

# CICERO SELECT ORATIONS

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Benjamin L. D'Ooge

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# CICERO

## SELECT ORATIONS

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, PARALLEL SELECTIONS FROM  
SALLUST, WORD-GROUPS, SYNONYMS, REVIEW  
QUESTIONS, AND VOCABULARY

BY

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*οὐ πολλὰ ἀλλὰ πολὺ*

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## PREFACE.

THE orations of Cicero embraced in this volume are those generally read in American schools. The purpose is not merely to repeat what is already offered by many excellent editions, but rather to include such additional material as the editor's experience has found to be of value to pupils at this stage of their Latin course. Supplementary editions of other orations are to be published separately, by means of which a wider choice of reading will be available, and at a smaller expense than would be possible from any one book.

The text is that of C. F. W. Müller, with such minor changes in orthography and punctuation as seem desirable for school use. At the strong recommendation of many prominent teachers, the quantity of the long vowels has been marked. Unfortunately some questions of vowel length are still, and perhaps will always be, unsettled. Many doubtful cases were referred to Professor Franz Buecheler, of the University of Bonn, in whose eminent scholarship and wise, conservative judgment all classical scholars have the utmost confidence.

For the introductory life of Cicero, the standard English and German authorities have been freely drawn upon. The chapter devoted to the Roman Constitution and Religion has been derived especially from Becker and Marquardt's *Römische Altertümer*, Mommsen's *Römisches Staatsrecht*, and Gow's *Compan-*



*ion to School Classics.* The illustrated chapter on the Roman Forum will, it is believed, be a welcome innovation. A general knowledge of Roman topography and especially of the Forum and its surroundings is essential to the comprehension of many passages in the text. In this connection the editor takes the opportunity of expressing his thanks to Professor Gatteschi of Rome for permission to use his admirable reconstruction of the Forum. Professor Gatteschi has devoted many years to the study of Roman topography, and students and teachers alike may be interested to know that he is prepared to furnish on application a large variety of reconstructions of the most famous portions of the ancient city.

The orations are presented in their chronological order. But a further reason for placing the Manilian Law first is that its regular structure, largely narrative style, and general absence of difficulties make it peculiarly fit for an introduction to our author. The Catilinarian orations may, however, be read first if preferred, as the commentaries have been kept quite distinct. A feature new to text-books in Cicero are the foot-notes to the Manilian Law, which, in the form of glosses, definitions, and words of opposite meaning aim to give a clew to the meaning of unusual or difficult words in the text. In this way students are helped to rely on their own knowledge, and are taught to get the thought as far as possible from the Latin, before seeking assistance from the vocabulary. The words in the foot-notes are not to be understood as exact synonyms nor as interchangeable with the words in the text.

Another new feature are the selections from Salust's *Catiline*, which, in the form of parallel foot-notes,

accompany the Catilinarian orations. After all admissible criticisms have been made upon Sallust, the fact remains that, as a faithful and dramatic picture of Catiline's life and times, his narrative stands unsurpassed. The selections, therefore, make an admirable commentary upon the text, and, at the same time, furnish peculiarly appropriate material for sight reading.

Another means to larger vocabulary and strength in reading will be found in the groups of related words. These have been so arranged on the page that their etymological relations are obvious at a glance, a point which will greatly facilitate their mastery.

At this stage, a student may very profitably begin to strengthen, enlarge, and refine his vocabulary by a knowledge of some of the more important synonyms. Cicero's masterly diction is peculiarly well adapted to serve as an introduction to this line of study. Some pages have, therefore, been devoted to groups of synonyms and contrasted words found in these orations. Only such broad distinctions have been attempted as will be understood by preparatory students.

The review questions will direct the pupil to what is most important and will make the review work definite.

It is conceded to be a sound pedagogical principle in classical instruction that young pupils should be given all the sidelights possible to create the proper mental environment, and make the ancient past real and animate. To this end, illustrations, maps, and plans have been used with an unsparing hand. Many of the illustrations are from private, unpublished photographs which the editor took on the ground. To serve the same purpose are the numerous reading references in the notes, to

such books as are most apt to be in the libraries of secondary schools.

