Aurelium. For passive sense of *comitatus* cf. *meditatus*, i. 10. 26.

l. 24. *mihi*, ethical dative, denoting that the matter spoken of is regarded with interest by some person; 'I see' he has taken with him Tongilius. The persons mentioned are ignoble members of Catiline's crew.

in *praetexta*, while still wearing the *praetexta*, while still a boy. The *praetexta* (sc. *toga*) or purple-edged toga was worn by the higher magistrates, and by free-born lads until the age of sixteen, when they assumed the *toga virilis*.

l. 25. *quorum aes alienum*, &c. The trivial debts of such mean persons contracted in low eating houses could not shake public credit.

l. 27. *quanto aere alieno*, 'how deeply sunk in debt,' literally, 'in how great debt.'

### 3.

Page 18, l. 1. *prae*, 'in comparison with.'

ll. 1, 2. *Gallicanis legionibus*, the regular troops stationed in Cisalpine Gaul, to which were now added the troops that Metellus had levied by order of the senate in Picenum, and in the part of Umbria formerly occupied by the Senonian Gauls, and therefore often called, as here, *ager Gallicus*. *Gallicanae legiones* means legions stationed in Gaul; *Gallicae copiae*, troops consisting of Gauls.

ll. 4, 5. *senibus desperatis*, Sulla's veterans. See 9. 20.

l. 5. *agresti luxuria*, 'clownish debauchees,' the abstract *luxuria* being used instead of the concrete *luxuriosi*, a use chiefly found when the sense is collective. Cf. 9. 20.

l. 6. *vadimonia deserere*, &c., 'to forfeit their recognizance rather than desert that army.'

l. 7. *quibus*, &c., is equivalent to *qui, si iis ostendero, concident*.

ll. 7, 8. *aciem exercitus nostri*, 'the battle array of our army.'

l. 8. *edictum praetoris*. A praetor, on entering upon his office, published an edict stating the rules in accordance with which he would administer justice. Cicero says these men's power will collapse if he merely shows them the rules of his court, and reminds them of the liabilities they will incur by neglecting their legal obligations.

l. 9. *Hos*, 'these men,' i. e. the conspirators left in the city, as contrasted with *illum exercitum* above.

*volitare in foro*, 'bustle about the forum.'

l. 11. *qui fulgent purpura*, alluding to the *clavus latus* and *clavus angustus*, or stripes worn respectively by the senators and knights.

suos milites, these I would rather he had taken 'as his soldiers.'

l. 14. *hoc etiam sunt timendi magis*, &c. It was all the greater ground for alarm, because they are not disturbed by knowing that Cicero was acquainted with their plans, for this suggested that they had some secret force on which to rely.

l. 16. *cui sit Apulia attributa*. This, according to Sallust, Cat. 27, was one C. Julius, of whom nothing more is known. The statement in iii. 6. 14 is not necessarily inconsistent with this.

ll. 16, 17. *quis habeat Etruriam*, C. Manlius.

l. 17. *quis agrum Picenum*, Septimius.

ll. 17, 18. *quis sibi has urbanas*, &c., L. Cassius. See iii. 6. 14.

l. 19. *superioris noctis*. Cicero naturally enough uses the expression 'the preceding night,' not in reference to the time he is actually speaking, but in the same sense as he used it on the preceding day when laying his information before the senate, namely, of the night of the meeting at Laeca's house. See note on i. 1. p. 1, l. 9.

l. 22. *Ne*, incorrectly written *nae*, 'truly,' always with a personal or demonstrative pronoun.

*pristinam*, 'former,' here means 'of yesterday,' referring to *hesterno die*. Nägelsbach compares Caes. B. G. 4. 14. 3: *pristini diei perfidia*, 'yesterday's treachery.'

#### 4.

l. 24. *expectavi*, 'waited for.' Cf. 12. 27, note p. 28, l. 13.

l. 26. *nisi si*, in this expression *nisi* is used quite like an adverb, hence *si* is repeated.

ll. 26, 27. *cum Catilina sentire*, 'hold the same political opinions as Catiline.'

Page 19, l. 2. *ne patiantur*, probably 'let them not suffer,' &c., rather than 'in order that they may not suffer,' though the prohibitive form is more usually the perfect subjunctive.

l. 4. *Aurelia via*. The most direct road to the camp of Manlius would have been the Via Cassia, but Catiline took the Via Aurelia, which ran from Rome to Pisa along the coast, as being the shortest to Marseilles, where he pretended to be going. (See map, p. xlviii.)

ll. 4, 5. *ad vesperam*. The more usual form is *ad vesperum*.

l. 5. *O fortunatam rem publicam*, 'how happy the state !'

l. 7. *exhausto*, 'drained off,' continuing the metaphor of *sentina*. Cf. i. 5. 12: *sim tu exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe magna et perniciose sentina rei publicae*.

l. 9. *conceperit*, 'harbour,' 'take on himself.'

ll. 11, 12. *circumscriptor*, especially used of one who tried to overreach inexperienced youths and wards.

l. 17. *Iam vero*, 'again,' 'once more,' marking a transition to a new aspect of Catiline's character.

l. 20. *fructum*, 'enjoyment.'

ll. 20, 21. *non modo impellendo*, &c. The ablatives are not instrumental, but rather of circumstance, and have the force of present participles, 'not only instigating but also helping.'

l. 24. *Nemo non modo*, &c. Supply *non fuit* before *Romae* and see i. 10. 25, note p. 11, l. 30.

## 5.

l. 27. *eius diversa studia in dissimili ratione*, 'other tastes of his in a different sphere.'

l. 28. *ludo gladiatorio*, 'gladiators' school,' where slaves were trained to be gladiators.

l. 30 *in scena*, 'on the stage,' where it was a disgrace for a free-born man to appear. Actors were generally slaves or freedmen.

l. 31. *sodalem* expresses closer relation than *intimum* as suggesting the duties and rights of the members of a religious college or political club.

Page 20, l. 1. *stuprorum*, &c., 'through the practice of impurity and crimes accustomed to the endurance of cold,' &c.

l. 3. *cum*, 'although.'

*industriæ subsidia* chiefly designates the physical, *instrumenta virtutis* the mental and moral, forces.

l. 4. *Hunc vero*. These words, after the sketch of Catiline's character, resume from the sentence in 4. 7, beginning, *Uno mehercule Catilina exhausto*, &c.

l. 6. *o nos beatos*, &c., 'how happy we shall be! how fortunate the state!'

l. 8. *mediocres*, 'of an ordinary kind.'

l. 9. *audaciae*, 'daring deeds,' the plural of the abstract noun denoting repeated instances of the display of the quality.

l. 11. *fortunas*, here especially property in land, 'estates.'

*obligaverunt*, 'mortgaged.'

ll. 11, 12. *res eos*, &c., 'money has long since failed them; credit has just begun to do so.' For *fides* cf. 8. 18.

l. 12. *nuper*. On the failure of their plans at the consular elections their creditors would no longer trust them. See i. 6. 14, note p. 7, l. 10.

l. 13. *libido*, 'thirst for pleasure.'

l. 15. *illi quidem*. Here *quidem* after the pronoun is equivalent to a concessive clause with 'although,' 'although their case would be hopeless, yet one could put up with them.'

l. 16. For *inertes*, 'laggards,' 'cowards' contrasted with *fortes*, cf. Sest. 19. 43: *vicissent improbos boni fortes inertes*; Hor. Ep. 1. 5. 17: *ad proelia trudit inertem*.

l. 18. *dormientes vigilantibus*, the participles stand for adjectives.

l. 24. *aut instare*, &c., 'either actually pressing on them or at least drawing near.'

l. 26. *non breve*, &c., 'will have prolonged the existence of the state not for some brief period, but for many ages,' literally 'will have extended for the state not some brief period but many ages.' We should rather have expected *non in breve nescio quod tempus, sed in multa saecula propagavit rem publicam*. The metaphor is from propagating plants by layers pegged down. Cf. iii. 11. 26. The second future or future perfect *propagavit* in the apodosis expresses an immediate result. For the different shade of meaning expressed by the simple future cf. 7. 14. *nescio quod* qualifies *breve*.

l. 28. *quam pertimescamus*, there is no nation 'for us to fear.'

l. 29. *unius*, Pompey, who had given peace on land by defeating King Mithridates, and at sea by crushing the pirates.

Page 21, l. 1. *quacumque ratione*, sc. *potero*.

ll. 3, 4. *et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent*, the verb is taken with the first clause in a literal, with the second in a figurative sense, and the corresponding mode of expression in English would have a tone of burlesque. Translate—'remain in the city and continue to hold the same views.'

## 6.

l. 6. *in exsilium*. Catiline had not really gone into exile, but had freely departed to join his lieutenant Manlius.

*verbo*, 'by a mere word,' as the cavillers pretend. Cf. 13: *qui verbo cives in exsilium eicio*. Orat. 2. 66. 268: *saepe verbo res obscura et latens illustratur*.

ll. 7, 8. *Homo enim*, &c., 'evidently the timorous man could not,' &c. Cicero is quoting ironically the words of his assailants. His own answer to the objection, *At etiam sunt qui dicant*, &c., begins at *Hesterno die*, &c.

l. 8. *permodestus*, 'very tractable.'

l. 10. *Hesterno die*. These words, if the first speech is correctly dated Nov. 8, must be separated from *cum domi meae paene interfectus essem* and taken closely with *senatum convocavi* only. See Introduction, p. xlii.

l. 14. *denique*. Note the climax which this word introduces, 'accosted, greeted, or even looked at.'

*ita* corresponds to *ut* and is according to our idiom pleonastic; we say 'as,' not 'so . . . as.'

- l. 16. **quin etiam**, 'nay, even,' 'why, even.'  
 l. 21. **homo audacissimus**, 'with all his effrontery,' 'despite his audacity.'  
 l. 22. **ea nocte**. The night of the meeting at Laeca's house.  
 l. 23. **in proximam**, 'the next night.' See page 65, Introd. to Orat. I.

**constituisset**, *sc. agendum*.

- l. 24. **ei**. In prose (except after the gerundive) the dative of the agent is only used with personal pronouns, and when the thing is done for the interest of as well as by the person. Cf. i. 7. 16, note p. 8, l. 10.

**ratio belli**, 'plan of the campaign.'

**descripta**, 'sketched out.' See i. 4. 9, note p. 5. l. 8.

- l. 26. **iam pridem pararet**, 'had long been preparing (to go).'  
*Iam pridem* or *iam diu paro*, 'I have been long preparing': *parabam*, 'I had been long preparing.'

**secures . . . fascēs**, the insignia of a consul in the field, showing the power Catiline proposed to seize.

l. 28. **sacrarium**. See i. 9. 24, note p. 11, l. 21.

- l. 29. **fecerat**, indicative, because Cicero is conveying a definite piece of information to his hearers and not quoting from his speech in the senate, which would have required *fecisset*.

**eiciebam**, not *eieci*, is equivalent to *eicere volebam*, 'was I seeking to banish?' 'was I for banishing?' Cf. i. 5. 13, note p. 6, l. 21.

Page 22, l. 2. **credo**, 'I suppose,' ironical.

- l. 4. **illa castra** and **haec castra** (l. 6) both refer to the camp of Manlius, but **haec** is used in the latter clause because the camp is there compared with the more distant Massilia.

## 7.

- l. 7. **O condicionem**, &c., 'how unhappy the task not only of managing but even of saving the state!'

l. 10. **debilitatus**, 'crippled.'

l. 16. **vi et minis**, 'threats of violence,' hendiadys.

l. 19. **Est mihi tanti**, 'it is worth my while.'

l. 20. **invidiae falsae**, 'ungrounded odium.'

l. 22. **sane**, 'by all means.'

- l. 23. **non est iturus** is stronger than *ibit*, 'he has no thought of going.'

l. 27. **illud** refers to what follows, *ne mihi sit*, &c. We should rather say 'this.'

Page 23, l. 3. *Quamquam isti, &c.* The meaning is that those who keep asserting that Catiline is going to Massilia are really his secret partisans and fear his doing so rather than regret it, for such a step on his part would imply that he was deserting them. None of them was so considerate as to wish he should go to Massilia, in which case he would probably be safe, rather than to Manlius, with whom he would undoubtedly perish.

l. 9. *Nunc vero, 'but as it is, 'as matters now stand.'* See i. 7. -7, note p. 8, l. 24.

## 8.

l. 13. *et* before *de eo hoste* is explanatory, 'and an enemy indeed who admits that he is so.'

l. 15. *de his*, in contrast with the absent Catiline.

l. 16. *dissimulant* is contrasted with *fatetur* in the preceding line, which makes it all the easier to supply the object *se esse hostes*.

l. 18. *ulcisci*, 'punish.'

ll. 18, 19. *sanare sibi ipsos*, 'heal for themselves,' i. e. restore to their right minds. The dative *commodi sibi* is due merely to the antithesis *rei publicae*, and so *ipsos*, not *ipsis*, follows.

l. 21. *ex quibus generibus*. He proceeds to enumerate six classes of conspirators. As he is not able to give individual names he enumerates their general characteristics in some detail, that the people may not form an exaggerated idea of the extent and strength of the conspiracy.

l. 22. *medicinam consilii*, genitive of material, 'medicine consisting in advice.'

l. 24. *magno in aere alieno*, 'though deeply in debt.' A concessive clause. Supply *tamen*, 'yet,' before *etiam, &c.*

ll. 24, 25. *maiores etiam possessiones*, 'estates even exceeding their debts,' that is, estates that if sold would realize even more than enough to pay off their debts.

l. 25. *quarum amore, &c.*, 'through their attachment to which (estates) they cannot by any means free themselves.' *dissolvi* is used in a middle sense and has a twofold meaning, namely 'sever themselves from' their property, and 'free themselves from' debt. They love their property so much that they will not sell it off to pay their debts. See Sulla 59: *qui tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant ut ab iis membra citius divelli ac distrahi posse diceret*.

l. 27. *voluntas vero, &c.* The effrontery of their wishes and of the attitude they had assumed consisted in this, that while they might have paid off their debts by sacrificing a part of their property, they refused to do so.

ll. 28-30. *Tu . . . sis, et dubites, &c.* The subjunctives ex-

press incredulous astonishment, 'you to be abundantly supplied with lands, houses, plate, slaves, and in short everything, and yet to hesitate, by sacrificing a part of your estate, to gain in respect of credit?'

Page 24, l. 1. *Quid ergo?* serves to introduce a refutation expressed in interrogative form.

l. 2. *omnium* is here the neuter plural, for which *omnium rerum* is generally used to prevent confusion with the masculine and feminine of identical form. In such combinations as *primum omnium* (see §. 19) a misunderstanding could hardly occur.

l. 3. *An tabulas novas?* se. *expectas*, 'or is it a cancelling of debts you are waiting for?' literally, 'new account books.' See Sallust, Cat. 21: *tum Catilina polliceri novas tabulas.*

*istas*, 'that wiping out of debts you look for.' See i. l. 2, note p. 2, l. 1.

l. 4. *meo beneficio, &c.*, 'thanks to me new bills are being issued, but they are auctioneers' bills.' From what Cicero says in de Off. 2. 24, he seems to have taken steps when consul to compel those debtors who had land to sell it and pay off their debts with the proceeds. The *tabulae* might be called *novae* in a double sense, because the prescribed sales were a novelty, and because they would effect a clearing off of debts which was technically called *tabulae novae*.

l. 5. *isti, &c.*, 'those propertied men you are thinking of.' See i. l. 2, note p. 2, l. 1.

l. 6. *salvi*, 'solvent,' as in §. 20. The sale of a part of the debtors' property to pay off their liabilities would save them from complete ruin by preventing them from becoming still more deeply involved through the accumulating interest.

l. 8. *certare cum usuris, &c.*, 'try to meet the interest by the produce of their estates.' *fructibus* is instrumental ablative.

l. 9. *his . . . uteremur*, 'we should find in them richer and better citizens'; literally, 'we should use them as richer, &c., citizens.'

### 9.

Page 24, l. 14. *Alterum genus*, 'the second class.' Cf. Sallust, Cat. 17: *erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consili huiusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia aut alia necessitudo.*

l. 21. *vigilare, adesse, &c.* The infinitives express the ground on which he bids them despair: 'they should be advised to give up all hope of attaining their object, for (I warn them that) I am on the watch,' &c.

ll. 22, 23. *maximam adesse multitudinem*, se. *honorum virorum*. The MSS. read *maximam multitudinem*, which words can

hardly be right as they stand. Nohl inserts *adesse* as above. Some editors reject the words, others read *maxima in multitudine*, or *maximam fortitudinem*.

l. 26. *praesentes*, 'in visible presence.' The force of the expression is 'promptly,' 'readily.'

*Quodsi iam*, expressing an improbable supposition, 'but even suppose they were to obtain their mad wish.'

l. 31. *fugitivo alicui*, &c. The meaning is that in a revolution the most worthless members of a party are wont to get the upper hand.

Page 25, l. 1. *Tertium genus*. The old soldiers of Sulla who were now 'advanced in life,' 'broken down by years,' *aetate adfectum*.

l. 4. *coloniis, quas Sulla constituit*. Sulla in his dictatorship gave allotments of land in various parts of Italy, and especially in Etruria, to 120,000 of his troops. Faesulae was one of the colonies.

*universas*, 'on the whole,' 'taken as a whole.'

l. 6. *sed tamen ii*, 'but nevertheless among them are colonists who were extravagant and overbearing in their sudden and unlooked-for wealth.' For *ii* we should rather expect *in iis*, which Putsche conjectures. Literally the text is—those men are colonists who, &c.

l. 8. *beati*, 'well-to-do,' 'wealthy.'

ll. 8, 9. *familiis magnis*, 'great establishments,' 'households of slaves.'

l. 9. *apparatis*, 'elaborate.'

*in tantum*, &c., 'have fallen so deeply in debt.'

l. 10. *salvi*, see 8. 18, note p. 24, l. 6.

l. 11. *agrestes*. Perhaps the men who had been-driven from their homes to make room for the military colonies.

l. 12. *tenues*, 'of slender means.'

*in eandem*, &c., 'incited them to that same hope (which they themselves had) of plunder as in days gone by.' Usually *vetus* means what has long existed, as in 10. 21: *in vetere aere alieno*; *antiquus*, what existed in former times; but the rule is not strictly observed.

l. 13. *utrosque*, i. e. the *coloni* and the *agrestes*.

ll. 13, 14. *eodem genere*, i. e. the *tertium genus*.

l. 17. *non modo*, for *non modo non*, see note on i. 10. 25.

*recudes*, 'the brutes,' 'the brute beasts.'

## 10.

Page 25, l. 20. *turbulentum*, 'confused,' 'heterogeneous,' not 'turbulent,' 'disorderly,' as appears from the synonyms *varium et mixtum*.

ll. 20, 21. *premuntur* . . . *emergunt*, both words refer to their financial position, 'who are long since deeply sunk in debt, and who never get their heads above water.' Cf. *Juv. 3. 164: Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat Res angusta domi.*

ll. 22, 23. *in vetere aere alieno vacillant*, 'are tottering under a load of debt of long standing.'

l. 23. *vadimoniis, iudiciis, proscriptione bonorum*. These words mark the three stages of an action in bankruptcy, bail for appearance in court, trial and decision, and confiscation of the debtor's property for the benefit of the creditors.

l. 26. *infitiatores lentos*, 'laggard defaulters,' contrasted with *milites acres*, 'zealous soldiers.'

l. 27. *quam primum, &c.*, 'as they cannot stand, let their fall come as soon as possible,' i. e. before a civil war results from their difficulties.

l. 28. *non modo*, for *non modo non*, see i. 10. 25, and supply *sentiat* from *sentiant* below.

l. 30. *turpiter*, 'disgracefully,' because in a war against their country.

l. 31. *quam si soli pereant*. Cf. *iv. 7. 14: qui . . . cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt.*

Page 26, l. 1. *denique*, 'in a word,' 'in short,' often so used in ascending to a climax, or a higher or more general expression.

l. 3. *neque . . . et*, 'they cannot be torn from him, and by all means let them perish.'

l. 4. *carcer*, the Tullianum, on the slope of the Capitoline, which was the only public prison at Rome.

*capere*, 'contain.'

l. 5. *Postremum*, 'last,' i. e. 'lowest,' both in numbers and in character.

ll. 6, 7. *quod proprium Catilinæ est*. 'Catiline's own,' his *cohors praetoria* or bodyguard.

l. 7. *de eius dilectu, &c.*, 'his choice, nay rather his cherished and bosom friends.'

ll. 8, 9. *aut imberbes aut bene barbatos*, 'either beardless (implying that they were effeminate) or with carefully trimmed beards (implying they were fops).' Cf. *Att. 1. 14. 5: concursabant barbatuli iuvenes, totus ille grex Catilinae.*

l. 10. *velis amictos, non togis*, 'robed in sails instead of togas,' a sneer at the enormous size of the togas worn by some dandies. Horace talks of one three ells wide, *Epod. 4. 7: Videsne, Sacram metiente te Viam Cum bis trium ulnarum toga, Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium Liberrima indignatio?* An extravagantly large toga was thought unseemly, see *Hor. Epist. 1. 18. 30: Arta decet sanum comitem toga.*

quorum omnis, &c., 'whose whole life's energy and toilsome wakefulness displays itself in banquets prolonged till dawn.'

l. 12. In his gregibus, 'in these companies,' or as we should say, 'in this crew.'

l. 14. With neque repeat solum.

l. 18. isti, 'those whom I have described to you.'

l. 19. num . . . secum . . . sunt . . . ducturi, 'surely they do not mean to take with them,' &c., different from *ducent*. Cf. 7. 15, note p. 22, l. 23.

mulierculas. The diminutive here has a contemptuous sense.

ll. 20, 21. his praesertim iam noctibus, i. e. when the nights are so long and cold. The calendar was now far behind the true season of the year, possibly as much as two and a half months. Hence the speech, though according to the calendar made in November, 63, was really made in January, 62.

## 11.

Page 26, l. 27. nunc, 'now,' ironical, implying, 'if you think it necessary.'

l. 29. confecto et saucio, 'exhausted and wounded'; these terms are figuratively applied to Catiline, who had received his first wound when driven from secret intrigue to open marauding. See l. 1, line 15: *magnificeque vicinus*, &c.

Page 27, l. 1. eiectam, 'stranded,' 'castaway.'

l. 2. Iam vero, &c., 'why, already the towns of the colonies and municipalities will counterbalance Catiline's woodland hills,' i. e. the very country towns, without the help of the imperial forces, will be a match for Catiline in his rustic strongholds. Cf. 12. 26. The *colonia* originally had full Roman franchise, the *municipium* Latin rights only, but since 89 the distinction ceased to exist, the franchise being extended to all Italians.

l. 4. copias, 'military resources.'

ornamenta, 'equipments.'

praesidia, 'defensive forces.'

l. 6. quibus nos, &c., the things 'with which we are provided while he lacks them, namely the senate,' &c. In nos suppeditamur, eget ille notice the asyndeton, that is, absence of conjunction, and the chiasmus, that is, crosswise arrangement of the terms.

l. 7. The ablatives senatu, equitibus, &c., explain his rebus.

urbe, i. e. the capital.

l. 9. causas ipsas, &c., 'the mere causes that are opposed to each other,' i. e. the persons on each side and the principles they severally maintain.

ll. 8-11. *si . . . contendere velimus . . . intellegere possumus.*  
Cf. i. 1. 2, note p. 2, ll. 1, 2.

l. 10. *contendere*, 'contest.' *ex eo ipso*, 'from that very comparison.'

*quam valde illi iacent*, 'how completely they are prostrated.'

l. 13. *pietas*, that is, loyalty to their country, patriotism.

l. 14. *constantia*, 'firmness.'

*honestas*, 'respectability,' 'high character.'

l. 15. *aequitas*, &c., the four cardinal virtues.

ll. 18, 19. *bona ratio cum perditā*, 'upright against corrupt principles.'

l. 20. *omnium rerum desperatione*, 'complete despair.'

## 12.

Page 27, l. 25. *iam antea dixi*. Muretus rejects *dixi* on the ground that no such statement occurs in the speech. Halm however suggests that the allusion may be to ll. 24.

l. 26. *mihi*, dative of agent instead of *a me*. Translate, 'on my part care and foresight has been exercised that,' &c.

*motu*. Cf. 13. 28.

*tumultu*. Cf. i. 5. 11, note p. 6, l. 7.

l. 28. *Coloni . . . municipesque*, see ll. 24, note p. 27, l. 2.

l. 29. *nocturna excursione*. See Sallust, Cat. 32 *nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est*.

Page 28, l. 1. *Gladiatores*. Catiline had counted on aid from the schools of trained gladiators. By order of the senate, however, they had been broken up and dispersed through Capua and other municipal towns, so that they were not available for his purpose. See Sallust, Cat. 30.

l. 2. *quamquam*, &c., 'although really they are more loyal than some of the patricians.'

l. 3. *tamen* refers not to *quamquam* but to *certissimam putavit*, 'the gladiators, a band on which he thought he might most surely count, will for all that be held in check by my power.'

l. 8. *quem vocari videtis*, 'who you see are being summoned,' namely by the *praecones*.

l. 9. *atque adeo*, 'and indeed,' 'or rather.'

l. 12. *monitos*, sc. *esse*.

l. 13. *adhuc* probably qualifies *mea lenitas*, 'my leniency hitherto'; it may, however, be taken with the following words, *si cui*, &c.

*hoc expectavit*, 'my gentleness has only waited for this.' Cf. 4. 6.

l. 14. *Quod reliquum est*, 'for the time to come,' 'in future,' opposed to *adhuc*, 'hitherto.'

l. 21. *sentiet*, the subject is *qui se commoverit*, 'whoever stirs in the city, whoever I detect not only in doing but even essaying or attempting anything against our country will find (feel) that,' &c.

l. 23. *carcerem*. This prison was the place of execution, hence the expression *vindicem*. Citizens were not imprisoned as a punishment, but merely for the purpose of detention before trial.

l. 24. *esse voluerunt*. This is the regular expression in speaking of ancestral ordinances and usages, and occurs again in iv. 4. 8.

## 13.

Page 28, l. 25. *sic agentur . . . ut sedetur*. After a future the present subjunctive regularly follows in clauses expressing result, to denote action contemporaneous with the principal clause.

l. 28. *me uno togato*, 'with me alone a civil magistrate, as your leader and general.' The expression is an oxymoron; for *toga*, the garb of peace, is by implication contrasted with *sagum*, the military mantle, and *paludamentum*, the general's cloak.

l. 29. *sic administrabo . . . ut sufferat*. Cp. above, *sic agentur . . . ut sedetur*.

l. 30. *si ullo*, not *si quo*, is used because the negative sense of 'any' is emphasized so that all are excluded.

Page 29, l. 3. *illud* is explained by *ut neque bonus, &c.*

l. 4. *optandum* expresses possibility rather than necessity, 'a thing which one could scarcely venture to hope.'

ll. 4, 5. *neque bonus quisquam . . . paucorumque*. The force of the negative in *neque* does not extend to the second clause introduced by *que*. *Neque . . . et* is more common.

l. 8. *non dubiis*, these words are to be taken closely together. The form *indubius* is post-Augustan.

*significationibus*. These are detailed in iii. 8. 18.

l. 9. *quibus ducibus*, 'under whose guidance.' *quibus* as well as the following *qui* refers to the gods.

l. 10. *procul*, that is, upon distant battlefields.

l. 12. *numine*, 'divine power.'

## ORATIO III.

DELIVERED before the people in the Forum on Dec. 3, 63 B.C., immediately after the meeting of the senate in the Temple of Concord, at which the conspirators had been confronted with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, whose evidence had furnished the last link required for the complete exposure of the plot. Cicero recounts what had occurred.

## 1.

Page 30, l. 6. *paene ex faucibus*, &c., 'rescued I might almost say from the very jaws of death'; literally *fauces* means 'throat,' not 'jaws.'

l. 7. *videtis*. The news of what had happened and of the detection of the conspiracy had already spread.

ll. 9, 10. *quod salutis*, &c., 'because the joy of safety is assured, but the lot to which we are born doubtful: and because we are not conscious of our birth, but we feel pleasure in our preservation.'

l. 10. *nascendi condicio*, 'the lot given us by birth.' Cf. 12. 27 and iv. 10. 22.

l. 11. *cum voluptate*, i. e. *cum sensu voluptatis*.

l. 13. *benevolentia famaue*, 'with good will and fame,' i. e. 'with the honour of our good will.' Romulus was deified under the name of Quirinus, and the Quirinalia were celebrated on Feb. 17 in his honour.

l. 18. *rettudimus* is 'blunted' rather than 'struck back.' The latter meaning is expressed by the following *deiecimus*, 'struck down.'

Page 31, l. 3. *Principio*, 'in the first place,' i. e. to begin with this point.

ut . . . *paucis ante diebus*, 'ever since a few days ago,' it was really almost a month before, Nov. 8.

## 2.

l. 8. *tum cum . . . eiciebam*, 'at the time when I was trying to drive Catiline from the city.'

l. 9. *illa*, sc. *invidia*.

l. 10. *sed tum*, *sed* is resumptive, 'at that time, I say.'

l. 13. *Atque ego ut vidi*, the connexion is 'so when I saw,' &c.

l. 18. *minorem fidem faceret*, 'would gain less credit,' 'command less confidence.'

l. 20. *animis* is introduced for the sake of contrast with *oculis*, as *occulis* is in ii. l. 1. *ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium*. Wilkins translates, 'that you might not have to turn your thoughts to securing your safety, until your own eyes saw the crime.' Notice the play on the words *provideretis, videretis*.

l. 21. *ut comperi*, through Q. Fabius Sanga, the *patronus* of the Allobroges. Cf. i. 4. 10, note p. 5, l. 14.

l. 22. *tumultus Gallici*, *tumultus* was the word regularly used of a warlike rising in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul; war elsewhere was called *bellum*. See Phil. 8. 1 *itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant*.

ll. 24, 25. *cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam*. The statement is inaccurate, as it is evident from chapters 4 and 5, that though the Allobroges received letters to their countrymen they received none to Catiline. The letter to Catiline was one which Lentulus gave to Volturcius. Nohl removes the difficulty by placing *eodemque itinere* after *mandatisque*. Perhaps, however, Cicero means to suggest that the papers of the envoys showed that Catiline himself had been intriguing with the Gauls, and this would also explain why he says *missos*, not *profectos*. Publius Lentulus had been quaestor to Sulla in 81, praetor in 75, and consul in 71. In the following year he was expelled from the senate for his scandalous life, and to recover his position again became a candidate for office, and at this time was praetor.

l. 26. *T. Volturcium*, of Crotona in Magna Graecia.

*huic . . . ad Catilinam*, 'to him . . . for Catiline,' the person to whom the letter was entrusted for delivery is put in the dative, the person to whom it was addressed is expressed by *ad* with accusative.

ll. 27-29. *ut . . . ut tota res, ut* is repeated for emphasis after the parenthesis.

l. 31. L. Valerius Flaccus, after his praetorship, was propraetor in Asia, and in 59 was accused of extortion in that province and defended by Cicero in a speech still extant.

C. Pomptinus two years later, when propraetor of Gallia Narbonensis, put down a rising of the Allobroges. In 54 he enjoyed a triumph for this, and in 51 he was Cicero's legatus in Cilicia.

Page 32, ll. 3, 4. *qui . . . sentirent*, the subjunctive is used because *qui* has a causal force, 'like men whose political views were sound and excellent.'

ll. 5, 6. *pontem Mulvium*, now the Ponte Molle over the Tiber, was on the Via Flaminia, about two miles from Rome, and was

built by the censor M. Aemilius Scaurus, from whom perhaps it derives its name, being a corruption of Pons Aemilius.

l. 8. *sine cuiusquam suspicione*, so Sallust, Cat. 45 *illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt.*

l. 9. *praefectura Reatina*. Reate, now Rieti, was a Sabine town on the Lacus Velinus and Via Salaria. Cicero was *patronus* of the Reatines, and could therefore depend on their aid. A *praefectura* was governed by a *praefectus* sent annually from Rome; a *municipium* chose its own magistrates.

l. 11. *in rei publicae praesidio*. If, with Madvig, we read *in re publica*, then *praesidio* is dative and must be joined with *miseram*, 'I had sent as an additional force.'

l. 12. *tertia fere vigilia exacta*, that is about 4 a.m.

ll. 15, 16. *Res praetoribus erat novae solis*. The attack was unexpected even by the envoys, as appears from Sallust's words, Cat. 45 *Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt.*

## 3.

Page 32, l. 17. *interventu*, the praetors Pomptinus and Flaccus interposed to explain the object of the attack.

ll. 17, 18. *quae erat commissa*, 'which had already begun.'

l. 19. *integris signis*, 'with seals unbroken.'

*ipsi*, i. e. the Gauls and Volturcius.

l. 21. *Atque*, 'and so.' Cf. 2. 4, note p. 31, l. 13.

l. 22. *Cimbrum Gabinium*. Sallust, Cat. 17, calls him P. Gabinus Capito.

ll. 22, 23. *nihildum suspicantem*, 'as yet suspecting nothing.'

l. 23. *vocavi*. The consul had the right of summoning to his presence and of arresting citizens (*vocatio* and *prehensio*). The reason he summoned the particular chiefs of the conspiracy mentioned here, appears from Sallust, Cat. 44 *Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt: ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statio, item Cassio postulant ius iurandum, quod signatum ad cives perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse.*

l. 25. *in litteris dandis*, 'in despatching the letters.' See 5. 12.

ll. 30, 31. *negavi me esse facturum ut . . . non . . . deferrem*, is an emphatic periphrasis for *negavi me non delaturum esse*, 'I said I would never adopt the course of not laying the matter without prejudice before the council of the state in a case where the state was in danger.'

