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CICERO

CATILINARIAN ORATIONS

E. A. UPCOTT

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
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CICERO

SPEECHES AGAINST CATILINA

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

E. A. UPCOTT, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD
ASSISTANT MASTER IN WELLINGTON COLLEGE

PART I.—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT
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NOTE.

The text adopted in the following Orations is that of Halm (11th Edition, Berlin, 1882), from whose notes I have derived much help. I have also consulted the English edition of the Speeches, based on that of Halm, by Mr. A. S. Wilkins. My best thanks are due to Mr. Evelyn Abbott, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, the Editor of the Series, for his kind assistance in superintending the printing of the book.

E. A. U.

WELLINGTON COLLEGE,
June, 1887.

INTRODUCTION.

The four speeches against Catilina were delivered during the latter part of the year B.C. 63, when Cicero was Consul.

L. Sergius Catilina, the author of the conspiracy against which they were directed, was descended from one of the oldest patrician families of Rome, though for many years no one of his house had held any public office. He was a man of ambitious and energetic disposition, distinguished among his contemporaries for great powers both of mind and body, which enabled him to exercise a remarkable degree of influence over others^[1]. At the same time he was notorious for the dissoluteness and extravagance of his life, which were excessive even in an age when such characteristics were common; he was, moreover, suspected of grave crimes, such as the murder of his wife and son. But as these charges rest to a great extent upon the authority of his opponent Cicero, it is possible that they have been exaggerated.

He was born probably about B.C. 108, though the exact date is unknown. His first appearance in public life was during the dictatorship of Sulla (B.C. 82-79). When the latter issued his proscription list, Catilina was among those who took an active part in carrying out the work of bloodshed and confiscation. This, however, was from personal motives, and not from any sympathy with the Senatorial party which had triumphed under Sulla; for he subsequently attached himself entirely to the popular side.

In B.C. 68 he filled the office of Praetor in Rome; the following year he governed the province of Africa as Proprætor. Immediately on his return home he became a candidate for the Consulship for the year 65^[2]. He was obliged, however, to withdraw, as an indictment for extortion in his province was brought against him, and Roman law did not allow a citizen against whom a legal

suit was pending to be a candidate for any magistracy. It so happened that the Consuls elect for 65, Autronius Paetus and Cornelius Sulla, were convicted of bribery. Their election consequently became void, and L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus were declared Consuls in their stead. Enraged at his disappointment, Autronius entered into communication with Catilina, and the two, in conjunction with Cn. Piso and others, formed a plot, sometimes known as the 'First Catilinarian conspiracy.' The intention was, it is said, to murder Cotta and Torquatus on the day of their entering upon office (January 1, 65). Catilina and Autronius were then to proclaim themselves Consuls, while they were to be supported by an army which Piso was to raise on their behalf in Spain. The execution of this plot was postponed, however, until February 5, when it failed, as we are told, through Catilina's impatience in giving the signal too soon, before the armed bands on which he relied had collected in sufficient number. It is to this conspiracy that Cicero alludes in *Cat.* 1. §15. It was asserted that both Caesar and Crassus were concerned in it, but the facts are surrounded by a great deal of mystery. Whatever the design was, it came to nothing, and the Senate did not take steps against anyone in consequence.

During this year (65) Catilina was acquitted on the charge of extortion. The trial had, however, been postponed long enough to prevent him from standing for the Consulship for the year 64.

He was obliged, therefore, to postpone his candidature till the next year, when he had among his competitors M. Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius Hybrida, of whom the latter was believed to be partly in sympathy with him. He was known to entertain revolutionary designs of the most sweeping character, which he hoped as Consul to carry out. Prominent among these was a declaration of *novae tabulae*^[3], or general cancelling of debts, and a wholesale confiscation of property. Many of the Roman aristocracy were hopelessly in debt, and he thus collected round him a numerous body of adherents, partly composed of those to whom his designs seemed to promise relief from their embarrassments, partly also of wild and turbulent spirits to whom any prospect of revolution was welcome. Alarmed at these schemes, the Optimates^[4] threw their influence upon the side of Cicero, overcoming their natural jealousy of a *novus homo*, that is, one whose ancestors had never held any curule office. He was also strongly supported by the Equites^[5], who, as the wealthiest class in Rome, were naturally most opposed to any general attack upon property. Accordingly, he was elected by a large majority. Antonius was returned as his colleague by a small majority over Catilina.

Defeated in his immediate object, Catilina began to entertain the idea of carrying out his designs by force. The time was eminently favourable for an armed insurrection against the government. Seventeen years before, Sulla had rewarded the soldiers of his victorious army by establishing them in colonies in various parts of Italy, and assigning them allotments of land. Unsited for an agricultural life, these men had for the most part mismanaged their farms and exhausted their resources. Accordingly they were restless and discontented, and desired nothing so much as a return of the civil wars, with fresh chances of plunder. From among these and other discontented spirits, Catilina began secretly to recruit and organize an army, selecting as his leader one Manlius, who had served with distinction under Sulla as centurion. At the same time he opened secret negotiations with the schools of gladiators in different parts of Italy. Thus prepared, he again stood for the Consulship for the year 62; his intention being to bring about a general rising if he should be once more defeated.

The situation of the government was dangerous in the extreme, for there was no regular army in Italy, and the only general of distinction, Cn. Pompeius, was absent in the East, where after bringing the third Mithridatic war to a close (65) he was occupied in settling the affairs of Syria, and could not be expected to return for some time.

Cicero, however, was kept accurately informed of the progress of the conspiracy. One of its members, Q. Curius, had talked of the plot to his mistress Fulvia. She had not kept the secret; and Cicero, employing her as his agent, had induced Curius by large promises to reveal to him all the details. The consular elections were this year postponed somewhat beyond their usual time. On the day before they should have been held, Cicero induced the Senate to resolve that they should on the next day, instead of holding the election, take into consideration the state of public affairs. He thereupon revealed to them what he knew of the conspiracy, and invited Catilina to clear himself of the charges against him. The latter replied in threatening language; but, notwithstanding his violence, the Senate took no decisive resolution^[6]. Shortly afterwards the elections were held; Cicero appearing with a cuirass under his toga, and surrounded by a guard of his friends, to testify to the designs upon his life^[7]. Catilina was again defeated, and D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena elected as Consuls for 62.

Thus once more foiled, Catilina resolved to proceed to active measures. Alarmed at the news that an army was actually collecting in Etruria, and roused by further disclosures from Cicero^[8], the Senate, on October 21, passed what was known as the 'Ultimum Decretum;' '*videant consules ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat.*' This, the usual formula in cases of emergency, declared the State to be in danger, and called on the Consuls as the executive magistrates to take measures for its safety. Whether it actually conferred any additional powers upon them, is not certain^[9]. At the same time they placed the gladiatorial schools under strict surveillance, established patrols in the city, and offered large rewards for information. The praetors, Q. Pompeius Rufus and Q. Metellus Celer, were sent to Capua and Picenum respectively to raise what troops they could. Cicero had already detached his colleague Antonius from the conspiracy, and induced him to support the cause of order, by ceding to him the lucrative province of Macedonia^[10].

On October 27 Manlius set up his standard at Faesulae in Etruria. Catilina proposed to go thither himself shortly; he was anxious however to conceal his designs as long as possible, and having been indicted for inciting to riot (*de vi*) by L. Paullus, he had offered to place himself in free custody^[11] under the charge of some citizen of reputation in order to disarm suspicion.

On the night of November 6, he assembled his partisans in the house of M. Porcius Laeca. There he disclosed his plans, and declared it to be essential to success that Cicero should be removed before his own departure. Two of his adherents, C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius, undertook the duty of visiting Cicero's house in the early morning, under pretence of giving the customary salutation, and there murdering him.

The attempt was actually made, though probably not until the morning of November 8^[12]. But Cicero, who was informed of the plot through the agency previously described, refused his visitors admittance. He immediately summoned the Senate to meet, for the sake of safety, in the temple of Jupiter Stator on the Palatine. The equites thronged the hill in large numbers, to secure the safety of the Consul, and to protest against the designs of the conspirators. Catilina did not scruple to attend, whereupon Cicero rose, and delivered the speech known as the *First Catilinarian Oration*. He revealed to the Senate all the particulars of the plot, including the attempt upon his own life, denounced Catilina as a public enemy, and called upon him to leave the city. His adversary attempted a few words of exculpation, but the feeling roused by the Consul's address was too strong, and finding himself assailed on all sides by reproaches, he left the Senate abruptly, declaring that his enemies were driving him to ruin, but that if he was to fall he would involve others in his overthrow. The same evening he left the city for Etruria, travelling by the Via Aurelia, which was the coast road, in order to create the impression that he was going into exile at Massilia. He left in the city a large number of adherents, the chief of whom was Cornelius Lentulus Sura, with directions to prosecute the plans previously agreed upon. Cicero on the following day assembled the people in the Forum, and in the *Second Catilinarian Oration* recounted to them what had taken place in the Senate, explaining and justifying his own action.

In a few days the news arrived that Catilina had joined the camp of Manlius at Faesulae. Upon this the Senate declared them both public enemies. At the same time they issued a proclamation promising immunity to those of their adherents who should lay down their arms before a fixed date. Meanwhile the Consul Antonius was directed to take such military measures as might be necessary against the insurgents, Cicero being retained for the protection of the city.

The proclamation did not have any effect in reducing the number of Catilina's forces, nor did the rewards previously offered lead to any disclosures. Cicero had hoped that the effect of his speeches would be to drive all the conspirators into open rebellion, as they would thus be more easily dealt with. In this he was disappointed, for though the chief had left the city, his agents had remained in Rome, and Cicero could not venture to proceed against them without direct evidence. It was not long, however, before their carelessness put into his hands the proofs he desired.

The Allobroges, a tribe of Transalpine Gaul, had sent delegates to petition the Senate for relief from certain exactions to which they were subjected. Knowing that these men, from their desperate condition, were likely to favour a revolution, Lentulus opened negotiations with them, with a view to securing the aid of their countrymen for the conspirators. They took counsel however of their 'patronus' Q. Fabius Sanga, and by his advice revealed the whole affair to Cicero. Acting under his directions they pretended to enter heartily into the schemes of Lentulus, and obtained from him letters written and sealed by himself and his friends, addressed to their nation, stating and confirming by oath the rewards they were to receive for their assistance. A letter was also given them for Catilina, whose camp they were to visit on their way home. With these letters they set out from Rome on the night of December 2, accompanied by T. Volturcius, the agent of Lentulus. Cicero, as previously agreed upon, posted two Praetors with an armed force at the Mulvian Bridge, on the Via Flaminia, a few miles to the north of Rome. They there arrested the whole party, and carried them, with the compromising papers, to the Consul. He at once summoned the chief conspirators to his presence. One, Caeparius, made his escape, though he was eventually recaptured; but Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius came unsuspectingly, and were at once conveyed by Cicero to the presence of the Senate, which he had convoked at the Temple of Concord. There Volturcius, under promise of impunity, made a full disclosure, and the conspirators were further confronted with the evidence of the Allobroges, and their own letters, the authenticity of which they were compelled to acknowledge. Lentulus, who was Praetor at the time, was obliged to abdicate his office, and he and his companions were placed in free custody under the charge of several prominent citizens. Rewards were voted to the informers, and a 'supplicatio' or thanksgiving for the averted danger decreed in honour of Cicero, who after leaving the Senate addressed to the people assembled in the Forum the *Third Catilinarian Oration*, giving a full account of what had just taken place.

Two days later (December 5) the Senate was once more convened, and Cicero as Consul put to them the formal question, 'what was their advice with respect to the conspirators actually in custody?'

The Consul elect, D. Silanus, who was first asked for his vote, proposed that they should be put to death. The other consulars supported him. When it came to the turn of Caesar, who was praetor elect, he proposed as an alternative that their property should be confiscated, and that they should be imprisoned for life in some of the provincial towns of Italy. These two proposals were before the Senate when Cicero intervened with the *Fourth Catilinarian Oration*. It does not

[12]

[13]

[14]

pronounce a formal *sententia*, for the Consul, as president, would not himself vote, but places the alternative proposals before the house for their consideration; indicating, however, a preference for that of Silanus. But Caesar's speech had made a great impression, and Silanus announced that he would agree to a motion for a postponement of the decision, which had been suggested as a compromise. The matter was eventually decided by a speech of M. Cato, who was tribune elect. He attacked the conspirators with great vigour, and proposed that they should be summarily put to death *more maiorum*. His words produced such an effect that his proposal was carried forthwith. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius and Caeparius were at once conducted to the Tullianum, the prison underneath the slopes of the Capitol, and there strangled^[13].

This summary proceeding effectually checked the plans of Catilina. From this moment he received no fresh reinforcements, and his original adherents began to leave him. The retreat of his army into Gaul was blocked by the Praetor Metellus Celer, while M. Petreius, acting as the legate of Antonius, advanced against him from the south. Early in the following year (62) the opposing forces met at Pistoria in Etruria, where Catilina and his followers, after fighting with desperate courage, were defeated and slain to a man.

FOOTNOTES:

- [1] See 3. §§16, 17 and Cic. pro Caelio, ch. 5.
- [2] The Consuls were elected by the Comitia Centuriata, generally in July. They entered on their office on the succeeding first of January. Thus the Consuls for 65 would be elected in July 66; during the interval they were called 'Consules designati.'
- [3] See note on 2. §18.
- [4] See note on *bonorum*, 1. §1.
- [5] The 'equites' were all those citizens, not senators, who had property to the amount of 400,000 sesterces (£3,200). They were so called from the fact that in earlier times, all who had sufficient property were obliged to serve in the citizen cavalry, but they had long ceased to have any connection with the army. They were now the mercantile class in Rome, having most of the trading operations in their hands, and forming a body intermediate between the aristocracy and the populace.
- [6] See Cic. pro Murena, chs. 25, 26. This is often identified with the meeting in the Senate on Oct. 21; but Cicero, after describing his speech and Catilina's answer on this occasion, says expressly 'neque tamen (senatus) satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit' which he could not have said had they then passed the 'ultimum decretum' (see page 11).
- [7] 1. §11.
- [8] 1. §7.
- [9] On this question see below Note B.
- [10] See on 4. §23.
- [11] See on 1. §19.
- [12] There is some uncertainty about the dates here. Cicero (pro Sulla §52) says the meeting in Laeca's house took place *nocte ea quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium*; this (if genuine) fixes it to the night of Nov. 6. At this meeting his assassination was resolved upon. We should naturally suppose that the attempt was made on the morning of Nov. 7; and this agrees with Sallust Cat. 28 and Cic. in Cat. 1. §9 (*illa ipsa nocte*). But elsewhere (see esp. 1. §1, 1. §8, 2. §13) Cicero seems to distinguish between what had happened on the 'night before last' (*superiore* or *priore nocte*), i.e. the meeting in Laeca's house; and 'last night' (*proxima nocte*), i.e. the attempt on his own life. Hence it seems better to assume that there was an interval of a day between the meeting and the attempted murder.
- [13] On the whole question as to the jurisdiction of the Senate and the legality of the execution, see below Note B.

NOTE A.

The above sketch follows in the main the traditional account of the Catilinarian conspiracy, which has been generally accepted by later historians. It is fair to add that some writers have adopted a different view, which may be thus briefly stated. They believe that historians have been mistaken in regarding Catilina as the leader of a mere band of desperadoes; that his so-called 'conspiracy' was really an act of revolt against the authority of the Senate on the part of the whole democratic party, of which he was the recognized leader (a similar movement, in fact, to those which had been organized by Gaius Gracchus in 123 B.C., by Saturninus in 100 B.C., by M. Lepidus in 78 B.C., and others); that he was driven to use force by the opposition of the Optimates to his schemes,

and that Cicero, as the spokesman of the latter, purposely misrepresented him as the leader of an anarchist conspiracy, whose sole object was confiscation and plunder.

The received account is derived almost entirely from two sources; the speeches and writings of Cicero; and the 'History of the Catilinarian Conspiracy' by Sallust, written probably about 44 B.C. The former is undoubtedly a prejudiced witness, and statements resting on his authority alone must be received with caution. Sallust, however, was a partisan of Caesar, and a member of the democratic party. He had consequently no motive to represent the character of Catilina as worse than it really was, especially as his patron Caesar was commonly supposed to have been implicated in the first conspiracy (66 B.C.)^[14], if not the second also. He certainly hints that the worst charges against Catilina, which he repeats, rested on very doubtful authority; but as to the main features of the conspiracy, he confirms Cicero on every point; and this is a strong argument in favour of the received account. The question is too large to be fully discussed within the limits of this book; those who wish to see the contrary view maintained with great spirit and ability should read the very interesting article in 'Catiline, Clodius and Tiberius,' by Professor E. S. Beesly^[15].

FOOTNOTES:

[14] See page 8.

[15] See also the criticism on this in the Introduction to Capes' Sallust, pp. 24-27.

NOTE B.

On the Legality of the Execution.

On account of his action in this matter, Cicero was afterwards attacked by Clodius, who, as tribune in 58 B.C., carried a law enacting that 'any one who had put Roman citizens to death without trial should be forbidden fire and water.' As Clodius was supported by Caesar and Pompeius, Cicero did not make any resistance, but retired temporarily into exile. [17]

Had his action been really illegal or not? The Valerian, Porcian, and Sempronian laws certainly enacted that no citizen should be put to death except by vote of the people, after a formal trial before them. Cicero justifies his apparent violation of these laws on two grounds—

(1) That the conspirators, having become *hostes* by their own act, and having been recognised as such by resolution of the Senate, had *ipso facto* forfeited the rights of citizens (1. §28; 4. §10).

As regards this, we may remark that, though the conduct of the conspirators might justify the adoption of active measures against them, it could not *legally* be held to deprive them, when arrested, of the benefit of trial. For the question, whether they had acted as *hostes* or not, would be exactly the point which the law-court would have to decide. The argument is, in fact, from the legal point of view, a *petitio principii*.

(2) That the 'ultimum decretum' of the Senate (see Introduction, page 11) invested the Consul with dictatorial powers, including the right of summary execution. (1. §4 *habemus senatus consultum*, etc.)

In support of this he recalls the fact that C. Gracchus (121) and Saturninus (100) had been killed by the Consuls Opimius and Marius respectively, acting under a similar decree. It is certain that a party in the Senate claimed the right of thus arming the Consul with exceptional powers in cases of emergency, and Sallust (Cat. 29) distinctly says that they possessed it. On the other hand, the right had never been admitted by the popular leaders, who had, as a protest, brought Opimius to trial for the murder of C. Gracchus, though they had not secured a conviction. They had, moreover, during this year (63) accused of murder one C. Rabirius, who had been concerned in the death of Saturninus thirty-seven years before. The trial was avowedly instituted for the purpose of contesting the right of the Senate to invest the Consul with dictatorial powers. Cicero, who defended Rabirius, claimed that the 'ultimum decretum' acquitted his client of all liability. But it seems probable that he would have been condemned, had not his supporters found means to prevent the trial from coming to a decision. [18]

It is on this point that the question of legality or illegality really turns, and as the Romans were not themselves agreed upon it, we can scarcely pronounce a decision. If the Consul did possess dictatorial powers in virtue of the 'ultimum decretum,' then the execution was legal; if (as seems, perhaps, the more reasonable view) he did not, then it was illegal. In any case, it is clear that the *Senate*, as such, could not order the execution of any citizen. They could only arm the Consul, and though he was at liberty to consult them on this, as on any matter of importance, the responsibility of the particular measures taken rested with him alone.

Unconstitutional actions may, however, sometimes be justified on the ground of the necessities of the case; and Cicero might fairly plead that the executions had proved efficacious in checking the spread of the conspiracy, (a result which the measures previously taken had entirely failed to secure,) and that it was very doubtful whether, if the prisoners had been kept for trial, a general rising could have been avoided.

The position of Caesar is somewhat hard to understand. As a popular leader, he must have held the view that neither the Consul nor the Senate had the right of dealing summarily with the accused; yet by proposing the alternative punishment of imprisonment he seems to admit their jurisdiction. Possibly he took this course as the best means of saving their lives for the moment, but if so it is not clear why he should have added the provision that their property should be confiscated.

The first and fourth speeches are *orationes pro senatu habitae*, the second and third are *contiones ad populum*.

IN CATILINAM ORATIONES.

ORATION I.

BEFORE THE SENATE.

How long, Catilina, will you abuse our patience? Can you not read the signs of public excitement which show that your designs are known to all of us? Yet you dare to come here, and we hesitate to inflict upon you the death you deserve. Your predecessors in revolution were summarily dealt with; we have allowed the Senate's decree to lie idle for twenty days.

1. Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam diu etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam omnium horum scientia teneri coniurationem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O tempora, o mores! senatus haec intellegit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortes, satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferris pestem istam, quam tu in nos machinaris. An vero vir amplissimus, Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum, mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae, privatus interfecit: Catilinam, orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium, novis rebus studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coërcerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave; non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

2. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditio-nis suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus; occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerius consulibus est permissa res publica; num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum pl. et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis.

You have presumed upon our leniency; you are now collecting an army in Etruria. All good citizens would applaud me, if I put you to death; but I spare your life, though I keep a check upon your designs, till all the world shall recognise the justice of your

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

[21]

You had better abandon those designs; for they are known. I told the Senate that you would be in arms on Oct. 27, and I was not mistaken. I foretold and prevented your intended massacre of the aristocracy, and your attempt upon Praeneste.

3. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coeptus nefarios neque privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis tuae potest? si inlustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quae iam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine me ante diem ^{xiii} Kalendas Novembres 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 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 die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum te discessu ceterorum nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, caede contentum esse dicebas? Quid? cum tu te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

[22]

The night before last, you and your associates met at Laeca's house, and laid your plans; you sent two of them to murder me this morning; but I was forewarned and shut them out.

4. Recognosce mecum tandem noctem illam superiorem: iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad 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 esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. O di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? quam rem publicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostrum omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video et de re publica sententiam rogo, et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina; distribuisti partes Italiae; statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret, delegisti quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres, discripsisti urbis partes ad incendia, confirmasti te ipsum iam esse exiturum, dixisti paululum 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 ego omnia, vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, comperi, domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi, exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum [mane] miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego iam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos praedixeram.

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Now I bid you leave the city. So long as you attacked me only, I resisted you single-handed; now you are attacking the State. I will not kill you, for that would not rid us of your adherents. No, leave the city—for exile, if you will—and take them with you.

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

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tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotienscumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam. nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis; templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas. Quare quoniam id, quod est primum et quod huius imperii disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus: sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciose sentina rei publicae. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id imperante me facere, quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me: num in exilium? non iubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

You cannot wish to stay where your crimes are notorious. Ruin stares you in the face. Your repeated attempts on my life have failed; the senators, by their conduct, show how they hate you. The State, our common mother, fears you and bids you leave her. Your very offers to place yourself under restraint are a self-condemnation.

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6. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te iam in hac urbe 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 a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore afit? cui tu adulescentulo, quem corruptelarum inlecebris inretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti? Quid vero? nuper, cum morte 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 tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus 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 tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat, te pridie Kalendas Ianuariis Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo? manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac 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 consulem interficere voluisti! quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! Nihil adsequeris, neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. Quotiens tibi iam extorta est sica ista de manibus! quotiens excidit aliquo casu et elapsa est! quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.

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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? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis exspectas 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 adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi me hercule 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 civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium quam infestis oculis omnium conspici mallet: tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui nec 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 te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: huius tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec iudicium sequere nec vim 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 multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad negligendas leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam 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 timere desinam.

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8. Haec si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne 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 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 eisdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod eisdem moenibus contineremur, ad 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 fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse iam dignum custodia iudicavit?

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You challenge me to take a vote of the Senate. Without doing so, I can show you what they think. When I bid you go into exile, they give consent by their silence. They would not let me speak to others thus. As for the knights, they are ready to kill you.

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Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras et vitam istam, multis suppliciis iustis debitisque ereptam, fugae solitudinique mandare? 'Refer' inquis 'ad senatum'; id enim postulas, et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exilium, obtemperatum 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 exilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? At si hoc idem adulescenti optimo, Sestio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem, iam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo iure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant; neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui stant circum 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 adducam, ut te haec, quae iam pridem vastare studes, relinquenter usque ad portas prosequantur.

But it is vain to speak of exile. I wish there were a chance of it, in spite of the hatred I should incur. Go then to the camp of Manlius, as you have already arranged. Surrounded by every kind of wickedness, you will be in your element there.

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9. Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut umquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditare? tu ut exilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem di immortales duint! etsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti, dummodo ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicae periculis seiungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicae cedas, non est postulandum; neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocaverit. Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere, ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exilium: vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris; vix molem istius invidiae, si in exilium 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 esse videaris. Quamquam 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 perniciosam esse confido ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium [scelerum tuorum] constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut ilia diutius carere possis, quam venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas, a cuius altaribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti? **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 concupisti. Nanctus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflatum improborum manum. Hic tu qua laetitia perfruere! quibus gaudiis exsultabis! quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis. Ad huius vitae studium meditati illi sunt qui feruntur labores tui, iacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes illam tuam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum senties. Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius tentare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod est abs te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

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Some may charge me with remissness in letting slip a public enemy. It is no fear of illegality, or unpopularity that influences me. But Catilina's departure to his camp will purge the city of his adherents, and show everyone what his plans really are. His death would give us only a temporary relief. Let them leave us then for their wicked work, and Jupiter will defend us from their attacks.

11. Nunc ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope iustam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecer, percipite, quaeso, diligenter quae dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim si mecum 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 exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem coniurationis, evocantem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed inmissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis? Quid tandem te impedit? mosne maiorum? At persaepe 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

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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 invidiam aut alicuius periculi metum salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed si quis est invidiae metus, num 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 conflagraturum?' 29

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 gladiatorum 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 mihi 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 imminet non videant, aut ea quae vident dissimulant, qui spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo conrobaverunt: quorum auctoritatem secuti 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 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 adgregaverit, extinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium. 13. Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelorum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quodsi ex tanto 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 gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflctantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet. Quare secedant improbi, discernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, id quod saepe iam dixi, discernantur 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 vobis hoc, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectio omnia patefacta inlustrata, oppressa vindicata esse videatis. [32] 30 31 32 [33]

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Iuppiter, qui eisdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem huius urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et huius socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium arcebis, et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriae, latrones Italiae, scelorum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos, aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis. 33

ORATION II.

BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

Citizens! We have driven Catilina from the city! We need no longer fear his secret plots; he must now fight us openly. This is a great success, as he feels.

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, evasit erupit. Nulla iam pernicies 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, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes perhorrescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum ex urbe est expulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nullo impediendo bellum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus 1

hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in 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 adflictum et profligatum putatis? Iacet ille nunc prostratusque est et se percussum atque abiectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quae quidem laetari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.

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Some may say, 'You should have arrested him.' Had I done so, many would not have believed my accusations. For their sakes I was obliged to make him declare himself. Once outside, I do not fear him; I wish indeed he had taken all his adherents with him. Our armies can easily deal with the band of bankrupts and swindlers he has assembled; it is the conspirators of high rank, whom he has left behind, that we have now to fear. They see that we know their plans, yet they persist.

2. Ac si quis est talis, quales omnes esse oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius quam emiserim, non est ista mea culpa, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperii 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 periculo sustulissem. Sed cum viderem, ne vobis quidem 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 quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod etiam moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum copias suas eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta coeperat, Publicium et Munatium, quorum aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicae motum adferre poterat: reliquit quos viros! quanto aere alieno, quam valentes, quam nobiles! 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, 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 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 delata esse sentiunt; patefecerunt in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid expectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

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I give them one more chance; let them follow their leader. Happy for us if we can be quit of them! Catilina's departure alone has relieved us much. He is the friend of every criminal, the corrupter of youth, the support of bankrupts, the hero of gladiators and actors. His adherents are monsters of crime; we cannot endure them any longer. Their destruction is at hand. Our general has given us peace abroad; under my leadership let us declare war upon our domestic enemy.

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4. Quod exspectavi, iam sum adsecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam videretis: nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinae similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est iam lenitatis 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 huius eiecerit! Uno me hercule Catilina exhausto relevata 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 umquam in ullo homine iuventutis inlecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios amabat ipse turpissime, aliorum amoris 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. 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 ac siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumerentur. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum

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flagitiosi greges, o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim iam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae ac tolerandae audaciae: nihil cogitant nisi caedes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt, res eos iam pridem, fides nuper deficere coepit: eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido manet. Quodsi in vino et alea commissationes solum et scorta quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi: hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? qui adcubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod et poenam iam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut instare iam plane aut certe adpropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare 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, 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 exspectent.

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Others reproach me with having driven Catilina into exile. What I did was to declare to the Senate—who showed their approval of what I said—the details of his plans. I bade him betake himself to the camp of Manlius, whither I knew he meant to go. Was that driving him into exile? Yet now if he should change his mind, and really go into exile, I am to be called a tyrant. I would gladly bear it, if war might be so averted. But there is no chance of it; in three days he will be in arms. Those who thus reproach me are really his secret partisans.

6. At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirites, a me in exilium eiectum 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 exilium iussus est, paruit atque ivit. Hesterno die, cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris vocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli: quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita aspexit ut 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 verbo cives in exilium eicio, quaesivi a Catilina, in 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, 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 domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam. In exilium eiciebam, 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 exilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra conferet.

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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, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abiecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli iter ad fugam atque in exilium converterit, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus, innocens in exilium eiectus a consule vi et minis 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 invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire dummodo a vobis huius horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane eiectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exilium: sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego a dis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae levandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiat, sed triduo tamen audietis; multoque magis illum timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim, potius quam quod eiecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, eiectum esse dicant, eidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si me hercule hoc, quod agit, numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius ut eat in exilium quam queramur.