Of the notes, little more need be said than that they have been prepared throughout to meet the wants and difficulties of the young student, and to arouse and hold his interest. The usual Latin grammars are referred to, but when a syntactical principle has once been well established by explanation, or reference, or both, the typical case has been referred to in subsequent instances as a model, rather than the reference repeated. Syntax is best learned from a study of the text.

In the vocabulary, such matters of etymology have been excluded as are uncertain or beyond the range of preparatory students, but the simpler formations and derivations are given in full. All common idioms are included in the definitions. Matters of biography and geography are treated with relative fulness, to serve as a ready means of reference.

It remains my pleasant duty to express my thanks to those that have assisted me in the preparation of this book. To Professor E. M. Pease, the editor-in-chief of the series, I am greatly indebted for many excellent suggestions. Miss Helen B. Muir, Dr. B. O. Foster, and Mr. Sereno Clark, of the Michigan State Normal College faculty, deserve grateful mention for valuable assistance in proof-reading, and Mrs. Alice Eddy Snowden, formerly connected with the same institution, for aid in preparing the vocabulary.

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## MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

“ Vivit vivetque per omnem saeculorum memoriam ; citiusque e mundo genus hominum quam Ciceronis gloria e memoria hominum unquam cedit.” — VELL. PATERC. II. 66.

### I. EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION (106–77 B.C.).

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born, 106 B.C., at Arpinum, a town perched high among the Volscian hills, and already famous as the birthplace of Caius Marius, the renowned soldier and popular leader. In this country district, which still retained the sturdy virtues of Rome's best days, Cicero spent his childhood, and in this atmosphere imbibed that devotion to republican institutions which characterized him throughout life.

Marcus and his younger brother Quintus were educated together, and showed such aptitude for learning that their father, who was a knight (8)<sup>1</sup> and in comfortable circumstances, removed with them to Rome and placed them under the best teachers. Among these was the poet Archias of Antioch, whom Marcus afterwards defended in one of his best-known orations.

After he had finished his more youthful studies and put on the manly gown (*toga virilis*), which Roman boys assumed at about the age of sixteen, he was put under the care of Mucius Scaevola the augur, the greatest lawyer of the time; and later under that of the younger

<sup>1</sup> Figures in parenthesis refer to the numbered paragraphs of the Introduction.

Scaevola the pontifex, equally distinguished. From these he learned the principles of law and much sound wisdom besides. To these he often refers as having been most prominent in his early education.

Cicero was now a tall, slim youth, with a somewhat weak body and a delicate constitution. These physical defects he took pains to correct by various exercises and by

FIG. 3. — ARPINUM. — CICERO'S BIRTHPLACE

careful and temperate living. He already had ambitions toward eloquence, and pursued it with untiring industry. In 89, during the Social War, he served a short time as a soldier under the consul Cn. Pompeius Strabo, but soon returned to his studies, and took no part in the struggles that followed.

As soon as quiet was restored by the overthrow of the Marian party, Cicero appeared in the Forum as a public

pleader, and made his first extant speech in 81. The following year he appeared as the defender of Sextus Roscius of Ameria, charged with parricide by a favorite of Sulla. To defend Roscius was to risk offending Sulla. No one wished to undertake the perilous task. But Cicero, anxious for a chance to distinguish himself, took the defense and won the case: an act which speaks well not only for the young advocate's ability, but still more for his courage.

Cicero's success won him favorable recognition, but he did not dare to face the possible consequences of his boldness, and on the plea of ill health went abroad for two years, spending his time with famous teachers in Greece, Asia Minor, and Rhodes. At Athens he made the acquaintance of Pomponius Atticus, who remained his most intimate friend through life. One of his most famous teachers was Apollonius Molon of Rhodes, who, after hearing him declaim in Greek, said: "You have my praise and admiration, Cicero, and Greece my pity and commiseration, since those arts and that eloquence, which are the only glories that remain to her, will now be transferred to Rome." He had won the prize of eloquence, but had paid the necessary price of self-denial and toil. "To succeed in it," he says, "one must renounce all pleasures, avoid all amusements, say good-by to all distractions, to games, to banquets, and almost to intercourse with friends." In 77 he returned to Rome.