Page 33, l. 1. *si*, 'even if.' This concessive use is especially common when the main clause is negative.

l. 5. *coegi*, namely to the temple of Concord. *Cogere* is the technical term for calling the senate together.

l. 6. *admonitu Allobrogum*, 'at the suggestion of the Allobroges.'

C. *Sulpicium*. He is mentioned here only.

## 4.

Page 33, ll. 10, 11. *fidem publicam . . . dedi*, 'pledged the public faith,' i. e. gave him an official promise of amnesty. As this could only be done by direction of the senate, Cicero adds the words *iussu senatus*. Cf. Sallust, *Cat. 47 post, ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia, ut gesta erant, aperit* (sc. *Volturcius*).

l. 16. *ex omnibus partibus*. Sallust, *Cat. 43*, says in twelve places.

l. 17. *erat*, the indicative is used because the clause is not part of what *Volturcius* said, but is an explanation added by Cicero. For the statement see i. 4. 9.

l. 18. *caedemque infinitam*. Plutarch expressly attributes to *Lentulus* designs of a far-reaching character. He had resolved to slay all the senate, and as many as he could of the other citizens.

l. 19. *exciperet*, 'cut off,' 'intercept' the fugitives, as hunters lie in wait to catch game driven from a thicket by beaters.

*urbanis ducibus*, 'leaders within the city.'

l. 22. *data*, neuter plural referring to *ius iurandum* and *litteras*. An adjective or participle when used as predicate of several substantives of different genders denoting things, not persons, is usually in the neuter plural; and a similar rule holds good for a relative, see 5. 10. *data* has a somewhat different meaning with *ius iurandum* and *litteras*, 'that an oath had been pledged and a letter entrusted.'

*ita* is explained by *ut equitatum, &c.* In this somewhat intricate passage the main verb *dixerunt* has depending on it three subordinates, *esse praescriptum, confirmasse, dixisse*, each of which has in its turn a subordinate clause depending upon it. This is clearly seen from the following scheme drawn by Üpcott:—

Galli dixerunt

(a) *ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse praescriptum* } *ut equitatum mitterent; pedestres sibi copias non defuturas.*

(b) *Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis, &c.* } *se esse illum . . . Sullam fuisse.*

(c) *eundemque dixisse* } *fatalem hunc esse . . . vicesimus.*

The reflexive pronoun refers in each case to the subject of the verb upon which the subordinate sentence *immediately* depends.

*Cassio*. L. Cassius Longinus had been praetor in 66, and had been a candidate with Cicero for the consulship. He declined to join

Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius in giving a written pledge, on the ground that he was soon going to Gaul himself, and he actually left the city before the envoys.

l. 24. *pedestres sibi, &c.* This is part of what Cassius and the others said, and depends on some word of saying understood from *praescriptum*.

l. 25. *fatis Sibyllinis*. The original Sibylline books (written in Greek), which were said to have been brought to Tarquinius Superbus by the Sibyl of Cumae, were kept in the Capitol, and consulted in times of difficulty. They probably contained rules about ritual rather than prophecies. They were burnt in 83 B. C. A fresh collection was made in 76 B. C. It is doubtful whether any part of this collection still exists in the *Oracula Sibyllina* that have come down to us.

l. 26. *tertium illum Cornelium*. His full name was P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.

l. 28. *esset necesse* Sallust expresses by *fatum foret*, 'was destined.'

l. 29. *fatalem*, 'appointed by fate.'

l. 31. *virginum*, sc. *Vestalium*. Nothing is known about the case referred to, but the trial of a Vestal Virgin was always thought a matter of serious import.

*Capitolii incensionem*. This took place in 83. The cause of the fire was unknown.

Page 34, l. 1. *Saturnalibus*. Dec. 17, when the licence allowed to slaves or the general holiday would favour a rising.

ll. 2, 3. *Cethego nimium id longum videretur*. Sallust sketches the character of Cethegus in Cat. 43 *natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat*.

## 5.

Page 34, l. 4. *ne longum sit*, 'not to be tedious.'

*tabellas*, wooden diptychs or double tablets, the inner sides of which were slightly hollowed out and covered with wax. When the letter had been inscribed on the wax with a stylus, the tablets were tied together with string and the knot sealed with wax. Letters were often written by slaves from dictation, and as they were seldom signed the signet seal was then the only mode of identifying the author. Hence the importance of the words *ostendimus signum; cognovit*.

l. 6. *cognovit*, 'he acknowledged it.' In this sense *agnovit* is more usual.

l. 10. *quae sibi . . . recepissent*, 'what they had promised him,' the writer. *Recipere* is to undertake an obligation, to pledge oneself.

l. 11. *tamen*, 'in spite of all,' i.e. though appearances were against him.

ll. 11, 12. *quæ . . . deprehensa*, neuter, though referring to *gladii* and *sicae*, as they are inanimate objects. Cf. 4. 9, note p. 33, l. 22.

l. 13. *studiosum fuisse*, said that 'he had always had a fancy for' good steel implements. Cethegus avoids using the word *telorum*, his object being to represent the weapons as the collection of a connoisseur, and not intended for use.

l. 14. *conscientia*, 'consciousness of guilt,' is to be joined with *abiectus*, 'conscience-stricken,' rather than with *conticuit*. See iv. 2. 3 *exanimata uxor et abiecta metu filia*.

ll. 16, 17. *in eandem fere sententiam*, sc. *datae* or *scriptae*, 'to much the same effect.'

l. 19. *notum quidem signum*, 'a well-known seal too.'

avi, P. Cornelius Lentulus, who was consul in 162, and is mentioned by Cicero as princeps senatus in Phil. 8. 14.

l. 20. *amavit unice patriam*, referring to the part he took against C. Gracchus in 121, which is mentioned in iv. 6. 13.

ll. 21, 22. *muta revocare debuit*. Cf. i. 7. 18 *tacita loquitur*.

l. 22. *eadem ratione*, to be taken with *litterae*, 'letters of the same tenor,' like *in eandem sententiam* a few lines above, rather than with *leguntur*, 'are read in the same way,' i. e. with the same formalities.

l. 25. *exposito atque edito*, 'set forth in detail and recited.' Cf. 6. 13 *indiciis expositis atque editis*. Legg. 2, 17 *qui magistratu abierint, edant et exponant* (apud censores) *quid in magistratu gesserint*.

l. 28. *constanter*, 'consistently.' Cf. Tusc. 5. 9. 26 *sibi constanter convenienterque dicere*.

l. 28, 29. *per quem*. The agency referred to is that of Umbrenus and Gabinius. See 6. 14.

Page 35, l. 1. *subito demens*, 'suddenly losing his head.'

l. 2. *cum*, 'although.'

l. 4. *dicendi exercitatio*, 'practice in speech,' 'fluency.'

ll. 5, 6. *valuit . . . superabat*, the difference of tense is expressed by Halm—fluency that never left him in the lurch, insolence in which he tried to surpass every one.

l. 7. *litteras*. The letter is also given by Sallust, Cat. 44, but in a more polished form. Halm thinks the present letter is the original on account of a carelessness of composition that betrays haste, for example, *cura ut* repeated, *scies* instead of *cognosces*, &c. In Sallust the letter runs thus: *Quis sim ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse. Consideres, quid tuae rationes* (i. e. your interests) *postulent. Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis*.

- l. 10. *manum*, 'handwriting,' 'signature.' Cf. iv. 2. 4.  
 l. 13. *locum*, 'position.'  
 l. 15. *etiam infimorum*, i. e. he was to arm the slaves.  
 l. 18. *certissima*, 'very certain,' rather than 'most certain,' as *certiora* follows. Cf. iv. 7. 14 *cum mea summa cura, tum multo etiam maiore populi Romani voluntate*.  
 l. 22. *sic furtim*, &c., 'cast such furtive glances at one another from time to time.'

## 6.

l. 26. *de summa re publica*, i. e. when the safety of the state was at stake, on a matter so vital to the state. Cf. i. 6. 14, note p. 7. l. 13; iv. 6. 13.

l. 27. *principibus*, the chief men, i. e. the *consules designati* and the *virii consulares*, who voted first.

Page 36, l. 3. *mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis*, 'a vote of thanks was passed to me in the most handsome terms.'

ll. 3-5. *quod . . . sit liberata*, the subjunctive, not the indicative, is used because he is quoting the substance of the resolution, and not merely stating what had been done. Cf. 15, note p. 36, ll. 29, 30.

l. 3. *virtute*, 'resolution.' Cf. iv. 3. 5.

l. 6. *forti fidelique*, the adjectives are here predicative, 'because I had found their help strong and steady.' This alliterative expression seems to have been an official formula.

The pluperfect *usus essem* is used because *laudantur* is a historic present really equivalent to *laudati sunt*.

l. 7. *collegae meo*. C. Antonius Hybrida had been a supporter of Catiline, but Cicero had detached him from that side by surrendering to him the rich province of Macedonia. He was probably not at Rome at this time, for on the news of Catiline having joined Manlius the senate decreed that Antony should proceed against Catiline, and that Cicero should take charge of the city.

l. 9. *a suis et a rei publicae*, &c., i. e. dissociated himself from Catiline's party both in private and public.

l. 10. *Atque ita*, &c., 'further, they passed a vote to this effect, that,' &c.

ll. 10, 11. *cum se praetura abdicasset*. A magistrate could not be placed under arrest while holding office, nor could he be removed from office save by abdication, which, in theory at least, was voluntary.

l. 11. *in custodiam*. This was *libera custodia* (see i. 8. 19), as is expressly stated by Sallust and by Plutarch.

ll. 13, 14. *idem hoc decretum est*. Though the same decree was passed against Cassius, Furius, Annius Chilo, and Umbrenus, it

could not be enforced against them as they had taken to flight. Ceparius had also fled, but had been taken and brought back.

ll. 24, 25. *novem hominum . . . poena*. The resolutions were passed against the nine men named above, though they could be carried into effect against only the five actually in custody. It is to the latter alone that Cicero refers in Sulla 33: *quinque hominibus comprehensis atque confessis interitu rem publicam liberavi*. The death penalty was not actually inflicted until two days later, namely after the delivery of the Fourth Speech on Dec. 5.

l. 26. *supplicatio* was either a solemn thanksgiving to the gods, as here, or an act of humiliation on account of some calamity. In the former case it was usually for a victory, and Cicero was naturally proud to have been the first person acting in a civil capacity who had received the honour.

l. 27. *meo nomine*, 'on my account,' 'in my honour.'

l. 28. *primum*, 'for the first time.'

ll. 29, 30. *quod . . . liberassem*. Cf. 14, note p. 36, ll. 3-5.

l. 31. Cicero says *hoc interest*, 'there is this difference,' rather than *intersit* or *interesse videatur*, 'there would appear to be this difference,' 'you would find this difference,' because he wishes to express that the difference exists whether the comparison be made or not.

l. 33. *primum*, 'firstly,' 'in the first place.'

Page 37, l. 3. *religio*, 'religious scruple.' Glaucia and Saturninus were really lynched, being pelted to death by the mob, who, in order to reach them, tore the roof off the Curia Hostilia where they were confined. Marius, who was then consul, had really tried to save his old friends, though directed by the senate to put them down by force.

l. 6. *privato*, that is, reduced to the rank of a private citizen by having resigned his office.

## 7.

l. 12. *concidisse*. Here Cicero emphasizes the collapse of the conspiracy in order to quiet the people. He expresses a different view in iv., where he wishes to show the danger of clemency.

*cum . . . pellebam*, 'when I sought to drive him from the city,' 'in seeking to drive him from the city.' Cf. l. 3; i. 3. 7; ii. 1. 1.

l. 14. *somnum*, 'sleepiness,' 'lethargy.'

*adipes*, 'corpulence,' 'heaviness.'

l. 16. *sed tam diu, dum*, 'but only so long as.' For *sed* in the sense 'but only,' cf. iv. 2. 3, note p. 45, ll. 25, 26.

ll. 17, 18. *omnium aditus tenebat*, 'had access to every one,' 'knew how to get at everybody.'

l. 18. *temptare*, 'sound.'

- l. 21. *certos*, 'particular.'  
*descriptos*, 'destined.'
- l. 22. *cum aliquid mandarat*, 'when he had given directions about a thing.'
- l. 23. *quod* is governed by *obiret*, the nearest verb; *occurreret* would require the dative (as in 17: *consiliis occurrere*); and *vigilaret* could hardly be grammatically taken with *quod*. Cf. Sallust, *Cat. 5 corpus* (sc. *Catilinæ*) *patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae, supra quam cuiquam credibile est*.
- l. 25. *paratum*, 'ready to strike.'
- l. 30. *Non ille*. Catiline would not, as the men mentioned in 5. 10 did, have made known the day fixed for the plot so long before, but would have struck the blow promptly.
- Page 38, l. 1. *tanto ante*. It was now only Dec. 5, and the *Saturnalia*, the day fixed for the outbreak, did not begin until Dec. 17.
- l. 2. *neque commisisset ut, &c.*, 'nor would he have made the mistake of allowing his seal, &c., to be seized.'
- l. 6. *haec tanta, &c.*, 'this conspiracy so widely spread in the state.'
- l. 9. *occurri atque obstiti*, 'I confronted and opposed.'

## 8.

- l. 13. *Quamquam*. This word indicates the transition to the account of the prodigies that marked the crisis.
- l. 15. *cum* corresponds to *tum vero*, 'not only . . . but also.'
- l. 18. *praesentes*, i. e. present to help.
- l. 19. *oculis videre*, 'actually see.'
- l. 20. *ab occidente*, not 'from the west' but 'on the side of the west,' 'in the west,' which was the unlucky quarter.
- faces*, 'fireballs,' 'shooting stars.'
- l. 23. *canere*, 'predict.'
- l. 25. *neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum*, 'should neither be overlooked nor disregarded,' the first verb referring to accidental, the second to intentional oversight. See Off. 3.
- l. 9 *minime vero adsentior iis qui negant eum locum a Panaetio praetermissum, sed consulto relictum esse*.
- l. 26. *Cotta et Torquato consulibus*, 65 B. C.
- l. 27. *complures in Capitolio res*. Among the objects thus struck, Cicero says below, and also de Div. 2. 45, was a group representing Romulus, Remus, and the wolf. A bronze, known as the Wolf of the Capitol, which may possibly be the very work mentioned by Cicero, is still to be seen in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. The right hind-leg of the wolf is injured, and this has been

supposed to be the effect of the lightning. The wolf is known to have stood near the Lateran as early as the tenth century. The twins are modern. The original wolf was erected in 296 B. C.

de caelo percussas, 'struck by lightning.'

l. 28. simulacra are statues of gods; statuae, of men.

depulsa, 'struck from their pedestals.'

Page 39, l. 1. legum aera, brazen tablets on which the laws were engraved.

ll. 3, 4. in Capitolio . . . fuisse, 'to have stood in the Capitol.'

ll. 8, 9. nisi . . . flexissent is the oratio obliqua for *nisi flexerint*, the future perfect, which would have been used if, instead of the preceding *appropinquare dixerunt*, the words of the haruspices had been directly quoted, *appropinquant*, &c.

l. 9. suo numine, 'by their influence.'

l. 13. facere, understand *consulentes*, 'bid the inquirers make a statue.'

l. 17. illustrarentur, 'would have light thrown on them.'

l. 19. collocandum . . . locaverunt, 'gave a contract for its erection.' It was properly the censors' function to give out contracts, but the duty was often discharged by the consuls when there were no censors. The censors for 65, Q. Lutatius Catulus and M. Licinius Crassus, soon laid down their office through want of concord.

l. 20. superioribus consulibus. The consuls of the preceding year, 64, were L. Caesar and C. Figulus.

## 9.

Page 39, l. 22. Hic, i. e. under these circumstances.

l. 23. praeceps, 'hasty,' 'inconsiderate.'

mente captus, 'blind of heart.'

l. 30. Illud, 'what follows,' 'the following fact.'

praesens, 'evident,' that is so plain a mark of divine interposition.

l. 31. ut before videatur is consecutive, depending on ita; ut with statueretur (p. 40, l. 3) is explanatory of illud.

Page 40, l. 2. eorum indices, 'the witnesses against them.'

in aedem Concordiae. The temple of Concord, where the meeting of the senate was held, was on the Capitoline, so the conspirators passed through the Forum on their way thither from Cicero's house, which was on the Palatine.

l. 10. nimium mihi sumam, 'I should arrogate too much to myself.'

l. 11. non sim ferendus, non is to be taken closely with ferendus. Cf. ii. 13. 29 non dubiis.

ille, ille Iuppiter, 'it was Jupiter, aye, Jupiter,' so Wilkins expresses the force of the anaphora.

l. 14. *mentem voluntatemque*, 'disposition and purpose.'

l. 15. *Iam vero*, passing to a new point, as in ii. 4. 8.

ll. 15, 16. *ab Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus* go both with *creditae* and with *commissaëque*.

l. 19. *consilium esset ereptum*, according to the well-known saying, *Quem Iuppiter vult perdere, demeniat prius*.

ll. 20-24. *ut . . . neglegerent . . . anteponerent*, form a substantive clause, summed up in the following id.

l. 20. *male pacata*, 'disturbed.'

l. 22. *non nolle*. That the Allobroges were not unwilling to attack Rome was shown by their subsequent rising in 61, which was put down by C. Pomptinus.

l. 23. *ultro*, 'freely,' 'spontaneously,' because Lentulus made the first advance to them.

ll. 25, 26. *praesertim qui . . . potuerint*, 'especially as they (were men who) might have,' &c.

## 10.

Page 40, l. 27. *ad omnia pulvinaria*. Part of the ceremony of a *supplicatio* was the *lectisternium*, a sacred feast at which the images of the gods were placed reclining on couches (*pulvinaria*), each image with the left arm resting on a cushion (*pulvinus*). The couches were placed in the open streets, and before them tables with offerings of food.

Page 41, l. 3. *togati*. Cf. ii. 13. 28, note p. 28, l. 28.

l. 6. *vidistis*. The instances referred to all fall within the preceding twenty-five years.

l. 7. *L. Sulla*, &c. P. Sulpicius, when tribune of the people in 88 B. C., proposed to distribute the new citizens and the freedmen into all the tribes, and to transfer the command of the war against Mithridates from Sulla to Marius. Hereupon Sulla, who was consul and had just ended the Social War, returned to Rome, killed Sulpicius, and expelled Marius.

ll. 7, 8. *custodem huius urbis*, Marius had saved Rome by defeating the Teutons and the Cimbri.

l. 9. *Cn. Octavius*, an adherent of Sulla, in 87 expelled his colleague Cinna, who had revived the schemes of Sulpicius.

l. 10. *omnis hic locus*, i. e. the Forum.

l. 11. *redundavit* suits only the nearer word *sanguine*, and can be taken with *acervis* only by zeugma, 'was choked with heaps of bodies and flooded with the blood of citizens.'

**Superavit**, 'got the upper hand,' at the end of 87, when Cinna and Marius declared themselves consuls for 86.

l. 13. **lumina civitatis**, 'bright ornaments of the state,' referring to the consul Cn. Octavius, the orator M. Antonius, the pontifex Q. Scaevola, the brothers L. and C. Caesar, all of whom were slain by the Marian party. The consul L. Merula, Q. Catulus, the conqueror in the Cimbric war, and P. Crassus were driven to commit suicide on the success of the Marian party.

l. 14. **postea**, in 82 B. C., when Sulla on his return from the east defeated the younger Marius at the Colline Gate, and instituted the proscription.

l. 15. **quanta deminutione civium**, some four or five thousand persons perished in the Sullan proscriptions.

l. 16. **M. Lepidus**, in his consulship in 78, tried to rescind the laws of Sulla, but on his taking up arms he was resisted by his colleague Catulus, who, in conjunction with Pompey, defeated him under the walls of Rome. He died in Sardinia from vexation at the failure of his attempt.

l. 17. **non tam ipsius, &c.**, i. e. it was not the fate of Lepidus himself that excited sympathy, but the fate of those who were involved in it.

l. 18. **Atque illae, &c.** On the reading and interpretation of this passage see Various Readings, p. 62.

ll. 26, 27. **diiudicatae sint**. The perfect and not the imperfect subjunctive is to be used in a consecutive sentence when a single fact or one looked on as now completed is to be expressed: 'yet all those differences were of such a kind that they were (as a matter of fact) decided not by the restoration of harmony, but by the massacre of citizens.'

l. 27. **unc** strengthens the following superlative.

**post hominum memoriam**, 'within the memory of man.'

l. 29. **barbaria**, 'foreign country.'

l. 31. **salvi**. Cf. ii. 9. 20.

l. 34. **tantum**, 'only so much,' 'only so many of the citizens.'

**quantum infinitae caedi restitisset**, though your foes thought that only so many of the citizens would survive 'as remained over from (escaped) the unchecked carnage.' Literally, remained over to slaughter, as many as slaughter found left for it to destroy.

Page 42, l. 2. **obire**, 'reach.'

## 11.

l. 4. **Quibus pro tantis rebus**, 'for these great services.'

l. 5. **praemium virtutis**, objective genitive, 'honour paid to virtue.'

**insigne honoris**, 'mark of distinction.'

l. 6. **monumentum laudis**, 'memorial of renown.

**postulabo** has better manuscript authority than *postulo*, which is also found.

l. 8. **omnia ornamenta honoris**, &c., 'every honourable distinction, every glorious memorial, every outward mark of distinction.'

l. 10. **mutum**, 'dumb,' that cannot speak; **tacitum**, 'silent,' that does not speak.

l. 12. **nostrae res alentur**, 'my exploits will be cherished;' *res* for *res gestae*, as appears from 12. 27 *earum rerum, quas ego gessi*.

l. 13. **litterarum monumentis**, 'literary records.'

l. 14. **eandemque diem**, &c., 'I feel that the same period, which will, I hope, last for ever, has been prolonged for the safety of the state and for the memory of my consulship,' i. e. that the safety of the city and the memory of my consulship will alike last for ever.

ll. 16, 17. **unoque tempore**, &c., 'and that at one time there have been in the state two citizens who,' &c. **exstitisse** as well as **propagatam esse** depends on **intellego**, which according to Halm bears the meaning of a 'pleased consciousness,' 'I am glad to think that.' Madvig proposes to omit *que* after *uno* and to take the clause **uno tempore—exstitisse** as an explanation of **memoriam**, &c., 'the memory of my consulship, namely that at one time there were,' &c.

ll. 18, 19. **alter . . . alter**, Pompey . . . Cicero himself.

l. 18. **fines vestri**, &c., 'bound the borders of your empire by the limits not of the earth but of the heaven.' Cicero several times uses this hyperbolic expression in speaking of the deeds of Pompey.

## 12.

Page 42, l. 22. **eadem . . . quae**, 'the same as.'  
**condicio**, 'position.'

l. 25. **reliquerunt**, 'have left behind them,' namely in the provinces where they commanded.'

l. 26. **recte**, 'as is right.' Cicero adds *recte*, which has the meaning of *merito*, to **prosunt**, to avoid the appearance of jealousy, a sense that is lost by the reading some give, *recte facta sua*, 'their good deeds.'

Page 43, l. 4. **mihi quidem**, &c., 'I myself indeed cannot now be injured by those fellows,' *iste* suggesting contempt.

ll. 7, 8. **magna vis conscientiae**, 'great is the power of conscience.' *conscientia* is often used of 'consciousness of guilt,' as in ii. 6. 13. For its two meanings see Mil. 23. 61 *magna vis est conscientiae, iudices, et magna in utramque partem; ut neque*

*timeant qui nihil commiserint, et poenam semper ante oculos versari putent qui peccarint.*

l. 11. *Quodsi*, &c. The fear Cicero here expresses was realized afterwards, when Clodius in 58 carried the motion for his banishment on account of the execution of the Catiline conspirators without trial.

l. 16. *vitae fructum*, 'what life has to give,' 'the results of life,' not 'the enjoyment of life.'

l. 17. *cum praesertim*, 'especially since.'

*honore vestro*, 'the honours you can confer.'

l. 18. *gloria virtutis*, 'glory won by merit.'

l. 19. *Illud* is explained by the clause *ut ea*, &c.

ll. 20, 21. *tuear atque orrem*, 'defend and add fresh lustre to.'

l. 23. *ita me . . . tractabo*, 'will so conduct myself,' an unusual form of expression, for which *me geram* is more common. The latter expression may have been avoided, because *gero* occurs already three times in this passage.

*ut meminerim*. Cf. ii. 13. 28, note p. 28, l. 25.

l. 25. *iam est nox*. The meeting of the senate had lasted till evening, and when it dispersed Cicero delivered this speech to the people.

l. 26. *custodem huius urbis*. This expression is applied to Marius in 10. 24.

l. 28. *priore nocte*, that is the night on which the envoys of the Allobroges were arrested.

## ORATIO IV.

DELIVERED in the Senate at the meeting held in the temple of Concord on December 5, 63 B. C., to determine the fate of the conspirators. D. Silanus, consul elect, had proposed that they should be put to death, while Caesar proposed that they should be imprisoned for life in some of the provincial towns of Italy and their property confiscated. In the present speech Cicero discusses the alternative proposals, but as being president does not give a formal vote. He inclines however to the proposal of Silanus, as he clearly shows by dwelling on the enormity of the conspirators' crime. The decisive speech which carried the vote for the capital sentence was that of M. Cato, tribune elect.

## 1.

Page 44, ll. 3, 4. *depulsum sit*, subjunctive because referring to the thoughts of his hearers.

ll. 4, 5. *iucunda . . . grata*, 'delightful,' 'acceptable.' The difference is seen in such passages as *Fam. 5. 15 (amor tuus) gratus et optatus; dicerem iucundus, nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem. Att. 3. 24 nam ista veritas, etiamsi iucunda non est, mihi tamen grata est.*

l. 5. *voluntas*, 'goodwill.'

ll. 7, 8. *si haec, &c.*, 'if the consulship were given to me on these terms.'

l. 9. *perferrem, feram*. The more emphatic compound is first used, but the simple verb is naturally used in repeating the idea where there is no special stress laid on it.

l. 13. *in quo, &c.*, 'the home of all justice,' because the *iudicia* were held in the Forum and adjacent buildings.

ll. 13, 14. *consularibus auspiciis*, ablative, not dative, 'hallowed by the auspices taken at the consular elections.'

l. 14. *non curia*. It does not appear that Cicero had himself been threatened in the senate-house, but he may have been thinking of the plan for murdering the consuls Cotta and Torquatus, known as the first Catiline conspiracy.

ll. 14, 15. *auxilium omnium gentium*. The control of foreign relations belonged largely to the senate.

l. 15. *commune perfugium*. Cf. Dom. 109 *quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius quam domus unius cuiusque civium? hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.*

l. 16. *ad quietem datus*, 'devoted to rest.'

ll. 16, 17. *sedes honoris*, i. e. the *sella curulis*, which words are added in some MSS.

l. 18. *multa tacui*, 'passed over many things in silence,' hinting that he had suppressed information affecting other persons than those in custody. He probably alludes to men like Caesar and Crassus, who were suspected of being privy to the conspiracy.

l. 19. *meo quodam dolore*, &c. Hachtmann points out that *quodam* emphasizes *meo*. Wilkins translates, 'whilst I alone, so to speak, had to bear the pain, but the danger threatened you.'

Page 45, l. 6. *fatale*, &c., 'destined for the destruction of the state,' referring to the prophecy mentioned in iii. 4, 9, that Cornelius Lentulus was the third Cornelius who should rule Rome.

l. 8. *prope*, 'I might almost say,' is added lest the expression might seem too arrogant. Cf. iii. 8. 19 *prope fata ipsa flexissent*. Note *fatalis* used in a good sense, while in the preceding clause it was used in a bad.

## 2.

ll. 13, 14. *pro eo mihi ac*, &c., 'will requite me according to my deserts.'

l. 14, 15. *si quid obtigerit*, 'if anything untoward should happen.' *Obtigit* is mostly used of bad fortune, *contigit* of good fortune, and *accidit* (see next line) indifferently of either. The distinction however is not strictly observed.

ll. 15, 16. *Nam neque*, &c. This passage is referred to by Cicero himself in Phil. 2. 119 *etenim si abhinc annos prope xx hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni!*

l. 17. *consulari*, 'one who has been consul,' rather than *consuli* is used, because the object is to emphasize not Cicero's present dignity but in general terms the rank he had attained, and moreover the use of *consuli* would have seemed to suggest that his danger would terminate with the tenure of the office, and would so have weakened the force of the expression. One who had been consul had no higher office to live for.

*nec misera sapienti*, alluding to the Stoic doctrine that the wise man's happiness was independent of external circumstances.

ll. 17-19. *Nec . . . ille ferreus, qui . . . non movear*, 'nor am I the iron-hearted man not to be moved.'

l. 18. *fratris*, Q. Cicero, who was now praetor designatus.

l. 19. *horum*, the senators.

l. 20. *lacrimis*, 'emotion' as we would say. The Romans, like the Greeks, gave freer vent to tears than we are wont to consider seemly. Cf. Milo 105 *sed finis sit; neque enim prae lacrimis iam loqui possum*.

l. 22. *uxor*, Terentia.

*abiecta metu*, 'prostrated with fear.' See iii. 5. 10.

*filia*, Tullia.

*filius*, Marcus, who was now two years old.

ll. 23, 24. *tamquam obsidem consulatus mei*, 'as a pledge for my consulship,' i. e. a pledge that he would fulfil the duties of the consulship.

l. 25. *gener*, C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Tullia's first husband, to whom she was married during Cicero's consulship 63, having been betrothed in 67. As he was not quaestor until 58, he could not have been in the senate on this occasion, but was probably standing in the crowd at the open doors of the temple.

ll. 25, 26. *sed in eam partem*, 'but only to the end that.' Cf. Att. 16. 1. 6 *has litteras scripsi in eam partem, ne me motum putares*. For this limiting force of *sed* cf. iii. 7. 16, note p. 37, l. 16.

ll. 27, 28. *una rei publicae peste*, 'in the common ruin of the state.'

l. 29. *incumbite*, a nautical metaphor from bending to the oar, 'bend all your energies to secure the safety of the state.'

l. 30. *procellas* continues the nautical metaphor, 'keep a look out for the storms that threaten.'

*Non Ti. Gracchus, &c.*, 'it is not Ti. Gracchus, for desiring to be re-elected tribune, nor C. Gracchus, for trying to incite the agrarian party, nor L. Saturninus, for murdering C. Memmius, that is being brought to the ordeal of your rigorous judgment: there are in your hands those men,' &c. In early times re-election to the tribunate in successive years was allowed, but it was afterwards prohibited, and the conduct of Ti. Gracchus was the more flagrant because he canvassed for re-election while he was still tribune. His brother Caius, at a later period, was elected tribune in two successive years, but failed in his attempt to secure the office for a third time.

Page 46, l. 2. *agrarios*, those who desired the distribution of the public land.

l. 3. *C. Memmius*, tribune of the plebs in 111 B. C., was a supporter of the oligarchical party during the Jugurthine war. He was slain by the mob of Saturninus and Glaucia while a candidate for the consulship in 100.

l. 5. *tenentur*, 'are in your hands.'

l. 6. *Romae restiterunt*, 'have stayed behind at Rome,' from *resto*.

- l. 7. *manus*, 'handwriting,' 'signature,' 'autograph.' Cf. iii. 5. 12.  
 l. 8. *servitia*, abstract for the concrete *servi*.  
 l. 9. *id est initum consilium*, this clause sums up what went before, 'this design was adopted' (entered on).  
 l. 12. *relinquatur*, the present because *id est initum consilium*, taken with the preceding presents, is equivalent to 'it is intended.'

## 3.

Page 46, l. 14. *multis iam iudiciis iudicavistis*, 'have already decided by many decisions,' which he proceeds to enumerate in the words *primum quod*, &c. He reminds the senate that the resolutions they have already passed practically decide the matter against the accused

- l. 15. *virtute*, 'resolution.' Cf. iii. 14.  
 l. 19. *in custodiam*. Cf. iii. 6. 14, note p. 36, l. 11.  
 l. 20. *meo nomine*. Cf. iii. 6. 15, note p. 36, l. 27.  
 ll. 22, 23. *praemia . . . amplissima*. What rewards were given the envoys is not known. Volturcius probably received that mentioned in Sallust, *Cat.* 30: *si quis indicavisset de coniuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum; libero impunitatem eius rei, et sestertia ducenta*.  
 l. 24. *in custodiam nominatim*, the several names are given in iii. 6. 14, as well as in Sallust, *Cat.* 47. where the names of the persons to whose custody they were consigned are also given: *itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur*.

l. 26. *Sed ego institui*, &c., 'but (I will dwell no longer on the past, for) I have undertaken to consult you, as though it were still an open question, both as to your judgment about the deed, and your decision about the penalty.'

l. 28. *Illa praedicam*, &c. 'I will merely premise what it is the consul's function to warn you of,' referring especially to the call for a decision before nightfall, a few lines below. Note the limiting force of *illa*, 'only that,' 'just that.'

ll. 28, 29. *Ego magnum*, &c. 'I had long since seen that a dangerous madness was abroad and that evils of an unheard-of kind were seething and stirring in the state.'