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Of his adherents there are six classes. (1) Men with large debts, but larger estates, which they will not part with, hoping that Catilina will declare an abolition of debts. Their only chance is a measure of compulsory sale, which I offer them. (2) Those who hope by the revolution to obtain power and office. Let these mark the forces against them, and remember that, if it succeeds, the chief power will not fall to them. (3) The Sullan colonists, who want fresh chances of plunder. But the State will not endure a

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new proscription. (4) The hopeless bankrupts. Their ruin is certain, but they need not involve the whole State in it. (5) Criminals of every class; let them stay with Catilina. (6) The dissolute youth of Rome, his special favourites.

8. Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui iam fatetur se esse hostem et quem, quia, 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 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 genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno maiores 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 sis, et dubites de possessione detrudere, 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 proferentur, verum auctionariae; neque enim isti, qui possessiones 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 deduci de sententia possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi. 17
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9. Alterum genus est eorum qui, quamquam premuntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata consequi se 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 vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, [maximam multitudinem] magnas praeterea copias militum; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris praesentes auxilium esse laturos. Quodsi iam sint id, quod summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente scelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, se consules aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse. Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum, quo ex genere est ipse Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit: quas ego universas 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, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis adparatis delectantur, in tantum aes 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 moneo: desinant furere et proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut iam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur. 19
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10. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et 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, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra 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 non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur. Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque divelli ab eo possunt et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non possit. Postremum autem genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod proprium Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero de complexu eius ac sinu, quos pexo capillo nitidos aut imberbes aut bene barbato videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis, quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et saltare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt: 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? Quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim 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. 21
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We scarcely need the armies of the State to defeat such contemptible opponents. We have all the resources of the government, they have nothing; it is the cause of all good against all evil. In such a contest the result is certain. Guard your own homes, and we will do our duty.

11. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia 24

vestrosque exercitus: et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Iam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumultis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si omissis his rebus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, [46] 25
senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si his rebus omissis causas ipsas, quae inter se conflagunt, 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; hinc continentia, illinc libido; denique aequitas, temperantia, 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 omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficient, di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

12. Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad modum 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 excursione Catilinae, facile urbes suas finesque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit—quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum,—potestate nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet hominem aut omnes eius motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis. 26

One more appeal to the conspirators who are still in the city. They can go out if they will, but any attempt at violence here will be crushed. This shall be done under my direction, with as little disturbance as possible. I rely upon the protection of the gods, to whom you must address your prayers. [47]

Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque nostrum in urbe 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 exspectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse patriam, me 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 deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse magistratus egregios, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiores nostri esse voluerunt. 27

13. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maximae 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 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 quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos iam omnes salvi esse possitis. Quae [48] 29
quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque 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 defendent. Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

ORATION III.

BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

Citizens! This day I have saved the State, and may claim equal honour with its founder.

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

Since Catilina departed, I have been on the watch for evidence against his confederates. I found that Lentulus had been tampering with the delegates of the Allobroges, and was sending letters by them to Gaul and to Catilina. Here was my opportunity. By my orders, two of the praetors last night arrested the delegates with Volturcius, the agent of Lentulus, at the Mulvian Bridge, seized their letters and brought them to me. I sent for Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, convoked the Senate, and conveyed thither the whole party, with the letters unopened. Another praetor, sent by me, seized a collection of arms in the house of Cethegus.

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. 2. Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam—non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit 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 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 animis saluti vestrae provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere [cum litteris mandatisque] ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adiunctum esse T. Volturcium atque huic ad Catilinam esse datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum quodque ego semper optabam ab dis immortalibus, tota res non solum a me, sed etiam 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 Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipertito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cuiusquam suspitione multos fortes viros eduxerant, et ego ex praefectura Reatina complures delectos adulescentes, quorum opera utor assidue in rei publicae praesidio, cum gladiis miseram. Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum iam pontem magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res praetoribus erat nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris. 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. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium statim ad me, nihildum suspicantem, vocavi; deinde item arcessitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo, quod in litteris dandis praeter consuetudinem 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 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 arbitrabar in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. Atque interea 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.

Before the Senate, Volturcius made a confession. The Gauls disclosed their dealings with the conspirators; and the letters, which their writers, Cethegus, Statilius, and Lentulus, were forced to acknowledge, were found, when read, to confirm their evidence. Cethegus gave up his defence; Lentulus tried to cross-examine the Gauls, but broke down, especially when his letter to Catilina was read. Finally Gabinius, like the rest, was reduced to silence.

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 Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum praesidio uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet; id autem, eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus coniungeret. Introducti autem Galli ius iurandum sibi 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: Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fati Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, se esse illum tertium Cornelium, ad quem regnum huius urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse: eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum huius urbis atque imperii, qui esset annus decimus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur. 9 [53]

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 legati eorum recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset dixissetque se semper honorum 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 fati Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere demens, quanta conscientiae vis esset, ostendit: nam cum id posset infortiari, repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim manifesti atque deprehensi sceleris impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit. Volturcius vero subito litteras proferri atque aperiri iubet, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant autem sine nomine, sed ita: 'Quis sim, scies ex hoc, quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis et cogita, quem in locum sis progressus; vide, quid iam tibi sit necesse, et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adiungas, etiam infimorum.' Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quae Galli insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, cum illa certissima visa sunt argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque confessio, tum multo certiora illa, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstipuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnumquam inter se aspiciebant, ut non iam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur. 10 11 [54]

The Senate then voted thanks to me, my colleague, and the praetors; placed under arrest Lentulus (who had resigned his praetorship) and eight others; and decreed a supplicatio in my name, an honour never before bestowed on a civil magistrate. 12 13 [55]

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 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 praetores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac iure laudantur; atque etiam viro forti, collegae meo, laus impertitur, quod eos, qui huius coniurationis participes fuissent, a suis et rei publicae consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cum se praetura abdicasset, in custodiam traderetur; itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, Gabinius, qui omnes praesentes erant, in custodiam traderentur; atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis deposcerat, in M. Ceparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat indicatum, in P. Furium, qui est de iis colonis, quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit, in Q. Annium Chilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus, in Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque ea lenitate senatus usus est, Quirites, ut ex tanta coniuratione tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem hominum perditissimorum poena re publica conservata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit, et his verbis decreta est: quod urbem incendiis, caede cives, Italiam bello liberassem. Quae supplicatio 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, quamquam, patefactus indiciis et 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 14 15 [56]

occideret, ea nos religione in privato Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

We have thus defeated the conspiracy; but the struggle would have been much more severe, if Catilina had remained in the city.

7. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, consceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos iam et comprehensos 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 Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassii adipem nec 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, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat; erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum, consilio 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, vigilaret laboraret; frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc 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 molem mali a vestris cervicibus depulsem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset neque tanto ante exitii ac fati diem rei publicae denunciavisset, 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 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, dum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus. 16
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Many signs show that the Gods have had us under their special protection. The soothsayers warned us of our danger two years ago, when the Capitol was struck by lightning. They bade us avert it by making a new statue of Jupiter, and turning it towards the Forum; it was erected this day, at the very moment when the conspiracy was being detected. It is Jupiter alone who has preserved us.

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 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 ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera, quae ita multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, canere di immortales viderentur, hoc certe, quod sum dicturus, 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 statuae veterum 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 adpropinquare dixerunt, nisi di immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. itaque illorum responsis tum et ludi per dies decem facti sunt, neque res ulla, quae ad placandos deos pertineret, praetermissa est: eidemque 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 curiamque conspiceret, fore ut ea consilia, quae clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii, inlustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspici possent. Atque illud signum collocandum consules illi locaverunt, sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur. 9. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam praeceps, tam mspane 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 sensistis. 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 ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo collocato atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia, quae erant cogitata contra salutem omnium, inlustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quo etiam maiore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. 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 voluntatemque suscepi 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 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 amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam neglegerent vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non divinitus factum esse putatis? praesertim qui nos non pugnando, 18
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sed tacendo superare potuerint.

Celebrate, then, the thanksgiving: never was one better deserved. We have had many civil disturbances in the last twenty years, and much bloodshed; but in these revolution was the object, not the destruction of the State.

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10. Quam ob rem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum coniugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepe honores dis immortalibus iusti habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto iustiores numquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu: sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla Sulpicium oppressit: C. Marium, custodem huius urbis, multosque fortes viros partim eiecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius consul armis 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, quanta deminutione civium et quanta calamitate rei publicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo ac fortissimo viro Q. Catulo: attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum quam ceterorum. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones, quae non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinebant—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,—eius modi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed internecone 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 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 omnes salvi 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.

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I ask no reward but your recollection of my services. Unlike foreign conquerors, I must live side by side with my enemies; be it yours to see that I do not suffer from the hatred of the wicked which I have provoked. Life can give me no greater honour; I will strive to prove worthy of it in future.

Make your prayers, then, to Jupiter, and guard your homes to-night; the danger will soon be over.

11. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulo 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, nihil denique eius modi, quod etiam minus digni adsequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, res nostrae alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et conroborabuntur; eandemque diem intellego, 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. **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 facta sua recte prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint providere. Mentis enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent ego providi: ne mihi noceant vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis iam noceri 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 ipsi indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quodsi omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, qua condicione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute 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 lubeat ascendere? Illud profecto perficiam, Quirites, ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem, ut, si qua est invidia conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper quae gesserim, curemque ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam iam nox est, venerati Iovem illum, custodem huius urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quamquam iam est periculum depulsum, tamen aequae ac priore nocte custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis providebo.

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ORATION IV.

BEFORE THE SENATE.

Senators! I see all eyes turned upon me. I appreciate your anxiety on my behalf, but dismiss all care for me from your minds. I am ready to meet all contingencies, though not unmoved by the fears of those dear to me.

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 eam, per deos immortales, deponite atque obliti salutis meae de vobis ac de vestris cogitate. Mihi si haec condicio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam lubenter, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariat. Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis aequitas continetur, non campus, consularibus auspiciis consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium, non domus, commune perflugium, 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 voluerunt, ut vos populumque Romanum ex caede miserrima, coniuges liberosque vestros virginesque Vestales 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. 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? 2. Quare, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriae, conservate vos, coniuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare, omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident, pro eo mihi ac mereor relatuos esse gratiam: deinde, si quid obtigerit, aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari neque misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi et amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear horumque omnium 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 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.

Think of the gravity of the situation. You have already by your measures shown your view of the case, but I will put it before you as though it were still an open question. Only remember that the evil is widespread, and calls for energetic action.

Quare, patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei publicae, circumspicite omnes procellas, quae impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus pl. 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 caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae restiterunt; tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque confessio; sollicitantur Allobroges, servitia excitantur, Catilina arcessitur, id est initum consilium, ut interfectis omnibus nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur. 3. Haec omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis iam iudiciis iudicavistis, primum quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum coniurationem patefactam esse decrevistis, deinde quod Lentulum se abdicare praetura coegistis, tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus iudicavistis, in custodiam dandos censuistis, maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini; postremo hesternum 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.

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 et prolatando nullo pacto potest: quaecumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

Two proposals are before us. D. Silanus would put the conspirators to death; C. Caesar would imprison them in some municipium for life; a plan difficult to carry out, and perhaps really more severe than the other.

4. Video adhuc duas esse sententias, unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos, alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam 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 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 ab dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Itaque eam sapientes numquam inviti, fortes saepe etiam lubenter oppetiverunt. Vincula vero et ea sempiterna certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri 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 possit levare: eripit etiam spem, quae sola homines in miseriis consolari solet. Bona praeterea publicari iubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus, quam si eripuisset, multas uno dolore animi atque corporis aerumnas 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 intelligebant iis remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

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My personal interest is clear. As Caesar is a popular leader, I shall not, if you adopt his proposal, have to fear so much the attacks of that party. Some of its members I see are absent, as though they questioned our jurisdiction in this matter. Caesar has shown that he has no such scruples.

5. Nunc ego, patres conscripti, 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 consulentem. Video de istis, qui se populares haberi 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 hesterni die maximis praemiis adfecit. Iam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quaesitori gratulationem, indici praemium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa iudicavit. At vero C. Caesar intellegit, legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam, qui autem rei publicae sit hostis, eum civem nullo modo esse 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, etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare et sancit in posterum, ne quis huius supplicio levando se iactare et in perniciem populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit: adiungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

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In any case we need not fear the charge of cruelty. In punishing crimes like these, severity is the truest humanity. Remember what L. Caesar said yesterday; yet the offences of C. Gracchus cannot be compared to Catilina's.

6. Quam ob rem sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque iucundum, sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos crudelitatis vituperatione populus Romanus exsolvet, atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punianda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu iudico. Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor—quis est enim me mitior?—sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio coincidentem; cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium; versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis. Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse venisse ex fatis confessus est, 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 perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque praebeo. 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 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 rei

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publicae domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis huius urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii conlocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est. Nisi vero cuiquam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelius 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 consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est et partium quaedam contentio. Atque eo 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 evertenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego et ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, Italiam totam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae. Vereamini censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac tam nefando nimis aliquid severe statuisset videamini: multo magis est verendum, ne remissione poenae crudeliores in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamini.

You need not fear that we shall lack strength to carry out our decision. Every class in the State is with us: the knights, the civil servants, the freedmen, even the slaves. It is true that the shopkeepers have been solicited by Lentulus, but in vain.

7. Sed ea, quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare 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, transigunda. Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia tum etiam multo maiore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communes fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium generum, omnium denique aetatum; plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus huius loci ac templi. 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 perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno lubenter; neque enim 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 equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consilii concedunt, ut vobiscum de 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, confirmatam in consulatu meo, perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicae partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendundae rei publicae convenisse video tribunos aerarios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos, quos cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab exspectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis enim est, cui non haec templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et hoc commune patriae solum cum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque iucundum? **8.** Operae pretium est, patres conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere, qui sua virtute fortunam huius civitatis consecuti hanc suam patriam iudicant, quam quidam hic nati et summo loco nati non patriam 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 condicione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non haec stare cupiat, qui non tantum, quantum audet et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem voluntatis. Quare si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare posse sollicitari animos egentium atque imperitorum, est id quidem coeptum atque tentatum, sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate perditii, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestus cotidiani locum, qui non cubile atque 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 quaestus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quaestus oclusis tabernis minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

The people will not fail you; do not fail them. Take advantage of their unanimity, and think of the gravity of the crisis.

9. Quae cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani praesidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini provideate. 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, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiae coniurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis, vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis ignem illum Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de coniugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis iudicandum est. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quae non semper facultas datur; habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod 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 fortunas una nox paene delerit. Id ne umquam posthac 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.

I know the danger I incur; but whatever comes I shall never repent of what I have done. My achievements will find a place with those of our national heroes. My domestic enemies will wage eternal war upon me; but I trust in the protection of all good citizens.

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10. Nunc antequam ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est coniuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video, sed eam iudico esse turpem et infirmam et contemptam et abiectam. Quodsi aliquando alicuius 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 mihi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitae tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est adsecutus; ceteris enim bene gestae, mihi uni conservatae rei publicae gratulationem decrevistis. Sit Scipio clarus ille, cuius consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque ex Italia decedere coactus est; ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Karthaginem Numantiamque, delevit; habeatur vir egregius Paullus ille, cuius currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit; sit aeterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit; anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cuius res gestae atque virtutes eisdem quibus solis cursus regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes 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 victoriae quam domesticae, quia hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt aut recepti in amicitiam 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 bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quae non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper haerebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quae coniunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspiracyem bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit.

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One reward I ask for my sacrifices and exertions—your recollection of my services, and your protection of my son. Vote then bravely, remembering the interests at stake, and I will carry out your decision.

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 labore tueor quam comparo, pro his igitur omnibus rebus et pro meis in vos singularibus studiis et pro hac, quam perspicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia nihil a vobis nisi huius temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo: quae dum erit in vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitror. Quodsi meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis meum parvum filium, cui profecto satis erit praesidii non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si eius, qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conservaverit, illum filium esse memineritis. Quapropter de summa salute vestra populique Romani, de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focus, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica 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.

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CICERO

SPEECHES AGAINST CATILINA

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

PART II.—NOTES

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NOTES.

[3]

[N.B.—*The references are to the sections.*]

ORATION I.

tandem often strengthens interrogatives. 'How long, pray?' or 'How long, I ask?' Cf. [1. 16](#) 'quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas?' and [2. 2](#) 'quanto tandem maerore?' So also with imperatives, as in [1. 8](#) 'Recognosce tandem.'

abutere, future, as is shown by 'eludet,' 'iactabit.'

quam diu, etc. 'How long will your madness yet have full play?' Connect 'etiam' with 'quamdiu,' as in Sall. Cat. 61 'Catilina repertus est paullulum etiam spirans.' For 'eludet' used absolutely cf. Livy 2. 45 'adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat.' But some editors read '*nos* eludet' ('make sport of us').

nocturnum praesidium Palatii. The Palatium, or 'Mons Palatinus,' was one of the seven hills, occupying a central position S. E. of the Capitoline. It was now protected at night by a guard against any sudden attempt of the conspirators to seize it. Augustus and his successors had their residence there; hence, in later times, 'palatium' came to mean 'a palace.'

urbis vigiliae, 'the patrols of the city.'

bonorum, perhaps in a general sense 'respectable citizens,' but with special reference to the senatorial party at Rome, who called themselves *boni cives* or *optimates*; just as the aristocratic party at Athens called themselves καλοκάγαθοί.

hic munitissimus, etc. They were assembled in the temple of Iuppiter Stator on the Palatine, which was protected by the Equites in arms. The ordinary place of meeting was the Curia Hostilia, on the north side of the Forum.

horum, the senators.

constrictam . . . coniurationem tuam, 'that your conspiracy is fast held and bound in the knowledge of all here present,' (i.e. it is powerless, because everybody knows of it).

Quid proxima . . . arbitraris? 'Quem' is the direct interrogative; 'quid egeris,' 'ubi fueris,' etc., indirect questions depending upon 'ignorare'; they are put first in the sentence for the sake of emphasis.

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proxima nocte, 'last night,' on which the attempt on Cicero's life was made, superiore, 'the night before last,' when the meeting in the house of Laeca was held. See [Introduction, pp. 11, 12](#), and [note](#).

immo vero is used when the speaker wishes to correct, either by addition or qualification, something that has been said, like the Greek μὲν οὖν. 'Lives, did I say? Nay, he actually comes into the senate.' Cf. [4. 17](#) 'maxima pars . . . immo vero genus universum.'

publici consilii. *Consilium* properly = 'deliberation,' 'counsel.' Hence, as here, 'the deliberating body,' a sense which more properly belongs to *concilium*. Any state-constituted assemblage of persons for deliberation was called 'consilium publicum' (e.g. a board of *iudices* assembled to try a case at law).

unum quemque nostrum, not 'each one of us,' but 'us, one by one,' 'individually.'

virī fortes, ironical.

si vitemus. The subj. is used in the protasis, because the idea of contingency is contained in 'satisfacere videmur,' which is substituted for the more regular 'satisfaciamus.' Cf. [4. 7](#) 'habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis,' and [2. 25](#) 'si contendere velimus, intelligere possumus.'

iussu consulis. The Lex Valeria (see [note on 1. 28](#)) secured to every citizen the right of appeal to the people against the sentence of a magistrate. On the question whether Cicero was on this occasion legally entitled to put Catilina to death on his own authority, see [Intr. Note B](#).

An vero, etc. Tiberius Gracchus was tribune 133 B.C.. His law for the distribution of the public land roused against him the hatred of the aristocratic party. On the day of the tribunician election for the next year he was attacked and killed with 300 of his adherents by a body of senators headed by Scipio Nasica. *Privatus* is strongly opposed to *consules* in the next clause. It appears that Nasica was not actually Pontifex Maximus at the time, but in any case the office was not regarded as a magistracy. §3.

mediocriter labefactantem is similarly contrasted with the more serious designs of Catilina. Cicero here mentions the violent proceedings against the Gracchi and their successors with approval, because he wished to plead for similar measures against Catilina. In another speech delivered during this year (de Lege Agraria 2. 5. 10) he calls them 'amantissimi plebis Romanae viri,' and says, 'Non sum autem is consul, qui, ut plerique, nefas esse arbitrer Gracchos laudare.'

C. Servilius, etc. Spurius Maelius, a rich plebeian, sold corn to the populace at low rates during a famine in 440 B.C. He was accused of aiming at the supreme power. Cincinnatus was appointed dictator, with C. Servilius Ahala as his master of the horse; the latter killed Sp. Maelius with his own hand.

quod . . . occidit, 'the fact that,' in apposition to *illa*, which, as often, refers to what follows, like ἐκεῖνος in Greek.

Habemus senatus consultum, i.e. the *ultimum decretum*, passed Oct. 21. See [Introduction, p. 11](#).

non deest, etc. The senate, as the deliberative and authorizing body, have done their part; the consuls, as the executive, fail.

Decrevit quondam, etc. This was in 121 B.C. Gaius Gracchus (tribune 123, 122) had carried a series of measures tending to overthrow the authority of the senate. They took the opportunity of a tumult to pass the *ultimum decretum*, whereupon L. Opimius the consul, with an armed force, attacked the Aventine, where the adherents of Gracchus were assembled. Gracchus himself and his supporter M. Fulvius were killed. §4.

propter quasdam, etc., a mild expression, intended once more to point the contrast between the Gracchi and Catilina.

patre. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, who was twice consul and twice triumphed.

avo. His mother was Cornelia, daughter of Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

Simili senatus consulto, etc. In 100 B.C. revolutionary measures were proposed by L. Appuleius Saturninus and C. Servilius Glaucia. In their fear of violence, the senate passed the *ultimum decretum* and called upon the consul Marius to protect them, though he had been a supporter of Saturninus. In the tumult which followed, the latter and his adherents were shut up in the senate house, where their opponents, taking off the tiles, stoned them to death.

mors ac reipublicae poena. 'Ac' is explanatory, 'death, (which was) the penalty inflicted by the state.'

remorata est, literally, 'Did death keep them waiting a day longer?' i.e. 'Had they to wait a single day longer for their death?' He means that they were put to death on the same day as that on which the *ultimum decretum* was passed.

vicesimum diem. He speaks in round numbers. The exact time since Oct. 21 (by the Roman reckoning) was eighteen or nineteen days, according as we fix the date of this speech to Nov. 7 or Nov. 8. See [Introduction, p. 12, note](#). [6]

interfectum te esse convenit, 'you might well have been put to death.'

patres conscripti. The regular title used in addressing the senate. The traditional explanation of it is as follows. The original senators were called *patres* (patricians); after the expulsion of the kings 160 new senators were enrolled (partly plebeians); these were called *conscripti*. Hence the whole body were addressed as *patres et conscripti* and by abbreviation *patres conscripti*. But this would seem to require *adscripti* rather than *conscripti*, and 'it is possible the senators were originally called *patres conscripti* to distinguish them from those *patres* who were not senators.' [Gow's Companion to School Classics, p. 192.]

in Etruriae faucibus, at Faesulae (now Fiesole), on the south-west slope of the Apennines, commanding one of the passes into Cisalpine Gaul. §5.

adeo, 'even,' 'actually.' Cf. [1. 9](#) 'atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio.'

si te iam, etc. 'Credo,' as usual, marks the sentence as ironical. He might conceivably fear two opposite criticisms on his conduct—

(a) 'ne omnes boni serius factum esse dicant,'

(b) 'ne quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat.'

He really fears (a); hence speaking ironically he reverses the case, and says, I shall have to fear, I suppose, not rather (a) than (b) (i.e. not so much (a) as (b)). Translate the whole—'I shall have to fear I suppose—not that all good citizens may call my action tardy—but that some one may say it was excessively cruel.'

quisquam, besides its regular use in negative sentences and questions implying a negative, is used in affirmative sentences, in the sense of '*any one at all*,' where it is implied that there can be none, or at most but one or two. §6.

mihi crede, 'trust to me,' 'take my advice.'

me . . . dicere. The pres. inf. is often used after *memini* when the speaker refers to his own experience. The past event is for the moment actually present to his mind. So in English 'do you remember my saying?' Cf. Virg. Ecl. 1. 17 'de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus.' §7.

a. d. xii Kal. Nov. Oct. 21. See [Intr. page 11](#).

futurus esset, subj. as part of what Cicero said in the senate.

a. d. vi Kal. Nov. Oct. 27. The reading is not certain, the MSS. varying between vi and ix.

audaciae satellitem, etc., 'servant and helper.' 'Satelles' implies a lower, less free relation than 'administer.' Cf. in Verr. 3. 21 'ministri ac satellites cupiditatum.' [7]

Num me fefellit, '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?'

optimatum. See note on 'bonorum' [1. 1](#).

sui, neut. gen. sing. from 'suus,' used to supply the place of gen. pl. of 'se.' Cf. the similar use of 'nostri,' 'vestri.'

cum . . . profugerunt. When *cum* simply means 'at the time when' (quo tempore) and does not contain any idea of consequence or cause, it is usually (though by no means invariably) followed by the indicative; especially when, as here, the time is fixed by the preceding demonstrative *tum*. Cf. below 'cum . . . dicebas,' and [1. 21](#) 'cum quiescunt, probant,' [2. 1](#) 'loco ille motus est, cum ex urbe est expulsus.' Nothing is known of this exodus.

qui remansissemus. The antecedent to 'qui' must be understood from 'nostra.' Subj. because part of the Oratio Obliqua. Catilina said, 'caede illorum qui remanserunt contentus sum.'

Quid? a particle of transition, frequent in rhetorical passages. 'Again.' 'Nay more.' Cf. 'Quid vero?' [1. 14](#). §8.

cum, 'although.'