## II. CICERO THE RISING ADVOCATE (77-63 B.C.).

After his return, Cicero resumed his place as orator in the Forum, and soon became prominent at the bar.

In 76 he married Terentia, a lady of high rank, who brought him considerable property, which was not unwelcome to an ambitious young man with more talent than fortune. Terentia, with all her good qualities of virtue

and thrift, is said to have been of a somewhat bitter and quarrelsome disposition, and to have been quite incapable of appreciating her husband's literary ability. There was apparently little real sympathy between them; for after thirty years of married life they were divorced. They had two children, a daughter, Tullia, and a son, Marcus.

Cicero's success in the Forum had paved the way for him into politics. In 75 he held his first office, that of quaestor (48), and was assigned to western Sicily with headquarters at Lilybaeum. He discharged his duties there with such integrity and kindness that he won the lasting admiration and gratitude of the provincials. He imagined that all Rome must be filled with the glory of his successful administration, and was not a little chagrined to find on his return that he had hardly been missed. For the next four years he applied himself with renewed energy to pleading causes. But one could rival him in eloquence, Hortensius, of whom he says, "I always considered him superior to myself; he put me first." In 70 occurred his famous impeachment of Verres,<sup>1</sup> the corrupt Sicilian governor. Verres was a man to be feared, unscrupulous, vastly rich, and had engaged as his counsel the famous advocate Hortensius, and was supported by the whole power of the aristocracy. Cicero went to Sicily to collect evidence, and returned with a crowd of witnesses gathered from all parts of the island. Verres quitted the city in despair, and was condemned in his absence. This victory made Cicero the recognized leader at the bar. Clients flocked to his doors at early morning, and soon distinguished men in other parts of Italy and abroad sought the services of the brilliant young advocate.

In 69 he became curule aedile (47). This office was not a very important one, but might be made a useful

<sup>1</sup> See Cruttwell, p. 162 ff.



stepping-stone to the consulship, and its incumbent could make himself popular by lavish public expenditure. Cicero was not rich, but satisfied precedent as well as he was able in his conduct of the public games. He relied more upon his eloquence for future support and popularity.

In 67 Cicero ran for the praetorship (45). On account of political troubles the election was held three times. There were eight praetors to be elected, and at each election Cicero's vote headed the list. He held office the following year, and during his praetorship delivered his first speech before the people from the Rostra. The tribune, Caius Manilius, had proposed a bill giving Pompey command of the war against Mithradates, king of Pontus. The knights, whose business interests in Asia were greatly endangered by the war, were very anxious that Pompey should take command, feeling great confidence in his skill as a commander. Cicero, who was a knight by birth and had inherited no party tie, warmly championed their cause, and assisted in having the Manilian Law passed.

At the close of his praetorship Cicero did not accept a province as he might have done (49). His heart was set on the consulship, and he did not deem it a wise policy to leave the city and risk being forgotten again by the fickle people. Two years later his name was presented for the consulship (42). There were six candidates, chief among them being Cicero, Catiline, and Antonius. The two latter combined against Cicero, and were known to represent corruption in politics, lawlessness and disorder, as against good government and virtue. Cicero's clean record helped him not a little, and also the fact that the Knights, the great middle class, were solidly for him. They were anxious to see a "new man" (*novus homo*) (6) of their own order raised to the consulship. Many patricians, too, of the better sort, favored Cicero's elec-

tion. His majority was therefore a large one, and Antonius, having the next largest number of votes, was elected his colleague.

### III. CICERO THE CONSUL (63 B.C.).

Cicero had now reached the summit of his ambition. Without influence of ancestry, military prestige, or wealth, he had been raised to the highest office in the gift of the people. For the last three generations only one other "new man" had succeeded in attaining the consulship, and that was his fellow townsman Caius Marius.