Page 47, l. 2. *haberi*, I never thought that so dangerous a plot 'was being directed' by citizens; the expression is adapted from the phrases *habere comitia*, *senatum*.

l. 5. *ante noctem*. A decree of the senate was not valid unless made before sunset.

l. 6. *Huic (facinoræ) adfines*, 'connected with it.'

1. 7. **Latius opinione**, 'more widely than you think.'
1. 9. **multas provincias**. See Sallust, Cat. 21 *Catilina dixit esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes*.
1. 10. **sustentando aut prolatando**, 'by delay or procrastination.'

## 4.

Page 47, l. 13. **sententias**, 'proposals,' the technical term for a senator's vote.

D. **Silani**. He was consul designatus and was therefore, in accordance with usage, first asked his opinion, as is expressly stated by Sallust, Cat. 50.

1. 14. **censet**, 'votes,' 'proposes.'

haec. Cf. i. 8. 21, note p. 10, l. 21. The same idea is expressed by *imperium* a few lines below, *qui delere imperium, &c.*

1. 15. **C. Caesaris**. He was now praetor designatus. The usual order in which the presiding consul asked the opinions of the senators was, first the consulares, then the praetorii, aedilicii, tribunicii, and lastly the quaestorii. If any magistrates elect were present they voted before the other members of the class they were about to join.

1. 18. **in summa severitate versatur**, 'advocates the utmost severity.'

1. 19. **conati sunt**, i. e. formed plans to deprive us, &c.

1. 23. **recordatur**, 'recalls to mind,' 'remembers,' not in the sense of *commemorat*, 'mentions,' a usage not found in classical writers. Cicero is merely describing the thoughts that passed through the mind of Silanus and justified him against the charge of Caesar, that he was suggesting *genus poenae novum*.

1. 24. **Alter**, Caesar.

1. 25. **aut necessitatem, &c.**, 'either the debt of nature or even a rest from suffering and misery.' Cf. Caesar's words in Sallust, Cat. 51 *in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse*. Caesar was appointed pontifex maximus in this year, and Merivale remarks that these words attributed to him by Sallust are a remarkable avowal of materialism in the chief pontiff of the national religion.

ll. 26-9. **Itaque . . . inventa sunt**. These words are Cicero's, not Caesar's. If they were Caesar's the accusative and infinitive would be used. The point of the passage is that Cicero at first appears to adopt Caesar's view and quotes the case of the *sapientes, &c.*, in its support, and so his objections carry more weight when at **Habere videtur, &c.**, he begins to point out the difficulties it involves.

- Page 48, l. 1. **Habere**, 'involve.'

*ista res*, 'that proposal of yours.'

*iniquitatem*, &c. The meaning is that it would involve a hardship on the cities to enforce the proposal, while it would be difficult to carry it out as a favour, since no state would be inclined to undertake such a duty.

ll. 1, 2. *si velis*. See i. l. 2, note p. 1, ll. 1, 2.

l. 5. *Adiungit*. Caesar is the subject, 'he imposes.'

l. 8. *sancit*, 'forbids under penalty.'

*quos condemnat*, 'whose condemnation he proposes.'

l. 9. *aut per senatum aut per populum*, i. e. either by a *senatus consultum* or by a *lex* passed in the *Comitia*.

l. 14. *Itaque*, &c. Cicero here speaks as if he considered the ancient belief about punishments in the lower world as false.

*in vita*, i. e. *dum viverent*, 'while they lived.'

*formido*, 'image of terror.'

*posita* is equivalent to *proposita*, 'placed before their eyes.'

l. 15. *illi antiqui*, the well-known writers of old.

l. 16. *voluerunt*, 'would have it that,' 'held that.'

## 5.

l. 18. *ego meā*, &c., 'I see what is to my own interest.' Note the emphatic position of *mea*. For the position of the governing verb *video* within the dependent sentence cf. *Fin. 4. 3. 5 illorum vides quam niteat oratio*.

l. 20. *viam, quae popularis habetur*, 'the popular course,' or as we should rather say, 'the popular side.' Cicero, in *Sest. 96*, distinguishes the *populares* from the *optimates* or aristocratical party.

l. 21. *auctore . . . cognitore*, 'adviser' . . . 'advocate.' *Cognitor* was a representative who acted for another in a lawsuit.

l. 23. *illam*, namely that of *Silanus*, which Cicero had mentioned in 4. 7, before referring to that of *Caesar*.

*nescio an*, 'I am disposed to think,' 'probably.'

*amplius . . . negotii*, &c., 'more trouble will be occasioned to me,' 'I shall incur more embarrassment.' For *amplius* as substantive with partitive genitive cf. *Verr. 3. 49 amplius frumenti auferre*. For the sense of *negotii* cf. the phrase *negotium alicui facessere*.

l. 24. *Sed tamen*, 'but even if that is the case, yet.'

*rationes*, 'considerations.'

l. 25. *enim*, 'then,' refers back to *si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris*, and serves to introduce the detailed discussion of it, much as *γάρ* is used in Greek.

1. 26. *maiorum eius amplitudo*. The Julian Gens claimed descent from Iulus, the son of Aeneas, and therefore, as the latter was son of Venus, from the gods.

1. 27. *obsidem*, 'a pledge.'

*perpetuae*, &c. Cicero with judicious courtesy attributes patriotic motives to Caesar. For the meaning of *voluntas* see 1. 1 note, p. 44, l. 5.

1. 28. *Intellectum est*, &c., 'we understood (namely, on hearing Caesar's proposal, which held the mean between excessive severity and undue leniency) the great difference between the frivolity of demagogues and a truly democratic spirit that took thought for the safety of the people.'

ll. 29, 30. *saluti populi consulentem*, 'having the interests of the people at heart,' is contrasted with *voluntati consulere* or *dicere ad voluntatem*, 'to consult their wishes,' 'to speak for the purpose of pleasing.'

1. 30. *de istis*. *Iste* is here used with a tone of contempt, 'I see that of those who wish to figure as democrats several have absented themselves.'

Page 49, l. 1. *non neminem* is not limited to one person, but means 'more than one,' 'several,' although it is followed by the singular *is*, where we should use the plural 'they.'

*ne de capite*, &c., it was not the senate but the *comitia centuriata* that had the right to pass judgment on the life and civil rights of a citizen.

*videlicet*, 'as they say.'

1. 2. *is* refers to *non neminem*, not to Caesar. See note above. Translate, 'these very men.'

1. 2, 3. *nudius tertius*, i. e. *nunc dies tertius*, that is, according to the Roman mode of reckoning, 'the day before yesterday.'

1. 5. *hoc* is explained by *quid iudicavit* below. The order is *hoc, quid (ille) qui . . . decrevit . . . iudicavit*.

1. 6. *quaesitori*, properly the president in a law court, here used of Cicero, because he conducted the investigation of the plot.

*gratulatio* here, as in 10. 20, means a public thanksgiving to the gods, which is expressed in iii. 6. 15 by the word *supplicatio*. The dative *quaesitori* means 'in honour of,' not 'to'; the thanksgiving to the gods was voted in honour of him who conducted the inquiry. The same meaning is conveyed in iii. 6. 15 by *meo nomine*, and in fact the passage *supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est* is a paraphrase of the words *quaesitori gratulationem decrevit* used here.

1. 7. *de re*, 'about the fact'; *causa*, 'question at issue.' Cf. Milo 15: *et de re et de causa iudicavit*.

**At vero**, 'but on the other hand,' reverting again to Caesar after the digression about the *non nemo*.

l. 8. **intellegit**, as appears from his not refusing to vote in the senate, and therefore practically recognizing its right to judge in the case. Note that *intellegit*, not *dicit*, is the word used.

**legem Semproniam**. See note on i. 11. 28. Cicero names this particular one of the laws intended to secure a citizen's right of appeal to the people, in order that he may immediately afterwards use the fate of its proposer, C. Gracchus, as an argument against Caesar.

l. 10. **denique**, 'and in fact.'

l. 11. **latorem**, 'the proposer.' Cicero argues that as the law had not saved its proposer, still less could it save others who had become *hostes patriae*.

ll. 11, 12. **rei publicae** is dative.

l. 15. **etiam**, 'still,' referring to time as in i. 1. 1.

**Itaque homo**, &c., 'so, though mild and lenient, he does not hesitate,' &c.

l. 18. **se iactare**, 'show himself off.'

**in perniciem**, 'while ruining,' not *in perniciem*, 'to the ruin of.'

l. 20. **publicationem bonorum**. We learn from Plutarch that after sentence of death was passed it was further proposed to confiscate the property of the conspirators. Caesar, however, opposed this, on the ground that it was unjust, while rejecting the mildest part of his sentence, namely perpetual imprisonment, to add the severest part of it, namely confiscation of their goods, to the already (in his opinion) excessive penalty of death.

## 6.

**Page 49**, ll. 22-25. **sive**, 'if on the one hand,' answered by **sive**, 'or if on the other hand.' **dederitis** is the apodosis to **sive statueritis**, **me purgabo**, &c., to **sive sequi malueritis**.

l. 23. **comitem**, Caesar, who being, in that case, the proposer of the successful motion, would accompany Cicero when he as consul informed the people of what had been done.

**populo** goes with **carum** and **iucundum**.

ll. 24, 25. **me . . . populo Romano purgabo**, 'will clear myself in the eyes of the Roman people.' This dative of the person judging is common with *purgo*.

l. 26. **obtinebo**, 'I shall maintain,' 'prove.'

**eam**, sc. *sententiam*.

l. 28. **de meo sensu**, 'in accordance with my feeling,' 'according to my view.' For the use of *de* cf. Verr. 2. 5. 21 *de consilii sententia Mamertinis se frumentum non imperare pronunciat*. For

the meaning of *sensus* cf. Att. 15. 7 *valde mihi placebat sensus eius de re publica*.

l. 29. *ita . . . liceat, ut*, i. e. as truly as I wish that I may enjoy, so truly am I influenced, &c. The expression often occurs in the phrase *ita di me ament*. For the pleonastic *ita* compare our expression 'So help me God.'

Page 50, l. 4. *Videor enim mihi videre*. This is the figure called *subiectio sub oculos*, or *ὑπορύπτωσις*.

*lucem*. Rome is called the light of the world, as in iii. 10. 24 distinguished men are called *lumina civitatis*.

l. 6. *animo*, 'in my mind's eye.'

*sepulta in patria*. Tacitus uses the same metaphor of Cremona when reduced to ashes, Hist. 3. 35 *sepultae urbis ruinis*.

l. 7. *acervos civium*. Cf. iii. 10. 24 *locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit*.

ll. 7, 8. *versatur mihi ante oculos*, 'I have always before my eyes.'

l. 8. *adspectus . . . et furor, &c.*, 'the wild mien of Cethegus revelling in your bloodshed.'

l. 11. *purpuratum*, a title given in the Macedonian and in Asiatic courts to the minister highest in the king's favour, and here applied sarcastically. Upcott translates, 'with Gabinus as his grand vizier.'

l. 15. *misera atque miseranda*, 'piteous and pitiable.' Wilkins quotes from Gronovius:—'Multa sunt misera sed non sunt miseranda. Ut, si torqueatur homicida, miser est quidem, sed non miserandus; innocens si torqueatur, et miser et miserandus.'

l. 16. *praebebo* has better MS. authority than *praebeo*, which is also found. The future implies that there is still much to be done before the conspirators are duly punished. Cf. iii. 11. 26 *postulabo*.

l. 20. *an*, equivalent to *an potius*.

l. 21. *importunus*, 'unfeeling.'

ll. 21-23. *qui non . . . lenierit*, 'in that he did not alleviate.'

ll. 26, 27. *id egerunt, ut, &c.*, 'made it their object to,' &c.

l. 31. *Nisi vero*, 'unless indeed,' an ironical formula regularly used to introduce an example that serves as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument that is to be refuted.

l. 32. L. Caesar was consul in 64. His sister Julia had married, first, M. Antonius Creticus, by whom she had three sons, among them the future triumvir Antonius; after his death she married the conspirator Lentulus.

ll. 33, 34. *sororis suae . . . virum*, Lentulus.

Page 51, l. 1. *avum suum*, M. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Caesar was the son of L. Caesar, consul in 90, and of Fulvia, who was a daughter of M. Fulvius Flaccus, consul in 125, whom L. Opimius killed as an adherent of C. Gracchus, together with his sons.

l. 2. *filium eius*, &c. This was the younger son of Fulvius, whom his father sent with a herald's wand to Opimius, to prevent bloodshed by offering terms of reconciliation.

l. 3. *Quorum*, &c., 'what had they (Flaccus and C. Gracchus) done like this?' i. e. like the present conspiracy. *factum* (l. 4) is a substantive, 'what deed?'

l. 4. *delendae*, the emphasis falls on this word.

l. 5. *Largitionis voluntas*, 'designs of largess were then rife,' referring to the law passed by C. Gracchus for distributing corn at a low price to the poorer citizens.

l. 6. *partium . . . contentio*, 'party rivalry.'

l. 7. *huius avus*, P. Cornelius Lentulus, who was consul in 162, and princeps senatus at the time of the death of C. Gracchus, on which occasion he was wounded. Cf. iii. 5. 10.

ll. 8, 9. *ne quid*, &c., 'that the common welfare of the state should not be impaired.' Cf. i. 6. 14, note p. 7, l. 13.

l. 14. *Vereamini censeo*, ironical, 'it is my opinion we should fear.' His true opinion is given below, *multo magis est verendum*, &c.

l. 16. *remissione*, 'mitigation.'

7.

Page 51, l. 20. *exaudio*. See i. 8. 21.

l. 22. *ut habeam*, &c. From these words some have supposed that Cicero spoke after Nero, of whom Sallust says *de ea re praesidiis additis referendum censuerat*.

ll. 25, 26. *summa . . . maiore*. Cf. iii. 5. 13, note p. 35, l. 18.

ll. 26, 27. *ad summum imperium retinendum*. The sovereign power of the Roman people was in danger of falling into the hands of the revolutionists.

l. 31. *templi ac loci*, the temple of Concord on the Capitol. The pleonasm is found also in Manil. *70 deos : qui huic loco templo-que praesident*.

Page 52, l. 1. *in qua* is equivalent to *talis ut in ea* and is therefore followed by the subjunctive.

ll. 3, 4. *soli perire*. Cf. ii. 10. 21.

ll. 8, 9. *Quid . . . commemorem*, 'why should I mention?' different from *quid commemoro*, 'why am I mentioning?' which occurs in 8. 16.

ll. 9, 10. *ita . . . ut*, with a limiting force, 'only so far . . . that,' i. e. 'while they yield you the chief rank in council, yet they vie with you in patriotism.'

l. 11. *ex*, 'after.' The disagreement referred to was due to the Lex Sempronia of 122, which transferred the *iudicia* from the senate

to the knights. At this time the iudices were taken from the senate, the knights, and the tribuni aerarii.

l. 12. *dissensione huius ordinis*, 'disagreement with this house.'

l. 13. *revocatos* by the Lex Aurelia.

l. 20. *hic dies*, the 5th of December, on which day the quaestors cast lots for their provinces and for their scribes in the temple of Saturn, which was in the Forum, within sight of the temple of Concord.

*frequentasset*, 'had assembled in large numbers,' 'had drawn together in throngs.'

l. 22. *ingenuorum*, Orelli finds a difficulty in the mention of *ingenui* and then again (as distinguished from the *scribae*) of *libertini homines*, after the *scribae*, who he thinks were for the most part *libertini*. Mommsen however, according to Halm-Laubmann, shows that the *scribae* of the quaestors and curule aediles were almost exclusively *ingenui*.

l. 23. *tenuissimorum*, 'of the most slender means.'

l. 25. *cum* does not govern *sit*, which is consecutive after *Quis est, cui non*, &c., but is answered by *tum*, 'both . . . and,' 'not only dear but also a source of joy and pleasure.'

## 8.

Page 52, l. 27. *Operæ pretium est*, 'it is worth while.'

l. 28. *sua virtute*. It was by their own good qualities that the freedmen won their manumission.

l. 31. *quid . . . commemoro*, 'why am I mentioning?' different from *quid commemorem* in 7. 15, 'why should I mention?' The former phrase implies that the thing is being already done, the latter that it has not yet been done.

Page 53, ll. 4, 5. *qui modo . . . qui non*. The first relative clause specifies the subject more closely, the second is consecutive, forming the predicate, 'there is no slave—provided only that he is in an enduring condition of slavery—who does not dread,' &c.

l. 6. *haec stare*. Cf. 4. 7 and i. 8. 21.

ll. 6, 7. *quantum audet, &c., conferre*.

l. 8. *voluntatis* depends on *tantum* implied in the preceding *quantum*.

l. 9. *concurrare*, used here of one person, may be translated 'prowl.'

ll. 12, 13. *fortuna miseri, &c.*, 'poverty-stricken or disaffected.'

ll. 13, 14. *illum . . . locura*, pointing to the Forum, where were many *tabernae*, shops or stalls; 'that very place where was their workbench and their daily business.'

l. 15. *lectulum*. The diminutive here is used with reference to its comfort, 'his snug bed.'

l. 16. **vero**, 'in truth.'

l. 17. **eorum, qui in tabernis sunt**, 'of shopkeepers.'

**immo vero**, 'nay rather.'

l. 19. **instrumentum**, 'stock in trade,' and not merely tools or implements.

l. 20. **frequentia sustentatur, alitur otio**. An instance of the figure Chiasmus (from the Greek letter X), in which the order of the words in the first clause is inverted in the second.

l. 21. **quorum** refers to *eorum, qui in tabernis sunt* above, as is made clearer by the following words *occlusis tabernis*. Hachtmann can hardly be right in seeking the antecedent of *quorum* in *instrumentum, opera, quaestus*, which he supposes to be abstracts used for concretes.

*occlusis tabernis*. The shops were liable to be closed in times of war and public disturbance. Cf. Acad. 2. 47. 144 *Quid me igitur, Luculle, in invidiam et tamquam in contionem vocas? et quidem, ut seditiosi tribuni solent, occludi tabernas iubes?*

l. 22. **futurum fuit**, i. e. would have happened.

### 9.

Page 53, l. 24. **praesidia**. See 7. 14.

l. 26. **atque**. While *et* co-ordinates *periculis* and *insidiis*, *atque* introduces a matter of more serious importance, 'aye, and from the jaws of death.'

Page 54, l. 2. **illum ignem**, pointing to the temple of Vesta in the Forum, where the Vestal Virgins watched the eternal fire.

ll. 8, 9. **quae non semper facultas datur**, 'an opportunity not always granted.'

l. 11. **in civili causa**, 'in a question of politics.'

l. 12. **quantis laboribus, &c.**, is a concise expression for *quantis laboribus imperium fundatum sit, quod una nox paene delevit*, 'think by what toil was the empire established, which one night nearly destroyed.'

l. 15. **una nox**. Most probably the night when the Allobroges were arrested. The evidence then obtained was most important for the conviction of the conspirators, so that had the attempt to obtain it failed, the circumstance might have been fatal to the state. See Flacc. 112 *O nox illa, quae paene aeternas huic urbi tenebras attulisti, cum Galli ad bellum, Catilina ad urbem, coniurati ad ferrum et flammam vocabantur, cum ego te, Flacce . . . flens flentem obtestabar; cum tuae fidei . . . salutem urbis et civium commendabam*. On the other hand Cicero speaks in a very similar way of the night of the meeting at Laeca's house, Sull. 52 *quae nox omnium temporum coniurationis acerrima fuit atque acerbissima*.

l. 16. **non modo**. See i. 10. 25, note p. 11, l. 30.

## 10.

Page 54, l. 21. *ad sententiam, sc. rogandam.* See i. 4. 9. The consul did not give a formal vote himself.

l. 25. *Quodsi, &c.* Cicero's fears were realized in 58, when Clodius procured his banishment.

Page 55, l. 4. *gratulationem.* See 5. 10, note p. 49, l. 6.

Scipio Africanus Maior, who by carrying the war into Africa compelled Hannibal to return to that country, where he defeated him at Zama in 202 B. C.

ll. 5, 6. *in Africam redire atque Italia decedere* is a *ὑστερον πρότερον*, that is, an inversion of the natural order.

ll. 6, 7. *alter . . . Africanus*, that is, P. Corn. Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor.

l. 9. *Paulus ille.* L. Aemilius Paulus defeated Perseus king of Macedonia at Pydna, 168 B. C.

l. 11. *bis.* Marius defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae and the Cimbri near Vercellae in 101.

*obsidione*, 'military occupation.'

l. 13. *isdem quibus solis, &c.* Cf. iii. 11. 26.

l. 17. *quo victores revertantur.* Cf. Pompey's compliment to Cicero, Off. i. 78 *michi quidem . . . Cn. Pompeius multis audientibus hoc tribuit, ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rem publicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus.*

l. 18. *uno loco*, 'in one respect.'

*condicio melior, &c.*, that is, conquerors of foreign foes are in a better position than those who have conquered their countrymen.

l. 20. *serviunt*, 'become slaves.'

*recepti, sc. in fidem*, or as some MSS. actually read, *in amicitiam.*

l. 30. *Neque ulla, &c.* This hope was not realized. Discord between the senate and the knights was soon renewed.

l. 31. *conspiratio* is a *vox media*, that is, may be used in either a good or a bad sense. For the good sense found here cf. Dom. 11. 28 *hanc nostram coniunctionem, hanc conspirationem in re publica bene gerenda.*

l. 32. *confringere et labefactare*, 'to break up and to shatter.'

## 11.

Page 56, l. 1. *pro imperio, sc. proconsulari.*

ll. 1, 2. *pro provincia quam neglexi.* Macedonia and Cisalpine Gaul were the consular provinces for 62 B. C. The former, which

was a rich province and offered hope of a triumph, fell to Cicero, but he surrendered it to Antonius, whom in this way he won over from his inclination to favour Catiline.

ll. 3, 4. *propter . . . custodiam*, 'because I wished to watch over.'

l. 4. *pro clientelis*, &c., 'in place of the ties of clientship and friendship, which nevertheless by the influence I have in the city I strive no less zealously to maintain than to acquire.'

l. 7. *pro meis*, &c., 'in return for my zeal.' In the preceding clauses *pro* meant 'in place of.'

l. 15. *solius* the genitive, not *solus* the nominative, for Cicero might boast before the senate that he saved the state at his own sole risk, but hardly that he alone had saved it.

ll. 23, 24. *per se ipsum*, 'by himself.'

l. 24. *praestare*, 'answer for,' 'guarantee,' that is, execute.

TRANSLATION OF PART OF THE FIRST  
INVECTIVE AGAINST CATILINE

(I. 13, 32, 33.)

THEREFORE, let the conspirators at once take their side ; let them separate themselves from honest citizens, and gather themselves together somewhere else ; let them put a wall between us, as I have often said. Let us have them no longer thus plotting the assassination of a consul in his own house, overawing our courts of justice with armed bands, besieging the senate-house with drawn swords, collecting their incendiary stores to burn our city. Let us at last be able to read plainly in every Roman's face whether he be loyal to his country or no. I may promise you this, gentlemen of the senate, there shall be no lack of diligence on the part of your consuls ; there will be, I trust, no lack of dignity and firmness on your own, of spirit amongst the Roman knights, or unanimity amongst all honest men, but that when Catiline has once gone from us, everything will be not only discovered and brought into the light of day, but also crushed, aye, and punished. Under such auspices, I bid you, Catiline, go forth to wage your impious and unhallowed war—go, to the salvation of the state, to your own overthrow and destruction, to the ruin of all who have joined you in your great wickedness and treason. And thou, great Jupiter, whose worship

Romulus founded here coeval with our city—whom we all call truly the 'Stay' of our capital and our empire—thou wilt protect thine own altars and the temples of thy kindred gods, the walls and roof-trees of our homes, the lives and fortunes of our citizens, from yon man and his accomplices. These enemies of all good men, invaders of their country, plunderers of Italy, linked together in a mutual bond of crime and an alliance of villainy, thou wilt surely visit with an everlasting punishment, living and dead<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Translated by the Rev. W. Lucas Collins in the volume on Cicero in the series of Ancient Classics for English Readers.

## EXERCISES



### ORATIO I.

#### I (I. 1.)

1. Catiline desired to lay the state<sup>1</sup> waste with bloodshed and fire. 2. For a long time he did not perceive that his plans were evident to all loyal<sup>2</sup> citizens. 3. He mocked the long-suffering of the senate and devised mischief against the consuls and against each one of you. 4. Long since should the frenzy of that most bitter enemy have been checked by order of the consul. 5. Formerly the conspiracy of harmful citizens was checked with the most severe punishment. 6. For Ti. Gracchus and Sp. Maelius when attempting revolution were put to death by their fellow-citizens.

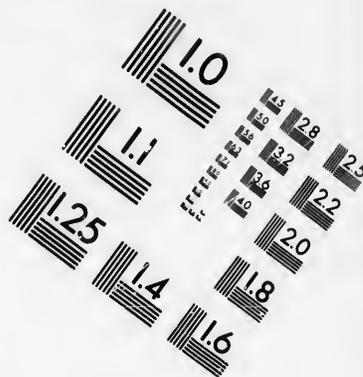
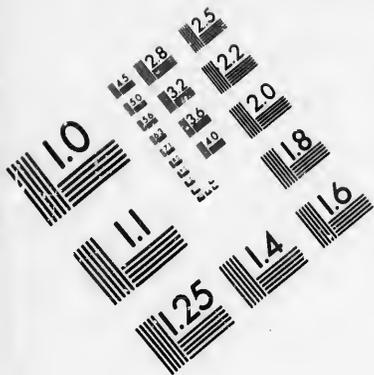
<sup>1</sup> *respublica.*

<sup>2</sup> *bonus.*

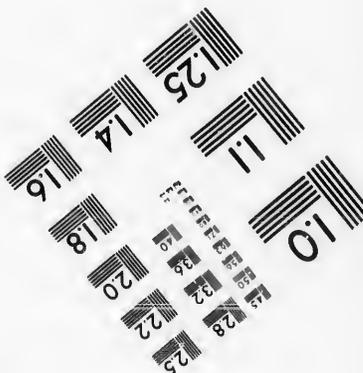
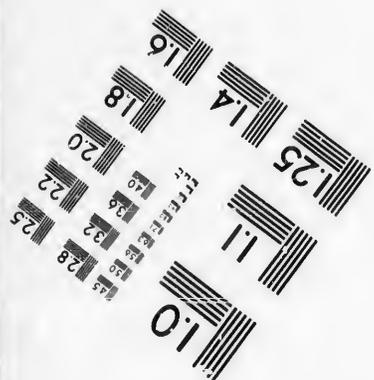
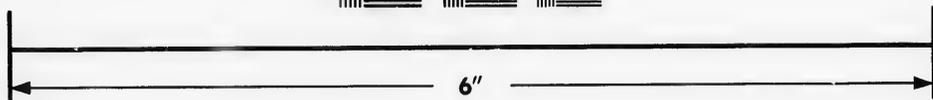
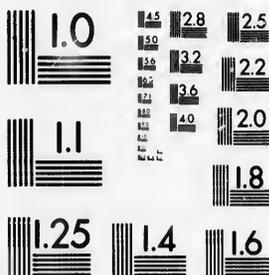
#### II (I. 2.)

1. L. Opimius feared lest he should seem to be remiss when the state was in such danger<sup>1</sup>. 2. For<sup>2</sup> which cause he immediately ordered Gracchus and Fulvius to be slain. 3. But *we*<sup>3</sup> keep as it were sheathed in a scabbard the decree of the senate in accordance with<sup>4</sup> which Catiline should long since have been put to death. 4. His daring increases from day to day, and he daily





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attempts<sup>5</sup> some mischief to the state. 5. The leader of the enemy has dared to pitch his camp in Italy, and we see him now for the twentieth day within our walls, aye, and<sup>6</sup> in the senate. 6. But we will not suffer him to bestir himself against the state, for the senate decreed that we should keep watch upon<sup>7</sup> him and put him to death when making such an attempt<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'in the so great dangers of the republic.'

<sup>2</sup> Use *de*.

<sup>3</sup> Express the pronoun.

<sup>4</sup> Use *ex*.

<sup>5</sup> *moliri*.

<sup>6</sup> *atque adeo*.

<sup>7</sup> *custodire*.

<sup>8</sup> *talia moliri*.

### III (I. 3.)

1. Neither the shades of night nor the walls of his house could veil<sup>1</sup> his impious designs. 2. The gatherings of his followers and abettors were clearer to me than noonday<sup>2</sup>. 3. It did not escape me that he had fixed the murder of the chief men of the state for the 28th day of October. 4. Can any one deny that Rome was saved by my diligence? 5. Many citizens, not forgetful<sup>3</sup> of your<sup>4</sup> daring, Catiline, fled from Rome to<sup>5</sup> save themselves. 6. By the diligence of us who<sup>6</sup> remained you were not able to effect, to attempt, or to think of anything<sup>7</sup> against the state.

<sup>1</sup> *obscurare*.

<sup>2</sup> Say 'than light.'

<sup>3</sup> Participle of *oblivisci*.

<sup>4</sup> Say 'thy.' In Latin the 2nd pers. sing. is always used in addressing one person.

<sup>5</sup> Use *causa*.

<sup>6</sup> See end of § 7 of text.

<sup>7</sup> See last lines of chapter 3.

### IV (I. 4.)

1. Cicero reviewed the preceding night, that the senators might understand that he had kept vigilant watch<sup>1</sup> for the safety of the state. 2. He said that on the previous night at the house of<sup>2</sup> Laeca, Catiline and the partners

of his recklessness<sup>3</sup> had planned<sup>4</sup> the destruction of us all. 3. To the same place had come together many whom we now see in the senate. 4. They determined who should be butchered with the sword at Rome. 5. Those very persons who he foretold would come to him in the morning, came at that time. 6. Guards were sent to<sup>5</sup> protect the house of the consul so that no one dared to put him to death.

<sup>1</sup> *acriter vigilare.*

<sup>2</sup> *apud.*

<sup>3</sup> *scelus.*

<sup>4</sup> *cogitare de.*

<sup>5</sup> Use *qui* with subj.

### V (I. 5.)

1. When Catiline had for a long time plotted against the consul, he at length assailed<sup>1</sup> the city and all the citizens. 2. Though he was about to set out for the camp of the enemy of his own accord, he hesitated to go forth at the order of<sup>2</sup> the consul. 3. All loyal citizens will be freed from great fear, provided only<sup>3</sup> Catiline and his friends depart from the city. 4. We shall be very grateful<sup>4</sup> to the immortal gods if we escape this great<sup>5</sup> danger. 5. Since these<sup>6</sup> things are so, do we hesitate to put to death that baneful band of conspirators? 6. If you<sup>7</sup> ask my advice you will dare to do everything that you may check his impious attempts.

<sup>1</sup> *petere.*

<sup>2</sup> Use the ablative absolute.

<sup>3</sup> Use *modo.*

<sup>4</sup> Say 'shall have great gratitude.'

<sup>5</sup> Say 'so great.'

<sup>6</sup> Use relative.

<sup>7</sup> Use plural.

### VI (I. 6.)

1. Can the light of the heaven above us<sup>1</sup> be pleasant to you when you know that all men hate your vices and your crimes? 2. No mark of disgrace is now wanting to<sup>2</sup> your life, your character, and your person. 3. There

is no one, even of the most abandoned, who allows your monstrous conduct<sup>3</sup> to remain unmentioned. 4. How often did you try to plunge in the body of the consul the dagger which the good fortune of the Roman people has wrested from your hands! 5. Do you not perceive that the mischief<sup>4</sup> you were preparing for the chief men of the state is now threatening<sup>5</sup> yourself? 6. For what is there that can more concern the public welfare<sup>6</sup> than that such great crimes should be punished?

<sup>1</sup> Say 'of this heaven.'  
*manitas.*      <sup>4</sup> *pestis.*  
*summa respublica.*

<sup>2</sup> Say 'is absent from.'  
<sup>5</sup> Say 'hanging over.'

<sup>3</sup> *im-*  
<sup>6</sup> Use

### VII (I. 7.)

1. Cicero spoke in such a way that he seemed to be moved by pity, not by dislike. 2. Within the memory of man it never befell any one that so many friends and relatives avoided his presence. 3. Out of that great<sup>1</sup> throng who was there whom you could in any way appease? 4. Do you not fear the violence of those who you perceive fear and hate you? 5. Wherefore cease to neglect the laws and to crush your native land with fear. 6. It is not to be borne that for you alone the plundering of the citizens and the harassing of the allies should be free and unpunished.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'so great.'

### VIII (I. 8.)

1. As these things were so he wished to lay the matter<sup>1</sup> before the senate, and said that if the house<sup>2</sup> passed a decree he would obey. 2. When he did not obtain this he surrendered himself into custody for

the purpose of avoiding suspicion. 3. He received the same answer from all to whom he came. 4. They dared not dwell within the same city walls. 5. They were with difficulty induced to withhold from him due punishment. 6. If he would leave the city and free the state from fear they would attend him to the gates as he set out.

<sup>1</sup> *rem referre.*

<sup>2</sup> Say 'that order.'