Praeneste, twenty miles S. E. of Rome, occupying a strong position in the Hernican mountains. It had been the last stronghold of the younger Marius in 82 B.C.; on its capitulation Sulla put most of the citizens to death, and subsequently established one of his colonies on the site. Catilina hoped to use it as a fortified post.

quod non ego, etc. 'Quod' is consecutive, = 'tale ut.' 'Non' negatives the whole clause 'ego . . . sentiam.' Others for 'quod non' read 'quin' [= 'qui-ne,' lit. 'in such a way that not'], i.e. 'you can do nothing without my hearing it.'

tandem. See [on 1. 1](#).

noctem illam superiorem, 'the night before last'; 'last night' would be 'hanc noctem' or 'proximam noctem.' Below he says 'priori nocte,' to avoid repeating the same word. See [Introduction, p. 12, note](#).

ad, 'with a view to.' Cf. [1. 26](#) 'ad hoc studium meditati.'

inter falcarios, 'in the street of the scythemakers.' Cf. 'inter lignarios,' 'in the street of the carpenters.' Livy 35. 41.

ubinam gentium, 'Where *in the world?*' A genitive is sometimes joined to an adverb of place or time to define it more exactly. Cf. 'ibidem loci' = 'in the same place'; 'nusquam gentium' = 'nowhere in the world'; 'postea loci' (Sallust, Jug. 102. 1), 'afterwards,' and the Greek ποῦ γῆς; [8]

de re publica sententiam rogo. The consul collected the opinion of the senate by asking each

senator successively for his vote (*sententia*) on the question before the house. The senator might either give it without comment or make a speech in support of his views.

illa ipsa nocte. See [Introduction, p. 12, note.](#)

duo equites Romani. On *equites* see [Introduction, p. 9, note.](#) Their names were C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius (Sallust, Cat. 28).

salutatam, supine. The early morning was the usual time for complimentary calls. Cf. Martial 4. 8. 1 'Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora.' [§10.](#)

id temporis, adverbial phrase, 'at that particular time.' Cf. Cic. Pro Roscio Amerino 97 'ut id temporis Roma proficisceretur'; Tac. Ann. 5. 9 'oblisis faucibus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias objecta.' For this use of the accusative, cf. phrases like 'ceterum,' 'suam vicem,' etc.

aliquando often strengthens imperatives, implying that now at length the time has come for doing what is requested. Cf. Cic. Phil. 2. 46.118 'Respice, quaeso, aliquando'; and in Verrem 2. 1. 28 'audite, quaeso, et aliquando miseremini sociorum.' So in Greek μέθεξ ποτέ (Soph. Phil. 816). Cf. also 'tandem aliquando' [1. 18, 2. 1.](#)

Iovi Statori. The senate were assembled in the temple of Iuppiter Stator on the Palatine. See [on §11. 1. 33.](#)

in uno homine, 'in the person of a single man.'

consuli designato. He was 'designatus' during the latter part of 64. We do not know that Catilina then made any attempt on his life.

proximis comitiis consularibus, 'at the late assembly for the election of the consuls.'

campo. The Comitia Centuriata, which elected the consuls, met in the Campus Martius; the Comitia Tributa in the Forum.

nullo tumultu publice concitato, 'without any official summons to arms.'

per me, 'by myself,' i.e. by my own exertions without calling in other help. Cf. [1. 28](#) 'hominem per te cognitum,' [4. 24](#) 'per se ipsum praestare.'

quod est primum, etc. 'Since I cannot yet venture to take the course which is the most obvious, and the most suited to the authority I hold and the strict traditions of our ancestors.' *Imperium* is the consular authority (not 'empire'). Cf. [2. 3](#) 'huius imperii severitas.' [§12.](#)

[9]

ad. Greek πρός. 'With respect to.' Cf. [2. 18](#) 'adquirere ad fidem.'

sentina rei publicae, ('the refuse of the state'), forms a single expression upon which the explanatory genitive 'tuorum comitum' ('consisting of your comrades') depends.

faciebas, 'were just doing,' 'ready to do.' [§13.](#)

exilium. See [on §20](#) below.

domesticae turpitudinis refers especially to family scandals, such as the story of his wife and son ([§14](#)). **privatarum rerum dedecus**, to offences extending beyond the family, but still confined to private life, i.e. having no political object.

inretisses. Subjunctive, because the antecedent to 'quem' does not refer to any particular individual, but stands for a class.

ad audaciam, etc. The sword and the torch are the instruments by which 'audacia' and 'libido' attain their objects; the former to strike the blow, the latter to show the way in the darkness.

alio incredibili scelere. Sallust (Cat. 15) says that Catilina, wishing to marry the profligate Orestilla, poisoned his son because she objected to his presence. The further charge, that he had killed his first wife, is mentioned by Cicero alone. [§14.](#)

aut non vindicata esse, understand 'si exstiterit.'

proximis Idibus. The Kalends, Nones, and Ides were the 'settling-days' at Rome. Cicero means that Catilina will realize his failure on the next settling-day, when his creditors will demand their money. Cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 87 'Cum misero tristes venere Kalendae,' and Epodes 2. 69 'Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam, Curat Kalendis ponere,' where the money-lender calls in his money on the Ides of one month, and on the Kalends of the next lends it out again.

te pridie Kalendas, etc., i.e. December 31, 66 B.C. This refers to the so-called 'first conspiracy,' [§15.](#) on which see [Introduction, page 8.](#)

comitio. The singular *comitium* denotes the place of assembly; the plural *comitia* the assembly itself.

mentem, 'reflection.'

fortunam, because the plot only failed through his accidentally giving the signal too soon.

neque enim, etc. 'Neque' negatives the whole sentence, and 'non' goes closely with 'multa'; 'for they are no secret, nor have your later offences been few.'

parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore. Hendiadys, 'by a mere turn of the body, so to speak.' The metaphor is taken from fencing, ('ut aiunt' being introduced, like the Greek ὡς εἰπέειν, to soften the abruptness). Cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 437 (of boxing)

'Stat gravis Entellus, nisuque immotus eodem
Corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.'

initiata ac devota. 'Consecrated and vowed'; alluding to the common practice of assassins, of dedicating the weapon to some patron deity, in case of the attempt being successful. 'Quae' is the connecting relative, and 'quibus . . . sit,' an indirect question depending on 'nescio.' [§16.](#)

nulla, adverbial, 'which you do not deserve *at all*.'

tibi persaepe. 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. In poetry there is no such restriction. Other instances are [1. 24](#) '*cui* sciam pactam cum Manlio diem,' [2. 13](#) 'quem ad modum esset *ei* ratio belli descripta,' [2. 26](#) '*mihi* consultum ac provisum est.'

tandem. See [on 1. 1.](#)

pacto, used adverbially like 'modo.' Cf. 'quo pacto' = 'how?' [§17.](#)

metuerent. See on 'loquatur' [1. 19 below](#).

urbem. Sc. 'relinquendam esse.'

iniuria, 'undeservedly.'

aliquo, 'to some spot or other,' 'somewhither'; cf. 'in aliquas terras' [1. 20](#). Cf. Ter. And. 339 'dum proficiscor aliquo.'

nunc, 'as it is.' So νῦν in Greek.

tacita loquitur. Oxymoron, lit. 'speaks without voice,' 'silently appeals to you.' [§18.](#)

multorum civium neces, alluding to his share in carrying out the proscriptions of Sulla.

vexatio direptioque sociorum. He had been propraetor of Africa 67 B.C., brought to trial for extortion, but acquitted in spite of strong evidence of guilt. The term *socii* had been originally confined to those Italians who were not *cives*; but since the franchise had been given to all Italians (90-89 B.C.) it had been extended to the provincials.

quaestiones, 'law-courts' (*quaestio* from *quaero*, lit. 'an investigation'). Criminal jurisdiction belonged legally to the people assembled in the Comitia Centuriata. As it soon became impossible for the whole body of citizens to try every case, trials were delegated from time to time to commissions (*quaestiones*) specially appointed. Hence arose the idea of establishing standing commissions (*quaestiones perpetuae*) to try particular classes of offences. The earliest of these was the *quaestio perpetua de repetundis* (149 B.C.), which had cognizance of all cases of extortion. Catilina would have been indicted before it. Other *quaestiones perpetuae* were subsequently added, and the whole system was regulated and extended by Sulla. [\[11\]](#)

tandem aliquando. See [on 1. 10.](#)

si loquatur . . . debeat. Contrast this with the conditional sentence in [§17 above](#), 'si metuerent . . . putarem.' Both the imperf. and the pres. subj. make an imaginary supposition; but the imperfect, throwing it into the past, marks it as impossible; the present regards it as still conceivable. Thus 'si metuerent' (εἰ ἐφοβοῦντο) = 'if they feared' (which they do not); but 'si loquatur' (εἰ λέγοι) = 'if it were to speak' (now or at any future time). [§19.](#)

custodiam. A citizen was not imprisoned pending his trial on a criminal charge. As a rule, he simply gave bail for his appearance; sometimes however he was placed in the charge of some citizen of reputation, who became responsible for his safe keeping (*libera custodia*). Catilina had offered to place himself under some such restraint on his indictment for inciting to riot (*de vi*) by L. Paullus. See [Introduction, page 11](#). The trial never took place, owing to the subsequent events.

parietibus . . . moenibus. *Pariēs* is the wall of a house; *moenia* the walls of a town; *murus* the general term.

videlicet, ironical ('videre licet,' like 'scilicet' = 'scire licet').

aliquas, cf. 'aliquo,' [1. 17](#) and [note](#) there. [§20.](#)

ad senatum referre, the technical term for bringing a matter before the senate for discussion. This could only be done by the consul (or other magistrate) who summoned and presided over the meeting.

non referam. The real reason of his refusal was that the senate, not being a judicial court, had no power to pass sentence upon any individual. Moreover exile was not technically a punishment

known to Roman law; it was merely a recognized means of anticipating a sentence. See [on §28 below](#).

hi, the senators.

After **proficiscere** Cicero pauses, to give time for an expression of opinion from the senators. As they are silent he resumes, 'Quid est,' etc. Cf. the rhetorical artifice in Demosth. de Cor. §52.

auctoritatem, expressed request; **voluntatem**, unexpressed desire.

Sestio. Now quaestor; tribune in 57 B.C. when he was active in promoting Cicero's return from [§21](#). [12]
exile. In 56 Cicero defended him on a charge of riot.

M. Marcello, consul 51 B.C. Opposed Caesar; but was recalled from exile by him and pardoned 46 B.C.

vim et manus, hendiadys.

cum, with indicative, [see note on 1. 7](#). 'By their silence, they approve.'

cara, because he professed himself ready to submit to a decree of the senate ordering his exile.

iam pridem studes, 'have long been desiring.' Cf. the Greek πάλαι ἐπιθυμεῖ.

te ut ulla res frangat? 'What? anything break *your* resolution?' This is exactly like the exclamatory use of the acc. and inf. in phrases like 'Mene incepto desistere victam?' (Virg. Aen. 1. 37) only here 'ut' with subj. takes the place of the more usual acc. and infin. (i.e. he might have said, 'Tene ullam rem frangere?') Cf. [below §24](#) 'tu ut illa diutius carere possis?' 'Hocine ut ego nomine appellem eversores huius imperii?' (pro Sestio §17), 'Utne tegam spurco Damae latus?' (Hor. Sat. 2. 5. 18).

duint. Subj. from 'duo' (perhaps an older form of 'do') with *i* as the characteristic vowel, in the place of the more usual *a*, as in 'sim,' 'velim,' 'possim,' 'edim,' etc. The form is found frequently in Plautus, Terence, and old legal phrases. See Roby's Lat. Gr. vol. i. §589.

sed est tanti, 'but it is worth while' (to risk the unpopularity).

privata, i.e. affects me only as a private citizen.

legum poenas, 'the punishment *prescribed* by the laws.' Cf. 'rei publicae poena' 1. 4.

temporibus rei publicae cedas, 'yield to the exigencies of the state'; 'tempora,' as often, of a political crisis. Catilina is to yield to these in the sense that he is to sacrifice his personal convenience for the public advantage.

ratio, 'sound reasoning,' 'reflection.' The consecutive sentence is best translated by turning 'revocaverit' into a passive, 'you are not the man to have been recalled,' etc.

exsulta, 'revel.' Lit. 'leap about,' 'gambol.' Cf. [§26 below](#).

latrocinio, 'brigandage' opposed to 'bellum,' [§27](#). 'Latro,' originally 'a mercenary,' connected with λατρεύω; hence a brigand, because mercenary troops were addicted to indiscriminate plundering. [§23](#).

sciam, subjunctive, as giving a reason, '*seeing that* I know you have sent on,' etc. [§24](#). [13]

Forum Aurelium, a small place on the Via Aurelia, about fifty miles from Rome.

cui. See [note on 1. 16](#).

aquilam. Marius introduced the silver eagle as the standard of the legion. The one in question had been used (according to Sallust) in the war against the Cimbri.

cui domi tuae, etc. The place where the eagles were set up in the camp was regarded as sacred. Catilina prepares a similar sacred spot for his in his own house. *Sacrarium* means (1) a shrine, (2) any secret place; it is here used in both senses; hence trans. 'for which you have consecrated at your house the secret chamber of your crimes.' But Halm would omit 'scelerum tuorum' as an interpolation.

tu ut illa, etc. See [above on §22](#).

altaribus, 'the altar'; the singular form is not found in classical Latin.

haec res, i.e. making war upon your country. [§25](#).

tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem, etc. As the two clauses have the same verb ('concupisti') the negative is *expressed* only in the second which contains the verb, and must be understood from it to the first, i.e. 'non concupisti' must be understood after 'non modo.' Literally, 'you not only (did not want) peace, but did not even want a war unless it were wicked.' Observe that the negation in these two clauses does not cancel but *repeats* the original negative 'nunquam.' This is the regular usage where a negative proposition branches out into two clauses. Cf. 'Ea Caesar nunquam neque fecit neque fecisset' (Cic. ad Fam. 14. 13), 'Caesar never did nor would have done those things.' See Kennedy's Public Sch. Lat. Gr. §84. In English we may avoid

the repetition of negatives and say, 'you have never desired—I will not say peace—but even war that was anything but criminal.' Exactly parallel is 2. 8 'Nemo non modo Romae, sed ne ullo quidem in angulo totius Italiae fuit' Cf. also [2. 20](#) 'ut iam,' etc.; [2. 21](#) 'ut non modo,' etc.

conflatam. Metaphor from working metals, 'fused,' 'welded together.' Cf. Virg. Georg. 1. 508 'falces conflantur in ensem,' and pro Roscio §1 'iniuriam novo scelere conflatam.' So συμφυσᾶν in Greek; cf. Ar. Knights 468

καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' οἷσιν ἔστι συμφυσώμενα
ἐγώδᾳ.

meditati, in passive sense, as the participles of many other deponents; e.g. 'ultus,' 'complexus,' [§26](#). [14] 'testatus,' 'adeptus,' etc. Cf. Phil. 2. 34. 85 'meditatum et cogitatum scelus.'

qui feruntur labores, οἱ λεγόμενοι πόνοι, 'those exertions of yours they talk of.'

iacere, vigilare, infinitives in apposition to labores.

a consulatu. At the election of consuls for 62, held a few weeks before, Cicero had used his influence to defeat Catilina. See [Introduction, page 10](#). On 'cum' with indic. see [1. 7](#). [§27](#).

est. Generally a verb dependent on a subjunctive is itself subjunctive. Here however the relative clause is not really part of the consecutive sentence, but a mere epithet explanatory of 'id,' added by the speaker, hence *est* not *esset*. Cf. [3. 21](#) '(quis est) qui neget haec omnia quae *videmus*,' etc.

latrocinium. See [on §23 above](#).

detester, 'detestari' = 'to avert by entreaty.'

si loquatur. The apodosis is not expressed, owing to the length of the following address. On pres. subj. see [note on 1. 19](#).

mactari. Cicero and Caesar only use the acc. and inf. after 'impero' with *passive* verbs; in other cases 'ut' and subj.

persaepe etiam privati, an exaggeration. The only case of a 'privatus' putting an offender to death which Cicero quotes is that of Scipio Nasica and Ti. Gracchus. See [note on 1. 3](#). [§28](#).

An leges, etc. The earliest of these was the Lex Valeria (509 B.C.), which secured the right of appeal to the people from the magistrate ('*ne quis magistratus civem Romanum adversus provocationem necaret neve verberaret*'). This was re-enacted, and the penalty for violating it strengthened by the Lex Porcia (197 B.C.) and the Lex Sempronia (122 B.C., Gaius Gracchus). Notice that these laws only forbade the magistrate to inflict death or scourging on his own authority. The power to do so, after trial and condemnation, remained with the people; but it was seldom or never exercised, because the right of the accused to anticipate the sentence by voluntary exile was universally recognized, and even according to Sallust secured by law. See Cat. 51 'aliae leges condemnatis civibus non animam eripi sed exilium permitti iubent.'

at nunquam, etc. Cf. [4. 10](#); on the validity of this argument see [Intr. Note B](#).

invidiam posteritatis. Subjective genitive, 'hatred of (felt by) posterity.' **fortitudinis**, just below, is objective, 'unpopularity of (attaching to) firmness.'

per te cognitum, 'known by your own exertions only'; cf. [1. 11](#) 'per me tibi obstiti.' Cicero was a *novus homo*; i.e. none of his ancestors had held a curule office. [15]

tam mature. The age which a citizen must attain before becoming a candidate for the several offices was fixed by the Lex Villia Annalis (180 B.C.). Cicero appears to have been chosen for each magistracy *suo anno*, i.e. as soon as he was legally eligible. He was now 43.

per omnes honorum gradus, 'through all the degrees of office.' By the Leges Annales of Sulla, the offices of quaestor, praetor, consul, had to be filled successively in the order named.

si summi viri, etc. See [notes on 1. 3, 4](#). [§29](#).

parricida, because he is attacking the 'patria' which is 'omnium nostrum communis parens.' But the word is sometimes used in a more extended sense of wilful murder or sacrilege.

redundaret. Metaphor from the overflowing of a stream: 'lest any flood of unpopularity should overwhelm me in the future.' (Cf. the English phrase 'to rebound to one's credit'.)

Quamquam, etc. The first 'qui' is consecutive ('tales ut'), the second is the connecting relative ('hi autem'), hence followed by indic. 'aluerunt.' [§30](#).

dissimulent, sc. 'se videre.'

sententiis, 'votes' (in the senate). See [on 1. 9](#).

regie, 'tyrannically,' i.e. like a despot, not like the magistrate of a free state. Gk. τυραννικῶς. Cf. [2. 14](#) 'crudelissimum tyrannum.'

naufragos, 'castaways.' Cf. [2. 24](#) 'illam naufragorum manum.'

nescio quo pacto, 'somehow.' 'Nescio quis' is treated as a single word, hence *erupit* not *eruperit*. [§31.](#)

latrocinio, abstract for concrete; 'band of brigands.'

aestu febrique, hendiadys, 'in the burning heat of fever.'

biberunt, v.l. 'biberint.'

relevatus represents the protasis, 'si relevatus erit.'

praetoris urbani. The business of the praetors during their year of office was mainly judicial. [§32.](#) They were now eight in number; two presided in the civil court; of these the *praetor urbanus* tried suits between citizens at a fixed tribunal in the Forum; the *praetor peregrinus* suits between citizens and foreigners. The remaining six (without distinctive name) acted as judges in criminal cases. Cicero means that Catilina and his friends tried to intimidate the praetor in the discharge of his duties.

malleolos. The 'malleolus' was a missile used in sieges. It was filled with tow, which was ignited before it was thrown, and had an arrow affixed. The name seems to be derived from the shape, which resembled a mallet. [16]

tantam in vobis, etc., i.e. he would as consul secure the execution of whatever the senate might decree.

cum. Used of the attendant circumstances of an action. In English, 'to the salvation of the state, the destruction of yourself,' etc. [§33.](#)

Iuppiter. The temple of Iuppiter Stator (the 'Stayer of flight,' the 'Stablisher,') was vowed by Romulus during the fight with the Sabines (Livy 1. 12); it was not, however, built till 294 B.C. (Livy 10. 37).

auspicia, augury from the flight of birds, which always preceded any important undertaking. As the auspices were taken by the chief, 'to do a thing under a person's auspices' came to mean 'to act under his leadership and protection.'

ORATION II.

Quirites, the regular title by which citizens were addressed when assembled in their civil capacity. Cf. the opening of the third speech, also addressed to the people. The derivation is uncertain; some suppose the word to be a form of 'Curetes,' i.e. inhabitants of the Sabine town 'Cures,' others derive it from 'Quiris,' a Sabine word meaning 'spear.' [§1.](#)

ferro flammaque, another reading is 'ferrum flammamque.' We can say either 'militari alicui aliquid,' or 'militari alicui aliqua re.'

vel . . . vel . . . vel. Each 'vel' substitutes a milder form of expression for the preceding. 'We have driven him out,—let him go, if you will,—at least bidden him good speed on his voluntary departure.' *ipsum* = 'sua sponte.' *verbis prosecuti* is of course ironical.

abiit, etc. Note the absence of connecting particles (asyndeton) and the increased force of each word rising to a climax in 'erupit.'

versabitur, 'will play around.'

campo, the Campus Martius.

loco, 'post,' 'vantage-ground.'

cum (= 'quo tempore'), 'at the very moment when.' The two actions were simultaneous, there is no idea of cause or consequence; hence indicative. See [on 1. 7](#), and cf. below 'cum . . . eiecimus.'

hoste is emphatic. By his action he has declared himself the enemy of the state. After *bellum* some MSS. insert 'iustum,' 'regular.' [17]

extulit, indicative because the *fact* that he did not carry away his dagger stained with blood is emphasized; 'extulerit' would have made it an expression of Catilina's feelings, as 'laetari quod evomuerit' below expresses the feelings of the citizens. Cf. also 'quod non comprehenderim' [§3](#) ad init. [§2.](#)

tandem adds force to the question. Cf. [1. 1](#) 'quousque tandem?' and [note there](#).

iacet, 'he lies helpless.' Cf. [2. 25](#) 'quam valde illi iaceant.'

in hoc ipso, 'in this very point,' explained by 'quod non comprehenderim,' 'that I have not (as they complain) arrested.'

capitalem, threatening the 'caput' or principle of life; 'deadly.'

huius imperii severitas, 'the strict traditions of my (consular) authority.'

crederent, consecutive subj., as regularly after 'sunt qui,' where the relative refers not to certain specified individuals, but to a class.

non modo invidiae, etc., 'at the risk not merely of unpopularity, but of life.'

cum viderem, etc. 'Re probata' is ablative absolute; not 'approved by you,' but 'proved, demonstrated to you.' 'Since I saw that the facts were even then not fully established to the satisfaction of all of you,' (much less to those inclined to sympathize with Catilina; this is the force of 'quidem,') 'and that, if I punished him as he deserved, I should not, under the burden of the unpopularity of that act, be able to attack his associates, I brought the matter to this point,' etc. The direct form of the conditional sentence would have been 'si multavero, non potero'; this becomes in Oratio Obliqua 'cum viderem, si multassem, fore ut non possem' (periphrasis being necessary because 'possum' has no future participle).

quam vehementer, ironical. **foris** is emphatic; once outside the city he does not fear him at all, as the context shows.

exierit, subjunctive, because the whole sentence stands as the object of 'fero.'

mihi, the so-called 'Ethic' dative; 'Tongilius, I see, he has taken with him.' The use of 'me' in the same sense is frequent in Shakespeare, as in the phrases 'Knock me on this door,' 'he steps me to her trencher,' etc., but is becoming obsolete in modern English.

praetexta (sc. 'toga'), the purple-edged 'toga' worn by boys up to the age of sixteen, when they assumed the 'toga virilis,' which was plain white.

prae, 'in comparison with.'

Gallicanis legionibus, the regular troops stationed in Cisalpine Gaul. The coast district of Umbria from the Rubicon to the Aesis was known as 'ager Gallicus,' having been originally the home of the Senonian Gauls. The praetor Q. Metellus had been ordered by the senate to levy troops in this district and Picenum for the defence of the government.

agresti luxuria, abstract for concrete. He is thinking particularly of the Sullan colonists. See [Introduction p. 9](#), and [§20 below](#).

decoctoribus, 'bankrupts.' *Decoquo*, lit. 'to boil down,' so to squander one's property, become bankrupt. Cf. Cic. Phil. 2. ch. 18 'Tenesne memoria, te praetextatum decoxisse?'

vadimonia, 'bail,' i.e. security given for appearance in court when called upon. Hence *vadimonia deserere*, 'to desert one's legal obligations,' 'make default.'

edictum praetoris. Every praetor, on entering upon his office, published an *edictum*, stating the rules to which he would adhere in the administration of justice. Hence Cicero says, 'they will collapse when I display to them the edict of the praetor,' i.e. remind them of the penalties to which they will be liable by their non-appearance in court to answer to their bail.

hos, strongly opposed to exercitum illum. He is not afraid of the ruined spendthrifts who compose Catilina's army; he *is* afraid of the conspirators left behind in the city, who have, as it were, deserted that army. (Lentulus, Cethegus, etc. are pointed at.)

suos milites eduxisset, 'taken with him as his force.'

quod quid cogitent, etc., i.e. because they must have some secret force at their back, which gives them confidence.

superioris noctis consilia, i.e. at the meeting in Laeca's house ([1. 8](#)), either the night before last or the last night but two. See [Introduction, p. 12 note](#).

ne, 'truly' (like the Greek $\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota, \nu\eta$), to be distinguished from the conjunction. Used with pronouns only.

nisi si quis, 'nisi' is used like an adverb; hence the repetition of 'si.' Cf. Thuc. 1. 17 $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \mu\eta \epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\iota$.

ne patiantur, 'in order that they may not permit.' Not prohibitive, which according to Cicero's usage would require the perfect subjunctive.

Aurelia via. This was the coast road, the shortest route to Massilia, whither Catilina pretended to be going.

exhausto keeps up the metaphor of draining away refuse contained in 'sentina.'

subiector, 'forger,' from 'subicere' in the sense of 'substitute.'

nepos, 'spendthrift,' 'prodigal.' Cf. the bad sense sometimes attaching to $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ in Greek.

[§4.](#)

[§5.](#) [18]

[§6.](#)

[§7.](#)

[19]

Iam vero, frequent in transitions; 'once more,' 'again.' He is passing to a fresh aspect of Catilina's character. Cf. [3. 22](#) and de Lege Manilia 11, where, after speaking of the military experience of Pompeius, he goes on 'Iam vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quae potest oratio par inveniri?' [§8.](#)

fructum, 'enjoyment,' 'satisfaction.'

Nemo non modo Romae, etc. Understand 'non fuit' from the second clause after 'non modo' and see [note on 1. 25](#) for full explanation. [§9.](#)

ut eius diversa studia, etc., 'to help you to understand other tastes of his in quite a different sphere of life' ('ratio,' lit. 'way,' 'method,' 'plan').

ludo, 'school,' where gladiators were trained under a fencing-master (*lanista*).

in scaena (σκηνη), 'on the stage.' The profession of an actor was considered degrading (*infamis*) for a Roman citizen, and was generally left to slaves and freedmen.

levior et nequior, 'a little more frivolous and worthless' (than his fellows).

cum, 'although.'

instrumenta, 'the instruments,' i.e. the powers of mind and body by which a virtuous disposition makes itself felt.

fortunas, 'estates,' as distinguished from property in money. [§10.](#)

obligaverunt, 'mortgaged.'

res, 'money,' fides, 'credit.' This has just begun to fail them, because in view of the break-down of their schemes, their creditors will not trust them any longer. See on 'proximis Idibus' [1. 14](#).

bonorum. See [on 1. 1](#).

propagarit, 'propago' ('pro' and 'pag-' root of 'pango,' 'to fasten down'), originally a botanical term; 'to generate by slips,' hence generally 'to extend,' 'prolong.' Tr. 'will have prolonged the existence of the state, not merely for a brief period, but for many generations.' A variation for the more usual construction 'in multa saecula propagarit rempublicam.' [§11.](#)

rex . . . unius. Pompeius, invested with the supreme command by the Gabinian and Manilian laws, had just crushed the pirates of Cilicia ('mari'), and brought to a close the third war against Mithridates king of Pontus ('terra'), by the battle of Nicopolis (B.C. 66).

Having answered those who might think his measures not strong enough (§§3-11) Cicero now (§§12-16) addresses those who might urge that he had acted tyrannically and abused his consular authority by driving Catilina from the city. [§12.](#) [20]

exilium is emphatic. They pretend that he has been unlawfully forced into exile; whereas really, so far from going into exile, he has voluntarily departed for the camp of his lieutenant Manlius.

verbo, 'by a mere word' (as they pretend I did in Catilina's case).

videlicet = 'videre licet,' 'it is easy to see,' 'of course.' He is sarcastically quoting the language of his assailants; his own reply begins at 'Hesterno die.'

quin etiam adds a still stronger testimony. 'Why, even,' etc.

vehemens ille consul, 'your violent consul.'

quaesivi, see [1. 8](#).

necne is used in indirect disjunctive questions, 'annon' in direct.

homo audacissimus, 'with all his audacity.' [§13.](#)

conscientia, 'by his guilty knowledge.'

constituisset, sc. 'agendum.'

ei. See [note on dative of the agent, 1. 16](#).

ratio, 'plan.'

quo iam pridem pararet, 'whither (I knew) he had long been preparing to go.'

secures . . . fasces, etc. Catilina meant to assume all the insignia of a consul commanding an army in the field.

sacrarium, see [on 1. 24](#).

fecerat, indic., because the sentence is a parenthesis added by Cicero here for the information of his hearers. It is not a quotation from his speech to the senate, for this would have required *fecisset*.

credo, strongly ironical. [§14.](#)

suo is emphatic; 'in his *own* name'; (Catilina, you ask us to believe, had nothing to do with it.)

condicionem, the external circumstances, given conditions under which a thing must be done. Here perhaps 'task' gives the meaning best; but it may also be rendered by 'lot,' 'position,' 'terms,' according to the context. Cf. 'nascendi condicio' [3. 2](#), 'consulatus condicio' [4.1](#) and [3. 27](#).

vi et minis, hendiadys.

tyrannum. Cf. 'regie factum' [1. 30](#).

Est mihi tanti, 'I think it worth while.'

[§15](#).

falsae, 'misdirected.'

sane, 'by all means.'

non est iturus, stronger than 'ibit,' 'he has no intention of going.'

[21]

illud refers to what *follows* ('ne sit,' etc.). Cf. the use of ἐκεῖνο in Greek.

Quamquam, etc. 'And yet those, who keep saying that Catilina is going to Massilia, do not really regret, so much as fear it. No one of them is tender hearted enough to wish him to go thither rather than to Manlius.' If their motive were really (as they pretend) disinterested pity for Catilina, they would be glad to hear he had gone to Massilia, because that is his only chance of escaping destruction. The truth is that they are secret partisans of his schemes, and are afraid he may be going to abandon them by voluntary exile.

[§16](#).

sanare sibi ipsos, 'to restore them to themselves,' i.e. to their right minds.

[§17](#).

possessiones, of landed property exclusively ('estates'); **maiores**, i.e. more than enough to pay their debts, if they were sold.

[§18](#).

dissolvi, in a kind of middle sense, 'free themselves'; 'solvo' is the technical word for payment of debts. Cf. the English 'liquidate.'

species, 'outward appearance.'

voluntas et causa, 'intentions and position.'

tu . . . sis, etc., dubitative subjunctive, implying incredulous astonishment. 'Can you be?' 'is it possible that you are?' It is the ordinary potential subj., ('velim,' 'I could wish,' etc.) thrown into an interrogative form. Cf. Cic. ad Q. F. 1. 3 'Ego tibi irascerer, mi frater?' 'I, angry with you, my brother?' and pro Sulla 44 'Tu tantam rem ementiare?' 'You to utter such a falsehood?' Also Virg. Aen. 12. 947 'Tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum | Eripiare mihi?' Translate here, 'You to be luxuriously and abundantly supplied with estates and houses, silver plate and slaves, everything in short that you can wish for, and yet to hesitate, by sacrificing a part of your estate, to gain in respect of credit?' For ad, 'with respect to,' cf. [1. 12](#) 'ad severitatem lenius.' He wishes them to sell some of their land and pay their debts with the proceeds; this, though apparently a sacrifice, would really be a gain, because by restoring their solvency it would improve their credit.

tabulas novas, lit. 'clean tablets,' 'new account books'; a phrase implying a general cancelling of all debts, which Catilina promised.

meo beneficio, etc., 'thanks to me, there shall be an issue of new tablets, but (they shall be) those of the auctioneers.' He means that he would propose a law, compelling those debtors who had land to sell it by auction, and pay with the proceeds. The necessary catalogues of sale ('auctionariae tabulae') would be 'novae tabulae' in a double sense, (1) because such a law would be a novelty; (2) because it would lead to freedom from debt, only by legal methods, instead of arbitrary repudiation of the creditor's claims.

[22]

salvi, 'solvent.'

certare cum usuris, etc., 'instead of matching the produce of their estates against the interest' (on their loans). They had borrowed largely, and tried to pay the interest on the loans with the income derived from their land. It was a contest ('certare') between the two, in which the interest to be paid tended constantly to outstrip their income.

uteremur, 'we should find them.' Cf. Gk. χρῶμα in the same sense.

dominationem, 'tyranny,' 'despotism,' used always (like 'dominus') of the rule of a single person.

[§19](#).

honores, 'offices.'

scilicet, 'that is to say.'

in bonis viris, see [note on 'honorum' 1. 1](#).

maximam multitudinem, if genuine, must mean 'that their number is very great,' but the words are probably an interpolation; 'in maxima multitudine' (to be connected with 'magnam concordiam') has been conjectured.

si sint adepti, a very remote contingency, 'supposing they were to obtain.'

fugitivo alicui, etc., i.e. in the event of success the real power would be seized by the most worthless of their own party.