During his year of office the notorious conspiracy of Catiline came to a head, and it was Cicero's skill and vigor in dealing with this that makes his consulship memorable.

Catiline was of noble descent, but of a depraved and violent nature. He was intensely ambitious and had quite a following among the popular or democratic party, and it is believed by some that such popular leaders as Caesar and Crassus had secretly supported his candidacy for the consulship, in hopes of using the bold and daring man in opposing Pompey and the senate. After his defeat at the polls Catiline and his followers, unable to wait for peaceable revolution, determined to overthrow the government and seize the power for themselves.

The government was in extreme peril. There was no strong garrison at Rome. Pompey and his legions were far away in the East. The nearest troops were a few cohorts in Cisalpine Gaul. To make matters worse, Antonius, Cicero's colleague, in spite of all the eulogy that Cicero thought wise to heap upon him in public, was a secret sympathizer with Catiline. Cicero's first effort was to detach him from the conspiracy, and this he accomplished by offering him as a bribe the rich province Macedonia, which he himself had obtained by lot for his proconsular year.

In the absence of Pompey, all good citizens looked to Cicero to save them from the dangers which threatened. By skillful management he succeeded in unearthing the whole plot. The ringleaders in the city were arrested and executed. Catiline with his army was held in check by levies hastily raised by the consul, and was defeated in a desperate battle the following year. Cicero's overthrow of this conspiracy preserved the Roman republic for fifteen years.<sup>1</sup>

Cicero had been lauded to the skies by the people, the senate had saluted him as the father of his country, and had proclaimed a thanksgiving in his name to the immortal gods,—an honor never before given a civilian,—but serious troubles were in store for him. The friends of the conspirators who had been put to death accused Cicero of having acted illegally. On the last day of his consulship, when he mounted the Rostra to give an account of his year of office, Metellus, the tribune (46), tried to prevent him, and declared that a magistrate who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial should not himself speak. In the uproar that followed, Cicero left the Rostra shouting that he had saved his country from destruction. Furthermore, the people who had elected Cicero consul were offended by his close affiliation during his consulship with the patrician party, and many of them, too, were secret sympathizers with Catiline.

#### IV. CICERO AND CLODIUS (62-57). ✓

Among the prominent young patricians was one Clodius, of high descent but profligate life. He was friendly to Cicero during the latter's consulship and had even assisted him in putting down the conspiracy. In

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account see Notes, "Introduction to the Orations against Catiline."

62 Clodius was discovered in disguise at Caesar's house during a religious festival for women, which was known as the Bona Dea. Clodius was arrested and tried, and would readily have been acquitted on an *alibi* had it not been for Cicero's testimony. As it was, he barely escaped conviction through bribing the jury, and in consequence was roused to such anger and thirst for revenge that he determined to bring Cicero to ruin. To accomplish this purpose Clodius had himself elected tribune of the plebs, and brought forward a bill "that any one who had put citizens to death without a trial should be outlawed."

Cicero was just then peculiarly open to attack. He stood practically alone. The people, led by Caesar and Crassus, were offended with him as stated above; Pompey had now returned from the Mithradatic war, and would have been his natural protector; but he, unfortunately, had had a falling out with the senate and had joined with Caesar and Crassus in forming the first triumvirate. Against this coalition the senate, Cicero's only ally, was powerless. The triumvirate began by inviting Cicero to join them, for they recognized his ability and power. This he refused to do, for he distrusted Caesar and despised Crassus. To punish him and make him yield, they then gave secret support to Clodius and his bill. Despairing of successful resistance, Cicero fled from Italy and spent some miserable months in exile, taking refuge in Thessalonica, and shunning the public honors which the Greek cities were eager to show him. His heart was heavy, and his frequent letters were full of tearful appeals to his friends to bestir themselves in his interest.

In the following year, 57 B.C., Cicero was recalled in spite of the vigorous opposition of Clodius. Caesar and Pompey thought he had been punished enough, and the latter may have felt conscience-stricken at the treatment

accorded his old-time friend and ally. His homeward journey was a triumphal progress. All Italy joined in congratulating him. When he reached the city, the steps of the temples and the Forum were crowded with people whose plaudits followed him as he went up to the Capitol to thank the gods for his safe return.