## IX (I. 9.)

1. Would that the gods may inspire Catiline with the purpose of<sup>1</sup> planning flight! 2. But he is not such a man as to be moved either by fear or modesty. 3. It is not to be expected<sup>2</sup> that he should set out into exile and betake himself to Manlius. 4. Nothing will break his resolution<sup>3</sup>, nor will he ever resolve<sup>4</sup> to go forth into exile with the most abandoned citizens. 5. He prefers to bear a load of odium and to make war on his fellow-citizens. 6. Provided only he may make war on his country, he is willing to separate himself from all good men.

<sup>1</sup> Use *ut.*

<sup>2</sup> Say 'demanded.'

<sup>3</sup> Say 'break him.'

<sup>4</sup> Say 'induce his mind.'

## X (I. 10.)

1. Cicero wished to effect this much, that Catiline should commit crime as an exile rather than a citizen. 2. What he is undertaking should be called<sup>1</sup> brigandage rather than war. 3. He will soon find a band of wicked men who desire that life. 4. With what joy they will see the state harassed, the citizens worn out<sup>2</sup> with want! 5. They will plot against the property of every one, nor will war bring them sorrow, but a quite<sup>3</sup> incredible

delight. 6. They will have an opportunity of displaying <sup>4</sup> their uncurbed and frenzied greed.

<sup>1</sup> Use gerundive.    <sup>2</sup> *conficere*.    <sup>3</sup> *quidam*.    <sup>4</sup> Say  
'they will have where they may display.'

### XI (I. 11.)

1. Though these things were so, yet the consul allowed the leader, whom he had found to be a public enemy, to depart from the city. 2. Why did he not order him, whom he perceived to be the ringleader of the conspiracy, to be cast into chains? 3. Neither the usage of our forefathers nor the laws prevented him. 4. For in this state harmful citizens often have been and often will be punished with death. 5. A fine return indeed will he make to those who have raised him to the highest authority, if through fear of some danger he disregards the safety of his fellow-citizens. 6. Is not their country dearer than their very <sup>1</sup> life to all who hold the right of citizens?

<sup>1</sup> *ipse*.

### XII (I. 12.)

1. Cicero would not <sup>1</sup> punish Catiline with death lest he should be thought to act in a tyrannical way. 2. For there were many who did not see what <sup>2</sup> threatened, or disguised what they saw. 3. There were some even in this house <sup>3</sup> who held the same opinion <sup>4</sup>. 4. I judged it the best course <sup>5</sup> to suffer him to go forth from the city and lead forth his fellows <sup>6</sup> with him. 5. No one is so silly as not to understand that he who has gone to the camp of Manlius is an enemy of his country.

6. I have not only expelled the murderer<sup>7</sup> of his fellow-citizens, but also blotted out the plague of the state.

<sup>1</sup> Use *nolo*.      <sup>2</sup> Say 'the things which.'      <sup>3</sup> *ordo*.      <sup>4</sup> Use *sentire*.  
<sup>5</sup> Say 'the best thing to be done.'      <sup>6</sup> *sui*.  
<sup>7</sup> Use *parricida*.

## XIII (I. 13.)

1. When the lawless<sup>1</sup> are separated from the loyal by the city wall, then and not till then<sup>2</sup> will the state seem to be relieved from fear.      2. For while this man and his comrades are present<sup>3</sup> in the city, I fear lest there may be an outbreak of<sup>4</sup> frenzy and daring.      3. I promise that there shall be such zeal in us the consuls, that you will see those crushed who are collecting fire-brands for the burning of the city.      4. If that one man is removed, those who are plotting against all loyal citizens will cease to harass<sup>5</sup> the state.      5. Wherefore let Catiline set out to his comrades who are besetting the city sword in hand<sup>6</sup>.      6. For the state has now been long overwhelmed<sup>7</sup> with this conspiracy as with a deadly<sup>8</sup> disease

<sup>1</sup> *improbis*.      <sup>2</sup> *tum demum*.      <sup>3</sup> Use *versari*.      <sup>4</sup> Use *erumpere*.  
<sup>5</sup> *vexare*.      <sup>6</sup> Say 'with swords.'      <sup>7</sup> Use *adfictari*.  
<sup>8</sup> Say 'heavy.'

## ORATIO II.

## XIV (II. 1.)

1. The consul drove Catiline from the city that no mischief might be planned by him for the citizens. 2. Since<sup>1</sup> he is gone we do not now fear any danger. 3. For he who was threatening us with fire and sword now lies overthrown. 4. The sword will be wrenched from his hands and all the citizens will feel that they are safe. 5. He will neither be able to wage war openly nor to attempt<sup>2</sup> mischief against his country by secret plots. 6. Let those rejoice who have driven so great a bane<sup>3</sup> from the state.

<sup>1</sup> Begin with relative : 'who since.'    <sup>2</sup> *moliri*.    <sup>3</sup> *pestis*.

## XV (II. 2.)

1. There were many who blamed the consul for not seizing that deadly enemy of the state. 2. But he saw that if he put Catiline to death his comrades would remain in the city. 3. He therefore suffered him to depart<sup>1</sup> that he might ward off all danger from the citizens. 4. You can now fight openly not only with Catiline himself but also with his comrades. 5. There is no one who thinks that these men are to be feared abroad. 6. Would that I had brought matters to this, that you understood that the fault is not mine but that of the crisis<sup>2</sup> !

<sup>1</sup> *emittere*.

<sup>2</sup> Say 'times.'

## XVI (II. 3.)

1. That army seems to me greatly to be despised<sup>1</sup> in comparison with our legions. 2. He has led forth the bankrupts who used daily to hover about the forum. 3. I perceive that those who remain here are more to be feared than those who have abandoned their recognizance. 4. Surely he is much mistaken who hopes that such plans will be lasting. 5. I shall disclose the plots in the senate, so that all men may perceive that I know what Catiline is planning. 6. I know who is collecting the forces, and to whom the army has been assigned.

<sup>1</sup> Use gerundive.

## XVII (II. 4.)

1. Cicero accomplished<sup>1</sup> this that all men saw there was now no place for leniency. 2. The crimes of Catiline of themselves<sup>2</sup> called for rigour. 3. How<sup>3</sup> fortunate the citizens, if those who are like Catiline set out along with him! 4. Why do not those go forth who agree with Catiline? 5. Not only at Rome but even in every corner of Italy men crushed with debt are pining with regret for Catiline. 6. Men who lived on most intimate terms with Catiline confess that this conspiracy was made against the state.

<sup>1</sup> *adsequor*.

<sup>2</sup> *ipse*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *O fortunatam rem publicam* in § 7.

## XVIII (II. 5.)

1. When credit had failed him he began to make war on the Roman people. 2. He took<sup>1</sup> many men of

ruined fortunes<sup>2</sup> as companions in his daring. 3. Men accustomed to hunger and thirst are lying in wait for us. 4. Who is there who can endure that such<sup>3</sup> danger should threaten the Roman people? 5. I will sweep away<sup>4</sup> the plots of those who say that they are the boon companions<sup>5</sup> of Catiline. 6. He who offers himself as leader in this war will incur the enmity of the abandoned.

<sup>1</sup> *adscisco.*    <sup>2</sup> Say 'desperate men.'    <sup>3</sup> *tantus.*    <sup>4</sup> *tollo.*  
<sup>5</sup> *sodalis.*

### XIX (II. 6.)

1. There were some who said that Catiline had been driven into exile by the consul. 2. He would indeed have driven him forth if he had been able to accomplish it. 3. For who was there who did not regard him and his companions as most dangerous enemies? 4. Why do they say that he drove those most daring men into exile, when they were of themselves preparing to set out for the camp? 5. Those who had collected arms and military standards would not hesitate to declare war against the Roman people. 6. When the consul had summoned the senate he disclosed in what way Catiline had marked out the plan of the whole war.

### XX (II. 7.)

1. How unhappy is the task of averting danger from the state! 2. If Catiline, frightened by the energy of the consul, had abandoned the design of making war, all men would have considered him not wicked but unfortunate. 3. The consul however thought it was worth his while to bear the storm of odium provided he

saved the state. 4. He feared that it would one day be a ground of reproach<sup>1</sup> to him that he had let him go forth<sup>2</sup>. 5. For when he had set out from Rome he hastened<sup>3</sup> to the camp of the enemy. 6. And yet there are some who complain that he is still living as an exile.

<sup>1</sup> *invidiosus.*<sup>2</sup> *mittere.*<sup>3</sup> *properare.*

## XXI (II. 8.)

1. Why do we not take vengeance on those who confess that they are enemies? 2. No one can understand why those men remain at Rome. 3. Forces are being enrolled from men who are deeply involved in debt<sup>1</sup>. 4. Of these men there are many who look for an abolition of debts. 5. But those who wish an abolition of debts to be introduced seem to me to be offering prayers against the state. 6. Those men seem to me most to be feared who conceal the fact that they are enemies.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'in great debt.'

## XXII (II. 9.)

1. He who is burdened with debt in vain<sup>1</sup> looks for office<sup>2</sup> while the state is undisturbed. 2. I give him this warning that he should despair of being able to obtain power<sup>3</sup>. 3. For many loyal citizens are keeping watch, and the immortal gods themselves will bear aid to the state. 4. Although he is attempting everything he will never obtain what he desires. 5. Let him who has fallen so deeply in debt<sup>4</sup> cease to hope that he will be consul. 6. I perceive that no one will suffer him to urge on needy men to hope for plunder.

<sup>1</sup> *frustra.* <sup>2</sup> Say 'honours.'<sup>3</sup> *rerum potior.*<sup>4</sup> Say 'into such great debt.'

## XXIII (II. 10.)

1. May those who have betaken themselves to the camp of the enemy perish disgracefully! 2. I should hear with less grief that they had perished alone than with many others. 3. So many were the assassins and criminals that the very<sup>1</sup> prisons could not contain them. 4. Those who exerted all their energy on banquets lasting till dawn could not be torn from Catiline. 5. Let those who have learned to brandish daggers learn also to bear frost and snow. 6. Let them bring with them to the camp those bands of gamesters with whom they cannot now dispense.

<sup>1</sup> *ipse*.

## XXIV (II. 11.)

1. The consuls wished to lead forth the flower and strength of all Italy against worn-out gladiators. 2. How greatly the war was to be feared when the enemy were to have that splendid company of plunderers!<sup>1</sup> 3. Your army, Quirites, will counterbalance Catiline's companions of ruined fortunes<sup>2</sup>. 4. We should not compare the neediness<sup>3</sup> of a freebooter with the resources<sup>4</sup> of a great city. 5. In a battle of this kind the immortal gods themselves will contend with cowardice, rashness and vice. 6. Let us therefore fight, and let not hope fail us.

<sup>1</sup> *praedator*.    <sup>2</sup> *naufragus*.    <sup>3</sup> *inopia*.    <sup>4</sup> *opes*.

## XXV (II. 12.)

1. The consul being informed of this matter ordered the senate to be summoned. 2. He wished to consult the senate about appointing guards and defending the

houses of the city. 3. He sent forward Metellus to the territory of Picenum to check all the movements of the enemy. 4. The consul with the greatest leniency suffered many friends of Catiline to remain in the city. 5. He did not forget that though they were enemies yet they were citizens. 6. They felt however that they must either go forth from the city or die.

## XXVI (II. 13.)

1. All these things were so done that the greatest tumults were quieted by one leader in the garb of peace<sup>1</sup>. 2. If it could in any way have been accomplished not even any wicked man would have perished. 3. Neither the violence of their daring nor the danger threatening his country moved the consul from this leniency. 4. He accomplished a thing that seemed hardly to be hoped for in so great a war, that very few men suffered punishment. 5. You ought, Quirites, relying on the help of the gods to defend the temples and the houses of the city. 6. The gods wish the forces of the enemy to be overcome and the city to be most flourishing.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'wearing the toga.'

## ORATIO III.

## XXVII (III. 1.)

1. Through the great love of the gods to you the consul snatched your wives and children from the jaws of fate. 2. He struck back the swords drawn against the life of you all. 3. The day on which you were thus preserved should be not less pleasant to you than that on which you were born. 4. He dashed from your throats the sword-blade of him who had now almost set fire to the houses and walls. 5. He through whose means all the dangers were discovered briefly stated<sup>1</sup> them, that the senate might know their magnitude<sup>2</sup>. 6. When Catiline burst forth from the city he left at Rome the partners of his guilt.

<sup>1</sup> *expono.*

<sup>2</sup> Say 'how great they were.'

## XXVIII (III. 2.)

1. The consul did not fear odium for wishing to drive Catiline from the city. 2. When he learned that many conspirators had remained at Rome he wished to provide for the safety of all the citizens. 3. Letters for Catiline were given to Volturcius and thus an opportunity was offered of detecting the whole matter. 4. The Allobroges, who had been tampered with for the purpose of stirring up a war, were most attached to the republic. 5. It was now drawing towards evening

when chosen young men whose services the consul was in the habit of using came to the Mulvian bridge. 6. It was resolved<sup>1</sup> that an attack should be made on the Allobroges when they had now entered on the bridge.

<sup>1</sup> *placet.*

### XXIX (III. 3.)

1. On the appearance of the praetors, to whom alone the matter was known, the letters were seized with the seals unbroken. 2. When the men who had been seized had been led to the consul it was now dawning. 3. He summoned to him many others who as yet suspected nothing. 4. He said it was not his will<sup>1</sup> that the letters should be opened until they were laid before the senate. 5. He quickly summoned a full meeting of the senate that he might report the matter while fresh. 6. Those who were sent to carry off from the house of Cethegus whatever arms there were carried off a very great number of swords.

<sup>1</sup> *placere.*

### XXX (III. 4.)

1. Volturcius was brought in that he might under the assurance of an amnesty<sup>1</sup> tell all he knew about the matter. 2. He said that they would make use of the slaves with this design that they might set fire to the city in every direction<sup>2</sup>. 3. There were men at hand<sup>3</sup> to<sup>4</sup> slay the fugitives without limit<sup>5</sup>. 4. A letter was given to the Gauls for their nation that they should do what had been enjoined by Cassius. 5. Lentulus assured them that he would send forces. 6. Cethegus

and Statilius approved<sup>6</sup> of cavalry being sent into Italy as soon as possible.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'the public credit being pledged.'      <sup>2</sup> Say 'from all parts.'  
<sup>3</sup> *praesto.*      <sup>4</sup> Use *qui* with subjunctive.      <sup>5</sup> Say 'make unlimited slaughter.'  
<sup>6</sup> Use *placet.*

## XXXI (III. 5.)

1. Not to be tedious, when he had acknowledged his seal I read the letter which was written with his own hand to the Allobroges.      2. He confessed that those who had a fancy for swords would find many at his house.      3. I asked whether he wished that an opportunity should be given<sup>1</sup> him of speaking about these things.      4. Though he might have answered them he quite unexpectedly<sup>2</sup> confessed that he had surpassed all men in guilt.      5. Though the letter was unsigned<sup>3</sup> yet it was evident who had sent it.      6. From their stealthy glances<sup>4</sup> at one another they seemed to be betraying themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'that power should be granted.'      <sup>2</sup> Say 'contrary to the opinion of all.'  
<sup>3</sup> Say 'without name.'      <sup>4</sup> Say 'when they stealthily glanced.'

## XXXII (III. 6.)

1. When I consulted the senate the chief men expressed their opinion as to the course that should be pursued<sup>1</sup> in the public interest.      2. First of all the consul was thanked for having freed the state from the greatest dangers by his courage.      3. Then the others whose help the consul had found reliable were deservedly praised for betraying<sup>2</sup> those who took part in the conspiracy.      4. It is certain that the senate used the greatest lenity though the multitude of the enemy was

so great. 5. When the proofs were made known the praetor resigned office, so that the senate was freed from scruple in punishing him. 6. He who threatens<sup>3</sup> his fellow-citizens with death, his country with war, ought to lose the rights of a citizen.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'what it pleased them should be done.'      <sup>2</sup> *indicare*.  
<sup>3</sup> *minari*.

## XXXIII (III. 7.)

1. When the leaders of the conspiracy<sup>1</sup> were taken<sup>2</sup> all the hopes of those impious men collapsed. 2. The consul thought Catiline was to be feared, but only so long as he knew how to get at<sup>3</sup> every one who was within the walls of the city. 3. There was nothing that he was not himself able to accomplish or endure. 4. To avert the danger from you I said what I thought. 5. I will never allow<sup>4</sup> that enemy to remain in the city. 6. I detected the way in which<sup>5</sup> he was about to contend with us.

<sup>1</sup> *coniuratio*.      <sup>2</sup> Ablative absolute.      <sup>3</sup> Use *aditus tenere*.  
<sup>4</sup> Use *committere*.      <sup>5</sup> *quomodo*.

## XXXIV (III. 8.)

1. Flashes of lightning that were seen in the west, seemed to predict all the things that soon afterwards<sup>1</sup> took place<sup>2</sup>. 2. It was scarcely possible for<sup>3</sup> human wisdom to foresee all these things and aid you at such a crisis. 3. When several images of the gods in the Capitol were thrown down the statue of the wolf also was struck by lightning. 4. At that time, if the augurs had not appeased heaven<sup>4</sup>, we should have seen civil war and the downfall of the empire. 5. They ordered the consuls to give out a contract for turning the statue of

Jupiter in the opposite direction from formerly, namely towards the rising of the sun. 6. Accordingly that statue now looks towards the forum and senate house, so that the designs which were entered on, to the detriment of you all, are clearly seen by the senate and Roman people.

<sup>1</sup> *mox.*    <sup>2</sup> *feri.*    <sup>3</sup> Say 'of' human wisdom.    <sup>4</sup> Say 'the immortal gods.'

## XXXV (III. 9.)

1. Who can be so blind of heart as to think that all these things were managed by human counsel? 2. Though these things seemed incredible yet you learned<sup>1</sup> that wicked citizens not only designed but even attempted them. 3. The statue of Jupiter was being set up this morning at the very time that the chiefs of the conspiracy were being led through the forum. 4. How much hatred do you think those deserve who attempted to set fire to your homes and the temples of the gods! 5. There remains but one race that has both the will and the power to make war on the Roman people. 6. Yet men of this state neglected the hope offered to them, and preferred your safety to that of Lentulus and his associates.

<sup>1</sup> *sentire.*

## XXXVI (III. 10.)

1. To no men can juster honours be rendered than to those who have rescued you and your families<sup>1</sup> from bloodshed. 2. With what heaps of bodies, with what bloodshed did Sulla avenge the victory of his enemies! 3. Those who drove so many brave men from the city extinguished the most brilliant lights of the state. 4. To

those men it was always not so much their own danger as the misfortune of the state that caused grief. 5. For they wished the city to prosper in order that they might themselves be the chief men in it. 6. Catiline alone within the memory of men would have behaved in such a way that not even the very citizens could have survived.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'wives and children.'

### XXXVII (III. 11.)

1. For this great virtue he demanded no reward except praise. 2. The memory of that great day was stored up for ever in the minds of the citizens. 3. There is nothing that can please me except literary records, which I hope will be everlasting. 4. The memory of a consulship is preserved by the discourse of the citizens. 5. The one man preserved the lives of the citizens, the other the limits of the empire. 6. I hope that many citizens will preserve the safety of the state.

### XXXVIII (III. 12.)

1. Wars are not waged on the same terms<sup>1</sup> among citizens as among enemies. 2. For citizens must live with those whom they have injured. 3. It is your duty, Quirites, to take care that most daring men may never crush the guardians of the state. 4. Those who exposed themselves to so many dangers, have brought it to pass that you cannot now be injured. 5. Let them as private persons defend what they do as magistrates. 6. Let those always be in honour with<sup>2</sup> us who so conduct themselves as not to yield to any one's daring.

<sup>1</sup> *condicio.*

<sup>2</sup> *apud.*

## ORATIO IV.

## XXXIX (IV. 1.)

1. The consul bid them, forgetful of their own safety, take thought for the danger of the state. 2. He saw that the senators had laid aside the thought of all other things and had turned their eyes upon himself. 3. He said that he<sup>d</sup> was willing to endure every torture, provided that he might procure safety for the Roman people. 4. If the immortal gods had wished it they could have snatched the native land of all of you from war and devastation. 5. He felt<sup>1</sup> a certain pain when he heard that the senate house would never afterwards be free from danger for him. 6. The goodwill of the immortal gods towards you has saved your wives and children from most cruel slaughter.

<sup>1</sup> *percipere.*

XL (IV. 2.)<sup>1</sup>

1. Wherefore he bid them consult<sup>2</sup> their own interests, save their wives and children, and cease to think about him. 2. For he hoped that the gods who guarded the city would make a return to him according to his deserts. 3. Wherefore he would bear with composure whatever happened, for a disgraceful death could not befall a brave man, nor an untimely a man who had been consul. 4. He was not however so unfeeling<sup>3</sup> as not to be affected by the tears of his friends. 5. He

bid them apply themselves <sup>4</sup> to securing the safety of the state, lest they should perish along with their fellow-citizens. 6. Could they hesitate <sup>5</sup> about putting to death the men who had tampered with the Allobroges and stirred up the slaves?

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this exercise use *oratio obliqua*.      <sup>2</sup> Impf. subj.  
<sup>3</sup> *ferreus*.      <sup>4</sup> *incumbere*.      <sup>5</sup> *dubitare*.

## XLI (IV. 3.)

1. When the informers had reported everything Lentulus resigned his praetorship. 2. When the senate had consigned to custody those whose conspiracy had been disclosed they decreed a thanksgiving on the consul's account. 3. The honour was of such a kind that to no one before him did such splendid rewards seem to have been given. 4. When he had given the warning that was incumbent on the consul, they saw that there was a dangerous conspiracy in the state. 5. He said they were greatly mistaken if they thought it was the deed of a few men. 6. He consulted <sup>1</sup> the senate as to what they thought <sup>2</sup> should be decided about this great <sup>3</sup> evil.

<sup>1</sup> *referre*.      <sup>2</sup> *censere*.      <sup>3</sup> Say 'this so great.'

## XLII (IV. 4.)

1. Those whom Silanus voted for punishing with death, Caesar ordered to be kept in custody in the free towns. 2. For the one thought death to be a punishment, the other rest from toil. 3. It is the part both of a wise and a brave man to meet death willingly. 4. Let us decide that the severest penalty should be imposed on those who attempt to destroy the state. 5. Should we therefore leave life alone to those wicked

men and order their property to be confiscated? 6. Or should the hope of safety also be snatched from those for whom the ancients have held that punishments were appointed even in the other world.

#### XLIII (IV. 5.)

1. We must first see what is for our interest and for that of our country. 2. Those who follow Caesar's opinion do not see why an attack should be feared. 3. No one now had any doubt as to whom the judges were about to give into custody. 4. We will confer the greatest rewards on those who (will) seem to have understood what was for the interest of the state. 5. Who cannot understand the difference between those who wish to be considered popular and those who truly consult for the people's safety? 6. It cannot be doubted that the judges will add to his punishment the confiscation of his property.

#### XLIV (IV. 6.)

1. It is not easy to understand what cruelty there can be in punishing such crime. 2. He showed himself severe towards those who tried to overthrow the foundations of the state. 3. There is no reason to fear that those who slay the enemies of their country may seem too violent. 4. Those who were then engaged in managing the state entered on a plan for destroying the city. 5. Let us make it our object to punish<sup>1</sup> those who wished to hand us over to slaves to be butchered. 6. Let us exact the most severe penalty from those who confess that they attempted to slay our wives and children.

<sup>1</sup> *animadvertere in.*

## XLV (IV. 7.)

1. He did not conceal the things that came to his ears. 2. And when these things were heard<sup>1</sup> many persons feared that what they wished would not be carried out. 3. Why should I mention with what courage the citizens were ready to perish rather than neglect the common safety? 4. I shall regard as my country's enemies all who do not hold one and the same opinion in this matter. 5. For it is the duty of all the citizens to defend themselves in such a way as also to defend the safety of the state. 6. The very<sup>2</sup> soil of our country must be defended that these temples may not perish.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'which things being heard.'<sup>2</sup> *ipse*.

## XLVI (IV. 8.)

1. There is no one, provided only liberty is sweet to him, who does not desire to defend his country. 2. Even freedmen think it worth their while to contribute as much as they can to the safety of a state whose honours they are likely to obtain<sup>1</sup>. 3. No one is so abandoned as not to be moved by this that we have heard. 4. All who are most devoted to peace desire the shops to be safe. 5. Wherefore this whole class judge those to be enemies who order the shops to be closed. 6. When<sup>2</sup> the minds of the needy are tampered with by bribes all men fear their daring.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'are about to obtain.'<sup>2</sup> Use the ablative absolute.

## XLVII (IV. 9.)

1. He asked them not to fail the Roman people.  
 2. For (he said that) their country as it were stretched forth to them her hands in entreaty and entrusted to them the temples of the gods and the walls of the city.  
 3. He bid<sup>1</sup> them therefore forgetful of all dangers preserve themselves, their wives and children. 4. For they had<sup>2</sup> a consul who would not fail either them or their country. 5. They should therefore take care<sup>3</sup> that one night did not destroy their liberty and their country. 6. For he had said<sup>4</sup> all these things not to rouse them up, but that he might seem to have discharged the duty of a consul.

<sup>1</sup> Express by imperfect subjunctive.<sup>2</sup> Oblique narration.<sup>3</sup> *providere*.<sup>4</sup> Use oblique narration.

## XLVIII (IV. 10.)

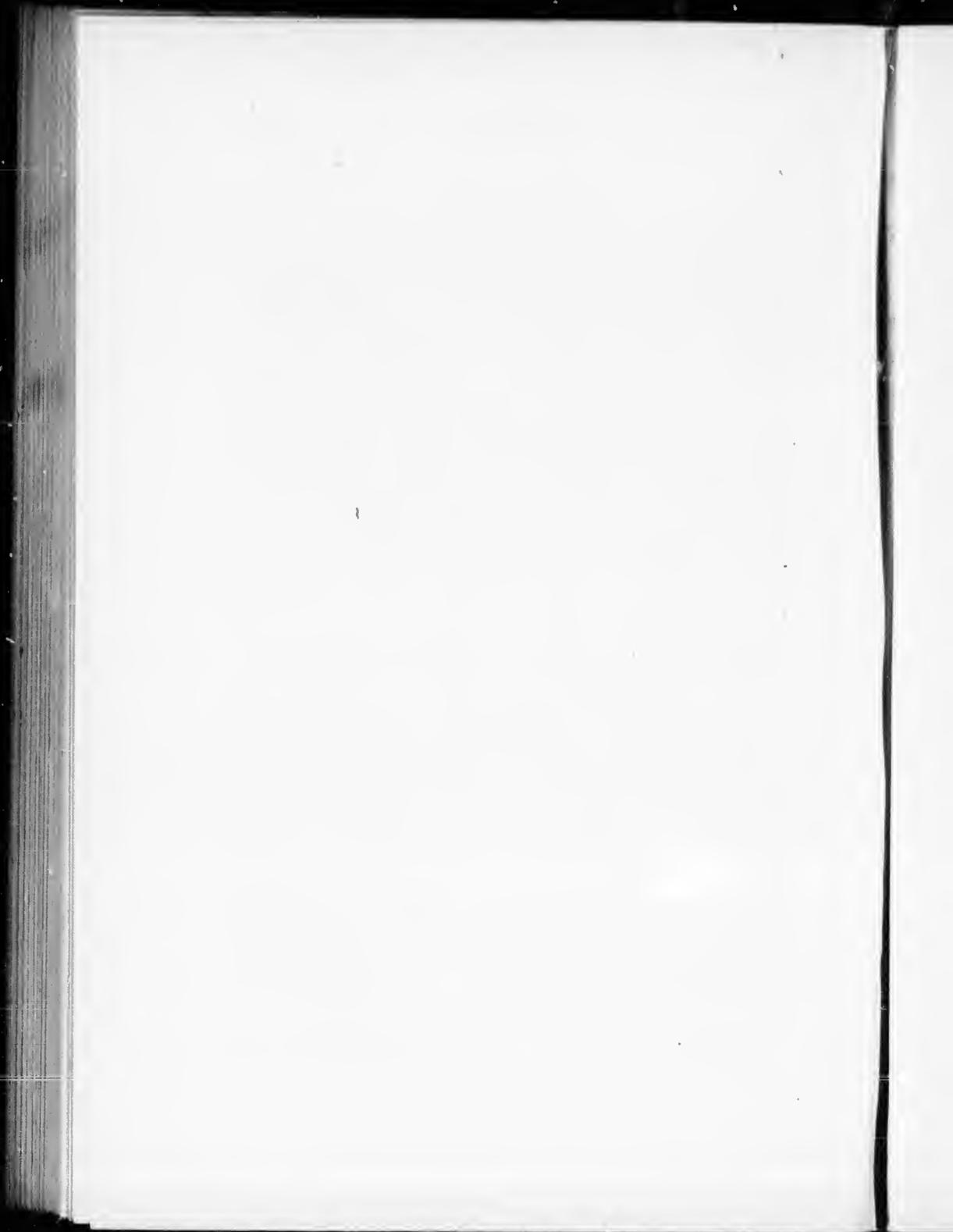
1. Although he saw how great the band of his enemies was yet he did not regret<sup>1</sup> what he had done. 2. For he thought that those who threatened him with death were a crowd of base and shameful conspirators. 3. No one hereafter will ever obtain such great praise as that with which you have honoured him who not only managed the state well but even saved it. 4. Let the achievements of others be bounded by the same limits as the sun's course; I too, assuredly, shall have some place among those who have freed Italy from fear. 5. Do you think it a greater thing to open provinces for the citizens to go forth to than to preserve a country for them to return to? 6. I will undertake unending war against those of the citizens who cannot be held back from the destruction of the state.

<sup>1</sup> *paenitere*.

## XLIX (IV. 11.)

1. He said that in return for his zeal towards them he asked nothing except that the memory of his consulship should remain fixed in their minds. 2 He thought that while this memory was in their minds he would be protected by a very safe wall. 3. As this was so<sup>1</sup> he entrusted to them not only himself but also his little son. 4. But even if this hope had deceived him he would have saved everything at his own risk alone. 5. He therefore bid them decide boldly about themselves and their families. 6. For they had a consul who would not hesitate to obey their decrees.

<sup>1</sup> Say 'which things when they were so.'