Sunt homines, etc. Sulla during his dictatorship (82-80 B.C.) rewarded his victorious soldiers to the number of 120,000, by distributing them in military colonies throughout Italy, assigning an allotment of land to each. Faesulae was one of these colonies. §20.

universas, 'taken as a whole.' Cicero is careful to speak with respect of Sulla, because he had been the great champion of the aristocratic party, which was now supporting the orator against Catilina. But further on he alludes to the horror which the recollection of the proscriptions still inspired.

sed tamen ii sunt coloni, etc. Note that 'qui . . . iactarunt' is not consecutive. Hence tr. 'Nevertheless the men in question are colonists who,' etc. For 'ii' which seems awkward, 'in iis' has been conjectured.

beati, here, as often, of material prosperity, 'well-to-do.'

familiis, 'establishments,' (of slaves and dependents).

illorum temporum, i.e. the reign of terror under Marius and Cinna (87, 86 B.C.), during which many of the aristocratic leaders perished; and the period of Sulla's dictatorship, with its wholesale proscriptions of the popular party. [23]

tantus is adverbial; 'to such an extent.' Cf. 1.16 'quae tibi *nulla* videtur.'

non modo homines, etc. Understand 'non passuri esse videantur' after 'non modo,' and see note on 1.25 for explanation.

iam pridem premuntur, 'have long been overwhelmed.' §21.

emergunt, 'get their heads above water.' Cf. Juvenal 3. 164

'Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi.'

vetere, 'long-standing.'

vadimoniis, etc, alludes to the three stages of legal proceedings against a debtor. *Vadimonium*, security given for appearance in court; *iudicium*, the trial and legal decision; *proscriptio bonorum*, the confiscation of the property for the benefit of the creditors.

infitiator is one who denies his legal obligations; 'lentos' is added to point the antithesis to 'acres'; 'not so much keen soldiers as shirking defaulters.'

non modo, sc. 'non sentiat.'

carcer. The 'Tullianum' under the Capitol was the only public prison in Rome. §22.

postremum, 'the last,' i.e. 'the lowest,' both in point of number and morality.

proprium, 'Catilina's particular favourites; his special choice,—let me say rather his most cherished and bosom friends.'

immo vero, see on 1.2.

imberbes, 'beardless,' i.e. effeminate.

bene barbatos, the wearing of a beard was contrary to the Roman custom at this time and held to be a mark of dissoluteness.

quorum omnis, etc., 'who spend all their life's energy and sacrifice their rest in banquets lasting until daybreak,' **antelucanis**, lit. before dawn, i.e. prolonged till dawn.

cohortem praetoriam, the troop employed as the general's body guard; first organized by the younger Scipio during the siege of Numantia (133 B.C.) (Cf. *Praetorium* = the headquarters in the camp.) Out of this grew the Praetorian Guard of the Emperors, which played such an important part in the history of imperial Rome. §24.

nunc, ironical, 'now' (if you think it worth while).

eiectam, 'castaway,' keeping up the metaphor contained in 'naufragorum.'

Iam vero, 'Why, already,' etc.

urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum. Originally *colonia* meant a colony whose citizens enjoyed the full Roman franchise; *municipium* a town possessed of 'Latin rights' only. But since 89 B.C., when the franchise had been extended to all Italians, the distinction had ceased to exist. [24]

respondebunt, 'will be a match for.' Catilina's rustic strongholds ('tumuli silvestres') are contemptuously contrasted with the fortified towns ('urbes') which were in the hands of the government.

urbe, i.e. the capital. §25.

eget ille is opposed to *nos suppeditamur*, the contrast being emphasized by the omission of the connecting particle and the arrangement of the words (Chiasmus).

causas ipsas quae, etc., 'simply the causes which are arrayed against one another.'

velimus, subj. because in the apodosis '*intelligere possumus*' is equivalent to the potential subjunctive '*intelligamus*.' Cf. [1. 2](#) '*satisfacere videmur, si vitemus*,' and [note](#).

iaceant. See [on 2. 2](#).

denique aequitas, etc., sums up the preceding; the four cardinal virtues (justice, temperance, bravery, wisdom) are set against the corresponding vices. The antithesis must be carefully kept in translation.

bona ratio cum perdita, 'upright against corrupt principles.'

mihi, dative of agent. See on [1. 16](#).

[§26](#).

gladiatores. There were in Italy a number of schools (*Iudi*) where gladiators were trained. Catilina had hoped to avail himself of these, but by decree of the senate (October 21) they had been placed under special guard. See Introduction, page 11.

agrum Gallicum. See [on 2. 5](#).

adeo adds an emphasis, 'who indeed.'

[§27](#).

monitos, sc. 'esse.' For the acc. and infin. construction after 'volo' cf. [1. 4](#) '*cupio me esse clementem*.'

qui commoverit is subject to **sentiet**.

cuius = 'si illius.'

carcerem, as a place of execution ('vindicem') not of detention, for imprisonment was not employed as a punishment in the case of citizens.

togato duce et imperatore. The toga was the civil dress of the magistrate in the city, opposed to the military cloak (*paludamentum*) worn by the general in the field. Tr. 'with me, a civil magistrate, as your leader and general.' Cicero especially prided himself on the fact that he defeated Catilina in his civil capacity as consul, without the aid of an army. Cf. [3. 15](#), [23](#), and the words of his own poem on the subject, '*Cedant arma togae*.'

[§28](#).

illud, explained by *ut neque*, etc. Cf. [2. 15](#).

ORATION III.

[25]

quod salutis, etc., 'because the pleasure of safety is assured, while our lot at birth is doubtful; because again we are not conscious of our birth, while we can feel the delight of preservation.'

[§2](#).

nascendi condicio = the external circumstances, surroundings to which we are born. See [on 2. 14](#).

illum, i.e. Romulus.

benevolentia famaue, hendiadys, 'with affectionate praise.'

templum is the consecrated ground (*τέμενος*); **delubrum** the actual shrine (*ναός*).

ut = 'ex quo tempore,' 'ever since.' Cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 13. 2 '*ut Brundisio profectus es, nullae mihi abs te sunt redditae litterae*,' and Hor. Od. 4. 4.42.

[§3](#).

paucis ante diebus. Really, it was nearly a month ago (Nov. 8-Dec. 3).

cum . . . eiciebam, indic. because 'cum' = 'quo tempore,' 'at the time when.' Cf. [2. 1](#) and [1. 7. note](#).

exterminari, 'banished' (ex, terminus). The sense 'exterminated' is not found in classical Latin.

fidem faceret, 'would command confidence.'

[§4](#).

tumultus, used exclusively of disturbances in Italy and Gaul. Cf. Cic. Phil. 8. ch. 1 '*itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant*,' and the whole passage. On the Allobroges, see [Introduction, p. 13](#).

ad Catilinam, 'addressed to Catilina.'

qui omnia, etc., 'like men whose political sentiments were entirely sound and excellent.' §5.
sentirent is subj. because qui is causal.

pontem Mulvium, on the Via Flaminia, two miles N. of Rome; now called Ponte Molle.

praefectura was the name given to a provincial town governed by a magistrate sent annually from Rome, whereas the *municipia* elected their own magistrates.

Reate was a Sabine town, of which Cicero was *patronus*.

in reipublicae praesidio, v.l. 'in republica,' 'praesidio' being then connected with 'miseram' as dat. of complement.

tertia, etc., i.e. between three and four a. m. The time between sunset and sunrise was divided into four *vigiliae*. §6.

integris signis. See [on §10 below](#).

ipsi, i.e. Volturcius and the Gauls. [26]

vocavi. The consul had the right of summoning citizens to his presence (*ius vocationis*), by force if necessary (*ius prehensionis*).

si nihil esset inventum. Virtual Oratio Obliqua, representing their words 'si nihil inventum erit.' §7.

temere, 'heedlessly,' i.e. without due cause.

negavi, etc. 'Ut . . . deferrem' is *not* a final, but a substantival clause, standing as the object to 'facturum,' the whole being a more emphatic way of saying 'negavi me non delaturum esse'; 'I said that in a danger which threatened the state, I could not but bring the facts unprejudiced before the council of the state.' Cf. [3. 17](#) 'commisisset ut deprehenderentur.'

fidem publicam dedi. Lit. 'pledged him the faith of the state,' i.e. promised him in the name of the state that he should not be prosecuted in respect of any disclosures, **iussu senatus**, because the consul could not do this unless authorized by the senate. §8.

erat, indic. because an explanation added by Cicero; not part of what Volturcius said.

data esse (for the gender see [note on 'deprehensa' §10](#)), to be taken, by zeugma, with both 'iusiurandum' and 'litteras,' 'that an oath (had been sworn) and a letter given them addressed to their nation.' §9.

atque ita, etc. Upon the main verb 'dixerunt' depend three subordinates: 'esse praescriptum'; 'confirmasse'; 'dixisse'; each of which has in its turn a subordinate clause depending upon it. This will be best seen by the following scheme;

Galli dixerunt:—

(a) ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio { ut equitatum mitterent; pedestres
esse praescriptum { sibi copias non defuturas.

(b) Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse { se esse illum ... Sullam
ex fatis, etc. { 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.

pedestres sibi, etc. This is part of what Cassius and the others said, depending upon some verb of 'saying' to be understood from 'praescriptum'; 'they said that these men and L. Cassius had requested them to send cavalry into Italy as soon as possible, (adding that) they should have no lack of infantry.'

fatis Sibyllinis, the original 'libri Sibyllini' (containing prophecies in Greek) were said to have been brought by the Sibyl of Cumae to Tarquinius Superbus; they were kept in the Capitol and consulted in times of difficulty. In 83 B.C. they were burnt and a fresh collection of Sibylline prophecies was made, which was sifted by order of Augustus and Tiberius. See Tac. Ann. 6. 12. [27]

tertium Cornelium, his full name was Cornelius Lentulus Sura. On Cinna and Sulla see [note on 3. 24](#).

virginum, sc. 'Vestaliūm.' Nothing is known of the event alluded to, but the trial of a Vestal Virgin was always regarded as an event of great significance.

Capitolii incensionem. The Capitol and adjacent buildings had been burnt down B.C. 83.

Saturnalibus, the festival of Saturn at the end of December. It was a general holiday, when special license was allowed to slaves; hence a good opportunity for a rising. §10.

Primo ostendimus, etc. Letters were generally written with a stylus on wax tablets; these were then put together face inwards and tied with string, which was secured by the seal of the sender. When, as often, they were written by slaves from dictation, the seal was the only means of recognising the authorship, as they were not generally signed.

cognovit, 'acknowledged it.'

recepissent, 'had promised'; *recipio* = 'to take upon oneself, engage.' **sibi**, the writer.

quae . . . deprehensa, a relative is generally neuter pl. when it refers, as here, to two inanimate antecedents ('gladii' and 'sicae') of different genders. So also adjectives and participles. Cf. [3. 9](#) 'data.' They may however agree with the nearest word, as in [3. 18](#) 'visas . . . faces ardoremque caeli.'

qui . . . respondisset, 'although he had answered.' **tamen**, i.e. in spite of the appearances against him.

se semper, etc., 'that he had always had a fancy for good steel implements.' He purposely avoids using the word 'tela,' pretending that the weapons were only part of a collection.

conscientia, 'his consciousness of guilt.' For 'abiectus' cf. [4. 3](#) 'abiecta metu filia.'

in eandem fere sententiam, 'to much the same effect.'

avi, Cornelius Lentulus, consul 162 B.C. Cf. [4. 13](#).

eadem ratione, either with **litterae**, 'of the same tenor,' or with *leguntur*, 'in the same way,' i.e. [§11](#). 'with the same formalities.'

per quem, the agent was Umbrenus. Cf. [§14 below](#).

subito, adverb, with **demens**.

cum, 'although.'

dicendi exercitatio. Lit. 'practice in speaking,' i.e. 'fluency.'

[28]

Quis sim, etc. The general sense of the letter is similarly given by Sallust (Cat. 44) with verbal differences. [§12](#).

locum, 'position.'

etiam infimorum, i.e. he was to arm the slaves.

cum . . . tum, 'just as ... so also.' Cf. [3. 18](#). *illa* in each clause refers to what follows. Note that 'certiora' follows 'certissima,' showing that the latter means 'very sure,' not 'the surest possible.' Cicero is fond of using the superlative in this sense. [§13](#).

de summa re publica, 'on a matter so vital to the state.' Cf. [1. 14](#) 'ad summam rempublicam pertinent.'

principibus, the leaders.

sententiae. See [on 1. 9](#).

senatus consultum, the regular word for a decree of the senate. When passed, it was written down, and the names of the principal supporters appended.

liberata . . . sit, etc. Subj. because he is quoting the substance of the decree. **usus essem** is plup. because 'laudantur' (historic present) is regarded as a past tense. [§14](#).

viro forti, collegae meo. This was C. Antonius Hybrida. He had been associated with Catilina, but Cicero induced him to come over to the side of the senate by giving up to him the province of Macedonia. See [note on 4. 23](#).

a suis et rei publicae, etc., i.e. he had ceased to hold any communication with them, either on his private affairs, or his public duties.

cum se praetura, etc. Note the construction of 'abdico.' Strictly speaking, a magistrate could not be deprived of his office except by his own act; but resignation was practically compulsory under certain circumstances (e.g. when the election was proved to have been obtained by bribery). As praetor, Lentulus could not have been placed under arrest, for the person of a magistrate was inviolable (*sacrosanctus*).

in custodiam. See [on 1. 19](#).

de iis colonis. See [on 2. 20](#).

supplicatio, i.e. a period of public prayer and thanksgiving. This was accompanied by the ceremony called *lectisternium*, when the images of the gods were placed on couches (*pulvinaria*) before their temples, with banquets beside them. Here the people came to worship. Cf. [3. 23](#) 'ad omnia pulvinaria,' and Horace, Odes 1. 37. 2 [§15](#).

Ornare pulvinar Deorum
Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.'

A *supplicatio* was generally a thanksgiving for victory; to the general it was an honour only inferior to a triumph, which it often preceded. More rarely, it was a period of national humiliation in time of disaster. Thus a *supplicatio* was decreed at the beginning of 217 B.C., and again after the defeat of Cannae. See Livy 22. 1, 23. 11.

[29]

meo nomine, 'in my name,' 'in my honour.' This was the only instance of a *supplicatio* decreed in honour of a citizen not holding a military command.

interest instead of 'interesse videatur,' because he means to state positively that the difference is there, whether the comparison be made or not. So we can say, 'If you compare, there is this difference,' instead of the more strictly grammatical, 'You will find that there is this difference.' Cf. de Amic. §104 'Si illis orbatus essem, tamen affert nihi aetas ipsa solatium'; where the existence of the consolation does not depend on the need for it.

se abdicavit, 'was allowed to resign.'

ut quae religio, etc. A magistrate being 'sacrosanctus,' religious scruples would forbid his punishment. Cicero says that owing to Lentulus' abdication, they will not have *this* scruple to stand in their way, though reminding them that it did not protect Glaucia. (See [on 1. 4.](#)) Tr. 'So that we can punish Lentulus as a private citizen without hindrance from any religious scruple; though such scruples did not prevent C. Marius,' etc.

cum pellebam. See [on 1. 7.](#)

[§16.](#)

somnum, 'the sleepiness.'

aditus, 'the means of approaching.' Cf. Virg. Aen. 4. 423

'Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras.'

Note the striking picture of Catilina's abilities as a leader here given, and contrast it with Cicero's contemptuous expressions elsewhere, esp. [2. 9.](#)

certos, 'particular,' 'definite.'

mandarat. The pluperf. indic. is rare after *cum* even when (as here) the connection is of time only.

quod constructed with 'obiret' as the nearest verb. 'occurreret' by itself would require dative.

vigilaret, laboraret do not grammatically construct with 'quod' at all. They are an amplification of 'obiret occurreret'; such amplification being more commonly expressed by an adverbial clause such as 'per vigiliis et labores.' Cf. Aesch. P. V. 331

πάντων μετασχών καὶ τετοληκῶς ἐμοί,

where καὶ τετοληκῶς is an amplification of μετασχών, and does not construct with ἐμοί.

[30]

tanto ante, because it was now only Dec. 3 and the Saturnalia ([3. 10](#)) did not begin till Dec. 17.

[§17.](#)

commisisset ut, etc. 'have made the mistake of allowing to be arrested.' Cf. [3. 7](#) 'negavi me facturum esse ut non deferrem.'

cum . . . tum, 'not only ... but also.' Cf. [3. 13.](#)

[§18.](#)

Nam ut illa, etc. Cicero must here be suiting his language to his audience; for he probably did not believe in miraculous signs. His tone in the second and third speeches, where he is addressing the people, is throughout less refined than in the first and fourth, where he is speaking to the senate.

canere, 'foretell,' often used of prophetic utterances.

Cotta et Torquato consulibus, B.C. 65.

[§19.](#)

de caelo, i.e. struck by lightning.

legum aera, the brazen tablets on which the laws were engraved.

tactus, etc. In the Capitoline Museum at Rome may be seen a bronze figure of a wolf giving suck to the twins Romulus and Remus. It is just possible that this may be the group alluded to here, as one of the legs shows an injury such as would be caused by lightning; but it is more probably a mediaeval copy of an ancient original.

Etruria, the original home of augury.

adpropinquare dixerunt nisi . . . flexissent. The soothsayers said 'adpropinquant, nisi flexerint,' the fut. perf. becoming plup. subj. in Oratio Obliqua, according to rule. Not *adpropinquabunt*, because futurity is sufficiently expressed by the word itself, = 'they are drawing near,' 'are upon you.'

suo numine, 'by their influence.' The gods are regarded as subject to Destiny, yet able to

mitigate its decrees by their intercession. **prope** apologizes as it were for the boldness of the expression. Cf. [4. 3](#) ad fin.

ad orientem, etc. The Forum stretched S.E. from the Capitol, so that a statue on the latter facing E. would overlook it. [§20.](#)

collocandum . . . locaverunt, 'gave a contract for its erection'; *loco* (lit. 'to place out') is used of the person for whom the work is done; *conduco* of the contractor.

superioribus consulibus, those of 64 B.C., L. Caesar and C. Figulus.

praesens, perhaps 'clear,' i.e. a visible evidence of the hand of the gods; or it may be simply 'opportune.' [§21.](#)

ut . . . videatur is consecutive, **ut . . . statueretur**, substantival, explanatory of **illud**, 'the fact that the statue was being erected at that particular moment.' [31]

eorum indices, 'the witnesses against them.' The Temple of Concord was on the Capitol; Cicero's house on the Palatine; so that the Forum would have to be crossed in passing from one to the other.

ducerentur follows the mood of its main verb 'statueretur.' Otherwise as 'cum' = 'quo tempore' we should probably have had the indic. on the analogy of [1. 7](#) (where see [note](#)) and other instances.

templis atque delubris. See [on 3. 2.](#) [§22.](#)

mentem voluntatemque, 'disposition and purpose.'

Some editions read 'iam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, iam ab Lentulo,' etc. For iam vero see [on 2. 8.](#)

ut . . . neglegerent, substantival ('the fact that') in apposition to 'id' below.

ex civitate male pacata. The limits of Transalpine Gaul were not accurately defined at this time, and disturbances on the borders were frequent. The Allobroges actually revolted two years later, and were suppressed temporarily by C. Pomptinus; they shared in the universal subjugation of Gaul by Caesar, 58-51 B.C.

ultro, 'spontaneously,' 'unsought,' because the first advances were made by Lentulus.

potuerint, 'especially as they (were men who) might have,' etc.

ad omnia pulvinaria. See [on supplicatio 3. 15.](#) [§23.](#)

togati. See [on 2. 28.](#)

The historical allusions in this section will be best explained by the following sketch. [§24.](#)

In 88 B.C. Sulla was consul, and had just ended the Social War. P. Sulpicius made certain proposals in the interests of the democratic party, one of which was to transfer the command against Mithridates of Pontus from Sulla to Marius. Sulla marched on Rome; Sulpicius, with a few adherents, was killed; Marius, with others, escaped with difficulty. Sulla thereupon departed for the East.

In 87 Cinna, as consul, revived the schemes of Sulpicius. His colleague Octavius drove him from the city; he collected an army, was joined by Marius, and effected his return by force. A reign of terror followed, during which many aristocrats were killed. Marius died in 86; Cinna was killed in a mutiny two years later.

In 82 Sulla came back from the East, defeated the younger Marius (in alliance with the revolted Samnites), at the Colline Gate, and was created 'dictator reipublicae constituendae.' As such he issued a proscription list, ordering the execution of most of the democratic leaders. Having reformed the constitution in the interest of the optimates, he resigned his power. [32]

After his death M. Lepidus (consul 78) tried to reverse his acts, but was expelled by his colleague Q. Catulus. He raised an army and tried, like Cinna, to effect his return by force, but was defeated by Catulus at the Mulvian Bridge, B.C. 77; he escaped to Sardinia, where he died.

vidistis, because they had all taken place within the last twenty-five years.

custodem huius urbis, he had saved Rome by defeating the Teutones and Cimbri (102, 101 B.C.)

redundavit only suits 'sanguine,' but is applied (by zeugma) to 'acervis corporum' as well, '(was choked) with heaps of corpses and flooded with blood.'

clarissimis viris. Among these were L. Caesar (consul 90, and one of the enfranchisers of the Italians) and Q. Catulus (consul 102) the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri.

ne dici quidem, etc. The victims of the Sullan proscriptions numbered from four to five thousand.

Q. Catulo, son of the Catulus mentioned above.

non tam ipsius, i.e. it was not the fate of Lepidus himself which excited sympathy, but of those who were involved in it.

The reading in this section is uncertain, owing to interpolations having been introduced into the original MS. The text given is Halm's conjectural emendation; the principal variation is as follows:—

'Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones *erant eiusmodi Quirites*, quae non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rempublicam *pertinerent*; non illi nullam esse rempublicam, 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 reipublicae quaesivit*, eiusmodi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed internecone civium diiudicatae sint.']

According to this reading, the sentence in brackets is regarded as a gloss; i.e. an explanation added in the margin by a transcriber, which afterwards found its way into the text.

diiudicatae sint. In consecutive sentences the perf. subj. is used in preference to the imperf. where the *fact* of the result is emphasized. It answers to ὥστε with indicative: the imperfect to ὥστε with infinitive.

tantum, 'only so much.'

[33]

infinitae caedi restitisset (resto), **lit.** 'had remained over to bloodshed,' i.e. as the only thing left for it to destroy. Cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 679.

'Dona ferens, pelago et flammis restantia Troiae.'

insigne honoris, 'mark of distinction,' may perhaps refer to some purely personal honour (such as the title 'pater patriae'); **monimentum laudis**, 'memorial of renown,' to something more external (such as a statue). But see below.

ornamenta honoris, etc. The three expressions seem to be practically synonymous, unless 'laudis insignia' be meant to include the other two. 'Every honourable decoration, every glorious memorial, every outward mark of distinction.'

alentur, 'will be cherished.'

litterarum monimentis, 'in the records of literature,' i.e. history.

eandemque diem, etc. 'Diem' here = 'period.' He means that he has preserved the state for an unlimited period, and that during that period the recollection of his consulship will last; the two will go together, hence 'eandem.' Tr. 'I feel that one and the same term—a term which I trust will have no limit—has been extended to the safe existence of the state and the recollection of my consulship.'

exstitisse may either depend upon 'intellego,' or (better) upon a verb to be understood from 'memoriam'; 'and (the recollection) that there were,' etc.

alter, i.e. Pompeius, who was extending the empire by his conquests in the East, which added the province of Syria to the Roman dominions. Cicero speaks with rhetorical exaggeration.

condicio, 'circumstances,' 'position.' See [on 2. 14](#). §27.

recte, 'as is just.'

bonis. See [on 'bonorum' 1. 1](#).

Quodsi, etc. Cicero's fears were realized by the motion for his banishment (for having put Roman citizens to death without trial) carried by Clodius, 58 B.C. §28.

vitae fructum, 'the *results* of life.'

honore vestro, 'the honours you can bestow'; **gloria virtutis**, 'renown won by merit.'

Illud, explained by 'ut . . . tueur,' etc. §29.

ORATION IV.

[34]

depulsum sit. Subj. because he is putting their thoughts into words. §1.

vestris. Some editions add *liberis*.

condicio. See [on 2. 14](#), 'if these were the terms on which I received the consulship.'

in quo omnis aequitas continetur, 'the home of all justice,' because the praetor's courts were held in the Forum and adjacent buildings. [§2.](#)

consularibus auspiciis, 'the auspices taken at the election of the consuls.' They were elected by the Comitia Centuriata, which met in the Campus Martius. For 'auspicia' see [on 1. 33.](#)

summum auxilium, etc. The control of foreign relations belonged particularly to the senate.

ad quietem datus, epithet of 'lectus' ('datus' must not be mistaken for the main verb, which is 'fuit').

sedeae honoris. Some MSS. add the explanatory words 'sella curulis.'

multa tacui. He hints at the suppression of the names of certain persons suspected by him to be implicated. Crassus and Caesar may have been among these. See Sall. Cat. 48, 49.

meo quodam dolore, abl. of attendant circumstances, 'at some pain to myself.'

templa atque delubra. See [on 3. 2.](#)

fatale ad perniciem, 'destined to the destruction of,' referring to his belief that he was the third Cornelius who should rule over Rome ([3. 9](#)). In the second clause 'prope' ('I may almost say') is added because the expression might seem too arrogant without qualification. Cf. [3. 19](#) 'nisi di immortales *prope* fata ipsa flexissent.'

pro eo ac mereor, 'in proportion to my deserts.' Cf. 'simul ac,' 'aeque ac,' 'aliter ac,' etc. [§3.](#)

consulari, 'to one who has been consul,' because no higher honour remained to be won.

misera sapienti. The Stoic philosophy, of which Cicero was an adherent, taught that true happiness consisted in being independent of the external accidents of life.

ille ferreus, 'a man of such iron nature.'

fratris. Q. Cicero, now praetor designatus.

uxor, Terentia; **filia**, Tullia; **filius**, Marcus, now two years old.

gener, C. Calpurnius Piso, Tullia's first husband. Not being yet a senator he was not seated in the assembly, but standing with the crowd at the open doors of the temple. [35]

sed in eam partem uti, etc., 'but only in the direction (of wishing) that,' etc.

Non Ti. Gracchus, etc. The negatives go closely with the proper names, and the *present* 'adducitur' is emphatic. Tr. 'It is no Ti. Gracchus, for proposing to become tribune a second time, no C. Gracchus, for attempting to incite the agrarian party to violence, no L. Saturninus, for the murder of C. Memmius, that is *now* brought to trial before the bar of your severity; you have in your hands men who,' etc. He uses the indic. ('voluit,' 'conatus est,' etc.) instead of the subj. to emphasize the fact that the persons named had actually committed the offences in question; he is not simply quoting the grounds of an accusation which might or might not have been true. [§4.](#)

iterum, the election of the same person in successive years was illegal. Ti. Gracchus was tribune 133 B.C. In attempting to secure his re-election for the next year he fell a victim to the armed attack of the senate.

agrarios, properly those interested in the distribution of the public land. C. Gracchus carried on the agrarian schemes of his brother, but it was not the most important part of his legislation. He trusted no doubt for support to the agricultural population of Italy, but this was rather in view of his plans for admitting them all to the franchise.

C. Memmius, a popular leader at the time of the Jugurthine War; he changed sides, and was murdered by Saturninus and Glaucia on opposing the latter in the consular election for 99 B.C.

restiterunt (resto), 'have stayed behind.'

servitia, abstract for concrete.

vos multis iam, etc. 'You have affirmed by many proofs of your judgment'; i.e. the senate, by the measures they had already taken, had practically affirmed their belief in the conspirators' guilt. [§5.](#)

in custodiam. See [on 1. 19.](#)

qui honos, etc. Cf. [3. 15](#) and [2. 28.](#)

The object of **referre** is **de facto quid iudicetis**, etc.; **tanquam integrum**, 'as though it were an open question.' [§6.](#)

ego magnum, etc. 'I had long seen that a dangerous madness was abroad, and that evils of an unheard-of kind were seething and stirring in the state.'

latius opinione, 'more widely than you think.' The following sentence should be noted, as showing that Cicero recognized that the importance of the decision lay in the effect it would have upon Catilina's adherents abroad. [36]

sententias, the technical word for the senator's formal declaration of his vote. See [on 1. 9](#). Tr. [§7](#). 'proposals.'

D. Silani, now consul designatus.

censet, not 'thinks,' but 'gives it as his opinion,' 'votes.'

haec, i.e. all that is around us, the houses, temples, etc.

C. Caesaris, now praetor designatus.

recordatur, 'remembers.' Cicero suggests that the recollection influenced Silanus, not that he actually mentioned the precedents.

aut necessitatem, etc. Each **aut** still further qualifies the idea of death. So far from being a punishment, it is the common necessity of our nature, or may even sometimes be an actual benefit.

municipiis, 'provincial towns.' See [on 2. 24](#).

si velis. Subj. because contingency is expressed by 'habere videtur' (= 'habeat'), 'seems to have,' 'might have.' Cf. [1. 2](#) 'satisfacere videmur si vitemus.' The sense is: it would be unfair to order any town to undertake the duty, and difficult to induce any to do so if they merely asked it as a favour.