#### V. CICERO AND POMPEY (57-48).

Cicero returned from exile completely discouraged as to his political future. He saw clearly how his resistance to the triumvirs, and his independence, had led to all his troubles. He withdrew for a time from active political life; but even in his retirement felt unsafe and in need of powerful friends. He attempted, therefore, to make friends with all parties, and by his concessions to disarm his enemies. With this in view, he began to cultivate the friendship of Caesar, while still professing allegiance to the senatorial party to which he had devoted the best years of his life. Pompey, too, must be conciliated notwithstanding his shameful desertion in the hour of trouble. Crassus, the other member of the combine, he despised, but did not dare to defy.

During Caesar's campaigns in Gaul (58-51), Cicero was mainly engaged in literary work and in professional duties as advocate. Crassus and Pompey were consuls for the second time in 55, and the triumvirate had been extended for another five years. In 53 Crassus and his army were destroyed by the Parthians, leaving Caesar and Pompey masters of the world.

During these eventful years Caesar's star had been constantly in the ascendant; but Pompey had shown many fatal weaknesses in leadership. Whether deservedly or not, he had won a reputation for vacillation and double dealing. Caesar, on the other hand, was steadfast and

calm, and by his masterful and resistless genius had won Cicero's admiration. He won his heart, as well, by flattering correspondence and by kindness to Quintus Cicero, who was one of his *legati*. In a letter to Quintus, Marcus says: "I have taken Caesar to my heart and will never let him go."<sup>1</sup>

Matters looked ominous as the end of Caesar's term in Gaul drew nigh. The senate was suspicious, Pompey jealous, the people indifferent or with Caesar. At this critical time (51 B.C.) Cicero unwillingly accepted the governorship of Cilicia. He feared the future, and hated to leave Rome at such a time. Cilicia had been wrecked and ruined by his predecessor in a way common to Roman governors;<sup>2</sup> but Cicero distinguished himself by his honesty and justice; and after a year of office returned to Rome, leaving the provincials contented and loyal.

Meanwhile affairs at Rome had gone from bad to worse. The citizens had become a riotous mob, and government had almost ceased to exist. Everything was ripe for a revolution, and even men who were honorable and patriotic began to see that only a strong and despotic power could bring order out of chaos. Pompey seemed powerless. All eyes were directed to Caesar, who alone seemed great in the midst of all the intrigue and confusion.

After Caesar crossed the Rubicon with his legions, Cicero felt obliged to take sides in the struggle. Had he felt strong enough, he might have remained neutral and acted as mediator between the opposing factions; and this, in fact, was what Caesar advised him to do. As it was, he long remained doubtful, and his hesitation was but natural. After all these centuries it is not so clear on which side right stood.<sup>3</sup> Both Caesar and Pompey had

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Q. F.* II. 11. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Boissier, p. 330 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Mommsen's "Rechtsfrage zwischen Caesar und dem Senat"

claims upon his friendship. In Caesar he saw the greater and nobler man, but he feared his ambition. In Pompey he saw represented not the corrupt authority of a rotten aristocracy, as we see it to-day, but the republic and the constitution. Yet he feared Pompey's pride and resentment, if victorious, even more than Caesar's ambition. Influenced largely by his friends and by fear of public opinion, he finally went over to Pompey and joined him in Epirus. Soon after, the battle of Pharsalus was fought, and Caesar became lord of the Roman world.

#### VI. CICERO AND CAESAR (48-44 B.C.).

The cordial relations established between Caesar and Cicero while the former was in Gaul have been already mentioned. There was much in Caesar to attract Cicero. He was not merely a soldier, but a literary man of the first merit. His very camps were centers of culture, and many of his officers were men of literary ability. Caesar, in turn, greatly admired Cicero's genius and wit, and saw clearly the value of his friendship. The nobility and better classes had mostly gone over to Pompey, and he sorely needed a few men like Cicero to give tone to his party and pretensions.

After Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus, Cicero returned to Brundisium, the same city that had witnessed his triumphant return from exile, and there, for eleven wretched months, anxiously waited to hear the will of Caesar regarding himself. To make matters worse, his future was hopelessly involved in Pompey's disaster; his wife Terentia was making him much domestic trouble; his brother Quintus had quarreled with him; and his daughter Tullia, her father's joy and pride, had ruined her life by an unhappy marriage. This accumulation of misfortunes made these days the darkest of his life.

Caesar, after settling affairs abroad, returned to Italy in September, 47 B.C. He had by no means forgotten his old friend Cicero, and was more anxious than ever to win his support in the new policy which he hoped to establish. He therefore extended his generous clemency to him and a complete reconciliation followed.

Cicero had little heart left for politics, and at first shut himself up with his books in his villa at Tusculum. Many of his rhetorical and philosophical works were composed at this time. But soon Tusculum, with all its delights, began to grow dull to his active spirit. Again, Caesar's noble character and generous conduct in the management of the state made Cicero acquiesce more and more in the new order of things. Finally he returned to Rome, and soon found himself in his old place in the senate and society. Pompey, Cato, and other famous leaders of the republic were dead, and Cicero was its most illustrious survivor. He was never more popular or more courted than at this time. His intimacy with Caesar was such that he was about the only man that dared to speak to him freely. His talents were largely employed in the interest of friends who were still in exile and impatiently awaiting the Dictator's permission to return. Among these was Marcellus, for whose recall he eulogizes Caesar in the oration included in this volume.

In 45 B.C. Tullia, Cicero's daughter, died. This was a most cruel blow to her devoted father. She was the only one of his family of whose conduct he never complains, his consolation in all his troubles. In 46 his difficulties with Terentia had culminated in a divorce, and soon after he married a young woman of fortune, Publilia by name. She was jealous of Tullia's influence over her father, and was not sorry at her death. This offense was so unpardonable in his eyes that he at once parted from her, and would never see her again.



Tullia's untimely death only served to deepen the dissatisfaction in Cicero's heart, a feeling which had been growing for some time. Caesar was great, magnanimous, and kind; but there seemed no hope of a restoration of the republic, his dearest wish. He revered and admired Caesar personally, but he hated the monarch. His letters of regret became more and more bitter, and he was rapidly approaching that frame of mind which welcomed the tragedy of the Ides of March. Cicero did not belong to the conspiracy against Caesar, neither was he present at the murder; but he expresses the wish that he had been, and openly rejoiced in the deed. He and Brutus and the other nobler patriots expected that Caesar's death meant the instant return of the old republic with all its liberties and powers, and hence they made no plans for subsequent action. They did not realize that there were no more loyal Roman citizens of the old stamp, that all sentiment and patriotism were lost, and that the Roman people had become a mob, ready to offer the same plaudits to all victories and the same cruelty to all defeats, no matter what they represented.

#### VII. CICERO AND ANTONY (44-43 B.C.).

The materials at hand for composing a narrative of the last four or five months of Cicero's life are unfortunately scanty. His letters, our chief authority, fail us at this critical time, and the inferior authorities are often at variance.

Caesar's assassination had removed the despot, but not despotism. While the conspirators were inactive, Antony more and more usurped Caesar's place, and in such a shameless and autocratic manner that Cicero almost wished Caesar back again. Brutus and his followers were finally compelled to flee from Italy, and Cicero had seri-

ous thoughts of going also, and, indeed, actually started, but was driven back by unfavorable winds. Brutus, however, showed Cicero a grander duty ; to remain and make a last attempt to rouse the people and restore the republic. Cicero recognized in this advice the voice of his country, and from that time opposed Antony with

heroic firmness and courage. There is no longer weakness or vacillation. He follows what he believes to be his duty unflinchingly, and makes the last months of his life the most glorious in his whole career. His fourteen orations against Antony, masterpieces of invective, are known as the Philippics, so called because worthy to be compared only with the orations that Demosthenes hurled

FIG. 4. — MARCUS ANTONIUS.

against King Philip of Macedon when he was threatening the liberties of Greece.