## VOCABULARY

- a, ab, abs, *prep. with abl.*, by, from.
- abdico, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, disown; *abdicare se magistratu*, resign office.
- ābeo, -ivi *and* -ii, -itum, -ire, *v.*, go away, depart.
- ābhorreo, -ui, *v. 2*, am averse to, inconsistent with.
- ābicio, -iēci, -iectum, -icēre, *v. 3*, cast away, throw down, cast off, give up, cast down.
- abiectus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, disheartened, downcast, mean, low.
- abscondo, -condi *and* -condidi, -conditum, *v. 3*, hide, conceal.
- absens, -entis, *part. adj.*, absent.
- absolūtio, -ōnis, *f.*, acquittal.
- absum, āfui, ābesse, *v.*, am absent, am far from.
- ābundantia, -ae, *f.*, abundance, wealth.
- ābūtor, -ūsus, *v. 3 dep.*, misuse, abuse, exhaust.
- ac, *conj.*, and.
- accēdo, -cessi, -cessum, *v. 3*, approach.
- accēlĕro, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, hasten.
- accerso *and* arcesso, -ivi, -itum, *v. 3*, summon.
- accīdo, -cīdi, *v. 3*, happen, befall.
- accīpio, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v. 3*, receive.
- accūbo, *v. 1*, lie near, recline at table.
- accumbo, -cūbui, -cūbitum, *v. 3*, recline at table.
- accūso, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, accuse, arraign, blame.
- ācer, ācris, ācrĕ, *adj.*, sharp, severe, spirited, brave; *comp. acrior*; *sup. acerri-mus*.
- ācerbĕ, *adv.*, harshly, severely.
- ācerbitas, -ātis, *f.*, sourness, affliction, pain, bitterness.
- ācerbus, -a, -um, *adj.*, bitter, rigorous, severe.
- ācervus, -i, *m.*, heap.
- ācies, -ēi, *f.*, sharp edge, sharpness of sight, line of battle, battle-array.
- ācriter, *adv.*, eagerly, zealously; *comp. acrius*.
- ad, *prep. with acc.*, to, towards, for, in order to; *like apud*, at, near, with.
- addūco, -xi, -etum, *v. 3*, lead to, bring into, induce, persuade.
- ādeō, *adv.*, so, so much; *with conj.*, to annex a more important thought, or to make a

- correction, indeed; *atque adeo*, and indeed, *aye and*, and in fact.
- ādeps**, -īpis, *comm.*, fat, corpulence.
- adfectus**, -ūs, *m.*, state *or* disposition of mind, mood.
- adfēro**, -tūli, -lātum, -ferre, *v.*, bring to, bring upon, give, impart.
- adficio**, -fēci, -fectum, *v.* 3, affect, visit with, bestow upon, inflict upon.
- adfinis**, -e, *adj.*, related by marriage, associated with, privy to.
- adfficto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, distress, torment.
- adffigo**, -ixi, -ictum, *v.* 3, strike down, cast down, prostrate.
- adgrēgo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, add to, bring to, assemble.
- ādhibeo**, -ui, -itum, *v.* 2, apply, bring to bear, use.
- ādhiūc**, *adv.*, hitherto, still, yet, until now, thus far.
- ādimo**, -ēmi, -emptum, *v.* 3, take away.
- ādīpiscor**, -eptus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, obtain.
- ādītus**, -ūs, *m.*, approach.
- adiungo**, -nxi, -nectum, *v.* 3, join, attach.
- adiūvo**, -iūvi, -iūtum, *v.* 1, help, assist.
- adīnister**, -tri, *m.*, assistant, abettor.
- adīnistro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, manage, guide, administer.
- admīror**, -ātus, *v.* 1 *dep.*, wonder at.
- admōnītus**, -ūs, *m.*, suggestion.
- adnuo**, -ui, -ūtum, *v.* 3, nod assent, assent.
- adquīro**, -sivi, -sītum, *v.* 3, add to.
- adscendo**, -scendi, -scensum, *v.* 3, ascend, mount.
- adscisco**, -ivi, -itum, *v.* 3, receive, admit.
- adsēquor**, -sēcūtus *or* -sēquūtus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, gain, obtain.
- adseruo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, keep, guard.
- adsīdeo**, -sēdi, -sessum, *v.* 2, sit by *or* near, sit beside.
- adsīduē**, *adv.*, constantly.
- adspicio**, -spexi, -spectum, *v.* 3, look on, look at.
- adspēctus**, -ūs, *m.*, seeing, looking at, sight.
- adsuēfācio**, -fēci, -factum, *v.* 3, *with abl.*, accustom to, inure to.
- adsum**, **adui**, **adesse**, *v.*, am near, am present, am at hand.
- ādūlescens**, -entis, *m.*, youth, young man.
- ādūlescentūlus**, -i, *m.*, young man.
- ādulter**, -ēri, *m.*, adulterer, paramour.
- ādultus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, grown up, matured.
- adventus**, -ūs, *m.*, coming, approach.
- advespērascit**, -āvit, *v.* 3 *impers.*, evening comes on, it approaches evening.
- aedes**, -is, *f.*, *in sing.*, temple; *in pl.*, house.
- aedīfīcium**, -i, *n.*, building.
- aedīfīco**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, build.
- aeger**, -gra, -grum, *adj.*, sick, ill.
- aequē**, *adv.*, in like manner, equally.
- aequitas**, -ātis, *f.*, equity, fairness, moderation.
- aequus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, equal, calm, tranquil.
- aerārium**, -i, *n.*, treasury.
- aerārius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, of bronze, of money; hence *tribuni aerarii*, paymasters who

superintended disbursements of the public treasury.  
**aes, aeris, n.**, bronze, money;  
**aes alienum, n.** (*lit.*, the money of another), debt.  
**aestus, -ūs, m.**, heat.  
**aetas, -ātis, f.**, age.  
**aeternus, -a, -um, adj.**, eternal, everlasting.  
**Africa, -ae, f.**, Africa.  
**Africānus, -i, m.**, surname of the two most distinguished Scipios.  
**ager, -gri, m.**, field, land, territory.  
**agnosco, -nōvi, -nītum, v. 3.**, recognize, acknowledge.  
**āgo, ēgi, actum, v. 3, do, (of a speaker) plead.**  
**agrāriūs, -a, -um, adj.**, of or pertaining to land; **agrārii, -ōrum, m.**, those who urged the agrarian laws, the agrarian party.  
**agrestis, -e, adj.**, of the country, rustic.  
**Āhāla, -ae, m.**, a Roman family name.  
**ālo, v. defect.**, say.  
**ālea, -ae, f.**, a game with dice, a game of chance, gambling.  
**ālēātor, -ōris, m.**, gamester.  
**āliēnīgena, -ae, m.**, foreigner, alien.  
**āliēnus, -a, -um, adj.**, that belongs to another, another's, foreign; **āliēnus, subst. m.**, stranger.  
**āliquando, adv.**, sometimes, at any time, ever, one day; (*in commands, exhortations, or wishes*) at length, now at last.  
**āliquanto, adv.**, somewhat, a little.  
**āliqui, -quae, -quod, indef. adj.**, some, any.  
**āliquis, āliquid, indef. subst. pron.**, some one, somebody, any one, something, anything.

**āliquō, adv.**, somewhither, to some place.  
**āliquot, indef. indecl. num.**, some, several.  
**ālius, -a, -ud, adj. and subst.**, another, other; **alius . . . alius**, the one . . . the other, *in pl.*, some . . . others.  
**Allōbrox, -ōgis, pl., Allobroges, -um, n.**, the Allobroges.  
**ālo, alui, altum and alītum, v. 3.**, nourish, support, strengthen.  
**Alpes, -ium, f.**, the Alps.  
**altāria, -ium, n. pl.**, altar.  
**alter, -tēra, -tērū, adj.**, the other (*of two*), the second, the next; **alter . . . alter**, the one . . . the other.  
**altus, -a, -um, part. adj.**, high, lofty, elevated.  
**āmans, -ntis, part. adj. with gen.**, fond of, loving, attached to.  
**āmentia, -ae, f.**, madness, insanity.  
**āmīcio, -īcui or -īxi, -ictum, v. 4.**, clothe, wrap up.  
**āmictus, -ūs, m.**, mantle, cloak.  
**āmīcus, -i, m.**, friend.  
**āmitto, -mīsi, -missum, v. 3.**, lose.  
**āmo, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1.**, love.  
**āmor, -ōris, m.**, love, passion.  
**amplector, -exus, v. 3 dep.**, embrace, favour.  
**amplifico, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1.**, extend, enlarge.  
**amplītudo, -īnis, f.**, greatness, distinction, consequence.  
**amplius, adv.**, more, longer, further, besides.  
**amplus, -a, -um, adj.**, large, great; *sup.*, **amplissimus** (*often as title for persons holding high office*), distinguished, most honourable.  
**an, conj.**, or, whether.

- angŭlus, -i, *m.*, corner, nook.  
 ānhēlo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*,  
 breathe out.  
 ānima, -ae, *f.*, breath, life.  
 ānimadversio, -ōnis, *f.*, punish-  
 ment.  
 ānimadverto, -ti, -sum, *v. 3*,  
 give heed to, observe; anim-  
 advertere in aliquem, to  
 punish any one.  
 ānimus, -i, *m.*, mind, spirit,  
 feeling.  
 Annius, *m.*, name of a Roman  
*gens*.  
 annus, -i, *m.*, year.  
 antē, *prep. and adv.*, before.  
 antea, *adv.*, before.  
 antēlūcānus, -a, -um, *adj.*,  
 before light, before day, con-  
 tinuing all night till daybreak.  
 antēpōno, -pōsui, -pōsitum,  
*v. 3*, set before, prefer.  
 antēquam, also as two words,  
 antē quam, *conj.*, before,  
 before that.  
 antiquus, -a, -um, *adj.*, old,  
 ancient.  
 āpērio, āpērui, āpertum, *v. 4*,  
 open.  
 āpertē, *adv.*, openly.  
 āpertus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*,  
 open.  
 appārātus, -ā, -um, *part. adj.*  
 well-furnished, splendid.  
 appello, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*,  
 accost, address, call.  
 Appenninus, -i, *m.*, Apen-  
 nines.  
 apprōpinquo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*,  
 draw near.  
 aptus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, fit,  
 suitable.  
 apud, *prep. with acc.*, at, in  
 presence of, with, at the house  
 of.  
 Apŭlia, -ae, *f.*, a province in  
 Lower Italy, now Puglia.  
 āqua, -ae, *f.*, water.  
 āquila, -ae, *f.*, eagle.
- āra, -ae, *f.*, altar.  
 arbītror, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, think,  
 suppose.  
 arceo, -cui, -ctum, *v. 2*, keep  
 off.  
 ardeo, -rsi, -rsum, *v. 2*, am on  
 fire, burn.  
 ardor, -ōris, *m.*, flame, burning.  
 argenteus, -a, -um, *adj.*, of  
 silver, silver.  
 argentum, -i, *n.*, silver, plate.  
 argūmentum, -i, *n.*, evidence,  
 proof.  
 arma, -ōrum, *n., pl.* arms.  
 armo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, arm.  
 arx, arcis, *f.*, citadel.  
 at, *conj.*, but; at vero, but  
 certainly, but assuredly.  
 atque, *conj.*, and; in com-  
 parisons (of equality) as, (of  
 difference), than.  
 atrōcitas, -ātis, *f.*, harshness,  
 savageness.  
 atrox, -ōcis, *adj.*, horrible,  
 atrocious, dreadful.  
 attendo, -tendi, -tentum, *v. 3*  
 (with animum or animos, or  
 absolute), direct the attention  
 to, give heed to.  
 attribuo, -ui, -ūtum, *v. 3*,  
 assign.  
 attŭlit, or adtŭlit, from adfero.  
 auctiōnārius, -a, -um, *adj.*, of  
 or pertaining to an auction;  
 tabulae auctionariae, auction  
 bill.  
 auctor, -ōris, *m.*, author, in-  
 stigator, adviser.  
 auctōritas, -ātis, *f.*, authority,  
 influence, sanction.  
 audācia, -ae, *f.*, boldness,  
 effrontery, insolence, daring.  
 audax, -ācis, *adj.*, bold.  
 audeo, ausus, *v. 2*, venture,  
 dare.  
 audio, -īvi or -ii, -ītum, *v. 4*,  
 hear.  
 augeo, auxi, auctum, *v. 2*, in-  
 crease, augment.

**Aurēlia Via**, *f.*, the Aurelian Way, the great coast road from Rome to Transalpine Gaul, at first extending only to Pisae, now Pisa, afterwards continued to Genua, now Genoa, Forum Julii, now Fréjus, and Arelate, now Arles

**auris**, -is, *f.*, ear.

**auspicium**, *i, n.*, augury, auspices.

**aut**, *conj.*, or; **aut . . . aut**, either . . . or.

**autem**, *conj.*, but, however, moreover

**auxilium**, *i, n.*, help, aid.

**āversus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, turned away, alienated.

**averto**, -ti, -sum, *v. 3*, turn away, avert, divert.

**āvus**, -i, *m.*, grandfather.

**bacchor**, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, revel.  
**barbāria**, -ae, *f.*, foreign country

**barbārus**, -i, *m.*, foreigner, stranger, barbarian.

**barbātus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, having a beard, bearded.

**beātus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, happy, blessed, wealthy, rich.

**bellum**, -i, *n.*, war.

**bēnē**, *adj.*, well.

**bēnēficium**, -i, *n.*, favour, kindness.

**bēnēvolentia**, -ae, *f.*, goodwill, kindness.

**bēnignitas**, -ātis, *f.*, kindness, favour.

**bībo**, bībi, *v. 3*, drink.

**bīpertīto**, *adv.*, in two divisions, in two parties.

**bis**, *adv. num.*, twice.

**bōnā** (*n. pl. of bonus*), -ōrum, property, fortunes, possessions.

**bōnus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, good, loyal, excellent : *comp.*

**mēlior**, -us; *superl.*, optīmus, -a, -um.

**brēvis**, -e, *adj.*, short.

**brēviter**, *adv.*, briefly, shortly.

**C.**, abbreviation for the praenomen Caius or Gaius.

**caedes**, -is, *f.*, slaughter.

**caelum**, -i, *n.*, heaven, the sky.

**Caesar**, -āris, *m.*, a surname in the gens Iulia.

**cālāmītas**, -ātis, *f.*, calamity, injury, damage, misfortune.

**callīdus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, expert, cunning, shrewd.

**campus**, -i, *m.*, often of the place of assembly at the Comitia Centuriata, more fully called Campus Martius.

**cāno**, cēcīni, *cantum, v. 3*, sing, predict, foretell.

**canto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, sing.

**cāpillus**, -i, *m.*, hair.

**cāpio**, cēpi, *captum, v. 3*, take, adopt, get, incur, hold, contain; (*only pass., and especially in part. captus*) deprive of one's faculties.

**cāpitālis**, -e, *adj.*, by which life is endangered, capital, deadly.

**cāpitōlium**, -i, *n.*, the capitol.

**cāput**, -ītis, *n.*, head, life, political status.

**carcer**, -ēris, *m.*, prison.

**careo**, -ui, -itum, *v. 2*, am without, am deprived of, abstain from, do without.

**Carthāgo**, -īnis, *f.*, Carthage.

**carus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, dear, valued, esteemed.

**Cassius**, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.

**castra**, -ōrum, *n. pl.*, camp.

**castrensis**, -e, *adj.*, of or belonging to a camp.

**cāsus**, -ūs, *m.*, accident, chance.

**Cātilīna**, -ae, *m.*, Catiline.

- Cātulus**, -i, *m.*, a cognomen in the gens *Lutatia*.
- causa**, -a, *f.*, cause, reason; **causā**, *abl.* with *gen.* or *poss.* *adj.*, on account of, for the sake of.
- cedo**, **cessi**, **cessum**, *v.* 3, yield to.
- cēlēbro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, solemnize, celebrate.
- cēlēriter**, *adv.*, quickly.
- cēna**, -ae, *f.*, supper, dinner.
- censeo**, -ui, **censum**, *v.* 2, judge, vote.
- centūrio**, -ōnis, *m.*, centurion, captain.
- Cepārius**, -i, *m.*, a Roman proper name.
- cerno**, **crēvi**, **crētum**, *v.* 3, see, perceive.
- certāmen**, -īnis, *n.*, contest.
- certē**, *adv.*, certainly, surely, at least.
- certo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, contend.
- certus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, certain, fixed, sure; **certiōrem** (aliquem) **facere**, inform, tell.
- cervix**, -icis, *f.*, neck.
- cētēri**, -ae, -a, *adj.*, the rest, the others. *The sing. is rare.*
- Cēthēgus**, -i, *m.*, a cognomen in the *Cornelian gens*.
- Chilo**, -ōnis, *m.*, a cognomen.
- cibus**, -i, *m.*, food.
- Cimber**, -bri, *m.*, a Cimbrian; also as a cognomen.
- cīnis**, -ēris, *m.*, ashes.
- Cinna**, -ae, *m.*, a family name of the *gentes Cornelia and Helvia*.
- circum**, *adv.* and *prep.*, round.
- circumclūdo**, -si, -sum, *v.* 3, shut in, enclose on every side.
- circumdo**, -dēdi, -dātum, -dāre, *v.*, place round.
- circumscriptor**, -ōris, *m.*, defrauder, deceiver, cheat.
- circumsēdeo**, -sēdi, -sessum, *v.* 2, surround, sit round.
- circumspicio**, -exi, -ectum, *v.* 3, look round, look round for, survey, consider.
- circumsto**, -stēti, *v.* 1, stand round, surround.
- civilis**, -e, *adj.*, civil, civic, of citizens.
- civis**, -is, *m.*, citizen.
- civitas**, -ātis, *f.*, state.
- clam**, *adv.* and *prep.*, secretly, without the knowledge of.
- clāmo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, cry out, shout aloud.
- clārus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, famous, illustrious, clear, plain, evident.
- clēmens**, -entis, *adj.*, mild, gentle, forbearing, merciful.
- clientēla**, -ae, *f.*, clientship, patronage; *concrete, mostly in pl.*, clients, dependents.
- Cn.**, abbreviation of *Gnaeus* or *Cnaeus*.
- coeo**, -ivi or -ii, -itum, -ire, *v.*, come together, assemble.
- coepio**, **coepi**, **coeptum**, *v.* 3, begin.
- coerceo**, -cui, -cītum, *v.* 2, restrain, repress, check.
- coetus**, -ūs, *m.*, assemblage, gathering.
- cōgītatio**, -ōnis, *f.*, thought, design, plan.
- cōgīto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, think, plan, design.
- cognītor**, -ōris, *m.*, advocate, defender.
- cognosco**, -gnōvi, -gnītum, *v.* 3, know, recognize, acknowledge.
- cōgo**, **cōēgi**, **cōactum**, *v.* 3, compel, assemble.
- cōhors**, -rtis, *f.*, cohort, company.
- collēga**, -ae, *m.*, colleague, partner.

- colligo, -lēgi, -lectum, *v.* 3, gather, collect, assemble.
- collōco, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, place, set, set up.
- cōlōnia, -ae, *f.*, colony, settlement.
- cōlōnus, -i, *m.*, colonist.
- cōlor, -ōris, *m.*, colour, hue, complexion.
- cōmes, -itis, *c.*, companion.
- cōmissātio, -ōnis, *f.*, revelling, rioting.
- cōmitātus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, accompanied, attended.
- cōmitātus, -ūs, *m.*, retinue, train.
- cōmītium, -i, *n.*, the place of assembly; *pl.*, the elections.
- commēmōro, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, relate, mention.
- commendātio, -ōnis, *f.*, recommendation.
- commendo, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, intrust, commend.
- commisum, *n.*, offence, crime.
- committo, -misi, -missum, *v.* 3, commit a crime, (*of a battle*) engage in, begin; (*with ut*) act so as that; intrust, commit to.
- commōveo, -mōvi, -mōtum, *v.* 2, move, stir.
- commūnis, -e, *adj.*, common, general.
- commūto, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, change.
- compāro, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, provide, make ready, form, arrange.
- compello, -pūli, -pulsum, *v.* 3, collect, drive.
- compērio, -pēri, -pertum, *v.* 4, find out, learn, ascertain.
- compētitor, -ōris, *m.*, competitor, rival.
- complector, -plexus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, embrace.
- complexus, -ūs, *m.*, embrace.
- complures, -a and -ia, *gen.*, -ium, *adj. or subst.*, several, very many.
- comprēhendo, -di, -sum, *v.* 3, lay hold of, seize, perceive.
- comprīmo, -pressi, -pressum, *v.* 3, check, restrain.
- cōnātus, -ūs, *m.*, attempt, endeavour.
- concedo, -cessi, -cessum, *v.* 3, retire, withdraw, grant, allow, yield.
- concido, -cīdi, *v.* 3, fall to the ground, collapse, fall.
- concipio, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v.* 3, conceive, imagine.
- concito, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, stir up, excite.
- Concordia, -ae, *f.*, the goddess of Concord.
- concordia, -ae, *f.*, harmony, concord.
- concupisco, -cūpivi or cūpii, -itum, *v.* 3, long for, desire.
- concurso, *v.* 1, rove *somewhere*, visit a *place*, frequent.
- concursum, -ūs, *m.*, running together, assembly, rallying.
- condemno, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, condemn, convict, charge with, accuse of.
- condicio, -ōnis, *f.*, agreement, compact, terms, condition, circumstances.
- condo, -dīdi, -dītum, *v.* 3, found, lay up, store.
- confectus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, impaired, weakened, exhausted.
- confēro, contūli, collātum, conferre, *v.*, contribute, bring together, compare, assign, appoint; conferre se, betake oneself.
- confertus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, stuffed, filled.
- confessio, -ōnis, *f.*, confession, acknowledgement.
- confestim, *adv.*, immediately, forthwith.

- conficio**, -fēci, -fectum, *v. 3*, complete, accomplish, finish, destroy.  
**confido**, -fīsus, *v. 3*, trust confidently, believe, am assured.  
**confirmo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, strengthen, embolden, assert, affirm, confirm.  
**confiteor**, -fessus, *v. 2 dep.*, confess.  
**conflagro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, burn, am consumed.  
**configo**, -xi, -ctum, *v. 3*, am in conflict, contend.  
**conflo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, blow together, stir up, raise.  
**confringo**, -frēgi, -fractum, *v. 3*, break in pieces, destroy.  
**congrēgo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, assemble.  
**cōnīcio**, -iēci, -iectum, *v. 3*, throw together, put together, infer, direct, aim (*a thrust*), drive (*a person to*).  
**coniectūra**, -ae, *f.*, conjecture, guess.  
**coniunctio**, -ōnis, *f.*, union.  
**coniungo**, -nxi, -nctum, *v. 3*, join, unite.  
**coniūrāti**, -ōrum, *m. pl.*, conspirators.  
**coniūrātio**, -ōnis, *f.*, conspiracy.  
**coniux**, -iūgis, *c.*, wife, *more rarely*, husband.  
**conīveo**, -nīvi or -nīxi, *v. 2*, shut the eyes, wink at, overlook.  
**cōnor**, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, attempt, try.  
**conscēlērātus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, wicked, depraved.  
**conscientia**, -ae, *f.*, consciousness, knowledge, sense, conscience.  
**conscribo**, -psi, -ptum, *v. 3*, enroll; **patres conscripti**, chosen, elect fathers (*prop.*, fathers and chosen), *a title of senators*.  
**consēcro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, dedicate, devote.  
**consensio**, -ōnis, *f.*, agreement, unanimity.  
**consentio**, -sensi, -sensum, *v. 4*, agree.  
**consēquor**, -sēcūtus or -sēcūūtus, *v. 3 dep.*, follow, accompany, overtake, come up with, attain to, obtain.  
**conservo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, save, preserve.  
**consīlium**, -i, *n.*, plan, design, prudence, counsel, (*of the persons who deliberate*) council.  
**consōlor**, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, console, cheer.  
**conspectus**, -ūs, *m.*, sight, view.  
**conspīcio**, -spexi, -spectum, *v. 3*, look at, observe, gaze upon.  
**conspirātio**, -ōnis, *f.*, agreement, union, unanimity.  
**constanter**, *adv.*, firmly, steadily, consistently.  
**constantia**, -ae, *f.*, firmness, steadfastness, constancy.  
**constituo**, -ui, -ūtum, *v. 3*, appoint, fix, set, establish, arrange.  
**consto**, -stīti, -stātum, *v. 1*, stand together; **constat**, it is certain, well known.  
**constringo**, -strinxi, -strictum, *v. 3*, bind, fetter, restrain, hold in check.  
**consūstūdo**, -īnis, *f.*, custom, habit.  
**consul**, -ūlis, *m.*, consul (*one of the two chief magistrates elected annually at Rome*).  
**consulāris**, -e, *adj.*, consular; *subst.*, consularis, -is, *m.*, one who has been consul, ex-consul, of consular rank.

- consŭlātus, -ŭs, m.,** consul-ship.  
**consŭlo, -lui, -ltum, v. 3 with acc.,** consult one, ask one's opinion; *with dat.,* consult for a person or thing, provide for, have regard for.  
**consultum, -i, n.,** decree, resolution.  
**consŭmo, -sumpsi, -sumptum, v. 3,** consume, waste, squander, spend.  
**contāmino, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,** pollute.  
**contemno, -tempſi, -temptum, v. 3,** despise.  
**contendo, -di, -tum, v. 3,** compare, contrast.  
**contentio, -ōnis, f.,** struggle, contest, strife.  
**contentus, -a, -um, part. adj.,** contented, satisfied.  
**contīcesco, -tīcui, v. 3,** become silent.  
**contīnentia, -ae, f.,** self-control, temperance, moderation.  
**contīneo, -ui, -tentum, v. 2,** hold in, contain, restrain.  
**contingo, -tīgi, -tactum, v. 3,** touch, (*of occurrences*) happen to one, befall.  
**contio, -ōnis, f.,** meeting, assembly, oration, harangue.  
**contionātor, -ōris, m.,** haranguer of the people, demagogue.  
**contrā, adv. and prep.,** against, opposite.  
**contrāho, -xi, -ctum, v. 3,** draw together, (*in business*) conclude a bargain, contract, occasion (*trouble*).  
**contrōversia, -ae, f.,** dispute.  
**contŭmēlia, -ae, f.,** insult, affront, reproach.  
**convēnio, -vēni, -ventum, v. 4,** come together; *res convēnit or impers. convēnit,* it is fit, proper.  
**conventus, -ŭs, m.,** meeting, assembly.  
**converto, -ti, -sum, v. 3,** turn.  
**convinco, -vīci, -victum, v. 3,** (*with personal objects*) convict of crime or error, refute, (*with things as objects*) prove incontestably, show clearly, demonstrate.  
**convivium, -i, n.,** banquet, entertainment.  
**convōco, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,** call together, assemble.  
**cōpia, -ae, f.,** abundance, riches; *esp. in pl. as military term,* troops, forces.  
**cōpiōsus, -a, -um, adj.,** well supplied with, rich.  
**Cornēlius, -i, m.,** name of a Roman gens.  
**corpus, -ōris, n.,** body.  
**corrigo, -rexi, -rectum, v. 3,** correct, amend, reform.  
**corrōboro, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,** strengthen.  
**corruo, -ui, v. 3,** fall to the ground, collapse.  
**corruptōla, -ae, f.,** corruption, seduction.  
**corruptor, -ōris, m.,** corrupter, misleader.  
**corruptus, -a, -um, part. adj.** corrupt, bad.  
**cōtīdiānus, -a, -um, adj.,** daily.  
**cōtīdiē, adv.,** daily.  
**Cotta, -ae, m.,** a surname of the Aurelian family.  
**crēdo, -dīdi, -dītum, v. 3,** believe, think.  
**creſco, crēvi, crētum, v. 3,** increase, grow.  
**crūciātus, -ŭs, m.,** torture.  
**crūdēlis, -e, adj.,** cruel.  
**crūdēlitas, -ātis, f.,** cruelty.  
**crūdēlīter, adv.,** cruelly; *comp.* crūdēlius, more cruelly, too cruelly.  
**cruentus, -a, -um, adj.,** bloody, bloodstained.

- cūbile, -is, *n.*, couch, bed.  
 culpa, -ae, *f.*, fault.  
 cum, *conj.*, when, since; cum . . .  
 tum, *connecting complete sentences with different predicates*, as . . . so, while . . . (tum being not translated); *prep. with abl.*, with; *enclitic with pers. pron.*, mecum, tecum, secum, nobiscum, &c.  
 cūmūlo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, heap, pile up, fill up, augment, increase.  
 cunctus, -a, -um, *and more frequent in pl.*, cuncti, -ae, -a, *adj.*, all, the whole.  
 cūpīditas, -ātis, *f.*, desire, passion, cupidity, avarice.  
 cūpio, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v. 3*, desire, wish.  
 cūr, *adv. interrog. and rel.*, why.  
 cūra, -ae, *f.*, care, solicitude, anxiety.  
 cūria, -ae, *f.*, senate-house.  
 cūro, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, take care of, take care.  
 currus, -ūs, *m.*, chariot.  
 cursus, -ūs, *m.*, running, course, career.  
 cūrūlis, -e, *adj.*, sella curulis, curule chair, official chair *used by consuls, praetors, and curule aediles*.  
 custōdia, -ae, *f.*, guard, custody, restraint.  
 custōdio, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v. 4*, guard, watch over.  
 custos, -ōdis, *c.*, guardian.  
 D., *abbreviation of the praenomen Decimus*.  
 damno, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, condemn.  
 dē, *prep. with abl.*, about, concerning, from, because of, for.  
 dēbeo, -ui, -itum, *v. 2*, am under an obligation, ought, owe; *pass.*, am due, owing.  
 dēbilis, -e, *adj.*, feeble, weak.  
 dēbilito, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, weaken, unnerve.  
 dēcēdo, -cessi, -cessum, *v. 3*, depart.  
 dēcem, *num. adj.*, ten.  
 decerno, -crēvi, -crētum, *v. 3*, decree, decide.  
 dēcīmus, -a, -um, *ord. num. adj.*, tenth.  
 dēclīnātio, -ōnis, *f.*, bending aside, swerving.  
 dēcōctor, -ōris, *m.*, spendthrift, bankrupt.  
 dēcrētum, -i, *n.*, decree, decision.  
 dēdēcus, -ōris, *n.*, disgrace, shame, blot.  
 dēdūco, -xi, -ctum, *v. 3*, lead down, bring, lead away, lead.  
 dēfātīgo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, weary out, exhaust.  
 dēfēndo, -di, -sum, *v. 3*, defend.  
 dēfēro, -tūli, -lātum, -ferre, *v.*, bring, report.  
 dēfīcio, -fēcī, -fectum, *v. 3*, fail, desert, am wanting.  
 dēfīgo, -xi, -xum, *v. 3*, fix, plunge in.  
 dēflāgro, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, burn down, destroy utterly.  
 dēfīcio, -iēcī, -iectum, *v. 3*, throw down, strike down.  
 deīndē, *adv.*, afterwards, then.  
 dēlecto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, please, delight.  
 dēlēgo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, delegate, assign.  
 dēleo, -lēvi, -lētum, *v. 2*, destroy.  
 dēlīcātus, -a, -um, *adj.*, alluring, charming, voluptuous.  
 dēlīgo, -lēgi, -lectum, *v. 3*, choose, select.  
 dēlūbrum, -i, *n.*, shrine.  
 dēmēns, -entis, *adj.*, out of one's mind, mad.

- dēmēter**, *adv.*, foolishly, madly.  
**dēmentia**, -ae, *f.*, infatuation, madness.  
**dēmigro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, remove, depart.  
**dēmīnuo**, -ui, -ūtum, *v. 3*, take away from, abate.  
**dēmīnūtio**, -ōnis, *f.*, diminution, decrease.  
**dēmōstro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, point out, show.  
**dēmum**, *adv.*, at length, at last.  
**dēnīque**, *adv.*, at last, at length, finally, in a word, in short.  
**dēnūntio**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, intimate, declare.  
**dēpello**, -pūli, -pulsum, *v. 3*, drive away, expel, ward off, divert, avert, cast down.  
**dēpendo**, -di, -surā, *v. 3*, pay.  
**dēplōro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, mourn, lament.  
**dēpōno**, -pōsui, -pōsitum, *v. 3*, lay down, lay aside.  
**dēposco**, -rōposci, *v. 3*, demand, claim.  
**dēprāvo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, pervert, corrupt.  
**dēprēcor**, -ātus, *v. 1*, deprecate.  
**dēprēhēndo** or **dēprēndo**, -di, -sum, *v. 3*, seize, detect, surprise.  
**dērēlinquo**, -liqui, -lictum, *v. 3*, forsake, desert, abandon.  
**dēscribo**, -psi, -ptum, *v. 3*, mark off, transcribe, describe.  
**dēsēro**, -rui, -rtum, *v. 3*, forsake, desert, abandon, forfeit.  
**dēsīdērium**, -i, *n.*, grief, regret.  
**dēsīdēro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, long for, desire, miss.  
**dēsīgnātus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, elect.  
**dēsīgno**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, point out, designate.  
**dēsīno**, -sīi, -sītum, *v. 3*, cease, leave off.  
**dēsīsto**, -stīti, -stītum, *v. 3*, leave off, cease, desist from.  
**dēsperātio**, -ōnis, *f.*, hopelessness, despair.  
**dēsperātus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, given up, despaired of, desperate.  
**dēsperō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, have no hope of, despair of, give up, despair.  
**dēstringo**, -inxī, -ictum, *v. 3*, draw.  
**dēsūm**, -fui, -esse, *v.*, fail, am wanting.  
**dētēstor**, -ātus, *v. 1*, avert (*by entreaty*), deprecate.  
**dētrāho**, -xi, -ctum, *v. 3*, take away from.  
**dētrīmentum**, -i, *n.*, loss, damage, harm.  
**deus**, -i, *m.* (*pl. di and dei*), god.  
**dēvōveo**, -vōvi, -vōtum, *v. 2*, devote.  
**dextēra**, or **dextra**, -ae, *f.*, right hand.  
**dīco**, -xi, -ctum, *v. 3*, say.  
**dīctātor**, -ōris, *m.*, dictator.  
**dīctātūra**, -ae, *f.*, dictatorship.  
**dīctīto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, assert.  
**dies**, -ei, *m.*, and in *sing. sometimes f.*, day.  
**dīffīcilis**, -e, *adj.*, difficult.  
**dīffīcultas**, -ātis, *f.*, difficulty, trouble.  
**dīgnītas**, -ātis, *f.*, dignity.  
**dīgnus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, worthy, deserving (*with abl. a relative sentence, or absolute*).  
**dīiūdicō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, decide.  
**dīlectus**, -ūs, *m.*, choice, levy.  
**dīlīgēns**, -entis, *adj.*, diligent, assiduous, careful.  
**dīlīgēnter**, *adv.*, diligently, carefully.  
**dīlīgēntia**, -ae, *f.*, diligence,

- carefulness, heedfulness, watchfulness.
- dilūcesco, -luxi, *v.* 3, grow light, dawn.
- dīmīcātio, -ōnis, *f.*, combat, fight.
- dīmīco, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, contend, fight.
- dīmītto, -misi, -missum, *v.* 3, dismiss.
- dīreptio, -ōnis, *f.*, plundering.
- dīreptor, -ōris, *m.*, plunderer.
- dīrīpio, -ui, -eptum, *v.* 3, lay waste, plunder, spoil.
- dīscēdo, -cessi, -cessum, *v.* 3, depart.
- dīscēssus, -ūs, *m.*, departure.
- dīscīplīna, -ae, *f.*, discipline, system.
- dīscō, dīdīci, *v.* 3, learn.
- dīscrībo, -scripsi, -scriptum, *v.* 3, assign, apportion.
- dīscrīmen, -īnis, *n.*, division, difference, decision, risk, hazard, danger.
- dīspertio, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v.* 4, distribute.
- dīssēmīno, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, spread abroad.
- dīssensio, -ōnis, *f.*, disagreement, dissension.
- dīssentio, -si, -sum, *v.* 4, dissent, differ, disagree.
- dīssīmīlis, -e, *adj.*, unlike, dissimilar, different.
- dīssīmūlo, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, disguise, conceal.
- dīssōlūtus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, remiss, negligent.
- dīssolvo, -solvi, -sōlūtum, *v.* 3, unloose, separate, pay, discharge.
- dīstrībūo, -ui, -ūtum, *v.* 3, distribute, apportion.
- dīū, *adv.*, a long time, long; *comp.*, diūtius.
- dīvello, -velli, -vulsum, *v.* 3, tear away, separate.
- dīversus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, different, opposite.
- dīvīnītus, *adv.*, by providence, from heaven.
- dō, dēdi, dātum, dāre, *v.* 1, give, give up.
- dōlor, -ōris, *m.*, pain, distress, grief.
- dōmesticus, -a, -um, *adj.*, domestic, private, intestine.
- dōmīcīlīum, -i, *n.*, dwelling, abode.
- dōmīnātio, -ōnis, *f.*, rule, dominion, lordship.
- dōmus, -ūs, *f.*, house, home; dōmī, *adv.*, at home, in the house; domī meae, at my house.
- dormio, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v.* 4, sleep.
- dūbītātio, -ōnis, *f.*, doubt, hesitation.
- dūbīto, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, doubt, hesitate.
- dūbīus, -a, -um, *adj.*, doubtful, uncertain; sine dubio, without doubt, doubtless.
- dūco, -xi, -otum, *v.* 3, lead, consider, account.
- dūnt for dent, *subj. of do.*
- dūlcis, -e, *adj.*, sweet.
- dūm, *conj.*, while, until.
- dūmmōdō, *and as two words*
- dūm modo, if only, provided that.
- duo, -ae, -o, *num. adj.*, two.
- duōdēcīmus, -a, -um, *ord. num. adj.*, twelfth.
- dux, dūcis, *c.*, leader, chief.
- ēbrius, -a, -um, *adj.*, drunk, intoxicated.
- ecquid, *interrog. adv.*, whether, perchance; ecquid attendis? do you heed?
- ecquīs, ecquid, *interrog. pron.*, is there any one who?, any?
- ēdictum, -i, *n.*, edict, proclamation.