Adiungit, sc. Caesar. [§8](#).

aut per senatum, etc., i.e. either by a 'senatus consultum,' or a 'lex' passed by the Comitia.

illi antiqui, the well-known writers of old time. The order of the words is 'illi antiqui voluerunt eius modi quaedam supplicia apud inferos impiis constituta esse.' voluerunt, lit. 'wished,' i.e. 'would have had us believe.' Cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 626 'Seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum ab stirpe volebat.' Contrast Cicero's language here (where he is speaking to a more intelligent audience) with that in [3. 18-22](#).

ipsam, 'by itself.'

mea quid intersit, 'what is for my own interest.' [§9](#).

quoniam hanc. 'Viam' is 'path,' 'course.' In English we may perhaps change the metaphor, and say 'since he has taken what we agree to call the popular *side* in politics.' The 'populares' were the opponents of the 'optimates'; they aimed at breaking down the aristocratic rule of the senate.

cognitore, properly one who acts for another in a law-suit, 'advocate.'

nescio an, lit. 'I hardly know whether'; so affirmatively = 'I am disposed to think.'

rationes, 'considerations.'

enim, used like γάρ, to introduce a narrative or discussion of a point. 'Now we have,' etc. [37]

obsidem, 'pledge.'

intellectum est, etc. 'We understood (when we heard Caesar) how great was the contrast between the frivolity of demagogues and the true democratic spirit, which has the interest of the people at heart.'

ne de capite, i.e. because the senate had no legal right to decide questions affecting the *caput* (life, or civil rights) of a citizen, which ought to come before the Comitia Centuriata. On this question see [Introd. Note B](#). [§10](#).

nudius tertius='nunc dies tertius,' 'the day before yesterday,' according to the Roman inclusive method of reckoning.

hoc, explained by **quid iudicarit**. The order is 'hoc, quid (ille) qui . . . decrevit de tota re et causa iudicarit, nemini dubium est.' Cicero argues that the absent senators, by assenting to the previous measures, have acknowledged their jurisdiction in the matter. It appears that these measures had been unanimously adopted.

quaesitori, properly of the president of a law-court: here of Cicero, as the conductor of the investigations. Cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 432 'Quaesitor Minos urnam movet.'

legem Semproniam. What this was is not quite certain; but C. Gracchus seems to have passed a law still further securing the right of citizens to appeal to the people as against the arbitrary sentence of a magistrate, though this was already provided by the Lex Valeria and the Lex Porcia (see [on 1. 28](#)). Cicero refers to the Lex Sempronia here as being the most recent legislation on the subject, and because the fact that summary measures were taken against its author strengthens his argument.

qui autem, etc. On this see [Introd. Note B](#).

iniussu is a conjectural emendation for the MS. reading *iussu*, because C. Gracchus was not put to death by order of the people; he was killed by the agents of the consul Opimius, who professed

to rely upon the 'ultimum decretum' previously passed by the senate (see [on 1. 4](#)). Cicero quotes it as a precedent exactly suiting the present case.

sive, 'if on the one hand,' answered by **sive** below. **dederitis** is the apodosis to the first clause, **exsolvet** to the second. [§11](#).

comitem. Cicero would be expected to address the people after the meeting, to acquaint them with the senate's decision (cf. the [Third Oration](#)), and according to usage he would be accompanied by the proposer of the successful motion. Connect **populo** with **carum atque iucundum**.

populus Romanus exsolvet. The reading of the MSS. here is unintelligible; that in the text is a conjectural emendation. Other suggestions are 'apud populum Romanum exsolvam,' 'populo Romano exsolveritis.' [\[38\]](#)

obtinebo, 'I shall maintain.' eam, sc: 'sententiam.'

ita . . . ut. A common way of emphasizing a declaration, by expressing a wish that the welfare of the speaker may depend upon its truth. 'So may it be mine to enjoy with you the blessings of preservation, as I am moved,' etc. Cf. the phrase 'ita di me ament, ut,' and the formula 'So help me God' appended to oaths in English law-courts.

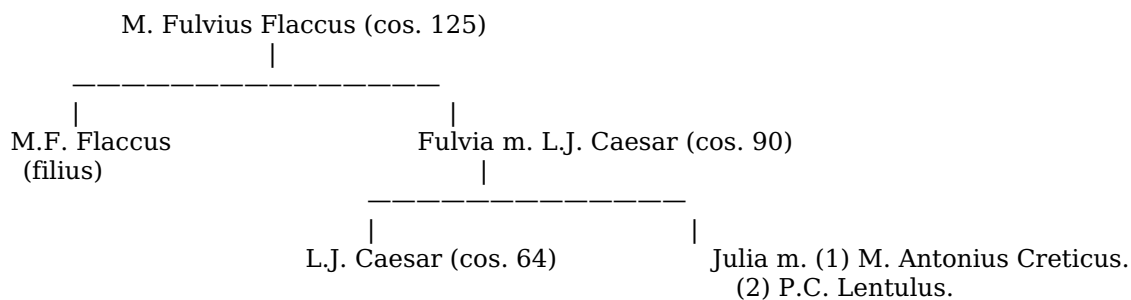
purpuratum. A name for ministers at Eastern courts, from the magnificence of their dress; 'with Gabinius as his grand vizier.' [§12](#).

qui non lenierit, causal, 'in that he did not alleviate.'

id egerunt, ut, 'have made it their object to place,' etc.

L. Caesar, consul 64 B.C., not to be confused with C. Julius Caesar. **sororis suae virum**, [§13](#). Lentulus; **avum**, M. Fulvius Flaccus, the friend and adherent of C. Gracchus, whose fate he shared. When the disturbance broke out he sent his young son to treat with the consul Opimius, who had him arrested and put to death.

The following table will show the relationship:



nudius tertius. At the meeting of the senate described in the Third Speech.

quorum, etc. 'What had they (i.e. Flaccus and C. Gracchus) done that could compare with this' (the present conspiracy)? factum is treated as a substantive.

largitionis voluntas, etc. 'Designs of largess were then rife in the state, accompanied by some party rivalry.' C. Gracchus passed a law providing the people with corn at low rates. He also transferred the right of sitting as *iudices* in the law-courts from the senate to the equites, and thus stirred up strife ('partium contentio') between the two orders.

Cicero purposely makes light of those measures, which had really very important effects, in order to give point to his argument, which is—If such comparatively moderate designs as those of C. Gracchus met with so signal a punishment, what do the violent schemes of Catilina deserve? Cf. [1. 4](#). [\[39\]](#)

avus. Cornelius Lentulus, consul 162 B.C., and *princeps senatus* at the time of Gracchus' death. Cf. [3. 10](#).

ne quid, etc., 'lest the majesty of the state should be in any degree impaired.'

Vereamini censeo, lit. 'it is my opinion that you should fear' ('ut' being omitted, as often after 'censeo'). Ironical advice, where the contrary is really intended. 'You had better be afraid, I should think.' Cf. the similar ironical passage in Sallust, Cat. 52 (Cato is speaking in favour of executing the conspirators), 'Misereamini censeo—deliquere homines adulescentuli per ambitionem—atque etiam armatos dimittatis.' **multo magis** verendum, etc. below gives his serious opinion.

Note the distinction between *vereri ut* and *vereri ne*. [§14](#).

imperium, i.e. the sovereign authority of the Comitia, for which a revolution might substitute that of a despot. Cf. 'regnantem Lentulum' [§12](#).

loci, the Temple of Concord, on the Capitol.

in qua = 'talis, ut in ea,' followed by consec. subj. 'sentirent.'

Ceteri. He goes through all the classes in turn; first the knights (the disposition of the senate being already clear); then the official classes (the Civil Service as we might say); then the general body of freeborn citizens; lastly, the freedmen and slaves. [§15.](#)

equites, see [Introd. p. 9, note](#). As large holders of property, they dreaded Catilina's schemes, and supported Cicero by occupying the Capitol in arms, in order to protect the Senate.

ita . . . ut. 'Ut' has a limiting force; it shows with what reservation the main statement is to be accepted. 'Only so far ... that.' In English, 'who yield to you the first place in rank and wisdom, only to rival you in patriotism.' Cf. Cic. de Off. 1. 88 'ita probanda est mansuetudo, ut adhibeatur reipublicae causa severitas,' and Livy 23. 3 'ita vos irae indulgere oportet, ut potioem ira salutem habeatis.'

ex, 'after.' The ground of quarrel was the right of sitting as *iudices* in the law-courts. Transferred from the senate to the *equites* by C. Gracchus, it had been restored by Sulla, and was now shared between the two and the *tribuni aerarii* (see below).

Cicero's great hope for the state lay in a union between the two orders (cf. [§22](#) ad fin.), but that now existing was soon broken.

tribunos aerarios, probably revenue officers of some kind, but not much is known about them. [40]

scribas, etc., the permanent government clerks, a certain number of whom were attached to each magistrate. On this day (Dec. 5) the quaestors for the next year entered on their office, and the *scribae* had to draw lots to decide which quaestor they should severally attend. This drawing took place at the treasury, which was in the Temple of Saturn at the west end of the Forum, in full view of the Temple of Concord. Hence tr.: 'the entire body of clerks also, who having been brought to-day by chance to the treasury have I see been diverted from the anticipation of the lot to thoughts of the public safety.'

ingenuorum, 'freeborn citizens,' opposed to *libertini*, who though citizens were not freeborn. [§16.](#)

sit, not subj. after 'cum' (which = 'not only'), but consecutive.

operae pretium est, 'it is worth while.'

sua virtute, etc., 'who by their own exertions have won the advantages of our citizenship'; because only those would be manumitted whose industry and energy deserved it.

qui modo sit . . . qui non, etc., the first relative clause limits the subject ('servus'); the second is consecutive. 'There is no slave,—none at least whose condition of servitude is bearable—who does not,' etc. Cf. in Pisonem §45 'Nemo denique civis est, qui modo se civem esse meminerit, qui vos non oculis fugiat.'

voluntatis, gen. after 'tantum.'

aut fortuna miseri, etc., 'so poverty-stricken or so disaffected.' [§17.](#)

immo vero corrects the preceding. 'The greater part, nay the whole'; see [on 1. 2](#). A large part of the retail trade at Rome was in the hands of slaves.

instrumentum, 'means of trade.'

futurum fuit, 'was about to happen,' i.e. 'would have happened'; *incensis* represents the protasis, 'si incensae essent.' Cf. Livy 2. 1 'Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa plebs agitari coepta esset tribuniciis procellis?'

ignem illum Vestae, pointing perhaps to the Temple of Vesta in the Forum below him. [§18.](#)

in civili causa, 'on a political question.' [§19.](#)

cogitate, etc. A short form of expression combining two really distinct indirect questions, (1) 'cogitate quantis laboribus imperium fundatum sit,' and (2) 'cogitate ut una nox paene (imperium) delerit.' In English, 'Think by what toil was the empire established, *which* one night nearly destroyed.'

una nox, the night of the arrest of the Allobroges. See pro Flacco §102 'O nox illa, quae paene aeternas huic urbi tenebras attulisti, cum Galli ad bellum, Catilina ad urbem, coniurati ad ferrum et flammam vocabantur.' [41]

non modo, understand 'non possit' after *confici*, and see [on 1. 25](#).

sententiam, sc. 'rogandam,' see [on 1. 9](#). The consul would not pronounce a formal 'sententia' himself. [§20.](#)

Quodsi, etc. Cicero's fears were realized five years later (58 B.C.), when Clodius carried a motion for his banishment.

Scipio. The elder Scipio restored the Roman supremacy in Spain during the Second Punic War, and invaded Africa. Hannibal returned from Italy to oppose him, and was defeated at Zama (202 [§21.](#)

B.C.).

alter Africanus. Cornelius Scipio (Aemilianus) Africanus, son of Aemilius Paullus, but adopted by the elder Scipio's son. He took and destroyed Carthage 146, Numantia 133 B.C.

Paullus. L. Aem. Paullus defeated and made prisoner Perseus king of Macedonia at Pydna, 168 B.C.

bis. He defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae (102), the Cimbri near Vercellae on the Campus Raudius (101).

Pompeius, see [on 2. 11](#). Note the rhetorical exaggeration in 'eisdem quibus solis cursus,' etc.

uno loco, 'in one point'

[§22.](#)

serviunt, 'become slaves.'

possis is the apodosis of a conditional sentence with the protasis suppressed. 'You would not be able (if you were to try),' i.e. 'you can never hope to be able.'

neque ulla, etc. This hope was not realized. The immediate danger being removed, the equites fell back into their habitual attitude of opposition to the senate.

pro imperio, 'in the place of military command.' The *imperium* was the authority vested in a general in virtue of which he controlled his army by martial law. It belonged equally to all the higher magistrates, but within the walls of Rome itself its exercise was restricted. Cicero was not going to govern a province, and therefore not to command an army.

[§23.](#)

pro provincia. Sulla had ordained that each of the ten chief magistrates (two consuls and eight praetors) should, after the expiration of his year of office in the city, govern a province as proconsul or propraeor. The senate decided which should be the consular provinces, and the consuls settled between themselves (by lot or otherwise) which each should take. The consular provinces for 62 B.C. were Macedonia and Cisalpine Gaul. As Macedonia was a rich province, Cicero had given it up to Antonius, in order to secure his support against the conspirators. His own province would therefore in the ordinary course have been Cisalpine Gaul. But subsequently he asked to be allowed to resign it, and it fell to the praetor Metellus Celer. (See Ep. ad Att. 2. 1 'cum provinciam in contione deposui,' and ad Fam. 5. 2, where writing to Metellus Celer he says 'si hoc dicam, me tui causa praetermisisse provinciam, tibi ipsi levior videar esse.') By resigning his province he gave up the command of an army, and with it the chance of a triumph.

[42]

pro clientelis, etc. Provincial communities often attached themselves as 'clients' to their former governors, who became their 'patroni' and were specially bound to look after their interests. Cicero here says that by giving up a province he has given up the best opportunities of forming such connections; nevertheless though confined to the city he will still do his best in that direction. Tr. 'In the place of ties of clientship and mutual friendship with provincials, which nevertheless by such influence as I can exercise in the city (urbanis opibus) I strive to acquire as zealously as I maintain them' (when acquired).

pro meis, etc. Note that 'pro' is here used in a different sense from the foregoing; '*in return for* my zeal,' etc.

suo solius periculo. Cf. phrases like 'mea ipsius manu.' 'Solius' agrees with the genitive of the personal pronoun to be understood from 'suo.'

per se ipsum, 'by himself'; cf. [1. 11](#) 'per me tibi obstiti.'

[§24.](#)

praestare is 'to be responsible for,' 'guarantee,' and so, 'to execute.' He means that he will take upon himself the sole responsibility of carrying out the senate's decrees.

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THE END.

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PROPER NAMES.

[45]

This index does not contain all the proper names occurring in the Orations; those about which information is either unnecessary or supplied in the notes or introduction are omitted.

Final *o* is long. All other long single vowels are marked, unless they are followed by two consonants, in which case the syllable is long.

A

Allobroges, -um, a people of Gaul dwelling south-west of the Lake of Geneva, between the Rhone and the Isère.

Appenī, -i, *m.* the Apennines, the mountain chain extending along the centre of Italy.

Apūlia, -ae, *f.* a country on the east coast of Italy, between Calabria and Samnium; now Puglia.

C

Caesar, C. Iulius, born 102 or 100 B.C. Elected Pontifex Maximus in 63, the year of Cicero's consulship. After the coalition with Pompeius and Crassus, which is called the First Triumvirate, he became consul in 59, and in the next year he entered on the government of the Province of Gaul and began his conquest of the tribes hitherto independent. In 49 he marched into Italy as the declared enemy of the Senatorial party, and in 48 overthrew its champion, Pompeius, at Pharsālus. On his return to Rome he was made Dictator for life, and four years afterwards, on the 15th of March, 44 B.C., he was murdered at a meeting of the Senate.

Capitōlium, -i, n., the Capitol, one of the two summits of the Capitoline hill and the great temple of Jupiter on it, the other summit being called the **arx** or citadel.

Cicero, M. Tullius, born at Arpinum of an Equestrian family, 106 B.C. His first extant speech was delivered in 81. He impeached Verres in 70 for his misgovernment in Sicily, crushed the Catilinarian conspiracy when he was consul in 63, and in 58 went into exile on a charge of illegal conduct in ordering the execution of the conspirators. He was recalled in the following year. When the civil war broke out between Caesar and Pompeius, he supported the Senatorial party, but he became reconciled to Caesar after his victory over Pompeius at Pharsalus. After the murder of Caesar he attacked Antonius violently in the *Philippics*, and, being put on the list of the 'proscribed' by Augustus and Antonius, he was murdered at Formiae by the soldiers of Antonius on the 7th of December, 43 B.C.

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Cimber, -bri, a *cognōmen* or additional name given by Cicero to P. Gabinius Cepito, one of the conspirators.

Concordia, -ae, f. harmony, concord; personified as a goddess.

E

Etrūria, -ae, f. a country on the west coast of Italy, between the Tiber and the Arno.

F

Faesulae, -ārum, f. plur. a city of Etrūria; now Fiesole, near Florence.

Faesulānus, -a, -um, of Faesulae.

Flaccus, M. Fulvius, a supporter of C. Gracchus; killed with him 121 B.C.

I

Iānuārius, -a, -um, of January.

Idūs, -uum, f. plur. the Ides, the fifteenth day of March, May, July, October, the thirteenth of the other months.

K

Kalendae, -ārum, f. plur. the Calends, the first day of the month; **prīdiē Kalendās**, the day before the Calends.

L

Lepidus, M. Aemilius, (1) consul 78 B.C., (2) consul 66 B.C.

M

Manliānus, -a, -um, of Manlius, the commander of Catiline's troops.

Marius, C., born 157 B.C. He was consul seven times. His great exploits were the conquest of Jugurtha (106), the destruction of the Teutoni at Aquae Sextiae (102) and of the Cimbri at Vercellae (101). In his sixth consulship he crushed the insurrection of Sāturnīnus and Glaucia. In the civil war against Sulla he was forced to flee from Italy, but he soon returned, entered Rome with Cinna and massacred great numbers of the aristocratical party opposed to him. He died in the following year, 86 B.C.

Massilia, -ae, f. Marseilles, a Greek settlement near the mouth of the Rhone, in the Roman Province (Gallia Narbōnensis).

Massiliensēs, -ium, the people of Massilia.

N

November or Novembris, -bris, of November; **Kalendae Novembrēs**, the 1st of November.

P

Penātēs, -ium, m. the guardian gods of the State.

Picēnus, -a, -um, of Picēnum, a district on the east coast of Italy, north of Apūlia.

Pompeius, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, was born 106 B.C. When he was still quite young, he showed great military ability in the service of Sulla during the war in Italy against the generals of the Marian party. In 77 he was sent to Spain, and for five years conducted the operations against

[47]

Sertorius. In 66 he cleared the Mediterranean of the Cilician pirates, and was appointed by the Manilian law to succeed Lucullus in the command against Mithridātes. In 60 he made the coalition with Caesar and Crassus called the First Triumvirate, but when the civil war broke out, he supported the Senate against Caesar and was conquered by him at Pharsālus, 48 B.C. He fled to Egypt and was murdered there.

R

Reātīnus, -a, -um, of Reāte, a Sabine town.

S

Sāturnālia, -ium or -orum, n. plur. the Festival of Saturn, celebrated on the 17th of December and several days following.

T

Transalpinus, -a, -um, that lies beyond the Alps, Transalpine.

Tullus, L. Volcātius, consul 66 B.C.

V

Vesta, -ae, goddess of the hearth and household.

Vestālīs, -e, of Vesta, Vestal; especially **Virginēs Vestālēs**, the virgin priestesses of Vesta, who kept the holy fire burning in her temple.

VOCABULARY.

[48]

Final *i* and *o* are long, if they are not marked. All other long single vowels are marked, unless they are followed by two consonants, in which case the syllable is necessarily long.

Perfects and supines of all verbs of the third conjugation are given. Under other verbs they are not given, unless they are irregular.

An asterisk (*) prefixed to a word indicates that the word itself is not found.

A

ā, ab, abs, prep. c. abl. from, by.

ab-dico (1), *tr.* reject;
abdico mē (*c. abl.*), resign.

ab-eo, -ii, -itum, -ire, intr. go away.

ab-horreo, -ui, —(2), intr. shrink from, differ from, am unconnected with, am inconsistent with.

ab-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* cast away, degrade, humble;
ab-iectus, -a, -um, downcast, disheartened, prostrated.

abs-condo, -di or -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* hide, conceal.

absens, -ntis, absent.

absolūtio, -ōnis, f. acquittal.

ab-sum, āfui, abesse, intr. am away, am distant.

abundantia, -ae, f. plenty.

ab-ūtor, -ūsus sum (3), *intr. c. abl.* misuse, abuse.

ac, see atque.

ac-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* come, approach.

ac-celero (1), *tr. or intr.* hasten, make haste.

ac-cido, -cidi, — (3), *intr.* happen.

ac-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* receive.

ac-cūso (1), *tr.* reproach, blame.

ācer, ācris, ācre, sharp, keen, active, vigorous, violent, severe.

acerbē, *adv.* bitterly, violently.

acerbitās, -ātis, *f.* harshness, pain, affliction.

acerbus, -a, -um, bitter, violent.

acervus, -i, *m.* heap.

aciēs, -ēi, *f.* sharp edge, edge; line of battle, battle array.

acriter, *adv.* keenly, energetically;
compar. **acrius**.

ad, *prep. c. acc.* to, at, near, with, for, with respect to.

ad-cubo, —, — (1), *intr.* recline.

ad-dūco, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* bring, bring up, lead, induce, prevail upon.

adeo, *adv.* so far, so, even.

adeps, -ipis, *c.* fat;
plur. corpulence.

ad-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* bring to, apply.

ad-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* treat, honour, weaken, &c. (*varied in meaning by the abl. that qualifies it*).

adfinis, -e, related, associated.

ad-flicto (1), *tr.* vex, distress.

ad-fligo, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* strike down, cast down.

ad-grego (1), *tr.* gather together.

ad-hibeo (2), *tr.* apply, use.

adhūc, *adv.* hitherto.

ad-imo, -ēmi, -emptum (3), *tr.* take away.

ad-ipiscor, -eptus sum (3), *tr.* get, obtain.

aditus, -ūs, *m.* means of approaching, approach, access.

ad-iungo, -nxi, -nctum (3), *tr.* join, add, unite.

ad-iuvo, -iūvi, -iūtum (1), *tr.* help.

administer, -tri, *m.* assistant, helper.

ad-ministro (1), *tr.* manage, govern.

ad-mīror (1), *tr.* wonder at.

admonitus, -ūs, *m.* suggestion, request.

ad-nuo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *intr.* nod, assent.

adparātus, -a, -um, splendid, sumptuous.

ad-propinquo (1), *intr.* approach.

ad-quīro, -sīvi, -sītum (3), *tr.* get, gain.

ad-scisco, -scīvi, -scītum (3), *tr.* admit.

ad-sequor, -secūtus sum (3), *tr.* overtake, gain, obtain.

ad-servo (1), *tr.* keep safe.

ad-sideo, -sēdi, -sessum (2), *intr.* sit, sit down.

ad-suēfacio, -fēci, -factum (3), *tr.* accustom, habituate.

ad-sum, -fui, -esse, *intr.* am near, am at hand.

adulescens, -ntis, *m.* youth.

adulescentulus, -i, *m.* very young man, youth.

adulter, -eri, *m.* adulterer.

adultus, -a, -um, full-grown.

adventus, -ūs, *m.* coming, arrival.

ad-vesperascit, -āvit, —, impers. (3), *intr.* evening approaches.

aedēs, -is, *f.* temple;
plur. house.

aedificium, -i, *n.* building, house.

aedifico (1), *tr.* build.

aeger, -gra, -grum, sick, ill.

aequē, *adv.* equally, in like manner;
aequē ac, just as.

aequitās, -ātis, *f.* justice.

aequus, -a, -um, level, equal, untroubled.

aerārium, -i, *n.* treasury.

aerārius, -a, -um, belonging to the treasury;
tribūni aerārii, paymasters.

aerumna, -ae, *f.* trouble, distress.

aes, aeris, *n.* copper, bronze; money;
plur. bronze tablets;
aes aliēnum, debt.

aestus, -ūs, *m.* heat.

aetās, -ātis, *f.* age.

aeternus, -a, -um, eternal, endless.

ager, -gri, *m.* territory; land.

agnosco (ad-gnosco), -gnōvi, -gnitum (3), *tr.* recognize.

ago, ēgi, actum (3), *tr.* drive, do, carry out;
intr. plead, speak.

agrārius, -a, -um, of the land, agrarian;
agrārii, -ōrum, *m. plur.* partisans of the agrarian laws.

agrestis, -e, of the country, of the fields;
agrestis, -is, *m.* countryman, peasant.

aio, ais, ait, *defect. intr.* say.

ālea, -ae, *f.* game of hazard, gambling.

āleātor, -ōris, *m.* gambler.

aliēnigena, -ae, foreign, alien.

aliēnus, -a, -um, strange, belonging to another;
aliēnus, -i, *m.* stranger.

aliquando, *adv.* at some time, now at length.

aliquanto, *adv.* somewhat, a little.

aliqui, -qua, -quod, *indef. adj.* some.

aliquis, -quid, *indef. pron.* some one, something.

aliquo, *adv.* to some place.

aliquot, *indecl. adj.* several, a number of.

alius, -a, -ud, other;
alii . . . alii, some ... others.

alo, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* feed, nourish, cherish, maintain, support.

altāria, -ium, *n. plur.* altar.

alter, -era, -erum, the other, second;
alter . . . alter, the one ... the other.

altus, -a, -um, high, lofty.

āmentia, -ae, *f.* senselessness, madness.

amicio, -icui or -ixi, -ictum (3), *tr.* wrap, cover.

amicitia, -ae, *f.* friendship.

amicus, -a, -um, *m.* friend.

ā-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* lose.

amo (1), *tr.* love;
amans, -ntis, loving, affectionate, devoted to (*gen.*).

amor, -ōris, *m.* love, passion.

amplector, -plexus sum (3), *tr.* embrace, include.

amplifico (1), *tr.* extend, enlarge.

amplitūdo, -inis, *f.* grandeur, distinction.

amplus, -a, -um, considerable, great, illustrious; handsome (*of words or rewards*);
neut. compar. **amplius**, *noun*, more; *adv.* further, besides.

an, *conj.* or, after **utrum** or **-ne**;
also used elliptically to ask a single question.

angulus, -i, *m.* corner.

anhelo (1), *tr. or intr.* breathe out, exhale; pant, gasp.

anima, -ae, *f.* breath, life.

animadversio, -ōnis, *f.* punishment, chastisement.

animadverto, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* notice, observe;
intr. **animadverto in**, punish.

animus, -i, *m.* mind, heart, feeling;
plur. spirit, courage.

annus, -ī, *m.* year.

ante, *adv. or prep.* before.

anteā, *adv.* before, formerly.

antelūcānus, -a, -um, before light, lasting till daybreak.

ante-pōno, -posui, -positum (3), *tr.* prefer.

antequam, *conj.* before.

antīquus, -a, -um, ancient, old.

aperio, -ui, -tum (4), *tr.* open.

apertē, *adv.* openly.

appello (1), *tr.* speak to, address.

aptus, -a, -um, fit.

apud, *prep. c. acc.* near, with, among, at the house of.

aqua, -ae, *f.* water.

aquila, -ae, *f.* eagle.

āra, -ae, *f.* altar.

arbitror (1), *tr. or intr.* think.

arceo, -ui, -tum (2), *tr.* keep away, repel.

arcesso, -īvi, -ītum (3), *tr.* call, summon.

ardeo, arsi, arsum (2), *intr.* burn.

ardor, -ōris, *m.* fire, heat, brightness.

argenteus, -a, -um, of silver, silver.

argentum, -i, *n.* silver, silver plate.

argūmentum, -i, *n.* proof, evidence.

arma, -ōrum, *n. plur.* arms.

armātus, -a, -um, armed.

arx, arcis, *f.* citadel, stronghold.

ascendo (ad-scendo), -di, -sum (3), *intr.* mount, climb.

aspectus, -ūs, *m.* gaze, sight.

aspicio (ad-spicio), -spexi, -spectum (3), *tr.* look at.

assiduē, *adv.* constantly.

at, *conj.* but;
adv. yet.

atque or ac, *conj.* and, as.

atrōcitās, -ātis, *f.* savageness, cruelty.

atrox, -ōcis, horrible, hideous.

at-tendo, -di, -tum (3), *tr.* direct to;
sc. **animum**, give heed to.

at-tribuo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* assign, allot.

auctiōnārius, -a, -um, of an auction.

auctor, -ōris, *m.* originator, author, proposer, doer.

auctōritās, -ātis, *f.* influence, authority, bidding.

audācia, -ae, *f.* boldness, insolence, violence.

audax, -ācis, bold, violent.

audeo, ausus sum (2), *tr. or intr.* dare.

audio (4), *tr.* hear.

augeo, -xi, -ctum (2), *tr.* increase, enlarge.

auris, -is, *f.* ear.

auspicium, -i, *n.* augury.

aut, *conj.* or;
aut . . . aut, either ... or.

autem, *conj.* but.

auxilium, -i, *n.* help.

ā-vertō, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* turn away;
āversus ā, opposed to.

avus, -i, *m.* grandfather.

B

bacchor (1), *intr.* revel, run wanton.

barbaria, -ae, *f.* foreign country, barbarous country.

barbarus, -a, -um, foreign, barbarous.

barbātus, -a, -um, bearded.

beātus, -a, -um, blessed, happy, well-to-do.

bellum, -i, *n.* war.

bene, *adv.* well.

beneficium, -i, *n.* kindness, service.

benevolentia, -ae, *f.* good-will, affection.

benignitās, -ātis, *f.* kindness, favour.

bibo, bibi, — (3), *tr.* drink.

bipertito, *adv.* in two divisions.

bis, *adv.* twice.

bonus, -a, -um, good, honest, respectable;
bona, -ōrum, *n. plur.* property.

brevis, -e, short.

breviter, *adv.* shortly.