Cicero had a difficult, an almost impossible task. His Philippics, the first four of which he now delivered, were stirring up all Italy, but he had no soldiers to oppose the legions of Antony. Antony's principal rival for the chief power was young Octavian, Caesar's nephew and heir, who appeared at Rome with a strong force of veterans soon after Caesar's death, to claim his inheritance. He was only twenty years of age, but as ambitious as Antony, and of that ability in statecraft which so distin-

guished him later as the Emperor Augustus. After some vacillation, he announced his fealty to the party of the republic. Cicero joyfully welcomed his assistance and was thoroughly convinced of his loyalty. In the spring of 43 B.C. the consuls and Octavian marched against Antony, who was besieging Mutina, defeated him, and compelled him to flee across the Alps. On the evening

FIG. 5.—VIEW OF CAIETA FROM CICERO'S VILLA.—FORMIAE.

that the news of the victory reached Rome, the entire populace turned out to congratulate Cicero and do him honor. This was the last triumph of Cicero and the republic.

Antony after his flight joined Lepidus, who had a large army in Gaul, and together they marched against Octavian, who had been elected consul and was proceeding against them. Instead of a battle, however, a reconcilia-

tion followed; Octavian claiming, as an excuse, that the senate and even Cicero were not giving him proper support. On a little island near Bologna, the second triumvirate was formed, based on the most infamous bargain that can be conceived. Each surrendered to the vengeance of the others their particular foes. By this

FIG. 6. — CICERO'S TOMB, NEAR FORMIÆ.

arrangement Octavian gave up to death Cicero, Lepidus his own brother Paulus, Antony his uncle, Lucius Caesar.

Octavian's betrayal left Cicero without hope or desire to prolong his life. He was at his Tusculan villa when the news of his peril reached him. In a state of indecision he was persuaded to attempt an escape. He went to the coast and embarked, but was driven back by contrary winds. His attendants urged him to make a second effort, but he soon landed again near Caieta and

repaired to his Formian villa, determined to meet his fate, as he said, in the land which he had so often saved. But his slaves, who were greatly attached to him, and could not bear to have him thus sacrifice himself, almost forced him into a litter when the emissaries of Antony were already near, and hastened with him toward Caieta, where the ship was still lying. But he was overtaken in the grounds of his villa, and forbidding his faithful attendants, who would have died for him, to defend him, calmly and with unmoved countenance met his death. By the command of Antony his head and hands were nailed to the Rostra, the spot from which he had pronounced the Philippics which cost him his life.

#### VIII. CICERO THE ORATOR.

“Dissertissime Romuli nepotum,  
 Quot sunt quotque fuere, Marci Tulli,  
 Quotque post aliis erunt in annis.”

—CATULLUS, 49. 1-3.

As an orator and advocate Cicero was easily first among the Romans, and was so ranked by Quintilian.<sup>1</sup> Of all ancient orators whose works are extant he is second only to Demosthenes. Making a plea before a jury, defying an Antony, pouring abuse upon a Catiline, or eulogizing a Pompey, he was unsurpassed. In a word, wherever the feelings and passions were brought into play, in panegyric or invective, Cicero was absolute master, and could sway at his will the people, the senate, and even imperial Caesar himself. His powers of description were marvelous. His vivacious and versatile genius instantly grasped the salient points of his subject with such power,

<sup>1</sup> Quint. XII. 1. 19.

that men and events lived before his hearers. The keenest wit and sharpest sarcasm were always at his command, and no one that ever felt their force forgot the experience.

He was not nearly so successful in deliberative orations where political proposals or measures of state were under discussion. Cicero was not a profound constitutional lawyer, and seemed incapable of grappling strongly with fundamental principles of statecraft. All such questions met with but superficial treatment at his hands.

The very elements of his greatest strength were sometimes carried to excess and became his greatest weakness. To make an impression more vivid he often exaggerated; and he suffered all his life from a fatal fluency of words which led to long and involved sentences. He was conscious of this defect, and in his youth was warned by his famous teacher—Apollonius Molon of Rhodes—against his natural exuberance.