- ēdo**, -dīdi, -dītum, *v.* 3, put forth, publish.  
**ēdōceo**, -cui, -ctum, *v.* 2, teach thoroughly, set forth.  
**ēdūco**, -xi, -ctum, *v.* 3, lead forth, draw out, draw.  
**effēro**, extūli, ēlātum, offerre, *v.*, carry out, bring forth, raise, exalt.  
**effrēnātus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, unbridled.  
**effūgio**, -fūgi, *v.* 3, escape, avoid.  
**ēgens**, -entis, *part. adj.*, needy.  
**ēgeo**, -ui, *v.* 2, want, need, lack.  
**ēgestas**, -ātis, *f.*, poverty.  
**ēgo**, mei, *pers. pron.*, I.  
**ēgrēdior**, -gressus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, go forth.  
**ēgrēgius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, excellent, eminent.  
**ēicio**, -iēci, -iectum, *v.* 3, cast out, expel, cast ashore, strand, wreck; so eicere, rush forth, break out.  
**ēlābor**, ēlapsus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, slip from.  
**ēlūdo**, -si, -sum, *v.* 3, make sport of, mock.  
**ēmergo**, -si, -sum, *v.* 3, come forth, extricate oneself, emerge.  
**ēmitto**, -mīsi, -missum, *v.* 3, send out, let go.  
**ēmōrior**, -mortuus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, die.  
**ēnim**, *conj.*, for.  
**eo**, ivi or ii, Itum, Ire, *v.*, go.  
**eō**, *adv.*, to that place, thither.  
**eōdem**, *adv.*, to the same place.  
**ēquēs**, -Itis, *m.*, horseman, knight; Equites, the order of knights at Rome.  
**ēquitātus**, -ūs, *m.*, cavalry.  
**ergā**, *prep. with acc.*, towards.  
**ergō**, *adv.*, therefore, then.
- ēripio**, -īpui, -eptum, *v.* 3, snatch away, take away.  
**erro**, -āvī, -ātum, *v.* 1, err, go wrong, am mistaken.  
**ērusto**, *v.* 1, belch forth.  
**ērumpto**, -rūpi, -ruptum, *v.* 3, break out, burst forth.  
**et**, *conj.*, and, also; **et . . . et**, both . . . and.  
**ētōnim**, *conj.*, for.  
**ētiam**, *conj.*, also, even, still, yet; **etiam atque etiam**, again and again.  
**ētiamsi**, *conj.*, even if, although.  
**Etrūria**, -ae, *f.*, a country of central Italy.  
**ēvādo**, -vāsi, -vāsum, *v.* 3, go forth, get away, escape.  
**ēverto**, -ti, -sum, *v.* 3, overturn, overthrow, subvert.  
**ēvōcātor**, -ōris, *m.*, one who calls to arms.  
**ēvōmo**, -ui, -Itum, *v.* 3, vomit forth, cast forth.  
**ex**, or **ē**, *prep. with abl.*, out of, from, (to designate the measure or rule) according to, after, in conformity with (which anything is done).  
**exaggēro**, -āvī, -ātum, *v.* 1, exalt, amplify.  
**exānimo**, -āvī, -ātum, *v.* 1, deprive of life, kill, terrify, alarm.  
**exaudio**, -īvi or -ii, -ītum, *v.* 4, hear.  
**excēdo**, -cessi, -cessum, *v.* 3, go forth, withdraw.  
**excelsum**, -i, *n.*, a height.  
**excelsus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, high, lofty.  
**excīdo**, -cīdi, *v.* 3, fall from.  
**excīpio**, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v.* 3, catch, capture, receive, except, make an exception of.  
**excīto**, -āvī, -ātum, *v.* 1, rouse up, raise.  
**exclūdo**, -si, -sum, *v.* 3, shut out, exclude.

- excursio, -ōnis, f.**, sally, in-road.  
**exeo, -ivi or -ii, -itum, -ire, v.**, go forth, depart.  
**exerceo, -ui, -itum, v. 2**, exercise, employ, drill, train.  
**exercitatio, -ōnis, f.**, practice, exercise.  
**exercitus, -ūs, m.**, army.  
**exhaurio, -hausi, -haustum, v. 4**, drain off, remove.  
**exigo, -ēgi, -actum, v. 3**, drive out, complete, finish.  
**eximius, -a, -um, adj.**, choice, distinguished.  
**existimo, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1**, judge, consider, think.  
**exitiosus, -a, -um, adj.**, destructive, pernicious, deadly.  
**exitium, -i, n.**, destruction, ruin.  
**exitus, -ūs, m.**, end, issue, result.  
**expello, -pūli, -pulsum, v. 3**, drive out, expel.  
**expōno, -pōsui, -pōsitum, v. 3**, set forth, state, explain.  
**exprōmo, -mpsi, -mptum, v. 3**, show forth, exhibit, display.  
**exsilium, -i, n.**, exile, banishment.  
**exsisto, -stīti, -stītum, v. 3**, emerge, appear, spring, arise.  
**expectatio, -ōnis, f.**, awaiting, expectation.  
**expecto, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1**, expect, await, hope for.  
**extinguo, -nxi, -notum, v. 3**, put out, quench, abolish.  
**exsul, -ūlis, c.**, exile, banished person.  
**exulto, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1**, exult, run riot, revel, boast.  
**exter or extērus, -a, -um, adj.**, foreign.  
**extermino, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1**, expel, exile, banish.  
**externus, -a, -um, adj.**, outward, external, foreign.
- extorqueo, -si, -tum, v. 2**, wrench from.  
**extrā, adv. and prep. with acc.**, outside, beyond.  
**extrēmus, -a, -um, adj. superl.** of *exterus*, utmost, extreme, last.  
**fācilē, adv.**, easily, readily, willingly; *comp.* *facilius*.  
**fācilis, -e, adj.**, easy.  
**fācinērōsus, -a, -um, adj.**, criminal, villainous.  
**fācinus, -ōris, n.**, deed, misdeed, crime.  
**fācio, fēci, factum, v. 3**, do, make.  
**factum, -i, n.**, deed.  
**fācultas, -ātis, f.**, power, opportunity.  
**Faesūlae, -ārum, f.**, a city of *Etruria*, now Fiesole.  
**Faesūlanus, -a, -um, adj.**, of or belonging to *Faesulae*, now *Fiesole in Etruria*.  
**falcārius, -i, m.**, sickle- or scythe-maker.  
**fallo, fēfelli, falsum, v. 3**, deceive, escape the notice of, elude.  
**falsus, -a, -um, adj.**, false, fictitious, groundless.  
**fāma, -ae, f.**, fame, reputation, character.  
**fāmes, -is, f.**, hunger.  
**fāmilia, -ae, f.**, household, establishment.  
**fāmiliāris, -e, adj.**, of or belonging to a household, domestic, familiar, intimate.  
**fāmiliārīter, adv.**, familiarly, intimately; *superl.* *fāmiliārīssimē*.  
**fanum, -i, n.**, shrine, sanctuary.  
**fascis, -is, m.**, bundle; *esp. in pl.*, the bundle consisting of rods and axe, carried before the highest magistrates, the *fascēs*.

- fātālis**, -e, *adj.*, fated, destined.  
**fāteor**, **fassus**, *v. 2 dep.*, confess, grant, acknowledge.  
**fatum**, -i, *n.*, fate, destiny, death, prediction.  
**fauces**, -ium, *f. pl.*, throat, narrow way, defile, pass.  
**fāveo**, **fāvi**, **fautum**, *v. 2*, favour, befriend, protect.  
**fax**, **fācis**, *f.*, torch, firebrand, incitement, stimulus.  
**fēbris**, -is, *f.*, fever.  
**fēmīna**, -ae, *f.*, woman.  
**fērē**, *adv.*, almost, nearly, about.  
**fēro**, **tūli**, **lātum**, **ferre**, *v. irreg.*, bear, endure, carry off, receive, make known, celebrate, bring.  
**ferrāmentum**, -i, *n.*, implement, tool, weapon.  
**ferreus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, made of iron, hard, firm.  
**ferrum**, -i, *n.*, iron, sword.  
**fidēlis**, -e, *adj.*, faithful, trusty.  
**fides**, -ei, *f.*, faith, credit, honesty.  
**fīgo**, -xi, -xum, *v. 3*, fix, impress.  
**filia**, -ae, *f.*, daughter.  
**filius**, -i, *m.*, son.  
**fīngo**, **fīnxī**, **fīctum**, *v. 3*, form, devise, imagine.  
**finis**, -is, *m.*, end, limit, border, borders, territory.  
**fio**, **factus sum**, **fīeri**, *v.*, used as *pass. of facio*, am made, am done, become.  
**fīrmo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, strengthen, secure.  
**fīrmus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, strong.  
**Flaccus**, -i, *m.*, a Roman surname.  
**flāgitiōsē**, *adv.*, shamefully, basely; *comp.*, **flāgitiōsius**; *superl.*, **flāgitiōsissime**.  
**flāgitiōsus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, shameful, profligate.  
**flāgitiūm**, -i, *n.*, shameful act.
- flāgīto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, demand.  
**flamma**, -ae, *f.*, flame, fire.  
**flecto**, -xi, -xum, *v. 3*, bend, turn.  
**flōrens**, -entis, *part. adj.*, flourishing, prosperous.  
**flōreo**, -ui, *v. 2*, flourish, prosper.  
**flos**, -ōris, *m.*, flower, prime.  
**fōcus**, -i, *m.*, hearth.  
**foedus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, foul, unseemly, shameful.  
**foedus**, -ōris, *n.*, treaty, compact.  
**fōras**, *adv.*, out of doors, forth, out.  
**fōrē**, *fut. inf. of sum*.  
**fōris**, *adv.*, out of doors, abroad, without.  
**formido**, -inīs, *f.*, fear.  
**fortasse**, *adv.*, perhaps.  
**forte**, *adv.*, by chance.  
**fortis**, -e, *adj.*, strong, brave, bold.  
**fortiter**, *adv.*, boldly, bravely.  
**fortitūdo**, -inīs, *f.*, courage.  
**fortūna**, -ae, *f.*, fortune, luck, prosperity, fate, condition; *esp. in pl.*, property, possessions, goods, fortune.  
**fortūnātus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, happy, lucky, fortunate.  
**Fōrum Aurēlium**, a town in Etruria on the Via Aurelia, about fifty miles from Rome, near the present village Castellacio.  
**fōrum**, -i, *n.*, forum, marketplace.  
**frango**, **frēgi**, **fractum**, *v. 3*, break, break down, subdue.  
**frāter**, -tris, *m.*, brother.  
**fraudātio**, -ōnis, *f.*, deceit, fraud.  
**frēquens**, -entis, *adj.*, in great numbers.  
**frēquentia**, -ae, *f.*, assembly, crowd, throng.

- frēquento, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, assemble, bring together in great numbers.
- frētus, -a, -um, *adj.* with *abl.*, relying on.
- frigus, -ōris, *n.*, cold.
- frons, frontis, *f.*, forehead, brow.
- fructus, -ūs, *m.*, fruit, profit, enjoyment.
- fruor, fructus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, enjoy.
- fūga, -ae, *f.*, flight, exile.
- fūgio, fūgi, fūgitum, *v.* 3, flee, fly, run away.
- fūgītivus, -i, *m.*, runaway, fugitive slave.
- fulgeo, fulsi, *v.* 2, shine.
- fulmen, -inis, *n.*, lightning, thunderbolt
- Fulvius, -i, *m.*, name of a Roman gens.
- fundāmentum, -i, *n.*, foundation, basis.
- fundo, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, found, establish.
- fundo, fūdi, fūsum, *v.* 3, pour out, scatter.
- fūnestus, -a, -um, *adj.*, deadly, fatal.
- fungor, functus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, perform, discharge.
- fūriōsus, -a, -um, *adj.*, raging, mad.
- Fūrius, -i, *m.*, a Roman family name.
- fūro (*perf.* usually supplied by insanīvi), *v.* 3, rage.
- fūror, -ōris, *m.*, frenzy, rage.
- furtim, *adv.*, stealthily.
- furtum, -i, *n.*, theft.
- Gābīnius, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.
- Gallia, -ae, *f.*, Gaul.
- Gallīcānus, -a, -um, *adj.*, of or belonging to the Roman province Gallia.
- Gallīcus, -a, -um, *adj.*, of or belonging to the Gauls, Gallic.
- Gallus, -i, *m.*, a Gaul.
- gāneo, -ōnis, *m.*, glutton, debauchee.
- gaudium, -i, *n.*, joy, delight, gladness.
- gēlidus, -a, -um, *adj.*, cold.
- gēner, -ēri, *m.*, son-in-law.
- gens, gentis, *f.*, race, nation; as a *partit. gen.*, with *adverbs*, gentium for *emphasis*, in the world.
- gēnus, -ēris, *n.*, stock, kind, class.
- gēro, gessi, gestum, *v.* 3, bear, carry, carry on, wage, manage; res gestae, exploits.
- glādiātor, -ōris, *m.*, gladiator.
- glādiātōrius, -a, -um, *adj.*, of or belonging to gladiators, gladiatorial.
- glādius, -i, *m.*, sword.
- glōria, -ae, *f.*, glory, honour, renown.
- Glaucia, -ae, *m.*, a surname in the gentes Servilia and Mallia.
- Gracchus, -i, *m.*, the name of a family in the gens Sempromia.
- grādus, -ūs, *m.*, step, degree, stage.
- grātia, -ae, *f.*, favour, thanks; gratiam referre, gratias agere, return thanks, make requital.
- grātulātio, -ōnis, *f.*, congratulation, thanksgiving.
- grātus, -a, -um, *adj.*, agreeable, pleasant.
- grāvīs, -e, *adj.*, heavy, severe, weighty, important, venerable.
- grāvīter, *adv.*, vehemently, deeply, seriously, severely; *comp.*, gravius.
- grex, grēgis, *m.*, flock, herd, band.
- gūbernātio, -ōnis, *f.*, direction, guidance.

- habeo**, -ui, -itum, *v.* 2, have, hold; **honorē** **habere**, render *or* pay honour.  
**habito**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, dwell, reside.  
**haereo**, **haesi**, **haesum**, *v.* 2, cling, adhere, am attached, remain fixed.  
**haesito**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, am at a loss, hesitate.  
**Hannibal**, -ālis, *m.*, a Punic surname.  
**harsus**, -īcis, *m.*, soothsayer.  
**habeo**, *v.* 3, grow blunt, dull.  
**hesternus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, of yesterday, yesterday's.  
**hic**, *adv.*, here.  
**hic**, **haec**, **hōc**, *dem. pron.*, this, this man, he, she, it.  
**hicce**, **haeccc**, **hocce**, *or better hīce*, **haeccc**, **hōccc**, *a more emphatic form of hic*.  
**hiems**, -ēm̄is, *f.*, winter.  
**hinc**, *adv.*, hence, from this, from this side; **hinc** . . . **illinc**, on one side . . . on the other.  
**hodiernus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, of this day, to-day's.  
**homo**, -īnis, *m.*, man.  
**honestas**, -ātis, *f.*, honour, probity, integrity.  
**honeste**, *adv.*, decently, becomingly.  
**honesto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, honour.  
**honestus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, honoured, honourable, distinguished.  
**hōnos** *or* **hōnor**, -ōris, *m.*, honour, office, preferment.  
**hōra**, -ae, *f.*, hour.  
**horribilis**, -e, *adj.*, horrible, dreadful.  
**hortor**, -ātus, *v.* 1 *dep.*, exhort, incite, instigate, urge.  
**hospitium**, -ī, *n.*, hospitality.  
**hostis**, -is, *c.*, enemy.
- hūc**, *adv.*, nither, to this.  
**hūmānitas**, -ātis, *f.*, humanity, gentleness.  
**hūmānus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, human.  
**hūmi**, *adv.*, on the ground.
- iaceo**, -cui, -cītum, *v.* 2, lie, am prostrate.  
**iacio**, **iēcī**, **iactum**, *v.* 3, throw, cast, throw out, let fall.  
**iacto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, throw, toss; *with se*, boast, make an ostentatious display.  
**iactus**, -ūs, *m.*, casting, hurling.  
**iam**, *adv.*, now, already.  
**iamdūdum**, *also as two words iam dūdum*, *adv.*, long since.  
**iampridem**, *also as two words iam prīdem*, *adv.*, long ago, long since.  
**Iānuārius**, -a, -um, *adj.* (*sc. mensis*), January; **Kalendae Ianuariae**, the 1st of January.  
**ibi**, *adv.*, there, thereupon.  
**ibis**, *ful. of eo*.  
**idcirco**, *adv.*, on that account, therefore.  
**idem**, **eādem**, **īdem**, *pron.*, the same.  
**īdus**, **īduum**, *f. pl.*, the Ides, the 15th of March, May, July, October, the 13th of the other months.  
**īgitur**, *conj.*, therefore, accordingly, then.  
**ignāvia**, -ae, *f.*, sloth, cowardice.  
**ignis**, -is, *m.*, fire.  
**ignōmīnia**, -ae, *f.*, disgrace.  
**ignōro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, not to know.  
**ignōtus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, unknown.  
**ille**, -a, -ud, *pron.*, that, he, she, it.  
**illinc**, *adv.*, thence, from that side.  
**illustris**, -e, *adj.*, clear, distinct, distinguished, famous.

- illustro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, light up, clear up, bring to light.  
**imāgo**, -īnis, *f.*, likeness, image.  
**imberbis**, -e, *adj.*, without a beard, beardless.  
**immānis**, -e, *adj.*, monstrous, huge, uncanny, inhuman.  
**immānitas**, -ātis, *f.*, enormity, heinousness.  
**immātūrus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, untimely.  
**immineo**, *v.* 2, overhang, threaten, menace.  
**immitto**, -misi, -missum, *v.* 3, send against, let loose at or upon.  
**immo**, *adv.*, nay rather.  
**immortālis**, -e, *adj.*, immortal.  
**impēdio**, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v.* 4, hinder.  
**impello**, -pūli, -pulsum, *v.* 3, urge on, instigate, incite.  
**impendo**, *v.* 2, hang over, threaten.  
**impērātor**, -ōris, *m.*, commander, general.  
**impērītus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, inexperienced, unskilled.  
**impēriūm**, -i, *n.*, empire, dominion, command, authority.  
**impēro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, command, order.  
**impertio**, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v.* 4, impart, bestow.  
**impētro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, obtain (*esp. by exertion, request, entreaty*).  
**impētus**, -ūs, *m.*, attack, assault, onset.  
**impius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, impious, wicked, unpatriotic.  
**implōro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, invoke, beseech, implore.  
**importūnus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, troublesome, unmannerly, crude, churlish, savage.
- imprōbitas**, -ātis, *f.*, wickedness, perverseness.  
**imprōbus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, wicked, base, shameless, perverse.  
**impūbes**, -ēris, *and* **impūbis**, -is, *adj.*, not having attained to manhood, beardless, youthful.  
**impūdens**, -entis, *adj.*, shameless.  
**impūdentē**, *adv.*, shamelessly.  
**impūdentia**, -ae, *f.*, shamelessness.  
**impūdicus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, immodest.  
**impūnītus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, unpunished, unrestrained.  
**impūrus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, impure, vile.  
**in**, *prep. with acc.*, into, to, on, against, for; *with abl.*, in.  
**inānis**, -e, *adj.*, empty.  
**inauro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, gild.  
**incendo**, -di, -sum, *v.* 3, set fire to.  
**incendium**, -i, *n.*, conflagration, fire.  
**incensio**, -ōnis, *f.*, setting on fire, burning.  
**inceptum**, -i, *n.*, beginning, attempt, undertaking.  
**incertus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, uncertain, doubtful.  
**incido**, -cidi, -cāsum, *v.* 3, fall into, fall upon.  
**incido**, -cidi, -cisum, *v.* 3, cut into, cut.  
**incipio**, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v.* 3, begin.  
**inclino**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, turn, incline, bend.  
**inclūdo**, -si, -sum, *v.* 3, shut in, inclose.  
**incōlūmis**, -e, *adj.*, unharmed, safe.  
**incrēdībīlis**, -e, *adj.*, incredible, unparalleled.

- incrēpo**, -ui, -itum, *v.* 1, make a noise, rustle.
- incumbo**, -cūbui, -cūbitum, *v.* 3, lean on, devote oneself to.
- indemnātus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, uncondemned, unsentenced.
- index**, -icis, *c.*, informer, witness.
- indīcium**, -i, *n.*, information, disclosure, token, proof.
- indīco**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, show, declare, betray.
- indīco**, -xi, -ctum, *v.* 3, proclaim.
- indūco**, -xi, -ctum, *v.* 3, lead into, persuade; *animum or in animum inducere*, bring one's mind to, resolve.
- industria**, -ae, *f.*, diligence, assiduity, industry.
- īneo**, -ivi *or* -ii, -itum, -ire, *v.*, enter upon, begin.
- īners**, -ertis, *adj.*, indolent, sluggish, idle.
- īnertia**, -ae, *f.*, idleness, laziness.
- infāmis**, -e, *adj.*, infamous, disreputable.
- infēro**, intūli, illātum, inferre, *v.*, bring into, bear against; *vim et manus inferre*, lay violent hands upon; *bellum (with dat.)*, make war upon, attack.
- infērus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, lower; *inferi*, -ōrum, *m. pl.*, the inhabitants of the lower world, the dead.
- infestus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, hostile, dangerous.
- infimus**, -a, -um, *adj. sup. of inferus*, lowest.
- infīnītus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, boundless, unlimited.
- infirmus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, weak, feeble.
- infītor**, -ātus, *v.* 1 *dep.*, deny.
- infītiātor**, -ōris, *m.*, one who denies a debt, fraudulent debtor.
- inflammo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, set on fire.
- ingēnium**, -i, *n.*, talent, ability.
- ingens**, -tis, *adj.*, great, large.
- ingēnuus**, -i, *m.*, a free-born man.
- ingrāvesco**, *v.* 3, grow heavy, grow worse.
- ingrēdiōr**, -gressus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, enter upon, engage in.
- īnhio**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, gape at.
- īnhūmānus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, inhuman, savage.
- īnīcio**, -iēci, -iectum, *v.* 3, put in, throw on, inspire, cause.
- īnīmīcītia**, -ae, *f.*, enmity.
- īnīmīcus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, hostile; *īnīmīcus*, -i, *m.*, foe, enemy.
- īnīquītas**, -ātis, *f.*, unfairness, injustice.
- īnīquus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, unfair, unjust.
- īnītio**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, initiate, consecrate.
- īniūria**, -ae, *f.*, injury, wrong; *abl.*, *īniūriā*, *used as adv.*, unjustly, undeservedly.
- īniussus**, *m.*, *only in abl.*, *īniussu*, without command.
- illēcēbra**, -ae, *f.*, inducement, allurement.
- innōcens**, -entis, *adj.*, guiltless, innocent.
- īnōpia**, -ae, *f.*, want, indigence.
- īnpūnītas**, -ātis, *f.*, freedom from punishment, impunity.
- inquam**, *v. defect.*, say.
- īnscrībo**, -psi, -ptum, *v.* 3, write on, inscribe.
- īnsēpultus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, unburied.
- īnsīdiāe**, -ārum, *f. pl.*, ambush, plot.
- īnsīdiātor**, -ōris, *m.*, lurker, waylayer.

- insidiōr, -ātus, *v.* 1, lie in wait for.  
 insidiosus, -a, -um, *adj.*, dangerous, deceitful, insidious.  
 insigne, -is, *n.*, badge, mark.  
 insimūlo, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, accuse, bring a charge.  
 insolēter, *adv.*, immoderately; *comp.* insolentius.  
 insperatus, -a, -um, *adj.*, unexpected.  
 instituo, -ui, -ūtum, *v.* 3, begin, undertake.  
 insto, -stiti, -stātum, *v.* 1, approach, threaten, impend.  
 instrūmentum, -i, *n.*, apparatus, material, supply, means.  
 instruo, -xi, -ctum, *v.* 3, set in order, draw up, marshal.  
 intēger, -tēgra, -tēgrum, *adj.*, entire, unbroken.  
 intellēgo, -exi, -ectum, *v.* 3, perceive, understand.  
 intendo, -di, -tum and -sum, *v.* 3, stretch out, extend, direct, turn one's attention, intend, purpose.  
 inter, *prep.* with *acc.*, between, among.  
 intercēdo, -cessi, -cessum, *v.* 3, intervene.  
 intēreā, *adv.*, meanwhile.  
 intereo, -ivi or -ii, -itum, -ire, *v.*, perish.  
 interficio, -fēci, -fectum, *v.* 3, kill, slay.  
 intērim, *adv.*, meantime.  
 intērimo, -ēmi, -emptum or -emtum, *v.* 3, put to death, kill.  
 intērītus, -ūs, *m.*, destruction.  
 internēcio, -ōnis, *f.*, massacre, carnage.  
 interrōgo, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, ask.  
 intersum, -fui, -esse, *v.*, lie between, am between, am different, differ.  
 intērest, *impers. v.* with *gen.* of person, or with *meā, tuā, suā, nostrā, vestrā*, it concerns *me, you, &c.*  
 interventus, -ūs, *m.*, coming up, appearance.  
 intestinus, -a, -um, *adj.*, internal, intestine.  
 intīmus, -a, -um, *adj. superl.*, innermost, inmost, intimate; *subst. m.*, a most intimate friend.  
 intrā, *adv. and prep.* with *acc.*, within.  
 intrōdūco, -duxi, -ductum, *v.* 3, bring in, introduce.  
 intueor, -itus, *v.* 2 *dep.*, look at, look upon.  
 intus, *adv.*, within.  
 Inūro, -ussi, -ustum, *v.* 3, burn in, brand, imprint.  
 invēnio, -vēni, -ventum, *v.* 4, find, discover.  
 investiō, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, trace out, discover.  
 invētērasco, -rāvi, *v.* 3, grow old, become established, mature.  
 invictus, -a, -um, *adj.*, unconquered, invincible.  
 invīdia, -ae, *f.*, envy, odium, ill-will, unpopularity.  
 invīdiōsus, -a, -um, *adj.*, envious, exciting envy.  
 invīdus, -a, -um, *adj.*, envious; *subst. m.*, an envious person, a hater.  
 invito, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, invite.  
 invitus, -a, -um, *adj.*, unwilling.  
 ipse, -a -um, *dem. pron.*, used both as *subst.* and *adj.*, self, myself, himself, yourself, &c.  
 irrētio, -īvi or -ii, -itum, *v.* 4, ensnare.  
 is, ea, id, *dem. pron.*, he, she, it, that, this, such.  
 isse for *ivisse or iisse*, from *eo*.

iste, -a, -ud, *dem. pron.*, this, that, *used especially in reference to persons and things connected with the person addressed*, that of yours.

Ita, *adv.*, so, thus, in such a way. Italia, -ae, *f.*, Italy.

Itaque, *conj.*, and so, accordingly.

Itērum, *adv.*, a second time, again.

Item, *adv.*, likewise, also.

iter, itinēris, *n.*, way.

iūbeo, iussi, iussum, *v. 2*, order, command.

iūcundus, -a, -um, *adj.*, pleasant, agreeable.

iūdicium, -i, *n.*, judgment, sentence, trial.

iūdicō, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, judge, decide.

iūgulum, -i, *n.*, throat.

Iuppiter, Iōvis, *m.*, Jupiter.

iungo, -nxi, -nctum, *v. 3*, join.

ius, iūris, *n.*, right, law; *abl.*, iūrē, *as adv.* with justice, justly.

iusiūrandum, iurisiurandi, *n.*, oath.

iussus, -ūs, *m.* (*used only in abl. sing.*), order, command.

iustus, -a, -um, *adj.*, just.

iūventūs, -ūtis, *f.*, youth, young persons.

Kalendae, -ārum, *f. pl.*, the Calends, the first day of the month.

L., *abbreviation for the praenomen* Lūcius.

lābēfacto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, shake, weaken.

lābor, -ōris, *m.*, labour, toil, exertion, suffering.

lābōro, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, labour, strive.

lācesso, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v. 3*, provoke, challenge.

lācrima, -ae, *f.*, tear.

lacto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1* (*chiefly in pres. part.*), suck milk.

Laeca, -ae, *m.*, a Roman surname.

laedo, -si, -sum, *v. 3*, damage, injure.

laetitia, -ae, *f.*, joy, pleasure.

laetor, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, rejoice.

lāmentatio, -ōnis, *f.*, wailing, lamenting.

lāmentor, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, bewail, lament.

languidus, -a, -um, *adj.*, faint, sluggish, listless.

largitio, -ōnis, *f.*, bestowing, bribery, corruption.

largitor, -ōris, *m.*, squanderer, spendthrift.

lāteo, -ui, *v. 2*, lie hid, am concealed.

lātē, *adv.*, widely; *comp.* lātius.

lātor, -ōris, *m.*, proposer.

latro, -ōnis, *m.*, freebooter, robber, brigand.

latrocīnium, -i, *n.*, freebooting, robbery, brigandage, band of robbers.

latrocīnor, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, practise freebooting.

lātus, -ēris, *n.*, side.

laudo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, praise.

laus, laudis, *f.*, praise, glory, fame.

lectūlus, -i, *m.*, couch, bed.

lectus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, choice, excellent.

lectus, -i, *m.*, couch, bed.

lēgātus, -i, *m.*, ambassador, deputy.

lēgio, -ōnis, *f.*, legion.

lēgo, lēgi, lectum, *v. 3*, read.

lēnio, -īvi or -īi, -itum, *v. 4*, soothe, mitigate, assuage.

lēnis, -e, *adj.*, mild, gentle.

lēnitas, -ātis, *f.*, gentleness, mildness.