C

caedēs, -is, *f.* bloodshed, murder, massacre.

caelum, -i, *n.* heaven, sky.

calamitās, -ātis, *f.* disaster.

callidus, -a, -um, skilful, crafty.

campus, -i, *m.* plain (*especially the Campus Martius*).

cano, cecini, cantum (3), *tr. or intr.* sing, foretell.

canto (1), *intr.* sing.

capillus, -i, *m.* hair.

capio, cēpi, captum (3), *tr.* take, hold, make, form;
mente captus, -a, -um, weakened in sense, insane.

capitālis, -e, belonging to the head, capital, deadly.

caput, -itis, *n.* head; life, civil rights.

carcer, -eris, *m.* prison.

careo (2), *intr. c. abl.* am without, forgo.

cārus, -a, -um, dear.

castra, -ōrum, *n. plur.* camp.

castrensis, -e, of the camp.

cāsus, -ūs, *m.* chance.

causa, -ae, *f.* cause, reason, question; position;
causā (*gen.*), for the purpose of.

cēdo, cessi, cessum (3), *intr.* yield;
c. dat. yield to.

celebro (1), *tr.* throng, celebrate.

celeriter, *adv.* quickly.

cēna, -ae, *f.* dinner, supper.

censeo, -ui, -um (2), *tr.* judge, propose, vote.

centurio, -ōnis, *m.* centurion.

cerno, crēvi, crētum (3), *tr.* discern, perceive.

certāmen, -inis, *n.* contest.

certē, *adv.* certainly, assuredly.

certo (1), *intr.* contend, struggle, fight, rival.

certus, -a, -um, certain, sure, trustworthy;
certiōrem facio, inform.

cervix, -īcis, *f.* neck; *usually plur. in prose*.

cēteri, -ae, -a, the rest, all other.

cibus, -i, m. food.

cinis, -eris, m. ashes.

circum, adv. or prep., c. acc. around, about.

circum-clūdo, -si, -sum (3), tr. shut in, hem in.

circum-do, -dedi, -datum (1), tr. put round.

circumscriptor, -ōris, m. cheat.

circum-sedeo, -sēdi, -sessum (2), tr. surround.

circum-spicio, -exi, -ectum (3), tr. or intr. look round, look round on, give heed to.

circum-sto, -steti, — (1), tr. or intr. stand round.

cīvilis, -e, civil, political.

cīvis, -is, c. citizen.

cīvitās, -ātis, f. state.

clam, adv. secretly.

clāmo (1), intr. cry out.

clārus, -a, -um, bright, manifest, famous.

clēmens, -ntis, merciful.

clientēla, -ae, f. clientship (*the relation of patron and dependent at Rome*).

coepi, defect. (3), tr. or intr. began, have begun;
coeptus, -a, -um, begun.

coeptus, -ūs, m. attempt.

co-erceo (2), tr. check, restrain, repress.

coetus, -ūs, m. assemblage, company.

cōgitātio, -ōnis, f. thought, intent.

cōgito (1), tr. reflect upon, meditate, design.

cognitor, -ōris, m. advocate.

co-gnosco, -gnōvi, -gnitum (3), tr. learn, recognize, know.

cōgo (co-ago), coēgi, coactum (3), tr. call together, collect, compel.

cohors, -rtis, f. cohort (*one tenth of a legion*).

collēga, -ae, m. colleague.

col-ligo, -lēgi, -lectum (3), tr. bring together, collect.

col-loco, see con-loco.

colōnia, -ae, f. settlement, colony.

colōnus, -i, m. settler, colonist.

color, -ōris, m. colour.

comes, -itis, c. companion.

cōmissātiō, -ōnis, f. revelling.

comitātus, -ūs, m. retinue.

comitium, -i, n. comitium (*place for voting by the north-east extremity of the Forum*);
plur. assembly, elections.

comitor (1), *tr.* accompany;
comitatus, -a, -um, also in *pass. sense* from **comito**.

com-memoro (1), *tr.* mention, relate, declare.

commendatio, -onis, f. recommendation.

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com-mendo (1), *tr.* entrust.

com-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* bring together, begin, engage in; practise, perpetrate, entrust;
committo ut, bring about that, so act that.

com-moveo, -mōvi, -mōtum (2), *tr.* move, stir, trouble, alarm.

commūnis, -e, common, general.

com-mūto (1), change, alter.

com-paro (1), *tr.* get together, procure, acquire, contrive.

com-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3), *tr.* drive.

com-perio, -peri, -pertum (4), *tr.* discover, ascertain.

competitor, -ōris, m. rival, competitor.

complector, -plexus sum (3), *tr.* embrace.

complexus, -ūs, m. embrace.

complūrēs, -a or -ia, several, many.

com-prehendo, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* lay hold of, arrest, detect.

com-primō, -pressi, -pressum (3), *tr.* crush.

cōnātus, -ūs, m. attempt.

con-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *tr. or intr.* grant, yield, retire.

con-cido, -cidi, — (3), *intr.* fall, fail, collapse.

con-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* take in, imagine, conceive.

con-cito (1), *tr.* excite, arouse, stir up.

concordia, -ae, f. harmony, union, unanimity.

con-cupisco, -īvi, -ītum (3), *tr.* covet, strive after.

con-curso (1), *intr.* hurry about, run to and fro.

concursum, -ūs, m. gathering.

con-demno (1), *tr.* convict (*acc. and gen.*), condemn.

condicio, -ōnis, f. agreement, terms, lot, task, position, circumstances.

con-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* found, build, store.

con-fercio, —, -tum (4), *tr.* fill full, stuff, cram.

con-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, tr. bring together, contribute, compare, direct, put off;
with reflex. pronoun, betake myself.

confessio, -ōnis, f. confession.

confestim, adv. immediately.

con-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* finish, carry out, wear out.

con-fido, -fīsus sum (3), *intr. c. dat.* trust, rely on;
c. infin. am confident that.

con-firmo (1), *tr.* strengthen, increase; declare.

con-fiteor, -fessus sum (2), *tr. or intr.* confess, admit.

con-flagro (1), *intr.* burn, am consumed.

con-flīgo, -xi, -ctum (3), *intr.* come into conflict, am opposed.

con-flo (1), *tr.* blow together, fuse; stir up, cause.

con-fringo, -frēgi, -fractum (3), *tr.* break up, bring to naught.

con-grego (1), *tr.* herd together, assemble.

con-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* cast, hurl, aim, drive.

coniectūra, -ae, f. inference.

coniunctio, -ōnis, f. union.

con-iungo, -nxi, -nctum (3), *tr.* join, unite, connect.

coniunx, -ugis, c. husband, wife.

coniūrātio, -ōnis, f. conspiracy.

coniūrātor, -ōris, m. conspirator.

coniūrātus, -i, m. conspirator.

co-nīveo, —, — (2), intr. wink, connive.

con-loco or col-loco (1), *tr.* set up, place, pitch.

cōnor (1), *tr. or intr.* try, attempt.

con-rōboro (1), *tr.* strengthen.

conscelerātus, -a, -um, wicked, criminal.

conscientia, -ae, f. knowledge, consciousness, knowledge of guilt, conscience.

con-scribo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* enroll.

con-secro (1), make sacred, consecrate.

consensio, -ōnis, f. unanimity.

con-sentio, -sensi, -sensum (4), *intr.* agree, unite.

con-sequor, -secūtus sum (3), *tr.* follow up, follow, catch up, attain to, learn.

con-servo (1), *tr.* keep safe, save.

consilium, -i, n. deliberation, purpose, intention; plan, wisdom; council.

con-sōlor (1), *tr.* console.

conspectus, -ūs, m. sight.

con-spicio, -spexi, -spectum (3), *tr.* observe, look at, look upon.

conspīrātio, -ōnis, f. agreement, concord.

constanter, adv. steadily, consistently.

constantia, -ae, f. firmness, steadfastness.

con-stituo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* set, settle, appoint, ordain, establish, found.

con-sto, -stiti, -stātum (1), *intr.* am consistent, last;
con-stat, impers. it is agreed, it is well known.

con-stringo, -nxi, -ctum (3), *tr.* bind together, bind.

consuētūdo, -inis, f. custom, habit.

consul, -ulis, m. consul (*the title of the two highest magistrates of the Roman state, elected annually*).

consulāris, -e, of a consul, consular;
consulāris, -is, m. ex-consul, one of consular rank.

consulātus, -ūs, m. consulship.

consulo, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* consult;
intr. c. dat. provide for.

consultum, -i, n. decree, resolution.

con-sūmo, -mpsi, -mptūm (3), *tr.* use up, waste, spend.

con-tāmino (1), *tr.* defile, pollute.

con-temno, -tempsi, -temptum (3), *tr.* despise.

con-tendo, -di, -tum (3), *tr.* compare, contrast.

contentio, -ōnis, f. struggle, rivalry.

contentus, -a, -um, contented.

con-ticesco, -ticui, — (3), intr. become silent.

con-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *tr.* contain, retain, enclose, repress, keep to myself.

con-tingo, -tigi, -tactum (3), *tr. or intr.* touch, reach; befall, happen.

contio, -ōnis, f. meeting (*summoned by a magistrate*), speech.

contionātor, -ōris, m. haranguer, demagogue.

contrā, prep. c. acc. against;
adv. opposite, otherwise;
contrā atque, otherwise than.

con-traho, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* draw together, cause, incur.

contrōversia, -ae, f. dispute, question.

contumēlia, -ae, f. insult.

con-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *intr.* come together, meet;
con-venit, impers. it is fitting.

conventus, -ūs, m. meeting.

con-vertō, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* turn, turn back, direct.

con-vinco, -vīci, -victum (3), *tr.* refute, convict.

convīvium, -i, n. feast, banquet.

con-voco (1), *tr.* call together, assemble.

cōpia, -ae, f. plenty, abundance;
plur. resources, troops.

cōpiōsus, -a, -um, plentiful, well supplied.

corpus, -oris, n. body.

cor-rigo, -rexi, -rectum (3), *tr.* correct, amend.

cor-rumpo, -rūpi, -ruptum (3), *tr.* ruin, seduce;
corruptus, -i, m. scoundrel.

cor-ruo, -ui, — (3), *intr.* fall together, fall.

corruptēla, -ae, f. corruption, seduction.

corruptor, -ōris, m. seducer, corruptor.

cotīdiānus, -a, -um, daily.

cotīdiē, adv. daily.

crēdo, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* entrust;
intr. c. dat. believe.

cresco, crēvi, crētum (3), *tr.* grow, increase, am enlarged.

cruciātus, -ūs, m. torture.

crūdēlis, -e, cruel.

crūdēlitās, -ātis, f. cruelty.

crūdēliter, adv. cruelly;
compar. crūdēlius.

cruentus, -a, -um, bloody.

cubīle, -is, n. bed.

culpa, -ae, f. fault.

cum, conj. when, since.

cum, prep. c. abl. together with, with.

cumulo (1), *tr.* heap up, aggravate.

cunctus, -a, -um, all.

cupiditās, -ātis, f. desire, passion.

cupio, -ivi, -itum (3), *tr.* desire, wish.

cūr, adv. why.

cūra, -ae, f. care, anxiety, task.

cūria, -ae, f. senate-house.

cūro (1), *tr. or intr.* care for, attend to, take measures.

currus, -ūs, m. chariot.

cursus, -ūs, m. course, path.

custōdia, -ae, f. watch, guard, imprisonment;
sentinel (*usually in plur.*).

custōdio (4), *tr.* guard.

custōs, -ōdis, c. guardian, guard.

D

damno (1), *tr.* condemn.

dē, *prep. c. abl.* down from, from, concerning.

dēbeo (2), *tr.* owe;
followed by infin. am bound to, must, ought.

dēbilis, **-e**, weak.

dēbilito (1), weaken, unnerve.

dē-cēdo, **-cessi**, **-cessum** (3), *intr.* withdraw.

decem, *indecl. adj.* ten.

dē-cerno, **-crēvi**, **-crētum** (3), *tr. or intr.* determine, decree, resolve.

decimus, **-a**, **-um**, tenth.

declinātio, **-ōnis**, *f.* bending aside, avoidance, escape.

dēcoctor, **-ōris**, *m.* bankrupt.

dēdecus, **-oris**, *n.* disgrace.

dē-dūco, **-xi**, **-ctum** (3), *tr.* bring down, bring, lead away, conduct.

dē-fatīgo (1), *tr.* tire out.

dē-fendo, **-di**, **-sum** (3), *tr.* protect, guard, defend.

dē-fero, **-tuli**, **-lātum**, **-ferre**, *tr.* bring down, report.

dē-ficio, **-fēci**, **-fectum** (3), *tr. or intr.* desert, fail; revolt from, rebel against.

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dē-figo, **-xi**, **-xum** (3), *tr.* drive, plunge.

dē-flagro (1), *tr. or intr.* turn down, destroy utterly; am consumed.

dē-icio, **-iēci**, **-iectum** (3), *tr.* throw aside, cast down, force away.

deinde, *adv.* next, then;
after primum, secondly.

dēlecto (1), *tr.* please, delight.

dēleo, **-ēvi**, **-ētum** (2), *tr.* destroy, annihilate.

dēlicātus, **-a**, **-um**, luxurious, effeminate.

dē-ligo, **-lēgi**, **-lectum** (3), *tr.* choose.

dē-lubrum, **-i**, *n.* shrine.

dēmens, **-ntis**, mad, maddened, distracted.

dēmenter, *adv.* insanely.

dēmentia, **-ae**, *f.* madness, insanity.

dē-migro (1), *intr.* depart, remove.

dē-minuo, **-ui**, **-ūtum** (3), *tr.* lessen, abate.

dēminūtio, **-ōnis**, *f.* decrease, loss.

dē-monstro (1), *tr.* point out.

dēmum, *adv.* at last.

dēnique, *adv.* at last, at length.

dē-nuntio (1), *tr.* give notice of.

dē-pello, **-puli**, **-pulsum** (3), *tr.* drive down, drive away, remove, overthrow.

dē-pendo, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* pay.

dē-plōro (1), *tr.* lament.

dē-pōno, -posui, -positum (3), *tr.* lay aside, put away.

dē-posco, -poposci, — (3), *tr.* demand.

dē-prāvo (1), *tr.* pervert, lead astray.

dē-precor (1), *tr.* avert by prayer, avert.

dē-prehendo, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* catch, find out, detect.

dē-relinquo, -liqui, -lictum (3), *tr.* abandon, desert.

dē-scribo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* copy off, arrange, map out.

dē-sero, -serui, -sertum (3), *tr.* desert, abandon.

dē-sīderium, -i, n. want, longing.

dēsīdero (1), *tr.* long for, miss.

dē-signo (1), *tr.* note, appoint;

dēsīgnātus, -a, -um, elected, elect (*especially of a consul*).

dē-sino, -sii, -situm (3), *tr. or intr.* stop, cease.

dē-sisto, -stiti, -stitum (3), *intr.* cease.

despērātio, -ōnis, f. despair.

dē-spēro (1), *tr. or intr.* despair of, give up hope;

despērātus, -a, -um, desperate.

dē-stringo, -nxi, -ctum (3), *tr.* strip, unsheathe, draw.

dē-sum, -fui, -esse, intr. c. dat. am wanting to, fail.

dē-testor (1), *tr.* avert by entreaty.

dē-traho, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* withdraw, take away.

detrīmentum, -i, n. damage, hurt.

deus, -i, m. god.

dē-voceo, -vōvi, -vōtum (2), *tr.* vow.

dextera or dextra, -ae, f. right-hand.

dīco, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr. or intr.* say, speak.

dictātor, -ōris, m. dictator.

dictātūra, -ae, f. dictatorship.

dictito (1), *tr.* keep saying, repeat.

dīēs, -ēi, c. (m. in plur.) day, period;

in dīēs, day by day, as days pass.

difficilis, -e, difficult.

difficultās, -ātis, f. difficulty, distress, distressed circumstances.

dignitās, -ātis, f. worthiness, honour, authority.

dignus, -a, -um, worthy, deserving.

dī-iūdico (1), *tr.* decide, determine.

dilectus, -ūs, m. choice, levy.

diligens, -ntis, careful, active.

diligenter, *adv.* carefully, earnestly.

diligentia, -ae, f. care, energy.

dī-lūcescit, -luxit, — (3), *impers. intr.* it dawns.

dīmīcātio, ōnis, f. fighting.

dī-mīco (1) *intr.* fight, struggle.

dī-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send away.

dīreptio, -ōnis, f. plundering.

dīreptor, m. plunderer.

dī-ripiō, -ripui, -reptum (3), *tr.* plunder.

dis-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* depart.

dis-cerno, -crēvi, -cretum (3), *tr.* divide.

discessus, -ūs, m. departure.

disciplīna, -ae, f. teaching, training, practice.

disco, didici, — (3), *tr.* learn.

di-scribo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* distribute, assign.

discrīmen, -inis, n. danger.

dis-pertio (4), *tr.* distribute.

dis-sēmino (1), *tr.* spread.

dissensio, -ōnis, f. discord, disagreement.

dis-sentio, -si, -sum (4), *intr.* disagree, differ.

dissimilis, -e, unlike.

dis-simulo (1), *tr. or intr.* hide, disguise, dissemble.

dis-solvo, -solvi, -solūtum (3), *tr.* unloose, release, disunite;
dissolūtus, -a, -um, remiss, negligent.

dis-tribuo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* divide, distribute.

diū, *adv.* for a long time, long.

dī-vello, -velli, -vulsum (3), *tr.* tear, separate.

dīversus, -a, -um, other, different.

dīvīnitus, *adv.* by divine influence, from heaven.

do, dedi, datum (1), *tr.* give, deliver, write (*a letter*).

dolor, -ōris, m. sorrow, grief, pang.

domesticus, -a, -um, belonging to a home, family, private; intestine, civil (*war*).

domicilium, -i, n. dwelling, home.

dominātio, -ōnis, f. tyranny, despotism.

domus, -ūs, f. house;

loc. domi, at home;
domi meae, at my house;
domum, home.

dormio (4), *intr.* sleep.

dubitatio, **-ōnis**, *f.* doubt.

dubito (1), *intr.* doubt, hesitate.

dubius, **-a**, **-um**, doubtful;
sine dubio, without doubt.

dūco, **-xi**, **-ctum** (3), *tr.* lead, carry off, think, consider.

dūdum, *adv.* see **iam dūdum**.

duint, *older form of pres. subj. of do*.

dulcis, **-e**, sweet.

dum, *conj.* while, until, provided that.

dummodō, *conj.* provided that, if only.

duō, **-ae**, **-ō**, two.

duodecimus, **-a**, **-um**, twelfth.

dux, **ducis**, *c.* leader.

E

ē or **ex**, *prep. c. abl.* from, out of, in accordance with.

ebriōsus, **-a**, **-um**, given to drinking, drunkard.

ecquis, **ecquid**, *interrog. pron.* any one? anything?
ecquid, in any way? (*used as an interrog. particle*).

ēdictum, **-i**, *n.* edict, proclamation.

ē-do, **-didi**, **-ditum** (3), *tr.* put forth, set forth, declare.

ē-doceo, **-ui**, **-tum** (2), *tr.* inform.

ē-duco, **-xi**, **-ctum** (3), *tr.* lead out, draw.

ef-fero, **extuli**, **ēlātum**, **efferre**, *tr.* bring out, carry out, raise.

effrēnātus, **-a**, **-um**, unbridled.

ef-fugio, **-fūgi**, — (3), *tr. or intr.* flee from, escape, shun, flee away.

egeo, **-ui**, — (2), *intr.* am needy.

egestās, **-ātis**, *f.* poverty.

egō, **mei**, I.

ē-gredior, **-gressus sum** (3), *intr.* go out.

egregius, **-a**, **-um**, excellent, eminent, great.

ē-icio, **-iēci**, **-iectum** (3), *tr.* drive out, wreck.

ē-lābor, **-lapsus sum** (3), *intr.* slip away, drop.

ē-lūdo, **-si**, **-sum** (3), *tr.* jeer, make sport of;
intr. cease to play, have full play.

ē-mergo, **-si**, **-sum** (3), *intr.* come up, get clear.

ē-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send out, allow to escape.

ē-morior, -mortuus sum (3), *intr.* die.

enim, *conj.* for.

eo, *adv.* to that place.

eo, ii, itum, īre, *intr.* go.

eōdem, *adv.* to the same place.

eques, -itis, *m.* horseman; *one of the order called Equites.*

equitātus, -ūs, *m.* cavalry.

ergā, *prep. c. acc.* towards.

ergo, *adv.* accordingly, therefore, then.

ē-ripio, -ripui, -reptum (3), *tr.* snatch away, take away.

erro (1), *intr.* wander, mistake, am wrong.

ē-ructo (1), *tr.* vomit forth.

ē-rumpo, -rūpi, -ruptum (3), *tr. or intr.* burst asunder; break forth, rush out.

et, *conj.* and;

et . . . et, both ... and.

etenim, *conj.* and indeed, for indeed, truly, yet.

etiam, *conj. or adv.* also, even, even yet, still.

etsi, *conj.* although.

ē-vādo, -si, -sum (3), *intr.* get away, escape.

ē-vertō, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* overthrow.

ē-vocātor, -ōris, *m.* one who calls to arms, instigator.

ē-vomo, -ui, -itum (3), *tr.* vomit forth.

ex, *see ē.*

ex-aggero (1), *tr.* heap up, magnify.

ex-animo (1), *tr.* deprive of life, deprive of sense

ex-animātus, -a, -um, dead, fainting.

ex-audio (4), *tr.* hear.

ex-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* retire, withdraw.

excelsus, -a, -um, lofty, high;

excelsum, -i, n. height.

ex-cido, -cidi, — (3), *intr.* fall out, fall down.

ex-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* except, make exception of; catch, intercept.

ex-cito (1), *tr.* summon forth, stir up, arouse.

ex-clūdo, -si, -sum (3), *tr.* shut out.

excursio, -ōnis, *f.* sally, attack.

ex-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *intr.* go out.

ex-erceo (2), *tr.* practise.

exercitatio, -ōnis, f. practice.

exercitus, -ūs, m. army.

ex-haurio, -si, -stum (4), tr. empty out, remove.

ex-igo, -ēgi, -actum (3), tr. drive out, finish.

exilium, -i, n. exile, banishment.

eximius, -a, -um, extraordinary, signal.

ex-istimo (1), tr. judge, suppose, think.

exitiosus, -a, -um, destruction, deadly.

exitium, -i, n. ruin, overthrow.

exitus, -ūs, m. end.

ex-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3), tr. drive out.

ex-pōno, -posui, -positum (3), tr. set forth, explain.

ex-prōmo, -mpsi, -mptum (3), tr. show forth, display, expend.

ex-sisto, -stiti, -stitum (3), intr. appear, am manifest, exist.

ex-solvo, -solvi, -solūtum (3), tr. free, release.

expectatio, -ōnis, f. expectation, anticipation.

ex-specto (1), tr. await, wait for, expect.

ex-stinguo, -nxi, -nctum (3), tr. quench, put out.

exsul or exul, -ulis, m. exile.

ex-sulto (1), intr. leap about, exult, revel.

ex-termino (1), tr. banish.

externus, -a, -um, foreign.

exterus, -a, -um, foreign.

ex-torqueo, -si, -tum (2), tr. wrest away, force away.

extrā, prep. c. acc. outside.

extrēmus, -a, -um, last;
ad extrēmum, at last.

F

facile, adv. easily.

facinorōsus, -a, -um, criminal, vicious.

facinus, -oris, n. deed, crime, outrage.

facio, fēci, factum (3), tr. do, make, bring about, perform; hold (*games*).

factum, -i, n. deed, act.

facultās, -ātis, f. opportunity.

falcārius, -i, m. scythe-maker.

fallo, fefelli, falsum (3), tr. deceive, disappoint, escape notice of.

falsus, -a, -um, false, misdirected.

fāma, -ae, *f.* report, reputation, fame, character.

famēs, -is *f.* hunger.

familia, -ae or **-ās** *f.* household (*of slaves*), establishment;
pater or **māter familias**, master or mistress of a house.

familiārissimē, *adv.* most intimately, on most intimate terms.

fānum, -i, *n.* sanctuary.

fascis, -is, *m.* bundle;
plur. fascēs, *the bundles of rods enclosing an axe, carried before the highest magistrates.*

fātālis, -e, destined, fated.

fateor, fassus sum (2), *tr. or intr.* admit, allow.

fātum, -i, *n.* fate, oracle.

faucēs, -ium, *f. plur.* throat, jaws, entrance.

fax, facis, *f.* torch, firebrand; meteor.

febris, -ia, *f.* fever.

fero, tuli, lātum, ferre, *tr.* lead, carry, get, bear; report, celebrate;
sententiam fero, vote.

ferramentum, -i, *n.* steel implement.

ferreus, -a, -um, of iron; of iron nature.

ferrum, -i, *n.* iron, sword.

fidēlis, -e, faithful, loyal.

fidēs, -ei, belief, faith, credit; honesty; assurance, engagement.

figo, -xi, -xum (3), *tr.* fix.

filia, -ae, *f.* daughter.

filius, -i, *m.* son.

tingo, -nxi, -ctum (3), *tr.* imagine, devise.

finis, -is, *m.* end, limit;
plur. territory.

fīo, factus sum, fieri, *intr.* happen, become, am done, am made.

firno (1), *tr.* strengthen.

firmus, -a, -um, strong.

flāgitiōsissimē, *adv.* most shamefully, most infamously.

flāgitiōsus, -a, -um, infamous, dissolute.

flāgitium, -i, *n.* shameful deed.

flāgito, (1) *tr.* demand earnestly, importune for.

flamma, -ae, *f.* flame.

flecto, flexi, flexum (3), *tr.* bend, turn aside.

flōreo, -ui, — (2), *intr.* flourish, am prosperous, am powerful.

flōs, -ōris, *m.* flower.

focus, -i, m. hearth.

foedus, -eris, n. treaty, compact.

foedus, -a, -um, hideous, shameful.

foras, adv. out of doors (*with verbs of motion*).

foris, adv. out of doors (*with verbs of rest*).

formīdo, -inis, f. fear, dread.

fors, -rtis, f. chance;
forte, by chance.

fortasse, adv. perhaps.

fortis, -e, brave, strong.

fortiter, adv. bravely.

fortitūdo, -inis, f. courage, firmness.

fortūna, -ae, f. fortune;
plur. property, possessions, estates.

fortūnātus, -a, -um, fortunate, happy.

forum, -i, n. market, meeting-place for business; *especially the Forum Romanum.*

frango, frēgi, fractum (3), tr. break.

fraudātio, -ōnis, f. deceit, fraud.

frequens, -ntis, crowded, in great numbers.

frequentia, -ae, f. numerous assembly, crowd, throng.

frequentio (1), tr. bring in crowds.

frētus, -a, -um, relying on.

frīgus, -oris, n. cold.

frons, -ntis, f. brow, forehead.

fructus, -ūs, m. enjoyment, produce.

fruor, fructus sum, intr. c. abl. enjoy.

fuga, -ae, f. banishment.

fugio, fūgi, fugitum (3), intr. flee, take flight.

fugitīvus, -i, m. runaway slave.

fulgeo, -si, — (2), intr. shine, am bright.

fulmen, -inis, n. lightning, thunderbolt.

fundāmentum, -i, n. foundation.

fundo (1), tr. found.

funestus, -a, -um, deadly, fatal.

fungor, functus sum (3), intr. c. abl. perform.

furiōsus, -a, -um, mad.

furo, -ui, — (3), intr. am mad.

furor, -ōris, *m.* madness.

furtim, *adv.* stealthily.

furtum, -i, *n.* theft.

G

gāneo, -ōnis, *m.* glutton, debauchee.

gaudium, -i, *n.* delight.

gelidus, -a, -um, cold.

gener, -eri, *m.* son-in-law.

gens, -ntis, *f.* clan, race, people.

genus, -eris, *n.* class, kind.

gero, gessi, gestum (3), *tr.* bear, carry on, administer;
rēs gestae, exploits.

gladiātor, -ōris, *m.* gladiator.

gladiātōrius, -a, -um, of gladiators.

gladius, -i, *m.* sword.

glōria, -ae, *f.* glory, fame.

gradus, -ūs, *m.* step, degree.

grātia, -ae, *f.* favour, thanks, gratitude;
grātiās ago, give thanks, pass a vote of thanks;
refero grātiām, show gratitude;
grātiām habeo, feel gratitude.

grātulātio, -ōnis, *f.* congratulation.

grātus, -a, -um, pleasing, welcome.

gravis, -e, heavy, weighty, authentic, severe.

graviter, *adv.* violently.

grex, gregis, *m.* flock, band.

gubernātio, -ōnis, *f.* steering, direction.

H

habeo (2), *tr.* have, hold, assemble, set on foot, render;
pass. am considered.

habito (1), *intr.* live.

haereo, -si, -sum (2), *intr.* cleave, cling, am fixed.

haesito (1), *intr.* am in doubt, am at a loss.

haruspex, -icis, *m.* soothsayer, diviner (*who foretold future events by the inspection of the entrails of victims*).

hebesco, —, — (3), *intr.* grow dull.

hercule or **me hercule**, *interj.* by Hercules.

hesternus, -a, -um, of yesterday.

hic, haec, hōc, this.

hīc, *adv.* here, thereupon, then.

hīce, **haece**, **hōce**, *strengthened form of hīc*.

hiems, **-emis**, *f.* winter.

hinc, *adv.* hence, for this reason;
hinc . . . illinc, on this side ... on that.

hodiernus, **-a**, **-um**, of to-day, present.

homo, **-inis**, *c.* human being, man.

honestās, **-ātis**, *f.* honour, high character.

honestē, *adv.* honourably.

honesto (1), *tr.* honour, grace.

honestus, **-a**, **-um**, honourable.

honor, **-ōris**, *m.* honour, sacrifice, office.

hōra, **-ae**, *f.* hour.

horribilis, **-e**, terrible, dreadful.

hortor (1), *tr.* urge, advise.

hospitium, **-i**, *n.* mutual friendship.

hostis, **-is**, *c.* enemy.

hūc, *adv.* hither, to this point.

hūmānitās, **-ātis**, *f.* kindly feeling.

hūmānus, **-a**, **-um**, human.

humus, **-i**, *f.* ground;
locat. **humi**, on the ground.