- lēno, -ōnis, *m.*, seducer, procurer.
- Lentūlus, -i, *m.*, surname of a family in the gens *Cornelia*.
- lentus, -a, -um, *adj.*, slow, sluggish, tardy.
- lēpidus, -a, -um, *adj.*, charming, fine, elegant.
- Lēpidus, -i, *m.*, a surname in the gens *Aemilia*.
- lēvis, -e, *adj.*, light, fickle, worthless.
- lēvitas, -ātis, *f.*, lightness, fickleness, inconstancy.
- lēviter, *adv.*, lightly, slightly; *superl.* lēvissimē.
- lēvo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, lighten, relieve.
- lex, lēgis, *f.*, law.
- libenter, *adv.*, willingly, cheerfully.
- liber, -era, -erum, *adj.*, free, unimpeded.
- libēri, -ōrum, *m. pl.*, children.
- libero, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, free, liberate.
- libertas, -ātis, *f.*, liberty.
- libertinus, -i, *m.*, freedman.
- libet, libuit and libitum est, *v. 2 impers.*, it pleases me, I like, am disposed.
- libido, -inis, *f.*, passion, lust, caprice, fancy.
- licet, licuit and licitum est, *v. 2 impers.*, it is permitted, one may.
- lingua, -ae, *f.*, tongue, utterance, speech.
- līnum, -i, *n.*, thread.
- liquēfācio, -fēci, -factum, *v. 3*, melt.
- littēra, -ae, *f.*, letter, written sign; *pl.* letter, epistle, literature, records.
- lōco, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, place, give out a contract.
- lōcuples, -ētis, *adj.*, rich, wealthy.
- lōcus, -i, *m.*, place, position.
- longē, *adv.*, long, far, far off.
- longinquus, -a, -um, *adj.*, distant.
- longus, -a, -um, *adj.*, long, tedious.
- lōquor, -cūtus and -quutus, *v. 3 dep.*, speak, say.
- luctus, -ūs, *m.*, sorrow, mourning, grief.
- lūdus, -i, *m.*, game, sport, play, school.
- lūgeo, -xi, -ctum, *v. 2*, mourn, lament.
- lūmen, -inis, *n.*, light.
- lūpinus, -a, -um, *adj.*, wolf's.
- lux, lūcis, *f.*, light, daylight.
- luxūria, -ae, *f.*, luxury, excess.
- M'**, abbreviation for the praenomen *Mānius*.
- M.**, abbreviation for the praenomen *Marcus*.
- māchinātor, -ōris, *m.*, deviser, contriver.
- mēchinor, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, devise, contrive.
- macto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, reward, usually in a bad sense, afflict, punish.
- Maelius, -i, *m.*, name of a Roman gens.
- maeror, -ōris, *m.*, grief.
- māgis, *adv.*, more.
- māgistrātus, -ūs, *m.*, magistrature, magistracy.
- magnificē, *adv.*, splendidly.
- magnitūdo, -inis, *f.*, greatness, magnitude.
- magnōpēre and magno opere, *adv.*, very much, greatly.
- magnus, -a, -um, *adj.*, great, large; *comp.* māior, -us, *gen.* -ōris; maiores, -um, *m. pl.*, ancestors, forefathers; *sup.* maximus, -a, -um, greatest, chief.
- māiōres, see magnus.
- mālē, *adv.*, badly, ill; with an

- adj. it often gives it the opposite meaning, male pacatus, disturbed, restless.*
- mālēficiūm**, -i, *n.*, misdeed, crime, harm.
- māllōlūs**, -i, *m.*, fire-dart.
- mālo**, **mālui**, **malle**, *v.*, prefer.
- mālum**, -i, *n.*, evil, mischief, calamity.
- mandātum**, -i, *n.*, charge, order, injunction.
- mando**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, commit, consign, enjoin.
- māne**, *n. indecl.*, morning; *as adv.*, in the morning, early in the morning.
- māneo**, -nsi, -nsum, *v.* 2, remain.
- mānicātus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, furnished with long sleeves.
- manifestō**, *adv.*, clearly, manifestly.
- mānifestus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, manifest, evident, plain, convicted, detected.
- Manliānus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, of or belonging to Manlius.
- Manlius**, -i, *name of a Roman gens.*
- māno**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, flow, spread, extend
- mānus**, -ūs, *f.*, hand, band, body, bravery.
- Marcellus**, -i, *m.*, a Roman family name in the plebeian gens *Claudia.*
- māre**, -is, *n.*, sea.
- māritus**, -i, *m.*, husband.
- Mārius**, -i, *m.*, name of a Roman gens.
- Massilia**, -ae, *f.*, Massilia in Gallia *Narbonensis*, now Marseilles.
- Massilienses**, -ium, *m.*, the inhabitants of Massilia, Massilians.
- māter**, -tris, *f.*, mother, matron.
- mātūrē**, *adv.*, early, quickly; *comp.* **mātūrius**.
- mātūritas**, -ātis, *f.*, ripeness, maturity.
- mātūro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, hasten, despatch, expedite.
- maximē**, *adv.*, in the highest degree.
- maximus**, *see magnus.*
- mēdicīna**, -ae, *f.*, medicine, remedy.
- mēdiōcris**, -e, *adj.*, moderate, ordinary.
- mēdiōcriter**, *adv.*, moderately, not much, in a small degree.
- mēdītōr**, -ātus, *v.* 1 *dep.*, think upon, design, meditate.
- mēdius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, that is in the middle, mid, middle.
- mēhercūle**, *as an oath or asseveration*, by Hercules.
- melior**, *see bonus.*
- mēmīni**, **mēmīnisse**, *v. defect.*, remember.
- Memmius**, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.
- mēmōr**, -ōris, *adj.*, mindful of.
- mēmōria**, -ae, *f.*, memory, recollection.
- mēdicītas**, -ātis, *f.*, beggary, indigence.
- mens**, **mentis**, *f.*, mind, thought, purpose, design, prudence.
- mēreor**, -ītus, *v.* 2 *dep.*, deserve.
- mēritō**, *adv.*, deservedly.
- mēritum**, -i, *n.*, desert, service.
- met**, *pronominal suffix attached to substantive and (less frequently) adjective personal pronouns*, self.
- Mētellus**, -i, *m.*, name of a Roman family in the gens *Caecilia.*
- mētuo**, -ui, -ūtum, *v.* 3, fear.
- mētus**, -ūs, *m.*, fear.
- meus**, -a, -um, *poss. pron.*, my, mine.
- mīlēs**, -ītis, *m.*, soldier.
- militāris**, -e, *adj.*, military, warlike.

- mīnae**, -ārum, *f. pl.*, threats, menaces.  
**mīnimē**, *adv.*, least of all, very little, by no means.  
**minimus**, *see parvus*.  
**mīnītor**, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, threaten, menace.  
**mīnor**, *see parvus*.  
**Mīnūcius**, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.  
**mīnuo**, -ui, -ūtum, *v. 3*, lessen, diminish, reduce.  
**mīnus**, *adv.*, less.  
**mīnus**, *see parvus*; *in a negation*, si minus, if not.  
**misceo**, miscui, mixtum, *v. 2*, mingle, embroil, stir up.  
**mīser**, -ēra, -ērūm, *adj.*, miserable, wretched.  
**mīserandus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, deplorable, pitiable.  
**mīsēria**, -ae, *f.*, wretchedness, distress, misery.  
**mīsēricordia**, -ae, *f.*, pity, compassion, mercy.  
**mīsēricors**, -cordis, *adj.*, compassionate, merciful.  
**mītis**, -e, *adj.*, mild, gentle.  
**mitto**, mīsi, missum, *v. 3*, send.  
**mixtus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, mixed.  
**mōdō**, *adv.*, only; non modo . . . verum (or sed) etiam (or et or simply verum or sed), not only . . . but also.  
**mōdus**, -i, *m.*, manner, way, kind.  
**moenia**, -ium, *n.*, city walls.  
**mōles**, -is, *f.*, mass, bulk, greatness.  
**mōlestē**, *adv.*, with trouble or difficulty; moleste fero, I take it ill, it vexes, annoys me.  
**mōlior**, -itus, *v. 4 dep.*, undertake, attempt.  
**mollis**, -e, *adj.*, soft, gentle, mild.
- mōneo**, -ui, -ītum, *v. 2*, remind, advise, warn.  
**monstrum**, -i, *n.*, portent, monster, monstrosity.  
**mōnūmentum**, -i, *n.*, memorial.  
**mōra**, -ae, *f.*, delay.  
**morbus**, -i, *m.*, disease.  
**mōrior**, mortuus, *v. 3 dep.*, die.  
**mors**, -tis, *f.*, death.  
**mortuus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, dead.  
**mos**, mōris, *m.*, custom, habit, manner; *in pl.*, character, manners, conduct.  
**mōtus**, -ūs, *m.*, movement, disturbance.  
**mōveo**, mōvi, mōtum, *v. 2*, move, disturb.  
**mūcro**, -ōnis, *m.*, sword-point.  
**mūlier**, -ēris, *f.*, woman.  
**mūliercūla**, -ae, *f.*, little woman, girl.  
**multitūdo**, -īnis, *f.*, multitude, number.  
**multō**, *adv.*, by much, much.  
**multo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, punish.  
**multus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, much; *pl.* many; *comp.* plus, plūris; *pl.* plūres, plūra, plūrium, more, several; *superl.* plūrīmus, most, very many, chiefly *in pl.*  
**mūnīceps**, -īpis, *c.*, burgher, citizen.  
**mūnīcīpium**, -i, *n.*, free town.  
**mūnio**, -īvi or -ii, -ītum, *v. 4*, fortify, defend, protect.  
**munītus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, fortified.  
**mūrus**, -i, *m.*, wall.  
**mūto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, change.  
**mūtus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, dumb, mute.  
**Mulvius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, Mulvian.

nam, *conj.*, for.  
 nanciscor, nactus, *v.* 3 *dep.*,  
 get, obtain, light upon, find.  
 nascor, nātus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, am  
 born, arise, begin.  
 nātio, -ōnis, *f.*, nation, people.  
 nātūra, -ae, *f.*, nature.  
 naufrāgus, -a, -um, *adj.*,  
 wrecked, ruined.  
 nē, also written nae, *interj.*,  
 truly, verily, surely.  
 nē, *conj.*, lest, that not; *adv.*,  
 ne . . . quidem, not even.  
 -nē, *interrog. enclitic particle*  
*In direct questions it is trans-*  
*lated by giving an interrog.*  
*form to the sentence, in indirect*  
*questions by whether.*  
 nēc, or nēquē, *conj.*, and not, nor;  
 neque (nec) . . . neque (nec),  
 neither . . . nor; neque or nec  
 . . . et or que, on the one hand  
 not . . . and on the other  
 hand, not only not . . . but  
 also.  
 nēcessāriō, *adv.*, unavoidably,  
 necessarily.  
 nēcessārius, -a, -um, *adj.*, un-  
 avoidable, necessary; *as subst.*  
 necessarius, -i, *m.*, relation,  
 kinsman, friend.  
 nēcesse, *n. adj.* necessary.  
 nēcessitas, -ātis, *f.*, necessity,  
 obligation.  
 necnē, *adv.*, or not.  
 nēcō, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, kill,  
 put to death.  
 nēcandus, -a, -um, *adj.*, heinous,  
 execrable, abominable.  
 nēcāriō, *adv.*, impiously.  
 nēcārius, -a, -um, *adj.*, impious,  
 execrable.  
 neglōgo, -exi, -ectum, *v.* 3,  
 neglect, disregard.  
 nēgo, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, deny,  
 refuse, say no.  
 nēcōtium, -i, *n.*, business, affair,  
 trouble.  
 nēmo, -īnis (*but in classical*

*Latin nullius, from nullus,*  
*is used as the gen., and nullō,*  
*nullā, as the abl.), no one.*  
 nēpos, -ōtis, *m.*, spendthrift,  
 prodigal.  
 nēquam, *adj. indecl.*, good for  
 nothing, worthless; *comp.*  
 nequior.  
 nēquē, *see nec.*  
 nēquītia, -ae, *f.*, worthlessness,  
 negligence.  
 nescio, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v.* 4,  
 do not know, am ignorant;  
 nescio quis or qui, I know  
 not who, some one, somebody;  
 nescio an, I know not  
 whether, I rather think, prob-  
 ably, perhaps.  
 nex, nēcis, *f.*, violent death,  
 murder.  
 nīhīl, *n. indecl.*, nothing; *used*  
*as adv.*, in nothing, in no  
 respect, not at all.  
 nīhildum, nothing as yet.  
 nīmis, *adv.*, too, too much.  
 nīmium, *adv.*, too.  
 nīmius, -a, -um, *adj.*, excessive,  
 too much, too great.  
 nīsi, *conj.*, if not, unless; *after*  
 nīhīl, save, but, than.  
 nītīdus, -a, -um, *adj.*, shining,  
 bright, trim.  
 nīteo, *v.* 2, shine, glisten.  
 nix, nīvis, *f.*, snow.  
 nōbīlis, -e, *adj.*, noble, famous.  
 nēcens, -entis, *part. adj.*,  
 criminal, culpable, wicked.  
 nēcō, -cui, -cītum, *v.* 2,  
 injure, harm.  
 nocturnus, -a, -um, *adj.*, of or  
 belonging to the night, noc-  
 turnal.  
 nōlo, nōlui, nolle, *v.*, am un-  
 willing, do not wish.  
 nōmen, -īnis, *n.*, name.  
 nōmīnātīm, *adv.*, by name, ex-  
 pressly.  
 nōmīno, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1,  
 name, call.

- nōn, *adv.*, not.  
 nondum, *adv.*, not yet.  
 nonnē, *interrog. adv.*, expecting an affirmative answer, not?  
 nonnullus, -a, -um, *adj.*, some, several.  
 nonnunquam, *adv.*, sometimes.  
 nos, nostrum and nostri, *pl. of ego*, we.  
 nosco, nōvi, nōtum, *v. 3*, know.  
 noster, -stra, -strum, *poss. pron.*, our.  
 nōta, -ae, *f.*, mark, brand.  
 nōto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, mark, designate.  
 nōtus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, known.  
 nōvem, *num. adj.*, nine.  
 Nōvember and Nōvembris, -bris, *adj.*, with or without 'mensis,' the ninth (novem) month of the old Roman year (which began with March), November.  
 novus, -a, -um, *adj.*, new;  
 novae res, political innovations, revolution.  
 nox, noctis, *f.*, night.  
 nūdius tertius, three days ago, the day before yesterday.  
 nūdus, -a, -um, *adj.*, naked, bare.  
 nullus, -a, -um, *adj.*, no, none, not any.  
 num, *adv.*, an interrog. particle, usually implying that a negative answer is expected. There is no corresponding English term; in indirect interrogation, whether.  
 nūmen, -inis, *n.*, divinity.  
 nūmērus, -i, *m.*, number, rank.  
 numquam, *adv.*, never.  
 nunc, *adv.*, now.  
 nūper, *adv.*, lately.  
 nuptiae, -arum, *f. pl.*, marriage.  
 nūtus, -ūs, *m.*, nod, will, pleasure.  
 O, *interjection*, usually with *voc. or acc.*, O! oh!  
 ob, *prep. with acc.*, on account of.  
 ōbeo, -ivi or ii, -itum, *v.*, go to, reach, engage in, execute.  
 oblīgo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, bind, pledge, mortgage.  
 obliviscor, -litus, *v. 3 dep.*, forget.  
 oblīno, -lēvi, -litum, *v. 3*, daub, smear.  
 obscūrē, *adv.*, obscurely, darkly, secretly.  
 obscūro, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, darken, obscure.  
 obscūrus, -a, -um, *adj.*, dark, obscure, unknown.  
 obsēs, -īdis, *c.*, hostage.  
 obsīdeo, -sēdi, -sessum, *v. 2*, beset, blockade, watch closely.  
 obsīdio, -ōnis, *f.*, siege, investment.  
 obsīdium, -i, *n.*, siege, investment, blockade.  
 obsisto, -stīti, -stītum, *v. 3*, oppose, resist, withstand.  
 obstūpēfacio, -fēcī, -factum, *v. 3*, stupefy, astound, benumb.  
 obstūpesco, -pui, *v. 3*, am stupefied, am astonished.  
 obsum, obfui or offui, obesse, *v.*, am prejudicial to, injure.  
 obtempōro, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, comply, submit, obey.  
 obtīneo, -tīnui, -tentum, *v. 2*, keep, get possession of, obtain.  
 obtingo, -tīgi, *v. 3*, befall, happen.  
 occāsus, -ūs, *m.*, downfall, ruin.  
 occīdens, -entis, *m.*, the west.  
 occīdo, -cīdi, -cīsum, *v. 3*, kill, slay.  
 ocellūdo, -si, -sum, *v. 3*, close, shut up.  
 occultē, *adv.*, secretly.

- occultus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, hidden, secret.  
 occūpo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, take possession of, seize.  
 occurro, -curri *rarely*-cūcurri, -cursum, *v. 3*, go to meet, oppose.  
 Octavius, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.  
 ōcūlus, -i, *m.*, eye.  
 ōdi, ōdisse, *v. defect.*, hate.  
 ōdium, -i, *n.*, hate, enmity, dislike.  
 offendo, -di, -sum, *v. 3*, strike against, offend.  
 offensus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, offensive, odious.  
 offēro, obtūli, oblātum, offerre, *v.*, offer, present.  
 officium, -i, *n.*, duty, function.  
 ōmen, -inīs, *n.*, omen, prognostic.  
 ōmitto, -isi, -issum, *v. 3*, lay aside, neglect, pass over, omit.  
 omnis, -e, *adj.*, all, every, the whole.  
 ōpēra, -ae, *f.*, service, work, pains; ōpērae prētium, a reward for trouble, worth while.  
 Ōpīmius, -i, *m.*, name of a Roman gens.  
 ōpinio, ōnis, *f.*, opinion, belief, expectation.  
 ōpīnor, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, think.  
 ōportet, oportuit, *v. impers. 2*, it behoves, it is becoming, one ought.  
 oppēto, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v. 3*, go to meet, encounter.  
 oppōno, -pōsui, -pōsītum, *v. 3*, set against, oppose.  
 opprīmo, -pressi, -pressum, *v. 3*, crush, overpower.  
 ops, ōpis, *f.* (*nom. sing. does not occur*), might, strength, aid; *pl.*, wealth, resources, influence.  
 optīmātes, -um and -ium, *c.*, the aristocrats.  
 optīmus, -a, -um, *see bonus*.  
 opto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, wish, desire.  
 ōpus, -ēris, *n.*, work; *abstract in nom. and acc.*, need, necessity; opus est, it is needful, it is wanting.  
 ōra, -ae, *f.*, border, coast, region.  
 ōrātio, -ōnis, *f.*, speech, utterance, language, discourse.  
 orbis, -is, *m.*, circle, orbit; orbis terrae or terrarum, the orb of the earth, the world.  
 ordo, -īnis, *m.*, order, class, rank, *often of the order, that is the senate*.  
 ōriens, -entis, *m.*, east.  
 ornāmentum, -i, *n.*, equipment, decoration, ornament.  
 orno, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, equip, embellish, address, praise, extol.  
 ōro, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, pray, beg, entreat.  
 ortus, -ūs, *m.*, rising.  
 ōs, ōris, *n.*, mouth, face.  
 ostendo, -di, sum and tum, *v. 3*, show, display, point out.  
 ostento, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, show off, display.  
 ōtiōsus, -a, -um, *adj.*, at leisure, idle, quiet.  
 ōtium, -i, *n.*, repose, quiet.  
 pāco, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, pacify, quiet.  
 pactum, -i, *n.*, agreement, compact; *abl.*, pacto, manner, way, means.  
 pactus, -a, -ūm, *part. adj.*, agreed upon, settled.  
 paenē, *adv.*, nearly, almost.  
 paenitet, -uit, *v. impers. 2*, it repents one, one repents, it is sorry, regrets.

- pālam, *adv.*, openly.  
 pālātium, -i, *n.*, the Palatine hill, *one of the seven hills of Rome.*  
 pār, pāris, *adj.*, equal.  
 pārātus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, prepared, ready.  
 parco, pēperci, parsum, *v. 3.*, spare.  
 pāreo, -ui, -itum, *v. 2.*, obey.  
 pārens, -entis, *m. and f.*, parent.  
 pāries, -ētis, *m.*, wall (*esp. of a house*).  
 pārīo, pēpēri, pārītum and partum, *v. 3.*, bring forth, bear, produce, procure, acquire, incur.  
 pārō, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1.*, prepare, provide.  
 parrīōida, -ae, *c.*, murderer of father or parents, parricide; *often used of a traitor to his country, a murderer of magistrates or citizens.*  
 parrīōidium, -i, *n.*, murder of one's father or parents, parricide, unnatural crime.  
 pars, partis, *f.*, part, share, portion; *in pl.*, side, party, faction.  
 particeps, -īpis, *adj.*, sharing, partaking; *as subst.*, sharer, partner, comrade.  
 partim, *adv.*, partly  
 pārūm, *adv. and subst. indecl.*, too little.  
 parvūlus, -a, -um, *adj.*, very small, little.  
 parvus, -a, -um, *adj.*, little, small, slight; *comp.*, minor, -us, -ōris, less; *superl.*, mīnīmus, -a, -um, least, smallest, very small, very little.  
 pastor, -ōris, *m.*, shepherd.  
 pātēfācio, -fēcī, -fāctum, *v. 3.*, lay open, disclose.  
 pātēo, -ui, *v. 2.*, to lie open, be evident, be well known.  
 pāter, -tris, *m.*, father; as a title of honour, *see conscribo.*  
 pātientia, -ae, *f.*, forbearance, power of bearing, endurance.  
 pātior, passus, *v. 3 dep.*, suffer, endure, allow, permit.  
 patria, -ae, *f.*, fatherland, native country.  
 patricius, -i, *m.*, patrician.  
 patrīmōnium, -i, *n.*, inheritance, patrimony.  
 paucus, -a, -um, *adj. (mostly in pl.)*, few, little; pauci, -ōrum, *m.*, few, a few; pauca, -ōrum, *n.*, a few words.  
 paulisper, *adv.*, for a little while, for a short time.  
 paulo, *adv.*, by a little, a little.  
 paulum, *n.*, a little, a trifle.  
 Paulus, -i, *m.*, a Roman surname.  
 pax, pācis, *f.*, peace.  
 pecto, pexi, pexum and pectitum, *v. 3.*, comb.  
 pēcūnia, -ae, *f.*, money, riches, wealth.  
 pēcus, -ūdis, *f.*, animal, beast.  
 pēdester, -tris, -tre, *adj.*, on foot, that goes on foot.  
 pello, pēpūli, pulsum, *v. 3.*, drive away.  
 Pēnātes, -ium, *m. pl.*, Penates, guardian deities of the household and of the state formed of a union of households.  
 pēnītus, *adv.*, inwardly, deeply.  
 per, *prep. with acc.*, through, by means of.  
 percello, -cūli, -culsum, *v. 3.*, beat down, overthrow.  
 percīpio, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v. 3.*, perceive, observe.  
 percūtio, -cussi, -cussum, *v. 3.*, strike.  
 perditus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, abandoned, corrupt.  
 perdo, -dīdi, -dītum, *v. 3.*, destroy, ruin, lose.

- perdūco, -xi, -ctum, v. 3,** lead, bring to any place.  
**pĕreo, ivi or -ii, -ĭtum, -ĭre, v.,** perish.  
**perfĕro, pertŭli, perlĕtum, perferre, v.,** bear, suffer, brook, report.  
**perfĭcio, -fĕci, -fectum, v. 3,** execute, accomplish.  
**perfringo, -frĕgi, -fractum, v. 3,** break through, violate, infringe.  
**perfruor, -fructus, v. 3 dep.,** enjoy.  
**perfŭgium, -i, n.,** refuge.  
**pergo, perrexi, perrectum, v. 3,** proceed, go on.  
**perhorresco, -rui, v. 3,** greatly fear, dread.  
**pĕriclĭtor, -ĭtus, v. 1 dep.,** try, endanger, risk.  
**pĕricŭlŏsus, -a, -um, adj.,** dangerous.  
**pĕricŭlum, -i, n.,** danger, peril.  
**permagnus, -a, -um, adj.,** very great, very large.  
**permāneo, -mansī, -mansum, v. 2,** remain, continue.  
**permitto, -misi, -missum, v. 3,** intrust.  
**permŏdestus, -a, -um, adj.,** very moderate, very modest.  
**permŏveo, -mŏvi, -mŏtum, v. 2,** move, influence.  
**permultus, -a, -um, adj.,** very much, very many.  
**pernĭcies, -ĕi, f.,** ruin, disaster, calamity.  
**pernĭciŏsus, -a, -um, adj.,** harmful.  
**perpĕtuus, -a, -um, adj.,** continuous, unbroken; in perpetuum (*sc. tempus*), for all time, for ever.  
**persaepe, adv.,** very often.  
**perscribo, -psi, -ptum, v. 3,** write out, enter, register.  
**persĕquor, -cŭtus and -quŭtus, v. 3, dep.,** follow, follow up, prosecute.  
**Perses, -ae, m.,** the last king of Macedonia.  
**perspĭcio, -spexi, -spectum, v. 3,** perceive.  
**perterreo, -ui, -ĭtum, v. 2,** frighten thoroughly, terrify.  
**perterritus, -a, -um, part. adj.,** frightened.  
**pertimesco, -mui, v. 3,** fear greatly, dread.  
**pertĭneo, -ui, v. 2,** reach to, relate to, concern.  
**perturbŏ, -ĭvi, -ĭtum, v. 1,** throw into confusion, disturb.  
**pervĕnio, -vĕni, -ventum, v. 4,** come to, arrive at, reach.  
**pestis, -is, f.,** plague, pestilence, ruin.  
**pĕtĭtio, -ŏnis, f.,** attack, thrust.  
**pĕto, -ivi or -ii, -ĭtum, v. 3,** attack, assail, seek, beg, request.  
**pĕtŭlantia, -ae, f.,** petulance, wantonness, impudence.  
**pexus, see pecto.**  
**Picĕnus, -a, -um, adj.,** of or belonging to Picenum, Picene.  
**piĕtas, -ĭtis, f.,** piety.  
**plăceo, -ui, -ĭtum, v. 2,** please, be agreeable; placet mihi (*tibi, &c.*) or simply placet, it seems good, right, proper, I intend, it is my will.  
**plăco, -ĭvi, -ĭtum, v. 1,** reconcile, appease, calm.  
**plănĕ, adv.,** clearly, distinctly.  
**plebs, plĕbis, f.,** the commons, the plebeians.  
**plĕnus, -a, -um, adj.,** full.  
**plurimi, see multus.**  
**plŭs, see under multus.**  
**poena, -ae, f.,** penalty, punishment.  
**pollĭceor, -ĭtus, v. 2 dep.,** promise.

- Pompeius, -i, *m.*, name of a Roman gens.
- Pomptinus, *adj.*, Pomptine.
- pōno, pōsui, pōsitum, *v.* 3, put, place, set, lay, pitch (a camp).
- pons, pontis, *m.*, bridge.
- pontifex, -ficis, *m.*, a Roman high-priest, pontiff (*their chief or president was called pontifex maximus*).
- pōpina, -ae, *f.*, cook-shop, eating-house.
- pōpularis, -e, *adj.*, acceptable to the people, popular.
- pōpulus, -i, *m.*, people.
- porta, -ae, *f.*, gate, city-gate.
- possessio, -ōnis, *f.*, possession, property, estate.
- possum, pōtui, posse, *v. irreg.*, am able, can.
- post, *adv. and prep. with acc.*, after, afterwards.
- postea, *adv.*, afterwards.
- posteri, -ōrum, *m. pl.*, posterity; in posterum (*sc. tempus*), in the future, for the future.
- posteritas, -ātis, *f.*, future time, hereafter, after-ages, posterity.
- posterus, or poster (*nom. m. not in use*), -a, -um, *adj.*, following, future.
- posthac, *adv.*, hereafter, henceforth.
- postrēmō, *adv.*, finally.
- postrēmus, -a, -um, *adj.*, last.
- postūlo, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, demand, ask, desire.
- pōtens, -entis, *part. adj.*, powerful, strong, mighty.
- pōtestas, -ātis, *f.*, power, authority.
- pōtior, -itus, *v.* 4 *dep. with gen. or abl.*, get possession of, obtain, acquire.
- pōtius, *adv.*, rather, preferably, more.
- prae, *prep. with abl.*, before, in comparison with.
- praebeo, -ui, -itum, *v.* 2, offer, show.
- praeceps, -cipitis, *adj.*, headlong, hasty.
- praecipio, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v.* 3, give advice, admonish.
- praecipuē, *adv.*, chiefly, principally.
- praecīlarus, -a, -um, *adj.*, brilliant, splendid, famous.
- praecarro, -cūcurri, -cursum, *v.* 3, outstrip, surpass.
- praedātor, -ōris, *m.*, plunderer, pillager.
- praedico, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, proclaim, declare.
- praedico, -dixi, -dictum, *v.* 3, foretell, promise.
- praedium, -i, *n.*, farm, estate.
- praefectūra, -ae, *f.*, presidency, prefecture.
- praefēro, -tūli, -lātum, -ferre, *v.* 1, I ld forth, carry or set before, offer.
- praemitto, -misi, -missum, *v.* 3, send forward, despatch in advance.
- praemium, -i, *n.*, reward.
- Praeneste, -is, *n.*, a town of Latium, now Palestrina.
- praescribo, -scripsi, -scriptum, *v.* 3, appoint.
- praesens, -entis, *adj.*, present.
- praesentia, -ae, *f.*, presence.
- praesertim, *adv.*, especially.
- praesideo, -sēdi, *v.* 2, guard, protect.
- praesidium, -i, *n.*, protection, garrison, guard.
- praestō, *adv.*, at hand, ready (*usually with esse*).
- praesto, -iti, -ātum or -itum, *v.* 1, become surety for, warrant, maintain, perform.
- praestōlor, -ātus, *v.* 1 *dep. (with dat.)*, wait for, await.

- praeter**, *adv. and prep. with acc*, except, beyond, contrary to.
- praetōreā**, *adv.*, besides.
- praetēreo**, -īvi *and more freq.* -ii, -ītum, -īre, *v.*, pass by, pass over.
- praeternitto**, -mīsi, -missum, *v.* 3, let pass, pass over, make no mention of.
- praeterquam**, *adv.*, beyond, besides, except.
- praetexta**, -ae, *f.*, the outer garment, bordered with purple, worn at Rome by the higher magistrates and by free-born children till they assume the toga virilis.
- praetor**, -ōris, *m.*, praetor (a Roman magistrate).
- praetōrius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, praetorian, of or belonging to a general.
- praetūra**, -ae, *f.*, praetorship.
- praecor**, -ātus, *v.* 1 *dep.*, pray, pray to, beseech.
- premo**, pressi, pressum, *v.* 3, press, oppress, crush.
- praetium**, -i, *n.*, reward, price, bribe.
- pridem**, *adv.*, long ago, long since.
- pridie**, *adv.*, on the day before.
- primō**, *adv.*, at first, first.
- primum**, *adv.*, in the first place, first.
- primus**, -a, -um, *adj. superl.*, first, foremost.
- princeps**, -cipis, *adj. and subst. c.*, first, chief, principal person.
- principium**, -i, *n.*, beginning.
- prior**, -us, -ōris, *adj. comp.*, former, previous, first.
- pristinus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, former, original.
- praequam**, *and as two words prius quam, conj.*, before, before that.
- privātus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, private, not in official life.
- privo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, deprive of, rob of.
- pro**, *prep. gov. abl.*, before, for, in return for, in behalf of: **pro eo ac**, just as, even as.
- probo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, approve, make credible, prove.
- procella**, -ae, *f.*, gale, tempest, storm.
- procul**, *adv.*, afar off, from afar.
- procuratio**, -ōnis, *f.*, charge, administration.
- prodigium**, -i, *n.*, prodigy, portent.
- prodigus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, wasteful, lavish; *as subst. m.*, a spendthrift, prodigal.
- proelium**, -i, *n.*, battle.
- profectio**, -ōnis, *f.*, departare.
- profectō**, *adv.*, surely, certainly.
- profero**, -tūli, -lātum, -ferre, *v.*, bring forth, publish, produce.
- profficio**, -fēci, -fectum, *v.* 3, effect, accomplish.
- proffiescor**, -fectus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, set out, depart.
- proffiteor**, -fessus, *v.* 2 *dep.*, declare, offer, promise.
- profligo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, strike down, overthrow.
- proffugio**, -fūgi, *v.* 3, flee, take to flight, escape.
- proffundo**, -fūdi, -fūsum, *v.* 3, pour out, squander.
- proffredior**, -gressus, *v.* 3 *dep.*, advance.
- proffibeo**, -ui, -ītum, *v.* 2, check, prevent.
- profficio**, -iēci, -iectum, *v.* 3, throw out, thrust out.
- proinde**, *adv.*, just so, therefore.
- prollāto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, put off, defer.
- proppāgo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, extend, prolong, continue.

- prōpē**, *adv. and prep.*, near, nearly, almost.  
**prōpior**, -us, *gen. -ōris, comp. adj.*, nearer; **proximus**, -a, -um, *superl. adj.*, nearest, next, last.  
**prōpono**, -pōsui, -pōsitum, *v. 3*, set forth, place before.  
**prōprius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, one's own, special, peculiar.  
**propter**, *prep. (with acc.)*, on account of.  
**prōpulso**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, ward off, avert.  
**proscriptio**, -ōnis, *f.*, proscription, outlawry, confiscation.  
**prosequor**, -sēcūtus and sēcūtus, *v. 3 dep.*, accompany.  
**prospicio**, -spexi, -spectum, *v. 3*, foresee, provide for.  
**prosterno**, -strāvi, -strātum, *v. 3*, throw down, overthrow.  
**prōsum**, prōfui, prōdesse, *v.*, benefit, profit.  
**prōvidentia**, -ae, *f.*, foresight.  
**prōvideo**, -vīdi, -vīsum, *v. 2*, foresee; *with dat.*, provide for, care for, take care.  
**prōvincia**, -ae, *f.*, province.  
**prōvinciālis**, -e, *adj.*, belonging to a province, provincial.  
**proximus**, -a, -um, *see propior*.  
**prūdens**, -entis, *adj.*, prudent, wise, discreet.  
**prūdētia**, -ae, *f.*, prudence, discretion.  
**pruina**, -ae, *f.*, hoar-frost, rime.  
**publicātiō**, -ōnis, *f.*, confiscation.  
**publicō**, *adv.*, on the part of, in the name of the state.  
**Publicius**, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.  
**publico**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, confiscate.
- publicus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, public.  
**pūdicītia**, -ae, *f.*, modesty, chastity.  
**pūdor**, -ōris, *m.*, shame, shyness, modesty.  
**puer**, -ēri, *m.*, boy.  
**pugna**, -ae, *f.*, fight, battle.  
**pugno**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, fight.  
**pulcher**, -chra, -chrum, *adj.*, beautiful, fair, glorious.  
**pulvinar**, -āris, *n.*, couch of the gods.  
**punctum**, -i, *n.*, a point, a small portion of time, an instant, moment.  
**pūnio**, -īvi or -ii, -ītum, *v. 4*, punish.  
**purgo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, purify, cleanse, clear.  
**purpūra**, -ae, *f.*, purple.  
**purpurātus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, clad in purple, *as subst. m.*, a high officer at a king's court.  
**pūto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, think, consider.
- Q.**, *abbreviation of the praenomen Quintus*.  
**quaero**, quaesivi or quaesii, quaesitum, *v. 3*, seek, inquire, ask.  
**quaesitor**, -ōris, *m.*, examiner, investigator.  
**quaeso**, -īvi or -ii, *v. 3 (mostly in first pers. sing.)*, pray, beg; *often parenthetically*, I pray, beseech.  
**quaestio**, -ōnis, *f.*, inquiry, investigation.  
**quaestus**, -ūs, *m.*, gain, business, trade.  
**quālis**, -e, *pron. adj. interrog. and rel.*, of what sort, what kind of, such as; talis . . .  
**qualis**, such . . . as.  
**quam**, *adv.*, how, than; *with sup. and with or without possum*, as far as possible:

- quam plurimi, as many as possible.
- quamdiū, *usually as two words*,  
quam diu, *adv. interrog.*,  
how long? *rel.*, as long as.
- quāmobrem, or quam ob rem,  
*adj. interrog.*, for what reason?  
wherefore? *rel.*, for which  
reason, wherefore.
- quamprimum or quam pri-  
mum, *adv.*, as soon as possible,  
forthwith.
- quamquam, *conj.*, though.
- quando, *adv. interrog.*, when?  
*rel.*, when; *indef.*, ever; *conj.*,  
when, since.
- quantum, *adv.*, as much as, so  
much as.
- quantus, -a, -um, *adj.*, how  
great; tantus . . . quantus,  
so great . . . as.
- quāpropter, *adv.*, wherefore, on  
which account.
- quārē, *adv.*, *interrog.*, and *rel.*,  
wherefore, why.
- quartus, -a, -um, *ord. num.*  
*adj.*, fourth.
- quē, *conj. enclitic*, and.
- quēmadmōdum, or quem ad  
mōdum, *adv.*, in what manner,  
how.
- quērīmōnia, -ae, *f.*, complaint.
- quēror, questus, *v. 3 dep.*, com-  
plain, lament.
- qui, quae, quod, cuius, *pron.*  
*rel.*, who, which, that;  
*interrog.*, who? which? what  
kind? what?
- quia, *conj.*, because.
- quicumque, quaecumque,  
quodcumque, *rel. pron.*,  
whoever, whatever.
- quid (*neut. of quis*), *interrog.*,  
how? why? wherefore? *with*  
*particles*, quid, quod? what  
shall be said to this, that?  
how is it that? moreover.
- quīdam, quaedam, quoddam,  
and *subst.*, quiddam, *pron.*  
*indef.*, a certain, somebody,  
something.
- quidem, *adv.*, indeed; ne . . .  
quidem, not even.
- quies, -ētis, *f.*, rest, repose,  
sleep.
- quiesco, -ēvi, -ētum, *v. 3*, keep  
quiet.
- quiētus, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, at  
rest, quiet.
- quin, *conj.*, indeed, verily, *esp.*  
*in reaching a climax or adding*  
*a stronger assertion or proof*,  
quin etiam, quin immo,  
nay even.
- quintus, -a, -um, *ord. num.*  
*adj.*, fifth.
- Quiris, -itis, *mostly pl.*,  
Quirites, itium, *m.*, Quirites,  
a name borne by the Romans  
in their civil capacity.
- quis, quid, *pron. interrog.*,  
who? which? what?; *indef.*,  
any, any one, anything, often  
*with si or ne*.
- quispiam, quaequam, quod-  
piam, and *subst.*, quidpiam  
or quippiam, any one, any  
body, anything, some one,  
something, some.
- quisquam, quaequam, quic-  
quam or quidquam, *indef.*  
*pron.*, any one, anything, some-  
thing.
- quisque, quaeque, quodque,  
*indef. pron.*, each, every.
- quisquis, quaeque, quodquod,  
and as *subst.*, quicquid and  
quidquid, *rel. pron.*, whoever,  
whatever.
- quō, *adv. rel. and interrog.*,  
whither, to what place.
- quoad, *adv.*, as long as.
- quōcumque, *adv.*, whitherso-  
ever.
- quod, *conj.*, because, wherefore,  
why, that, in that.
- quod, *rel.*, see qui.
- quodsi, or as two words, quod

- si, conj.*, but if, and if, if however.  
*quōminus, or quō minus, conj.*, that not, from.  
*quondam, adv.*, formerly.  
*quōniam, adv.*, since.  
*quōque, conj.*, also.  
*quōt, indecl. adj.*, how many, as many as.  
*quōtiens, adv.*, how often, as often as.  
*quōtienscumque, adv.*, as often as ever.  
*quousque, also as two words, quo usque, adv.*, how long?
- rāpīna, -ae, f.*, rapine, pillage, robbery.  
*rāpio, -pui, -ptum, v. 3*, snatch, drag, hurry.  
*rātio, -ōnis, f.*, way, manner, reason, propriety, matter, affair, plan, account, calculation.  
*Reātīnus, -a, -um, adj.*, of or belonging to Reate, a town of the Sabines, now Rieti.  
*rēcens, -entis, adj.*, recent, fresh.  
*rēcognosco, -gnōvi, -gnītum, v. 3*, recall to mind, review.  
*rēcōdo, -dīdi, -dītum, v. 3*, lay up, hide.  
*rēcīpio, -cēpi, -ceptum, v. 3*, receive, undertake.  
*rēcīto, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1*, read out, read aloud.  
*rēcōncīliātio, -ōnis, f.*, re-establishing, renewal, reconciling.  
*rēcōrdor, -ātus, v. 1*, call to mind, remember, recollect.  
*rēcōreo, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1*, restore, renew, refresh; se recreate, recover.  
*rectā, adv.*, straightway, directly.  
*rectē, adv.*, rightly, properly.  
*rectus, -a, -um, part. adj.*, straight, upright.
- rēcūsātio, -ōnis, f.*, refusal, objection.  
*rēcūso, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1*, refuse, decline.  
*rēdeo, īvi or -ii, -ītum, -ire, v.*, return, go back.  
*rēdīmīo, -ii, -ītum, v. 4*, bind round, wreath, crown.  
*rēdūdo, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1*, overflow, abound, redound to, fall upon.  
*rēfēro, -tūli, -lātum, -ferre, v.*, bear, carry back, return; *referre ad senatum*, to make a motion in the senate, consult or lay before the senate.  
*rēgiē, adv.*, regally, despotically.  
*rēgio, -ōnis, f.*, limit.  
*regnō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1*, reign, rule.  
*regnum, -i, n.*, sovereignty, kingdom.  
*rēlēvo, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1*, lighten, relieve, abate.  
*relīgio, -ōnis, f.*, religion, scruple.  
*rēlinquo, -līqui, -lictum, v. 3*, leave.  
*rēlīquus, -a, -um, adj.*, remaining, the remainder, the rest.  
*rēmāneo, -mansī, v. 2*, remain.  
*rēmīssio, -ōnis, f.*, relaxing, abating, remission.  
*rēmīssus, -a, -um, part. adj.*, lax, indulgent.  
*rēmōror, -ātus, v. 1 dep.*, delay, defer.  
*rēmōveo, -mōvi, -mōtum, v. 2*, remove, put away.  
*rēpello, reppūli and rēpuli, rēpulsum, v. 3*, thrust back, reject, repulse.  
*rēpentē, adv.*, suddenly.  
*rēpentīnus, -a, -um, adj.*, sudden.  
*rēpērio, reppēri and rēperi, rēpertum, v. 4*, find.

- rēprimo**, -pressi, -pressum, *v.* 3, check, restrain.  
**rēpūdīo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, reject.  
**res**, rei, *f.*, thing, matter, affair, property.  
**rēsēco**, -cui, -ctum, *v.* 1, cut off, check.  
**rēservo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, save up, reserve.  
**rēsīdeo**, -sēdi, *v.* 2, remain, linger.  
**rēsisto**, -stīti, *v.* 3, stay behind, remain, oppose, resist.  
**respondeo**, -di, -sum, *v.* 2, answer.  
**responsum**, -i, *n.*, answer.  
**res publica**, *also as one word*, republica, rei publicae, *f.*, state, republic.  
**restinguo**, -nxi, -nctum, *v.* 3, extinguish.  
**restituo**, -ui, -ūtum, *v.* 3, restore.  
**resto**, -stīti, *v.* 1, remain.  
**rētīceo**, -cui, *v.* 2, am silent, keep silence.  
**rētīneo**, -ui, -tentum, *v.* 2, hold fast, retain, preserve.  
**rētorqueo**, -si, -tum, *v.* 2, turn back.  
**rētundo**, -tūdi, -tūsum, *v.* 3, beat back, blunt.  
**rēus**, -i, *m.*, accused person, defendant.  
**rēverto**, -ti *and* revertor, reversus, *v.* 3, return.  
**rēvōco**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, call back, recall.  
**rex**, rēgis, *m.*, king, tyrant.  
**rōbur**, -ōris, *n.*, strength.  
**rōbustus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, strong, hardy.  
**rōgo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, ask; rogare legem, propose a law.  
**Rōma**, -ae, *f.*, Rome.  
**Rōmānus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, Roman.

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**Rōmūlus**, -i, *m.*, founder and first king of Rome.

**ruīna**, -ae, *f.*, downfall, ruin, destruction, wreck.

**rumpo**, rūpi, ruptum, *v.* 3, break, burst.

**rustīcus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, rural, rustic, country.

**sācer**, -cra, -crum, *adj.*, sacred, holy.

**sacrārium**, -i, *n.*, sanctuary, shrine.

**sacrōsanctus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, sacred, inviolable.

**sacrum**, -i, *n.*, a sacred thing; *in pl.*, sacred rites.

**saecūlum**, -i, *n.*, age, generation.

**saepē**, *adv.*, often; *comp.*, saepius.

**saepio**, -psi, -ptum, *v.* 4, hedge in, fence in, encompass.

**sāgax**, -ācis, *adj.*, sagacious, shrewd, quick.

**salto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, dance.

**sālūs**, -ūtis, *f.*, health, welfare, safety.

**sālūto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, greet, pay one's respects to, wait upon.

**salvus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, safe.

**sancio**, -nxi, -nctum, *v.* 4, appoint, ordain, enact.

**sanctus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, sacred, holy, august.

**sānē**, *adv.*, truly, by all means, indeed.

**sanguis**, -īnis, *m.*, blood.

**sāno**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, heal, cure.

**sānus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, sound, healthy.

**sāpiens**, -entis, *part. adj.*, wise; *subst. m.*, wise man.

**sātellēs**, -ītis, *c.*, attendant, assistant.

**sātis**, *adv.*, enough; satis

- facere, *or in one word*  
satisfacere, satisfy, content.
- Sāturnālia, -iōrum, *n. pl.*, the Saturnalia.
- Sāturninus, -i, *m.*, a Roman surname.
- saucius, -a, -um, *adj.*, wounded.
- scaena, -ae, *f.*, stage.
- scēlērātē, *adv.*, wickedly, impiously.
- scēlērātus, -a, -um, *adj.*, impious, wicked; *in the m. as subst.*, wretch, miscreant.
- scēlus, -ēris, *n.*, crime, wickedness.
- scientia, -ae, *f.*, knowledge.
- scilicet, *adv.*, of course.
- scio, scīvi, scitum, *v. 4*, know.
- Scīpio, -ōnis, *m.*, the name of a celebrated family in the gens Cornelia.
- scortum, -i, *n.*, harlot, mistress.
- scriba, -ae, *m.*, clerk, secretary.
- scribo, -psi, -ptum, *v. 3*, write.
- sē, *see sui*.
- scēdo, -cessi, -cessum, *v. 3*, withdraw.
- scēerno, -crēvi, -crētum, *v. 3*, separate, put apart.
- scēūris, -is, *f.*, axe.
- sed, *conj.*, but.
- sēdes, -is, *f.*, seat, abode.
- sēdītio, -ōnis, *f.*, sedition, insurrection.
- sēdo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, quiet, settle, end.
- sēiungo, -nxi, -nctum, *v. 3*, separate.
- sella, -ae, *f.*, seat, (a mechanic's) work-stool.
- sēmēl, *adv. num.*, once.
- sēmen, -inis, *n.*, seed.
- sēmīnārium, -i, *n.*, nursery.
- semper, *adv.*, always.
- sempiternus, -a, -um, *adj.*, everlasting.
- Semprōnius, -a, -um, *adj.*, Sempronian.
- sēnātor, -ōris, *m.*, senator.
- sēnātus, -ūs, *m.*, the senate.
- sēnex, sēnis, *m.*, old man.
- sensus, -ūs, *m.*, feeling.
- sententia, -ae, *f.*, opinion, vote, purpose.
- sentina, -ae, *f.*, bilge-water, hold (of a ship), dregs, refuse.
- sentio, -si, -sum, *v. 4*, feel, perceive, think.
- sēpēlio, -pēlivi or -ii, -pultum, *v. 4*, bury.
- sēquor, -cūtus and -quūtus, *v. 3 dep.*, follow.
- sērius, *adv.*, *see sero*.
- sermo, -ōnis, *m.*, conversation, talk.
- sērō, *adv.*, late, too late; *comp.* sērius.
- serpo, -psi, -ptum, *v. 3*, creep, extend, spread.
- serta, -ōrum, *n. pl.* (rarely in *sing.*), wreaths of flowers, garlands.
- Servilius, -i, *m.*, name of a Roman gens.
- servio, -ivi and -ii, -itum, *v. 4*, serve, am a slave or subject, have respect to, consult, abet, gratify.
- servitium, -i, *n.*, slavery; *concrete*, a body of servants, the class of slaves.
- servitūs, -ūtis, *f.*, slavery, service.
- servo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, preserve.
- servus, -i, *m.*, slave, servant.
- sese, *see sui*.
- Sestius, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.
- sēvērē, *adv.*, severely, austerely.
- sēvēritas, -ātis, *f.*, severity, strictness, rigour.
- sēvērus, -a, -um, *adj.*, stern, severe.
- sextus, -a, -um, *ord. num. adj.*, sixth.
- si, *conj.*, if.

**Sibyllinus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, of the Sibyl, Sibylline.  
**sic**, *adv.*, so, thus.  
**sica**, -ae, *f.*, dagger, poniard.  
**sicarius**, -i, *m.*, assassin.  
**sicut**, *adv.*, as.  
**significatio**, -ōnis, *f.*, indication, token.  
**signum**, -i, *n.*, sign, seal, mark, ensign, standard, image, statue.  
**Silānus**, -i, *m.*, a surname in the gens Iulia.  
**silentium**, -i, *n.*, silence.  
**sileo**, -ui, *v. 2*, am silent, keep silent about.  
**silvestris**, -e, *adj.*, wooded, woodland, wild.  
**similis**, -e, *adj.*, like, similar.  
**simul**, *adv.*, at the same time, together; *with ac, atque, also in one word, simulac, simulatque*, as soon as.  
**simulacrum**, -i, *n.*, image.  
**sīn**, *conj.*, but if.  
**sīnē**, *prep. with abl.*, without.  
**singulāris**, -e, *adj.*, singular, remarkable, unparalleled.  
**singūli**, -ae, -a, *distrib. num. adj.*, one apiece, one each, separate; *in dies singulos*, from day to day, every day, daily.  
**sīno**, sīvi, sītum, *v. 3*, permit.  
**sīnus**, -ūs, *m.*, bosom.  
**sītis**, -is, *f.*, thirst.  
**sivē**, *conj.*, or if; sive . . . sive, whether . . . or.  
**sōbrius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, sober, temperate.  
**sōcietas**, -ātis, *f.*, union, association.  
**socius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, sharing, joining in, leagued, confederate; **socius**, -i, *m.*, associate, partner, comrade, ally.  
**sōdālis**, -is, *c.*, boon-companion, comrade.

**sōl**, sōlis, *m.*, sun.  
**sōleo**, -itus, *v. 2*, am wont, am accustomed.  
**sōlītūdo**, -inis, *f.*, solitude, loneliness.  
**sollīcītatio**, -ōnis, *f.*, inciting, instigation.  
**sollīcītō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, disturb, incite.  
**sollīcītus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, disturbed, anxious.  
**sōlum**, *adv.*, only, alone; **non solum . . . verum etiam**, not only . . . but also.  
**sōlum**, -i, *n.*, ground, soil.  
**sōlus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, alone.  
**sōlūtus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.*, free, lax, remiss.  
**somnus**, -i, *m.*, sleep, sloth, drowsiness.  
**sōror**, -ōris, *f.*, sister  
**sors**, sortis, *f.*, lot.  
**Sp.**, abbreviation of the praenomen Spūrius.  
**spargo**, -si, -sum, *v. 3*, scatter.  
**spēcies**, -ēi, *f.*, appearance, mien.  
**spēcūlor**, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, watch.  
**spēro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, hope.  
**spes**, spei, *f.*, hope.  
**spīritus**, -ūs, *m.*, breath, air.  
**spōlio**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, strip, deprive, despoil.  
**spontē**, *abl. f.*, in good prose always with meā, tuā, suā, of one's own accord, freely, voluntarily.  
**stābilitas**, -ātis, *f.*, steadfastness, firmness.  
**stābilio**, -īvi, -itum, *v. 4*, make stable, establish.  
**Stātilius**, -i, *m.*, a Roman name.  
**stātīm**, *adv.*, forthwith, immediately.  
**stātor**, -ōris, *m.*, stayer, supporter, an epithet of Jupiter.  
**stātua**, -ae, *f.*, statue.

- stātuo**, -ui, -ūtum, *v.* 3, fix, determine, set up.  
**stātus**, -ūs, *m.*, condition, position.  
**stirps**, stirpis, *f.*, stock, root, source.  
**sto**, stēti, statum, *v.* 1, stand.  
**stūdeo**, -ui, *v.* 2 (*with dat.*), strive after, am eager for, desire.  
**stūdiōsus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, eager after, partial to, with a taste for.  
**stūdium**, -i, *n.*, zeal, eagerness, study, devotion.  
**stuprum**, -i, *n.*, debauchery, lewdness.  
**stultitia**, -ae, *f.*, folly, simplicity.  
**stultus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, foolish, silly.  
**suādeo**, suāsi, suāsum, *v.* 2, advise.  
**subeo**, ivi or -ii, -itum, -ire, *v.*, submit to, undergo.  
**subicio**, -iēci, -iectum, *v.* 3, lay or place under, apply to.  
**subiector**, -ōris, *m.*, substituter, forger.  
**subigo**, -ēgi, -actum, *v.* 3, subdue.  
**subitō**, *adv.*, suddenly.  
**sublātus**, -a, -um, *see* tollo.  
**subselliūm**, -i, *n.*, bench, *often of the senators' seats in the curia.*  
**subsidiūm**, -i, *n.*, aid, help.  
**succēdo**, -cessi, -cessum, *v.* 3, take the place of, succeed.  
**suffēro**, sustūli, sublātum, sufferre, *v.*, bear, undergo.  
**sui** (*there is no nom.*), *dat.* sibi, *acc. and abl. se or sese, pron. of third pers. sing. and pl.*, himself, herself, itself, themselves, he, she, it, they.  
**Sulla**, -ae, *m.*, a surname in the gens Cornelia.
- Sulpicius**, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.  
**sum**, fui, esse, *v. irreg.*, am.  
**summa**, -ae, *f.*, chief point, pre-eminence.  
**summus**, *see* superus.  
**sumo**, sumpsi, sumptum, *v.* 3, take, as-sume; supplicium  
**sumere**, exact satisfaction, inflict punishment.  
**sumptuosē**, *adv.*, expensively; *comp.* sumptuosius.  
**sumptus**, -ūs, *m.*, expense, cost, charge, outlay.  
**sūpēro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, overcome, surpass, prevail.  
**sūpersum**, -fui, -esse, *v.*, outlive, survive.  
**sūpērus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, upper; *comp.* superior, -us, *gen.* -ōris, higher, upper, previous, former, preceding; *superl.* suprēmus and summus, highest, uppermost, most distinguished, most important, most weighty, greatest.  
**suppēditō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, supply.  
**supplex**, -īcis, *adj.*, suppliant, beseeching.  
**supplicatio**, -ōnis, *f.*, prayer, thanksgiving.  
**supplicium**, -i, *n.*, punishment, penalty.  
**surgo**, surrexi, surrectum, *v.* 3, rise, arise.  
**suscipio**, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v.* 3, undertake, take upon one, incur.  
**suspicio**, -ōnis, *f.*, suspicion, distrust.  
**suspicio**, -spexi, -spectum, *v.* 3, look at askance, mistrust, suspect.  
**suspīcor**, -ātus, *v.* 1 *dep.*, suspect, mistrust.  
**sustento**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, hold back, check, restrain, uphold, support.

- sustīneo, -tīnui, -tentum, v. 2,** sustain, bear.  
**sustūlērit, from tollo.**  
**suus, -a, -um, poss. pron.,** his, her, its, their, his own, &c.
- T.,** abbreviation of the prae-nomen 'Titus.
- tābesco, -bui, v. 3,** waste away, pine.  
**tābella, -ae, f.,** tablet, writing-tablet, *in pl.*, letter.  
**tāberna, -a, f.,** booth, tavern, shop.  
**tābūla, -ae, f.,** writing-tablet, record; *pl.*, an account-book; **novae tabulae,** new account-books, *that is*, abolition of debts.  
**tāceo, -cui, -cītum, v. 2,** am silent, say nothing.  
**tācīturnitas, -ātis, f.,** silence.  
**tācītus, -a, -um, adj.,** silent.  
**taeter, -tra, -trum, adj.,** foul.  
**tālāris, -e, adj.,** reaching to the ankles, long.  
**tālis, -e, adj.,** such, of such a kind.  
**tam, adv.,** so, so much; **tam . . . quam, as (so) . . . as;** **non tam . . . quam,** not so . . . as, not so much . . . as.  
**tāmen, conj.,** yet, however.  
**tāmetsi, conj.,** although.  
**tāquam, adv.,** as if.  
**tandem, adv.,** at last, at length; *strengthened by aliquando,* now at last; *in questions,* pray.  
**tango, tēgī, tactum, v. 3,** touch.  
**tantus, -a, -um, adj.,** so great; **tantum, n. absol.,** so much; *with the correlative quantum,* so much . . . as; **est tanti (gen. of price),** is worth so much, it is worth my while, I esteem it a light thing; **tanto (abl.),** by so much, so much.  
**tardē, adv.,** slowly.  
**tarditas, -ātis, f.,** slowness.  
**tectum, -i, n.,** house.  
**tēlum, -i, n.,** missile weapon.  
**tēmēre, adv.,** rashly, indiscreetly.  
**tēmēritas, -ātis, f.,** rashness, recklessness.  
**tempērantia, -ae, f.,** temperance, moderation.  
**tempestas, -ātis, f.,** storm, tempest.  
**templum, -i, n.,** temple.  
**tempto, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,** try, make an attempt upon.  
**tempus, -ōris, n.,** time; *also in its moral aspects,* the state of the time, the times, circumstances.  
**tendo, tēfendi, tentum and tensum, v. 3,** stretch.  
**tēnēbrae, -ārum, f. pl.,** darkness.  
**tēneo, tēnui, tentum, v. 2,** hold, keep, retain.  
**tēnuis, -e, adj.,** thin, fine, poor, mean, of slender means.  
**termīno, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,** bound.  
**termīnus, -i, m.,** bound, limit.  
**terra, -ae, f.,** earth, land.  
**tertius, -a, -um, ord. num. adj.,** third.  
**testāmentum, -i, n.,** will.  
**testis, -is, c.,** witness.  
**Ti.,** abbreviation for the prae-nomen Tiberius.  
**Tibēris, -is, m.,** the river Tiber, now Tevere.  
**tīmeo, -ui, v. 2,** fear.  
**tīmīdus, -a, -um, adj.,** timid, afraid, shy.  
**tīmor, -ōris, m.,** fear.  
**Tītus, -i, m.,** a Roman prae-nomen.  
**tōga, -ae, f.,** toga.  
**tōgātus, -a, -um, adj.,** wearing

- the toga, *that is*, a private citizen.
- tōlērābilis, -e, *adj.*, enduring, tolerable.
- tōlērō, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, endure, bear.
- tollo, sustūli, sublātum, *v. 3*, raise, lift up, take away, remove.
- Tongilius, -i, *m.*, a proper name.
- Torquātus, -i, *m.*, a Roman surname.
- tōt, *indecl. adj.*, so many.
- tōtiens, *adv. num.*, so often.
- tōtus, -a, -um, *adj.*, all, whole, entire.
- tracto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, handle, manage; se tractare, conduct oneself, behave.
- trādo, -dīdi, -dītum, *v. 3*, hand over, deliver.
- Transalpinus, -a, -um, *adj.*, that is beyond the Alps, Transalpine.
- transcendo, -dī, -sum, *v. 3*, cross, pass over.
- transfēro, -tūli, -lātum, -ferre, *v.*, transfer.
- transigo, -ēgi, -actum, *v. 3*, complete, perform, despatch.
- tribūnal, -ālis, *n.*, tribunal, judgment-seat.
- tribūnus, -i, *m.*, tribune.
- trīduum, -i, *n.*, space of three days, three days.
- triumpho, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, triumph.
- triumphus, -i, *m.*, triumph.
- trūcido, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, butcher, massacre, kill.
- tū, tui, *pers. pron.*, thou.
- tūba, -ae, *f.*, trumpet (*straight, while the cornu was curved*).
- tuor, tuītus, *v. 2 dep.*, defend, maintain.
- Tullius, -i, *m.*, the name of a Roman gens.
- Tullus, -i, *m.*, a Roman praemon.
- tum, *adv.*, then.
- tūmultus, -ūs, *m.*, tumult, disturbance.
- tūmūlus, -i, *m.*, hill.
- tūnica, -ae, *f.*, tunic.
- turbūlentus, -a, -um, *adj.*, restless, agitated.
- turpis, -e, *adj.*, disgraceful.
- turpīter, *adv.*, shamefully, dishonourably; *superl.* turpissime.
- turpītudo, -inis, *f.*, baseness, disgrace, infamy.
- tūtō, *adv.*, safely.
- tūtus, -a, -um, *adj.*, safe.
- tuus, -a, -um, *poss. pron.*, thy, thine, your, yours.
- týrannus, -i, *m.*, tyrant, despot.
- über, -ōris, *n.*, teat.
- ubi, *adv. interrog.*, where? *rel.* where; *of time* when.
- ūbinam, *adv.*, where? ubinam gentium, where in the world?
- ulciscor, ultus, *v. 3 dep.*, take vengeance on, punish, avenge.
- ullus, -i, -um, *adj.*, any.
- ultrō, *adv.*, voluntarily, freely.
- Umbrēnus, -i, *m.*, a fellow-conspirator with Catiline.
- umquam, *adv.*, ever.
- ūnā, *adv.*, together, in company.
- undīque, *adv.*, from all sides, on all sides.
- unguentum, -i, *n.*, ointment, perfume.
- ūnīcō, *adv.*, singularly, especially, in an extraordinary degree.
- ūnīversus, -a, -um, *adj.*, all together, all collectively, entire.
- ūnus, -a, -um, *num. adj.*, one, only, alone, a single; *with quisque*, each one.
- urbānus, -a, -um, *adj.*, of or belonging to the city.
- urbs, urbis, *f.*, city; *esp.*, the city, Rome.

- usquē**, *adv.*, all the way, as far as  
**ūsūra**, -ae, *f.*, use, enjoyment, interest, usury.  
**ūsurpo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, use, apply.  
**ut or ūti**, *conj. with subj.*, that, so that, in order that; *adv.*, how, as.  
**ūterque**, utraque, utrumque, *pron.*, both, each.  
**ūtīlis**, -e, *adj.*, useful, serviceable, profitable.  
**ūtīlitas**, -ātis, *f.*, use, advantage.  
**ūtīnam**, *adv.*, would that.  
**ūtor**, usus, *v. 3 dep.*, use, enjoy.  
**utrum**, *adv.*, whether; *utrum . . . an*, whether . . . or.  
**uxor**, -ōris, *f.*, wife.
- vācillo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, totter, waver, stagger.  
**vācuōfācio**, -fēci, -factum, *v. 3*, empty, clear, free.  
**vācuus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, empty, devoid of, free born.  
**vādīmōnium**, -i, *n.*, bail, recognition.  
**vāgīna**, -ae, *f.*, scabbard, sheath.  
**valdē**, *adv.*, very, very much, exceedingly.  
**vāleo**, -ui, -itum, *v. 2*, am strong, have strength or power.  
**Vālērius**, -i, *m.*, name of a Roman gens.  
**vārietas**, -ātis, *f.*, difference, diversity.  
**vārius**, -a, -um, *adj.*, diverse, various.  
**vastātio**, -ōnis, *f.*, devastating, ravaging.  
**vastitas**, -ātis, *f.*, devastation, desolation, ruin.  
**vasto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, lay waste, desolate, devastate.  
**vātes**, -is, *c.*, soothsayer, prophet.
- vē**, *enclitic particle*, or.  
**vectigal**, -ālis, *n.*, tax, impost.  
**vēhēmens**, -entis, *adj.*, violent, forcible, strong.  
**vēhēmenter**, *adv.*, vehemently, violently, earnestly, very much, *comp.* vehementius.  
**vel**, *conj.*, or; *vel . . . vel*, either . . . or.  
**vōlum**, -i, *n.*, cloth, awning, veil, sail.  
**vēna**, -ae, *f.*, vein.  
**vēnōficus**, -i, *m.*, poisoner, sorcerer, wizard.  
**vēnōnum**, -i, *n.*, poison, drug.  
**vēnōror**, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, worship, adore, supplicate.  
**vēnio**, vēni, ventum, *v. 4*, come.  
**verbum**, -i, *n.*, word.  
**vērē**, *adv.*, truly.  
**vēreor**, vēritus, *v. 2 dep.*, fear.  
**vērō**, *adv.*, in truth, truly; *conj.*, but, but indeed.  
**versor**, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.*, move about in a place, live, abide.  
**vērūm**, *conj.*, but.  
**vērūm**, -i, *n.*, the truth.  
**vērus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, true, real.  
**vespēra**, -ae, *f.*, evening.  
**Vesta**, -ae, *f.*, the goddess Vesta.  
**Vestālis**, -e, *adj.*, of or belonging to Vesta.  
**vester**, -tra, -trum, *poss. pron.*, your.  
**vestigium**, -i, *n.*, footprint, trace, vestige, hence *in pl.*, ruins.  
**vētus**, -ēris, *adj.*, old, former, ancient.  
**vexātio**, -ōnis, *f.*, annoyance.  
**vexo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, trouble, harass, annoy.  
**via**, -ae, *f.*, way, path, course.  
**vibro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, brandish.  
**vīcēsīmus**, -a, -um, *ord. num. adj.*, twentieth.  
**vīcīnus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, neigh-

- bouring; *vicinus*, -i, *m.*, neighbour.
- victor, -ōris, *m.*, conqueror, victor.
- victōria, -ae, *f.*, victory.
- videlicet, *adv.*, it is easy to see, clearly, plainly, of course, forsooth.
- video, vidi, vīrum, *v. 2*, see; *pass.*, seem, appear, seem good or right.
- vīgilia, -ae, *f.*, watch, guard, keeping watch (by night).
- vīgilo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, watch, keep watch, am wakeful.
- vilis, -e, *adj.*, of small value, cheap.
- villa, -ae, *f.*, country-house, villa.
- vinco, vici, victum, *v. 3*, conquer, overcome.
- vinculum and vinclum, -i, *n.*, bond, fetter.
- vindex, -icis, *c.*, defender, protector, avenger, punisher.
- vindico, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, avenge, punish.
- vīnum, -i, *n.*, wine.
- violo, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, injure, outrage.
- vīr, vīri, *m.*, man.
- virgo, -inis, *f.*, virgin.
- virtūs, -ūtis, *f.*, virtue, courage, worth.
- vis, *acc.*, vim, *abl.*, vi, *f.*, power, force, violence, vigour; *pl.* vires, virium, viribus, strength.
- viscus, -ēris, and more frequent in *pl.* viscēra, -um, *n.*, inner parts, vitals.
- vīta, -ae, *f.*, life.
- vītium, -i, *n.*, vice, crime, offence.
- vīto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, avoid, shun.
- vītūpērātio, -ōnis, *f.*, blame, censure.
- vīvo, vixi, victum, *v. 3*, live.
- vīvus, -a, -um, *adj.*, alive, living.
- vix, *adv.*, hardly, scarcely.
- vixdum, *adv.*, hardly then, scarcely yet.
- vōco, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, call, summon.
- vōlūto, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, flit about.
- vōlo, vōlui, velle, *v. irreg.*, wish, am willing.
- Volturcius, -i, *m.*, one of the fellow-conspirators of Catiline.
- vōluntas, -ātis, *f.*, will, inclination, good-will.
- vōluptas, -ātis, *f.*, pleasure, delight.
- vos, *pl. of tu.*
- vōtum, -i, *n.*, prayer, vow, wish.
- vox, vōcis, *f.*, voice, word.
- vulnēro, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, wound.
- vulnus, -ēris, *n.*, wound.
- vultus, -ūs, *m.*, face, features.

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