I

iaceo (2), *intr.* lie, lie helpless.

iacio, **iēci**, **iactum** (3), *tr.* cast, utter, bruit about.

iacto (1), *tr.* toss, hurl, vaunt;
with reflex, pron. speak boastfully, make boast.

iactus, **-ūs**, *m.* hurling, casting.

iam, *adv.* just now, already, by this time;
iam dūdum, long since.

idcirco, *adv.* for that reason.

īdem, **eadem**, **idem**, same.

igitur, *conj.* therefore, accordingly.

ignāvia, **-ae**, *f.* cowardice.

ignis, **-is**, *m.* fire.

ignōminia, **-ae**, *f.* infamy, disgrace.

ignōro (1), *tr. or intr.* am ignorant of, am ignorant.

ignōtus, **-a**, **-um**, unknown.

ille, -a, -ud, that; he, she, it.

imāgo, -inis, *f.* image, likeness.

imberbis, -e, beardless.

immānis, -e, monstrous.

immānitās, -ātis, *f.* enormity, heinousness.

immātūrus, -a, -um, untimely, premature.

immineo, —, — (2), *intr.* hang over, threaten.

immo, *adv.* on the contrary, nay.

immortālis, -e, immortal.

impedio (4), *tr.* hinder, prevent.

im-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3), *tr.* drive on, incite.

im-pendeo, —, — (2), *intr. c. dat.* hang over, threaten.

imperātor, -ōris, *m.* commander, general.

imperītus, -a, -um, inexperienced, ignorant.

imperium, -ī, *n.* command, sovereignty, dominion; military power, command in chief.

impero (1), *tr. or intr. c. dat.* order, enjoin, command.

im-pertior (4), *tr.* bestow.

impetro (1), *tr.* get, obtain (*by request*).

impetus, -ūs, *m.* assault, attack.

impius, -a, -um, impious, wicked.

im-plōro (1), *tr.* entreat, supplicate.

importūnus, -a, -um, unsuitable, unnatural, dangerous.

improbitās, -ātis, *f.* wickedness, depravity, recklessness.

improbus, -a, -um, persistent, violent, reckless.

impūbēs, -eris or -is, youthful.

impudens, -ntis, shameless.

impudenter, *adv.* shamelessly, with assurance.

impudentia, -ae, *f.* shamelessness, assurance.

impudicus, -a, -um, shameless, immodest.

impūnītus, -a, -um, unpunished.

impūrus, -a, -um, unclean.

in, *prep. c. acc.* into, to, against, for;
c. abl. in, on.

inānis, -e, empty.

in-auro (1), *tr.* gild.

incendium, -i, *n.* fire, conflagration, burning.

in-cendo, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* set on fire, burn.

incensio, -ōnis, *f.* burning.

incertus, -a, -um, uncertain.

in-cīdo, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* cut.

in-cido, -cidi, -cāsum (3), *intr.* fall.

in-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr. or intr.* begin.

in-clīno (1), *tr. or intr.* bend, incline; am disposed.

in-clūdo, -si, -sum (3), *tr.* shut in, lock up, confine.

incolumis, -e, safe, uninjured, still alive.

incrēdibilis, -e, incredible.

in-crepo, -ui, -itum (1), *intr.* sound, make a noise, am noised abroad.

in-cumbo, -cubui, -cubitum (3), *intr. c. dat.* lean on, press on;
incumbo ad, devote myself to, exert myself for.

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indemnātus, -a, -um, uncondemned.

index, -icis, *c.* informer.

indicium, -i, *n.* information, proof.

in-dico (1), *tr.* declare, disclose, reveal, betray.

in-dīco, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* proclaim, make (*war*).

in-dūco, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* bring in, introduce, persuade;
animum indūco, resolve, determine.

industria, -ae, *f.* activity, energy.

in-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *tr.* enter on, adopt.

iners, -rtis, inactive, indolent.

inertia, -ae, *f.* inactivity, remissness.

infāmis, -e, disreputable.

in-feri, -ōrum, *m. plur.* the dead.

in-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* put on, lay on, set, inflict.

infestus, -a, -um, dangerous, hostile, deadly.

infimus, -a, -um, lowest, meanest.

infīnītus, -a, -um, without limit, boundless, interminable.

infirmus, -a, -um, powerless.

infitiātor, -ōris, *m.* defaulter.

infitior (1), *tr. or intr.* deny.

in-flammo (1), *tr.* set on fire, inflame.

ingenium, -i, *n.* nature, ability.

ingens, -ntis, huge, vast.

ingenuus, -a, -um, free-born.

in-gravesco, —, — (3), *intr.* grow heavier, become worse.

in-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *tr. or intr.* enter, enter upon, go on to, engage in.

in-hio (1), *intr. c. dat.* open the mouth for.

inhūmānus, -a, -um, savage, unfeeling.

in-icio, -iēcī, -iectum (3), *tr.* throw on, cause, occasion.

inimīcītia, -ae, f. enmity.

inimīcus, -a, -um, unfriendly, hostile;
inimīcus, -i, m. enemy.

inīquitās, -ātis, f. unfairness, injustice.

inīquus, -a, -um, unfair, unjust.

initio (1), *tr.* consecrate.

iniūria, -ae, f. outrage, wrong;
iniūriā, undeservedly.

iniussū (*only in abl. sing.*), *m.* without the command.

inlecebra, -ae, f. attraction, allurement.

inlustris, -e, distinguished, famous.

in-lustro (1), *tr.* illuminate, make clear.

in-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send in.

innocens, -ntis, guiltless.

inopia, -ae, f. want.

inquam, inquis, inquit, *defect. intr.* say.

in-rētio (4), *tr.* ensnare, entrap.

in-scribo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* write on.

insepultus, -a, -um, unburied.

insidiae, -ārum, f. plur. ambushade, plot.

insidiātor, -ōris, m. plotter;
with viae, waylayer.

insidior (1), *intr. c. dat.* lie in wait for, plot against.

insidiōsus, -a, -um, treacherous.

insigne, -is, n. mark, badge.

in-simulo (1), *tr.* charge, allege.

insolentius, adv. more immoderately, more haughtily.

inspērātus, -a, -um, unhoped for.

in-stituo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* undertake, begin.

in-sto, -stiti, -stātum (1), *intr.* press on, threaten.

instrūmentum, -i, n. instrument, means of trade.

in-struo, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* draw up, array.

integer, -gra, -grum, untouched, unharmed, unbroken.

intel-lego or -ligo, -exi, -ectum (3), *tr.* learn, understand, know.

in-tendo, -di, -tum or -sum (3), *tr. or intr.* stretch out; purpose, endeavour.

inter, *prep. c. acc.* between, among, amid;
inter sē, each other.

inter-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* intervene.

intereā, *adv.* meanwhile.

inter-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *intr.* perish, am ruined.

inter-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* kill, slay.

interim, *adv.* meanwhile.

inter-imo, -ēmi, -emptum (3), *tr.* kill, slay.

interitus, -ūs, m. death, ruin, destruction, annihilation.

inter-necio, -ōnis, f. massacre, annihilation.

inter-rogo (1), *tr.* ask.

inter-sum, -fui, -esse, *intr.* am between, differ;
impers. interest, it interests, it concerns (*with meā, tuā* &c.),

interventus, -ūs, m. coming between, intervention.

intestīnus, -a, -um, internal.

intimus, -a, -um, inmost, most secret;
intimus, -i, m. intimate friend.

intrā, *prep. c. acc.* within.

intrō-dūco, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* bring in, introduce.

in-tueor (2), *tr.* look at.

intus, *adv.* inside.

in-ūro, -ussi, -ustum (3), *tr.* burn into.

in-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *tr.* find, discover.

in-vestīgo (1), *tr.* track out, search out.

in-veterasco, -āvi, — (3), *intr.* grow old, am established, am fixed.

invictus, -a, -um, unconquered.

invidia, -ae, f. unpopularity.

invidiōsus, -a, -um, odious, unpopular.

invidus, -a, -um, envious.

invīto (1), *tr.* invite, summon.

invītus, -a, -um, unwilling.

ipse, -a, -um, oneself, self, very, in person.

is, ea, id, that, those, such; he, she, it, they.

iste, -a, -ud, that of yours, that; he, she, it (*used especially of any one or anything connected with the person addressed*).

ita, *adv.* so, in such a way.

itaque, *conj.* and so, accordingly.

item, *adv.* in like manner.

iter, itineris, n. going, journey, route.

iterum, adv. a second time.

iubeo, iussi, iussum (2), tr. order.

iūcundus, -a, -um, pleasant.

iudicium, -i, n. judgement, legal decision, sentence.

iūdico (1), tr. or intr. judge, decide.

iugulum, -i, n. throat.

iūs, iūris, n. law, right;

iūre, rightly;

iūs iūrandum, oath.

iussū (only in abl. sing.), m. order, command.

iustus, -a, -um, just, righteous.

iuventūs, -ūtis, f. body of youth, youth.

L

labefacto (1), tr. shake, give a shock to, undermine, ruin.

labor, -ōris, m. toil.

labōro (1), intr. work, exert myself.

laccio, -īvi, -itum (3), tr. harass, attack.

lacrima, -ae, f. tear.

lacto (1), intr. suck milk.

laedo, -si, -sum (3), tr. hurt, injure.

laetitia, -ae, f. joy, pleasure.

laetor (1), intr. rejoice.

lāmentātio, -ōnis, f. mourning, wailing.

lāmentor (1), tr. or intr. mourn, bewail.

languidus, -a, -um, dull, listless.

largitio, -ōnis, f. largess, bribery.

largitor, -ōris, m. briber.

lātē, adv. widely.

lateo, -ui, — (2), intr. lie hid, am hidden.

lātor, -ōris, m. mover, proposer.

latro, -ōnis, m. brigand.

latrōcinium, -i, n. robbery, brigandage, band of brigands.

latrōcinor (1), intr. am a robber, am a bandit.

latus, -eris, n. side.

laudo (1), tr. praise.

laus, laudis, f. praise, honour, glory, distinction.

lectīca, -ae, *f.* litter.

lectulus, -i, *m.* small couch, bed.

lectus, -i, *m.* couch, bed.

lēgātus, -i, *m.* ambassador.

legio, -ōnis, *f.* legion.

lego, **lēgi**, **lectum** (3), *tr.* choose, read;
lectus, -a, -um, excellent.

lēnio (4), *tr.* soften, assuage.

lēnis, -e, gentle, merciful.

lēnitās, -ātis, *f.* mercy, clemency.

lēno, -ōnis, *m.* pander, creature.

lentus, -a, -um, slow, sluggish.

lepidus, -a, -um, charming, witty.

levis, -e, light, frivolous.

levissimē, *adv.* very lightly, in the mildest manner.

levitās, -ātis, *f.* frivolity.

levo (1), *tr.* lighten, lessen.

lex, **lēgis**, *f.* law, rule, condition.

liber, -era, -erum, free;

liberi, -ōrum, *m. plur.* children (*in relation to their parents*).

libero (1), *tr.* free, relieve.

libertās, -ātis, *f.* freedom, liberty.

libertinus, -i, *m.* freedman.

libīdo, -inis, *f.* passion, lust.

licet, **licuit** or **licitum est**, *impers.* (2), *intr. c. dat.* it is allowed, one may.

lingua, -ae, *f.* tongue.

līnum, -i, *n.* flax, thread.

liquefacio, -fēci, -factum (3), *tr.* melt.

littera, -ae, *f.* letter (*of the alphabet*);
plur. letter, dispatch, literature.

loco (1), *tr.* place, contract for.

locuples, -ētis, rich.

locus, -i, *m.* place, position, room.

longē, *adv.* far.

longinquus, -a, -um, distant.

longus, -a, -um, long, tedious.

loquor, **locūtus sum** (3), *tr. or intr.* speak, say.

lubenter, *adv.* gladly.

lubet, lubuit or lubitum est, *impers.* (2), *intr. c. dat.* it pleases.

luctus, -ūs, *m.* mourning.

lūdus, -i, *m.* play, school;
plur. public games.

lūgeo, luxi, — (2) *tr. or intr.* mourn, lament.

lūmen, -inis, *n.* light.

lupīnus, -a, -um, of a wolf.

lux, lūcis, *f.* light, day.

luxuria, -ae, *f.* extravagance, excess.

M

māchinātor, -ōris, *m.* contriver.

māchinor (1), *tr.* contrive, design.

mactō (1), *tr.* sacrifice, punish.

maeror, -ōris, *m.* grief.

magis, *adv.* more.

magistrātus, -ūs, *m.* office, magistrate.

magnificē, *adv.* splendidly, gloriously.

magnitūdo, -inis, *f.* greatness, size, extent.

magnus, -a, -um, great;
magno opere, greatly.

māior, -us, greater, larger, older;
māiōrēs, -um, *m. plur.* ancestors.

male, *adv.* badly;
with adj. not.

maleficium, -i, *n.* wickedness, offence.

malleolus, -i, *m.* mallet, fire-dart.

mālo, mālui, malle, *tr. or intr.* prefer.

malus, -a, -um, bad;
malum, -i, *n.* evil.

mandātum, -i, *n.* charge, order.

mando (1), *tr.* entrust, commit.

māne, *indecl. n.* morning.

maneo, -si, -sum (2), *intr.* remain.

manicātus, -a, -um, having long sleeves.

manifestus, -a, -um, clear, evident;
adv. **manifesto**, clearly.

māno (1), *intr.* flow, get abroad.

manus, -ūs, *f.* hand, handwriting; company, band.

mare, -is, *n.* sea.

marītus, -i, m. husband.

mātūrē, adv. early;
compar. mātūrius.

mātūritās, -ātis, f. ripeness.

mātūro (1), tr. hasten, dispatch.

maximē, adv. especially.

maximus, -a, -um, greatest, very great, chief.

medicīna, -ae, f. remedy.

mediocris, -e, ordinary, tolerable.

mediocriter, adv. trivially, not seriously.

meditor (1), tr. purpose, intend;
perf. partic. also pass. in sense, practised.

medius, -a, -um, mid, middle.

melior, -us, better.

memini, defect. (3), tr. or intr. c. gen. remember.

memor, -oris, mindful.

memoria, -ae, f. memory.

mendicitās, -ātis, f. beggary.

mens, -ntis, f. mind, thought, intention, understanding, disposition.

mereor (2), tr. or intr. deserve.

meritum, -i, n. desert, service, favour;
merito, deservedly.

metuo, -ui, -ūtum (3), tr. fear.

metus, -ūs, m. fear.

meus, -a, -um, my.

mīles, -itis, m. soldier.

militāris, -e, belonging to a soldier, military.

minae, -ārum, f. plur. threats.

minimē, adv. very little, least.

minimus, -a, -um, very little, least.

minitor (1), intr. c. dat. threaten.

minor, -us, smaller, less;
adv. minus, less, not.

minuo, -ui, -ūtum (3), tr. lessen, reduce.

misceo, miscui, mixtum (2), tr. mix, mingle, embroil.

miser, -era, -erum, wretched, pitiable.

miseria, -ae, f. misfortune, affliction.

misericordia, -ae, f. pity.

misericors, -rdis, tenderhearted, pitiful.

miseror (1), *tr.* pity.

mītis, -e, mild, gentle.

mitto, mīsi, missum (3), *tr.* send.

modō, *adv.* just now, lately, only.

modus, -i, m. limit, kind, manner.

moenia, -ium, n. plur. walls (*of a town*).

mōlēs, -is, f. mass, weight.

molestē, *adv.* with trouble;

molestē fero, take it ill, am vexed at.

mōlior (4), *tr.* set in motion, attempt, design.

mollis, -e, soft, mild.

moneo (2), *tr.* warn, advise.

monimentum, -i, n. memorial.

monstrum, -i, n. evil omen, portent, monster.

mora, -ae, f. delay.

morbus, -i, m. disease.

morior, mortuus sum (3), *intr.* die;

mortuus, -a, -um, dead.

mors, -rtis, f. death.

mōs, mōris, m. custom, habit.

mōtus, -ūs, m. movement, disturbance, trouble;

terrae mōtus, earthquake.

moveo, mōvi, mōtum (2), *tr.* move, affect, alarm.

mucro, -ōnis, m. point, edge, sword.

mulier, -eris, f. woman.

muliercula, -ae, f. little woman.

multitūdo, -inis, f. multitude, numbers.

multo (1), *tr.* punish.

multus, -a, -um, much, many;

adv. **multo**, by much.

mūniceps, -cipis, c. citizen of a **mūnicipium**, burgess.

mūnicipium, -i, n. free town.

mūnio (4), *tr.* fortify, defend;

mūnitissimus, -a, -um, strongly fortified.

mūrus, -i, m. wall.

mūto (1), *tr.* change.

mūtus, -a, -um, silent.

nam, *conj.* for.

nanciscor, nactus or nactus sum (3), *tr.* get, obtain.

nascor, nātus sum (3), *intr.* am born, begin, grow.

nātio, -ōnis, *f.* tribe, people.

nātūra, -ae, *f.* nature.

naufragus, -i, *m.* shipwrecked man, castaway.

-ne, *interrog. particle.*

nē, *conj.* that ... not, lest;

adv. not;

nē . . . quidem, not either, not even.

nē, *interj.* really, indeed.

nec, *see neque.*

necessārio, *adv.* necessarily.

necessārius, -i, *m.* kinsman, connexion.

nesse, *indecl. adj.* inevitable, necessary.

necessitās, -ātis, *f.* necessity.

necne, *conj.* or not.

neco (1), *tr.* kill, murder.

nefandus, -a, -um, abominable, execrable.

nefariē, *adv.* impiously.

nefārius, -a, -um, impious, wicked.

neglego (nec-lego), -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* neglect, despise.

nego (1), *tr. or intr.* deny.

negōtium, -i, *n.* business, trouble.

nēmo, nullius, *m.* no one;

non nēmo, some one.

nepos, -ōtis, *m.* grandson, prodigal, spendthrift.

neque or nec, *conj.* and not, nor;

neque . . . neque, neither ... nor.

nēquior, -us (*compar. of nēquam*), more unprincipled, more worthless.

nēquitia, -ae, *f.* want of principle, remissness, negligence.

nē-scio (4), *tr. or intr.* do not know, am ignorant;

nescio qui, some.

nex, necis, *f.* violent death, murder.

nihil, *indecl. n.* nothing;

adv. in nothing, not at all;

nihildum, nothing yet.

nīmis, *adv.* too much, too.

nīmius, -a, -um, too much, too great;

adv. **nīmium**, too much, too.

nisi, *adv. or conj.* except, unless.

niteo, —, — (2), *intr.* glitter, glisten.

nitidus, -a, -um, shining, glossy.

nix, **nivis**, *f.* snow.

nōbilis, -e, famous, high-born.

noceo (2), *intr. c. dat.* hurt, do harm to;
nocens, -ntis, *m.* criminal.

nocturnus, -a, -um, nightly, by night, night.

nōlo, **nōlui**, **nolle**, *tr. or intr.* do not wish, am unwilling.

nōmen, -inis, *n.* name.

nōminātīm, *adv.* by name.

nōmino (1), name, call.

nōn, *adv.* not.

nondum, *adv.* not yet.

nonnullus, -a, -um, some.

nonnumquam, *adv.* sometimes.

nosco, **nōvi**, **nōtum** (3), *tr.* learn;
nōvi, know.

noster, -tra, -trum, our.

nota, -ae, *f.* mark, brand.

noto (1), *tr.* mark.

nōtus, -a, -um, known.

novem, *indecl. adj.* nine.

novus, -a, -um, new;
rēs novae, revolution.

nox, **noctis**, *f.* night.

nūdius tertius, *adv.* the day before yesterday.

nūdus, -a, -um, bare, naked.

nullus, -a, -um, no, none.

num, *interrog. particle.*

nūmen, -inis, *n.* divinity, divine power.

numerus, -i, *m.* number.

numquam, *adv.* never.

nunc, *adv.* now.

nūper, *adv.* lately.

nuptiae, -ārum, *f. plur.* marriage.

nūtus, -ūs, *m.* nod, will.

O! *interj.* oh!

ob, *prep. c. acc.* on account of.

ob-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *tr.* come to, visit, attend to, execute, accomplish.

ob-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* present, offer.

ob-ligo (1), *tr.* bind, lay under an obligation, render liable, mortgage.

ob-lino, -lēvi, -litum (3), *tr.* besmear, overload;
oblitus, -a, -um, reeking.

obliviscor, -litus sum (3), *tr. or intr. c. gen.* forget.

obscūrē, *adv.* darkly, obscurely.

obscūro (1), *tr.* hide, cover.

obscūrus, -a, -um, dark, secret.

obses, -idis, *c.* hostage.

ob-sideo, -sēdi, -sessum (2), *tr.* besiege, blockade, beset, am on the look out for.

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obsidio, -ōnis, *f.* blockade.

ob-sisto, -stiti, -stitum (3), *intr. c. dat.* hinder, oppose.

ob-stipesco, -pui, — (3), *intr.* am astounded, am stupefied.

ob-sto, -stiti, -stātum (1), *intr. c. dat.* hinder, oppose.

ob-stupefacio, -fēci, -factum (3), *tr.* astound, arouse.

ob-sum, -fui, -esse, *intr. c. dat.* injure.

ob-tempero (1), *intr. c. dat.* obey.

ob-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *tr.* hold, assert, maintain.

ob-tingo, -tigi, — (3), *intr.* happen, befall.

occāsus, -ūs, *m.* fall.

occidens, -ntis, *m.* west.

oc-cīdo, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* kill, slay, murder.

oc-clūdo, -si, -sum (3), shut.

oc-culo, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* hide.

occultē, *adv.* secretly.

oc-cupo (1), *tr.* seize, take possession of.

oc-curro, -curri, -cursum (3), *intr. c. dat.* meet, engage in.

oculus, -i, *m.* eye.

ōdi, *defect.* (3), *tr.* hate.

odium, -i, *n.* hatred.

of-fendo, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* strike against, light upon, displease, offend.

officium, -i, *n.* duty.

ōmen, -inis, *n.* omen, token.

omitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* pass over, leave unmentioned.

omnis, -e, all.

opera, -ae, *f.* aid, service, employment;
operae pretium, worth while.

opīnio, -ōnis, *f.* expectation, belief.

opīnor (1), *intr.* think.

oportet, -uit, impers. (2), it is necessary;
c. acc. one ought, one must.

op-peto, -ivi, -itum (3), *tr.* encounter.

op-pōno, -posui, -positum (3), *tr.* oppose.

op-primo, -pressi, -pressum (3), *tr.* put down, crush, baffle.

***ops, opis**, *f.* power, aid;
plur. power, resources, wealth.

optimātēs, -ium, *m. plur.* best men, good citizens.

optimus, -a, -um, best.

opto (1), *tr.* desire, pray for.

opus, -eris, *n.* work;
opus est, there is need, it is necessary;
magno opere, greatly.

ōrātio, -ōnis, *f.* speech, discourse, harangue.

orbis, -is, *m.* circle;
orbis terrae or terrarum, the circle of the earth, the world.

ordo, -inis, *m.* order, rank, class, body.

oriens, -ntis, *m.* east.

ornāmentum, -i, *n.* equipment, decoration.

orno (1), *tr.* equip, furnish, embellish, honour.

ōro (1), *tr.* beg, pray, ask.

ortus, -ūs, *m.* rising.

ōs, ōris, *n.* mouth, face.

ostendo, -di, -sum or -tum (3), *tr.* show, display.

ostento (1), *tr.* exhibit, display.

ōtiōsus, -a, -um, unemployed, tranquil;
ōtiōsus, -i, *m.* private person, civilian.

ōtium, -i, *n.* leisure, quiet, tranquillity.

P

paciscor, pactus sum (3), *tr.* agree upon, covenant;
perf. partic. also with passive meaning.

pāco (1), *tr.* make peaceful, subdue.

pactum, -i, *n.* agreement, terms, manner.

paene, *adv.* nearly, almost.

paenitet, -uit, *impers.* (2), *tr.* it repents.

palam, *adv.* openly, plainly.

pār, paris, equal, like.

parco, peperci, parsum (3), *intr. c. dat.* spare.

parens, -ntis, *c.* parent.

pāreo (2), *intr. c. dat.* obey.

pariēs, -etis, *m.* wall (*of a house*).

pario, pepereri, partum (3), *tr.* bring forth, produce, gain.

paro (1), *tr.* prepare, collect, raise;
paratus, -a, -um, ready.

parricīda, -ae, *c.* murderer, traitor.

parricīdium, -i, *n.* murder, treason.

pars, -rtis, *f.* part, division, direction, side; political party, faction.

particeps, -cipis, sharing in (*gen.*);
as noun, partner.

partim, *adv.* partly.

parum, *adv.* too little, not enough.

parvulus, -a, -um, very small.

parvus, -a, -um, small.

pastor, -ōris, *m.* shepherd.

patefacio, -fēci, -factum (3), *tr.* bring to light, expose, convict.

pateo, -ui, — (2), *intr.* am open, am manifest.

pater, -tris, *m.* father.

patientia, -ae, *f.* endurance, patience, indulgence.

patior, passus sum (3), *tr. or intr.* suffer, allow.

patria, -ae, *f.* fatherland, country.

patricius, -a, -um, patrician;
patricius, -i, *m.* patrician (*member of the Roman nobility*).

patrimōnium, -i, *n.* inheritance.

pauci, -ae, -a, few.

paulisper, *adv.* for a short time.

paulo, *adv.* a little.

paululum, -i, *n.* a very little.

pax, pācis, *f.* peace, tranquillity.

pecto, pexi, pexum (3), *tr.* comb.

pecūnia, -ae, *f.* wealth, money.

pecus, -udis, *f.* beast.

pedester, -tris, -tre, of foot-soldiers, of infantry.

pello, pepuli, pulsum (3), *tr.* drive, expel.

penitus, *adv.* deeply, wholly.

per, *prep. c. acc.* through, by.

per-cello, -culi, -culsum (3), *tr.* beat down, smite.

per-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* listen to, attend to.

per-cutio, -cussi, -cussum (3), *tr.* strike.

per-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* lose, destroy;
perditus, -a, -um, desperate, abandoned, corrupt;
perditur, -i, m. scoundrel.

per-dūco, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* lead, take.

per-eo, -ii, -itum, -ire, *intr.* die, perish.

per-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* endure, tolerate.

per-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* carry out, manage.

per-fringo, -frēgi, -fractum (3), *tr.* break through, shatter.

per-fruor, -fructus sum (3), *intr. c. abl.* enjoy fully.

per-fugium, -i, n. refuge.

pergo, perrexi, perrectum (3), *intr.* proceed, go on.

per-horresco, -rui, — (3), *intr.* shudder, tremble;
tr. have a horror of.

perīclitor (1), *tr. or intr.* make trial of, endanger; am endangered.

perīculōsus, -a, -um, dangerous.

perīculum, -i, n. danger.

permagnus, -a, -um, very large.

per-maneo, -si, -sum (2), *intr.* stay to the end, continue, persist.

per-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* entrust.

permodestus, -a, -um, bashful, obedient.

per-moveo, -mōvi, -mōtum (2), *tr.* interest, alarm.

permultus, -a, -um, very much; *plur.* very many.

perniciēs, -ēi, f. destruction.

perniciōsus, -a, -um, destructive, mischievous, deadly.

perpetuus, -a, -um, continuous, constant, lasting;
in perpetuum (*sc. tempus*), permanently.

persaepe, *adv.* very often.

per-scribo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* write out in full.

per-sequor, -secūtus sum (3), *tr.* pursue, attack.

per-spicio, -spexi, -spectum (3), *tr.* see clearly.

per-terreo (2), *tr.* frighten, scare.

per-timesco, -timui, — (3), *tr. or intr.* fear.

per-tineo, -ui, — (2), *intr.* reach, belong, concern.

per-turbo (1), *tr.* trouble, disturb, agitate.

per-venio, -vĕni, -ventum (4), *intr.* come, arrive.

pestis, -is, *f.* plague, scourge, destruction.

petĭtio, -ōnis, *f.* blow, thrust.

peto, -īvi, -itum (3), *tr.* attack, assault; demand, beg.

petulantia, -ae, *f.* wantonness, impudence.

pietās, -ātis, *f.* dutifulness, goodness.

placeo (2), *intr. c. dat.* please;
placet, *impers.* it seems right, it is determined.

plāco (1), *tr.* reconcile, appease.

plānē, *adv.* clearly, completely.

plēnus, -a, -um, full.

plūrimus, -a, -um, very many, most.

plūs, *adv.* more.

poena, -ae, *f.* penalty, punishment.

polliceor (2), *tr. or intr.* promise, undertake.

pōno, posui, positum (3), *tr.* put, place, pitch, assign.

pons, -ntis, *m.* bridge.

pontifex, -icis, *m.* high-priest, pontiff.

popĭna, -ae, *f.* eating-house, tavern.

populāris, -e, popular, friendly to the people.

populus, -i, *m.* people.

porta, -ae, *f.* gate.

possessio, -ōnis, *f.* holding, possession, property, estate.

possum, potui, posse, *intr.* am able, can.

post, *prep. c. acc.* after, since;
adv. afterwards.

postea, *adv.* afterwards, later.

posteritās, -ātis, *f.* future time, posterity.

posterus, -a, -um, future;
posteri, -ōrum, *m. plur.* descendants, posterity;
in posterum, for the future, in future.

posthāc, *adv.* after this, for the future.

postrēmus, -a, -um, last;
adv. **postrēmo**, lastly.

postulo (1), *tr.* ask, demand.

potens, -ntis, powerful.

potestās, -ātis, *f.* power, authority;
potestātem facio, give opportunity, give leave.

potior (4), *intr. c. gen. or abl.* get, gain.

potius, *adv.* rather.

prae, *prep. c. abl.* before, in comparison with.

praebeo (2), *tr.* offer, render, show.

praeceps, **-cipitis**, headstrong.

prae-cipio, **-cēpi**, **-ceptum** (3), *tr.* enjoin, give as a warning.

pracipue, *adv.* especially.

praeclārus, **-a**, **-um**, famous, remarkable, signal, noble.

prae-curro, **-cucurri**, **-cursum** (3), *intr. c. dat.* run before, outrun, surpass.

praedātor, **-ōris**, *m.* robber.

prae-dico (1), *tr.* declare, extol.

prae-dīco, **-xi**, **-ctum** (3), *tr.* state beforehand, premise, proclaim.

praedium, **-i**, *n.* farm.

praefectūra, **-ae**, *f.* prefecture (*an Italian city governed by a Roman magistrate*).

prae-fero, **-tuli**, **-lātum**, **-ferre**, *tr.* hold forth, offer.

prae-mitto, **-mīsi**, **-missum** (3), *tr.* send in advance.

praemium, **-i**, *n.* reward.

prae-scribo, **-psi**, **-ptum** (3), *tr. acc. and dat.* order, appoint.

praesens, **-ntis**, present, opportune.

praesentia, **-ae**, *f.* presence.

praesertim, *adv.* especially;
cum praesertim, especially since.

prae-sideo, **-sēdi**, — (2), *intr. c. dat.* guard, watch.

praesidium, **-i**, *n.* guard, protection, garrison, force.

praesto, *adv.* at hand.

prae-sto, **-stiti**, **-stitum** or **-stātum** (1), *tr.* guarantee, carry out.

praestōlor (1), *intr. c. dat.* wait for.

praeter, *prep. c. acc.* except, besides, contrary to.

praetereā, *adv.* besides.

praeter-eo, **-ii**, **-itum**, **-īre**, *tr.* pass over, leave unmentioned.

praeter-mitto, **-mīsi**, **-missum** (3), *tr.* pass over, omit.

praeterquam, *adv.* besides, except.

praetexta (*sc. toga*), **-ae**, *f.* gown edged with purple.

praetor, **-ōris**, *m.* praetor (*a magistrate charged with the administration of justice*).

praetōrius, **-a**, **-um**, belonging to a praetor or general, praetorian.

praetūra, **-ae**, *f.* praetorship.

precor (1), *tr. or intr.* pray, pray to, beseech.

premo, pressi, pressum (3), *tr.* check, harass, crush, overwhelm.

pretium, -i, n. value, worth, pay.

prīdem, adv. long ago, long since.

prīdiē, adv. on the day before.

prīmus, -a, -um, first;

adv. **prīmum, prīmo,** at first, firstly;

quam prīmum, as soon as possible.

princeps, -ipis, first, chief;

as noun, chief, chief man, leader.

principium, -i, n. beginning;

principio, at first, firstly.

prior, -us, former, earlier, previous.

pristinus, -a, -um, former, early.

prīvātus, -a, -um, private, personal;

prīvātus, -i, m. private citizen.

prīvo (1), rob, deprive.

pro, prep. c. abl. for, on behalf of, in accordance with, instead of, in return for.

probo (1), *tr.* approve, prove.

procella, -ae, f. storm.

procul, adv. far off.

prōcūrātio, -ōnis, f. charge, office.

prōdigium, -i, n. evil token, prodigy.

prōdigus, -a, -um, lavish, extravagant;

prōdigus, -i, m. spendthrift.

proelium, -i, n. battle.

profectio, -ōnis, f. departure.

profecto, adv. assuredly.

prō-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, tr. bring forth, bring forward, issue.

prō-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* effect, accomplish.

prō-ficiscor, -fectus sum (3), *intr.* set out, start.

prō-fiteor, -fessus sum (3), *tr.* propose, offer.

prō-fligo (1), *tr.* overthrow.

prō-fugio, -fūgi, — (3), *tr. or intr.* flee from; flee, run away.

pro-fundo, -fūdi, -fūsum (3), *tr.* pour out, dissipate.

prō-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *intr.* go forward, advance.

pro-hibeo (2), *tr.* hinder, prevent.

prō-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* cast forth.

proinde, adv. in like manner, accordingly.

prō-lāto (1), *tr.* put off, defer.

propāgo (1), *tr.* extend, prolong.

prope, *adv.* nearly, almost.

prō-pōno, **-posui**, **-positum** (3), *tr.* set before, offer, determine.

proprius, **-a**, **-um**, peculiar to, characteristic of.

propter, *prep. c. acc.* on account of.

prō-pulso (1), *tr.* repel, avert.

proscriptio, **-ōnis**, *f.* proscription, confiscation.

prō-sequor, **-secūtus sum** (3), *tr.* follow, attend.

prō-spicio, **-exi**, **-ectum** (3), *tr.* see beforehand, give attention to;
intr. c. dat. take measures for.

prō-sterno, **-strāvi**, **-strātum** (3), *tr.* lay low.

prō-sum, **prōfui**, **prōdesse**, *intr. c. dat.* benefit.

prō-videntia, **-ae**, *f.* foresight.

prō-video, **-vidi**, **-visum** (2), *tr.* foresee, prepare;
intr. make provision;
intr. c. dat. provide for, guard the interests of.

prōvincia, **-ae**, *f.* province.

prōvinciālis, **-e**, belonging to a province, provincial.

proximus, **-a**, **-um**, nearest, next, last.

prūdens, **-ntis**, wise.

prūdentia, **-ae**, *f.* wisdom.

pruīna, **-ae**, *f.* frost.

publicātiō, **-ōnis**, *f.* confiscation.

publicē, *adv.* publicly.

publico (1), *tr.* confiscate.

publicus, **-a**, **-um**, public;
rēs publica, state, public affairs, public interest.

puḍicitia, **-ae**, *f.* chastity, virtue.

puḍor, **-ōris**, *m.* shame, modesty, decency.

puer, **-eri**, *m.* boy.

pugna, **-ae**, *f.* fight, battle.

pugno (1), *intr.* fight.

pulcher, **-chra**, **-chrum**, beautiful.

pulvinar, **-āris**, *n.* couch (*for the images of the gods at a thanksgiving*).

punctum, **-i**, *n.* point, instant.

pūnio (4), *tr.* punish.

purgo (1), *tr.* cleanse, purify.

purpura, **-ae**, *f.* purple.

purpurātus, **-i**, *m.* officer clothed in purple, vizier.

puto (1), *tr. or intr.* think.

Q

quaero, -sīvi, -sītum (3), *tr.* seek, ask.

quaesitor, -ōris, *m.* investigator, inquisitor.

quaeso, quaesumus (3), *defect. intr.* beg, pray.

quaestio, -ōnis, *f.* investigation, commission, law-court.

quaestus, -ūs, *m.* gain.

quālis, -e, such as, as (*after tālis*).

quam, *adv.* how, as, than;

tam . . . quam, so much ... as;
also used to strengthen superlatives;

quam diu, how long? as long as.

quamquam, *conj.* although.

quando, *adv.* at any time.

quantus, -a, -um, how great? as great as, as (*after tantus*).

quapropter, *adv.* for which reason.

quārē, *adv.* wherefore.

quartus, -a, -um, fourth.

-que, *conj.* and.

quemadmodum, *adv.* how.

querimōnia, -ae, *f.* complaint.

queror, questus sum (3), *tr. or intr.* regret, complain, bewail.

qui, quae, quod, *rel. pron.* who, which, that.

qui, quae, quod, *interrog. adj.* which? what?

quia, *conj.* because.

quicumque, quaecumque, quodcumque, whoever, whatever; every possible.

quīdam, quaedam, quoddam, a certain, some.

quidem, *adv.* indeed.

quiēs, -ētis, *f.* rest.

quiesco, -ēvi, -ētum (3), *intr.* am quiet, do nothing.

quiētus, -a, -um, peaceful, undisturbed.

quīn, conj. or adv. with indic. why not? **quīn etiam**, nay even;
with subj. but that, that.

quintus, -a, -um, fifth.

quis, quid, *interrog. pron.* who? what? *adv.* **quid**, why?

quis, quid, *indef. pron.* any one, anything;
quis, *also adj.* any.

quispiam, quaequam, quodpiam or quidpiam, *indef. pron.* any one, anything, someone, something;
adj. any, some.

quisquam, quidquam, *indef. pron.* any one, anything;
quisquam, *also adj.* any.

quisque, quaeque, quodque, *or (as pron.) quidque*, each.

quisquis, quidquid, whoever, whatever.

quo, *adv.* whither (*rel. or interrog.*);
quo usque, how long?

quoad, *adv.* as long as.

quōcumque, *adv.* in whatever direction.

quod, *conj.* because, that.

quodsi, *conj.* but if.

quondam, *adv.* in old time, formerly.

quoniam, *conj.* since.

quoque, *conj.* also, too.

quot, *indecl. adj.* how many.

quotiens, *adv.* how often.

quotienscumque, *adv.* how often soever.

[75]

R

rapīna, -ae, *f.* plundering, plunder.

rapio, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* snatch, hurry away.

ratio, -ōnis, *f.* consideration, reflection, reason, principle; method, way.

recens, -ntis, new, fresh.

re-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* take back, receive, admit; engage, promise.

re-cito (1), *tr.* read aloud.

re-co-gnosco, -gnōvi, -gnitum (3), *tr.* call to mind, examine.

reconciliātio, -ōnis, *f.* renewal.

re-condo, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* stow away, hide.

recordor (1), *tr. or intr.* remember.

re-creo (1), *tr.* refresh, recover.

rectā, *adv.* straight.

rectē, *adv.* rightly, justly.

recūsatio, -ōnis, *f.* refusal, objection.

re-cūso (1), *tr.* decline, reject.

red-eo, -ii, -itum, -ire, *intr.* go back, return.

redimio (4), *tr.* wreath.

red-undo (1), *intr.* overflow.

re-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* bring back, bring before.

rēgiē, *adv.* royally, despotically.

regio, -ōnis, *f.* district.

regno (1), *intr.* reign, am king.

regnum, -i, *n.* royal authority, sovereignty.

re-levo (1), *tr.* lift up, relieve.

rēligio, -ōnis, *f.* scruple.

re-linquo, -liqui, -lictum (3), *tr.* leave behind, leave.

reliquus, -a, -um, that is left, remaining, rest of.

re-maneo, -mansī, — (2), *intr.* stay behind.

remissio, -ōnis, *f.* relaxation, mildness.

re-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send back, slacken;
remissus, -a, -um, slack, lax.

re-moror (1), *tr.* hinder, delay.

re-moveo, B, -mōtum (2), *tr.* remove, set aside.

re-pello, reppuli, repulsum (3), *tr.* drive back, reject, bring about rejection of.

repente, *adv.* suddenly.

repentīnus, -a, -um, sudden.

re-perio, repperi, repertum (4), *tr.* find, discover.

re-primo, -pressi, -pressum (3), *tr.* check, restrain.

repudio (1), *tr.* reject.

rēs, rei, *f.* fact, deed, matter, thing, interest, property;
plur. power, administration.

re-seco, -cui, -ctum (1), *tr.* cut away.

re-servo (1), *tr.* keep back, reserve.

re-sideo, -sēdi, — (2), *intr.* remain, am left.

re-sisto, -stiti, — (3), *intr.* stop, stay behind;
intr. c. dat. resist, remain over to.

re-spondeo, -di, -sum (2), *tr. or intr. c. dat.* answer, give an answer to, prove a match for.

responsum, -i, *n.* answer.

re-stinguo, -nxi, -nctum (3), *tr.* put out, quench.

re-stituo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* put back, restore.

re-sto, -stiti, — (1), *intr.* hold out, remain.

re-ticeo, -ui, — (2), *intr.* keep silence, make no answer.

re-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *tr.* hold back, keep, preserve.

re-torqueo, -si, -tum (2), *tr.* turn back.

re-tundo, rettudi, retūsum (3), *tr.* blunt, turn the edge of.

reus, -i, *m.* person accused, prisoner.

re-vertor, -versus sum or -verti (3), *intr.* turn back, return.

re-voco (1), *tr.* call back, recall.

rex, rēgis, m. king.

rōbur, -oris, n. strength.

rōbustus, -a, -um, strong, vigorous.

rogo (1), *tr.* ask, introduce, propose (*a law*).

ruīna, -ae, f. downfall, ruin, disaster.

rumpo, rūpi, ruptum (3), *tr.* break.

rusticus, -a, -um, rustic, rural.

S

sacer, -cra, -crum, sacred;
sacra, -ōrum, n. plur. rites, mysteries.

sacrārium, -i, n. shrine.

sacrōsanctus, -a, -um, inviolable.

saeculum, -i, n. generation.

saepe, adv. often.

saepio, -psi, -ptum (4), *tr.* fence in, surround.

sagax, -ācis, shrewd.

salto (1), *intr.* dance.

salūs, -ūtis, f. safety, preservation.

salūto (1), *tr. or intr.* greet, wait upon, pay a call.

salvus, -a, -um, safe, preserved, solvent.

sancio, -nxi, -nctum (4), *tr. or intr.* ordain, forbid under penalty.

sanctus, -a, -um, sacred, holy, inviolable.

sānē, adv. by all means.

sanguis, -inis, m. blood.

sāno (1), *tr.* cure.

sānus, -a, -um, sound, healthy, wise.

sapiens, -ntis, wise.

satelles, -itis, c. attendant, servant.

satis, adv. enough, quite;
as noun, enough of;
satis facio (*dat.*), satisfy, do my duty to.

saucius, -a, -um, wounded.

scaena, -ae, f. stage.

scelerātē, adv. wickedly.

scelerātus, -a, -um, impious, wicked;
scelerātus, -i, m. criminal, profligate.

scelus, -eris, n. crime.

scientia, -ae, f. knowledge.

scīlicet, *adv.* evidently, to be sure.

scio (4), *tr. or intr.* know.

scortum, -i, *n.* harlot.

scrība, -ae, *m.* notary.

scribo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* write.

sē or sēsē, sui, himself, herself, &c.

sē-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* go apart, withdraw.

sē-cerno, -crēvi, -crētum (3), *tr.* divide, separate, put on one side.

secūris, -is, *f.* axe.

sed, *conj.*, but.

sēdēs, -is, *f.* seat, abode, habitation.

sēditio, -ōnis, *f.* disaffection, rebellion.

sēdo (1), *tr.* quiet, settle, stop.

sē-iungo, -nxi, -nctum (3), *tr.* separate.

sella, -ae, *f.* seat, chair.

semel, *adv.* once.

sēmen, -inis, *n.* seed.

sēminārium, -i, *n.* nursery-garden, school.

semper, *adv.* always.

sempiternus, -a, -um, perpetual, everlasting.

senātor, -ōris, *m.* senator.

senātus, -ūs, *m.* senate.

senex, -is, *m.* old man.

sensus, -ūs, *m.* feeling, consciousness.

sententia, -ae, *f.* opinion, purpose, vote; meaning, purport.

sentīna, -ae, *f.* refuse, dregs.

sentio, sensi, sensum, *tr. or intr.* feel, see, perceive.

sepelio, -elivi, -ultum (4), *tr.* bury.

sequor, secūtus sum (3), *tr. or intr.* follow, adopt, obey.

sērius, *adv.* later, too late.

sermo, -ōnis, *m.* talk, conversation, discourse.

serpo, -psi, -ptum (3), *intr.* creep.

sertum, -i, *n.* garland.

servio (4), *intr. c. dat.* serve, am a slave, do service to, indulge.

servitium, -i, *n.* slavery, body of slaves.

servitūs, -ūtis, *f.* slavery.

servo (1), *tr.* keep, preserve.

servus, -i, m. slave.

sevērē, *adv.* sternly, severely.

sevērītās, -ātis, f. strictness, sternness.

sevērus, -a, -um, stern, severe, strict.

sextus, -a, -um, sixth.

si, conj. if.

sīc, adv. so, thus.

sīca, -ae, f. dagger.

sīcārius, -i, m. assassin.

sīcut, adv. just as, as.

significātiō, -ōnis, f. token, intimation.

signum, -i, n. standard, seal.

silentium, -i, n. silence.

sileo, -ui, — (2), tr. or intr. am silent about, leave unmentioned; am silent.

silvestris, -e, woodland, rustic.

similis, -e, like.

simul, adv. at the same time;

simul atque (ac), conj. as soon as.

simulacrum, -i, n. image.

sīn, conj. if however, but if.

sine, prep. c. abl. without.

singulāris, -e, extraordinary, unprecedented.

singuli, -ae, -a, one each, each, single.

sino, sīvi, situm (3), tr. or intr. allow, permit.

sinus, -ūs, m. bosom.

sitis, -is, f. thirst.

sīve, conj. or if;

sive . . . sive, whether ... or, if ... but if.

sobrius, -a, -um, sober.

societās, -ātis, f. association.

socius, -i, m. comrade, partner.

sodālis, -is, c. companion, associate.

sōl, sōlis, m. the sun.

soleo, -itus sum (2), intr. am wont, am accustomed.

sōlitūdo, -inis, f. loneliness, solitude.

sollicitātiō, -ōnis, f. instigation, tampering.

sollicito (1), tr. disturb, seduce, tamper with.

sollicitus, -a, -um, anxious.

solum, -i, n. ground.

sōlus, -a, -um, alone, only;
adv. **sōlum**, only.

solvo, -vi, -ūtum (3), *tr.* loosen;
solūtus, -a, -um, weak, lax.

somnus, -i, m. sleep.

sors, -rtis, f. lot.

spargo, -si, -sum (3), *tr.* scatter.

speciēs, -ēi, f. appearance.

speculor (1), *tr.* watch, observe.

spēro (1), *tr. or intr.* hope.

spēs, -ei, f. hope.

spīritus, -ūs, m. breath.

spolio (1), *tr.* rob, deprive.

sponte, abl. f. of free will, willingly.

stabilio (4), *tr.* make firm, establish.

statim, adv. immediately.

statua, -ae, f. statue.

statuo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* set up, establish, settle, determine.

status, -ūs, m. position, constitution.

stirps, -pis, f. root, stem.

sto, steti, statum (1), *intr.* stand.

studeo, -ui, — (2), intr. c. dat. strive after, aim at, desire.

studiōsus, -a, -um, eager for, having a fancy for.

studium, -i, n. aim, pursuit, desire; energy, enthusiasm.

stultus, -a, -um, foolish, dull.

stuprum, -i, n. debauchery.

suādeo, -si, -sum, intr. c. dat. urge, advise.

sub-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, tr. undergo, suffer.

sub-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* lay under, lay near.

subiector, -ōris, m. forger.

sub-igo, -ēgi, -actum (3), *tr.* subdue.

subito, adv. suddenly.

subsellium, -i, n. bench.

subsidium, -i, n. help, support, appliance.

suc-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr. c. dat.* come next to, succeed.

suf-fero, sustuli, sublātum, sufferre, *tr.* undergo, bear.

sum, fui, esse, am.

summa, -ae, *f.* highest place.

summus, -a, -um, highest, greatest, most grave, most noble, most severe.

sūmo, -mpsi, -mptum (3), *tr.* take up, assume; inflict.

sumptuōsius, *adv.* more extravagantly.

sumptus, -ūs, *m.* expense, extravagance.

superior, -us, higher, earlier, previous, former.

supero (1), *tr.* overcome, overpower, surpass.

super-sum, -fui, -esse, *intr.* survive.

suppedito (1), *tr.* supply, furnish.

supplex, -icis, suppliant.

supplicātio, -ōnis, *f.* service of thanksgiving.

supplicium, -i, *n.* punishment, penalty, chastisement.

surgo, surrexi, surrectum (3), *intr.* rise.

sus-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* undertake, take upon me.

suspectus, -a, -um, suspected.

suspicio, -ōnis, *f.* suspicion.

suspikor (1), *tr. or intr.* suspect.

sus-tento (1), *tr.* uphold, support, bear.

sus-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *tr.* bear, endure.

suus, -a, -um, his, her, its, their.

T

tabella, -ae, *f.* writing-tablet;
plur. letter.

taberna, -ae, *f.* shop.

tābesco, -bui, — (3), *intr.* melt, pine, languish.

tabula, -ae, *f.* writing-tablet;
plur. account books;
tabulae novae, cancelling of debts.

taceo (2), *intr.* am silent, say nothing;
tr. say nothing of, conceal.

taciturnitās, -ātis, *f.* silence.

tacitus, -a, -um, silent.

taeter, -tra, -trum, foul, hideous, abominable.

tālāris, -e, reaching to the ankle.

tālis, -e, such.

tam, *adv.* so;
tam . . . quam, so much ... as.

tamen, *adv.* nevertheless, yet.

tamquam, *adv.* just as, as if.

tandem, *adv.* at length, pray.

tango, tetigi, tactum (3), *tr.* touch, strike.

tantus, -a, -um, so great;

tantum, -i, n. so much;

tanti, of such value, worth while;

tanto, by so much.

tardissimē, *adv.* very slowly, very late, latest.

tarditās, -ātis, f. slowness.

tectum, -i, n. roof, house.

tēlum, -i, n. dart, shaft, weapon.

temerē, *adv.* rashly, heedlessly, for nothing.

temeritās, -ātis, f. rashness.

temperantia, -ae, f. self-restraint, temperance.

tempestās, -ātis, f. storm.

templum, -i, n. consecrated ground, temple.

tempus, -oris, n. time.

tendo, tetendi, tensum or tentum (3), *tr.* stretch out.

tenebrae, -ārum, f. plur. darkness.

teneo, -ui, — (2), tr. or intr. hold, hold fast, confine;
pass. am in difficulty.

tento (1), *tr.* make an attempt on, attempt, attack, test, tempt.

tenuis, -e, thin, poor.

termino (1), *tr.* bound, limit.

terminus, -i, m. limit.

terra, -ae, f. earth, land, ground.

tertius, -a, -um, third.

testāmentum, -i, n. will.

testis, -is, c. witness.

timeo, -ui, — (2), tr. or intr. fear.

timidus, -a, -um, timid, fearful.

timor, -ōris, m. fear.

toga, -ae, f. toga (*gown of civil life*), gown.

togātus, -a, -um, wearing the toga.

tolerābilis, -e, endurable, bearable.

tolero (1), *tr.* bear, endure.

tollo, sustuli, sublātum (3), *tr.* raise, remove.

tot, *indecl. adj.* so many.

tōtus, **-a**, **-um**, whole.

tracto (1), *tr.* handle, manage; **mē tracto**, behave.

trā-do, **-didi**, **-ditum** (3), *tr.* hand over.

transcendo (**trans-scendo**), **-di**, **-sum** (3), *tr.* cross, pass.

trans-fero, **-tuli**, **-lātum**, **-ferre**, *tr.* carry across, transfer.

trans-igo, **-ēgi**, **-actum** (3), *tr.* complete, dispatch.

tribūnal, **-ālis**, *n.* judgement-seat.

tribūnus, **-i**, *m.* tribune;

tribūnus pl. (i.e. **plēbis**) tribune of the people, *thus distinguished from e.g. a military tribune.*

trīduum, **-i**, *n.* three days' time.

triumpho (1), *intr.* triumph.

triumphus, **-i**, *m.* triumph.

trucidō (1), *tr.* slaughter, butcher.

tū, **tui**, thou, you;

vosmet, you yourselves.

tuba, **-ae**, *f.* trumpet.

tueor (2), *tr.* gaze at; maintain, support.

tum, *adv.* then;

after **deinde**, thirdly.

tumultus, **-ūs**, *m.* disturbance.

tumulus, **-i**, *n.* hillock, height, stronghold.

tunc, *adv.* then, at that time.

tunica, **-ae**, *f.* tunic.

turbulentus, **-a**, **-um**, restless, troublesome.

turpis, **-e**, base, disgraceful, shameful.

turpiter, *adv.* disgracefully; *superl.* **turpissimē**.

turpitūdo, **-inis**, *f.* baseness.

tūtus, **-a**, **-um**, safe; *adv.* **tūto**, in safety.

tuus, **-a**, **-um**, thy, your.

tyrannus, **-i**, *m.* despot, tyrant.

U

ūber, **-eris**, *n.* pap, teat.

ubī, *adv. or conj.* where, when.

ubinam, *adv.* where?

ulciscor, **ultus sum** (3), *tr.* punish.

ullus, **-a**, **-um**, any.

ultro, *adv.* voluntarily, unasked.

umquam, *adv.* ever.

ūnā, *adv.* at the same time, in company.

undique, *adv.* on all sides.

unguentum, **-i**, *n.* unguent, perfume.

ūnicē, *adv.* specially, wonderfully.

ūniversus, **-a**, **-um**, entire, whole, general.

ūnus, **-a**, **-um**, one, alone.

urbānus, **-a**, **-um**, of the city, in the city.

urbs, **-bis**, *f.* city.

usque, *adv.* all the time, continually; **usque ad**, even to.

ūsūra, **-ae**, *f.* use, enjoyment, interest.

usurpo (1), *tr.* use, apply.

ut or **uti**, *adv. or conj.* as, how, when;
c. subjunct. in order that, so that, that.

uterque, **utraque**, **utrumque**, each of two; *plur.* each of two sets.

ūtilis, **-e**, useful, expedient.

ūtilitās, **-ātis**, *f.* advantage, interest.

utinam, *adv.* would that?

ūtor, **ūsus sum** (3), *intr. c. abl.* use, enjoy, experience, find.

utrum, *interrog. adv.* whether (*but not translated in direct questions*).

uxor, **-ōris**, *f.* wife.

V

vacillo (1), *intr.* totter, stagger.

vacuēfacio, **-fēci**, **-factum** (3), *tr.* empty, clear, free.

vacuus, **-a**, **-um**, empty, free from.

vadimōnium, **-i**, *n.* bail.

vāgīna, **-ae**, *f.* sheath, scabbard.

valdē, *adv.* very much, exceedingly.

valeo (2), *intr.* have strength, have influence.

varietās, **-ātis**, *f.* difference, change.

varius, **-a**, **-um**, diverse, various.

vastātio, **-ōnis**, *f.* plundering, devastation.

vastitās, **-ātis**, *f.* devastation.

vasto (1), *tr.* waste, devastate.

vātēs, **-is**, *c.* soothsayer, prophet.

vectīgal, **-ālis**, *n.* tax, revenue.

vehemens, -ntis, vigorous, violent, efficacious, severe.

vehementer, *adv.* strongly, greatly, seriously, violently;
compar. **vehementius**, *superl.* **vehementissimē**.

vēlum, -i, *n.* veil.

vēna, -ae, *f.* vein.

venēficus, -i, *m.* poisoner.

veneror (1), *tr.* worship.

venio, vēni, ventum (4), *intr.* come.

[81]

verbum, -i, *n.* word.

vērē, *adv.* truly.

vereor (2), *tr. or intr.* fear.

versor (1), *intr.* move, dwell, abide, am concerned.

vērus, -a, -um, true;

vērum, -i, *n.* truth;

adv. **vēro**, in truth, however;

adv. or conj. **vērum**, truly, but in truth, but.

vespera, -ae, *f.* evening.

vester, -tra, -trum, your.

vestigium, -i, *n.* step, track, trace; *plur.* ruins.

vetus, -eris, old, former.

vexatio, -ōnis, *f.* trouble, distress, insult.

vexo (1), *tr.* trouble, harass.

via, -ae, *f.* way, road, course.

vibro (1), *tr.* brandish.

vicēsimus, -a, -um, twentieth.

vīcīnus, -i, *m.* neighbour.

victor, -ōris, victorious.

victōria, -ae, *f.* victory.

vidēlicet, *adv.* clearly, evidently.

video, vīdi, vīsum (2), *tr. or intr.* see, make sure;

videor, seem, seem right.

vigilia, -ae, *f.* wakefulness, watch;

plur. guard, patrol.

vigilo (1), *intr.* keep awake, am watchful, am on the watch.

vīlis, -e, cheap, unimportant.

villa, -ae, *f.* country-house, farm.

vinco, vīci, victum (3), *tr. or intr.* conquer, outweigh.

vinculum, -i, *n.* chain; *in plur.* prison, imprisonment.

vindex, -icis, *c.* avenger, punisher.

vindico (1), *tr.* punish.

vīnum, -i, n. wine.

violo (1), *tr.* injure, do outrage to.

vir, viri, m. man.

virgo, -inis, f. maiden.

virtūs, -ūtis, f. manliness, courage, goodness.

vīs, vim, vi, f. force, power;
plur. vīrēs, -ium, strength.

viscera, -um, n. plur. inner parts, vitals.

vīta, -ae, f. life.

vitium, -i, n. vice, fault.

vīto (1), *tr.* avoid, escape.

vituperātio, -ōnis, f. blame, censure.

vīvo, -xi, -ctum (3), *intr.* live.

vīvus, -a, -um, alive.

vix, adv. scarcely, hardly.

vixdum, adv. scarcely yet.

voco (1), *tr.* call, summon.

volito (1), *intr.* fly about, flit about, flutter.

volo, volui, velle, tr. or intr. wish.

voluntās, -ātis, f. wish, will, intention; good-will.

voluptās, -ātis, f. pleasure, joy.

vosmet, see tu.

vōtum, -i, n. vow, prayer.

vox, vōcis, f. voice, speech, word.

vulnero (1), *tr.* wound.

vulnus, -eris, n. wound.

vultus, -ūs, m. countenance, features, expression.

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In the Notes section, some words being glossed have occasionally not been set in bold type. These have been amended.

Other amendments:

Notes 17: Missing single quote added before "and that, if I Punished him".

Notes p. 30: "is it" amended to "it is".

Notes p. 33: period added after "Cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 679".

Vocabulary p. 59: "exspectation" amended to "expectation".

Vocabulary p. 62: "iam iūdum" amended to "iam dūdum".

Vocabulary p. 71: period added after "arrive".

Vocabulary p. 77: period added after "thirst".

Vocabulary p. 81: period added after "tr" in the definition of "vibro"; also on p. 81: semicolon added after "power" in the definition of "vis".

Ellipses follow LOTE rules in Latin phrases (e.g. either . . . or).

B. C. has been condensed to B.C., i. e. to i.e., e. g. to e.g., and v. l. to v.l.

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