Another conspicuous defect was his inordinate vanity, which appears in all he does and says. He never could forget himself, and was always posing for effect. This deserves to be laughed at as an amiable weakness rather than severely censured. It was an innocent pride, and never led to anything serious in character or conduct.

Cicero's services as an advocate were sought far and wide, and his orations, famous in ancient times, have remained as models for all time. The law which forbade an orator to receive reward for his services had almost become a dead letter, and, though he himself says that he never accepted a fee, yet he received many large legacies and rich presents from the rich and powerful. This was the chief source of his wealth, which was quite considerable, including real estate at Rome and nine handsomely furnished villas.

## IX. CICERO THE STATESMAN.

“Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.” — JUVENAL.

Cicero's political speeches are better examples of fine rhetoric than of statesmanship. So little did he realize the inadequacy of the old Roman constitution to the needs of his day, that he regarded all the wise changes brought about by the Gracchi and other reformers as serious faults. His inability to handle large questions of public policy is well illustrated by the fourth Catilinarian oration, where he scarcely touches the real question at issue, viz.: how far it is permitted to depart from strict legality to save the state.

Neither was he suited by nature for a successful politician. He was too timid, irresolute, and changeable, and was made so by the very qualities of mind that made him an incomparable writer. His quickness of imagination and perception caused him to see more than one side of a case, and embarrassed him by presenting to his mind a multitude of conflicting reasons. His conscience, too, was too exacting, and made him too scrupulous in conduct. His nature was too fine to cope with the terrible crises that marked the fall of the Roman republic. He lacked the force of character, the singleness of aim, and the unbending will of Julius Caesar. There were two periods in his public life when he saw his duty clearly and did it magnificently, — when contending against Catiline and against Antony. In general one may admit, without disparaging Cicero, that public life was not suited to him; one might almost say that he was too good for it.

## X. CICERO THE PHILOSOPHER.

“You would fancy sometimes it was not a pagan philosopher, but a Christian apostle, who was speaking.” —PETRARCH.

During seasons of political retirement Cicero applied himself assiduously to philosophy. Most of his philosophical works were produced during the years 46–44 B.C., but he studied philosophy from his youth and was amassing material for many years. It was for him a diversion rather than a serious business, and it seems to have entered little into his actual life. Philosophy was to the ancients what religion is to us, but in Cicero's letters, where he is most genuinely himself, there is a total absence of philosophical and religious questions. He apparently had little positive religious belief beyond faith in an overruling Providence and some kind of a future life.

He recognized, however, the value of Greek thought as applied to the state and to the practical duties of the citizen, and his purpose was to teach its lessons to his countrymen, who were profoundly ignorant of the subject. Though he has no pretensions to be considered an original thinker, it was no small achievement to mold the Latin tongue to the expression of Greek philosophic thought. In many cases he had to coin the very words themselves. The result was not only a great enrichment of the language, but the preservation of ideas and truths which had a preëminent influence on the Romans themselves, and thereafter, especially during the Middle Ages, on the world at large.

Cicero's Roman instinct led him away from abstract speculation to practical problems of life; and by his charming and eloquent pen he aimed to interest busy men of the world in what he had to say. Of the three



great schools of ancient philosophy, the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academician, he inclined most to the last, which strove to reconcile philosophy with the dictates of common sense.

## XI. CICERO THE MAN.

“Hic vir, fill mi, doctus fuit et patriæ amans.” — AUGUSTUS.

Probably more is known about Cicero than about any other character of ancient times, and about no one is there a greater controversy of opinion. By some he is lauded to the skies, to others he is altogether contemptible. Most of our information is in his letters, where he was accustomed to express, not only the settled opinions of his mind, but his every passing thought. By citations from them Cicero can be made to appear unpatriotic, cowardly, disloyal to friends, family, and country. But what public man to-day could stand such a test! Biographers that do him justice and distinguish his real and lasting, from his false and fleeting sentiments, agree that he was, at heart, truly great and noble.

In a time of great immorality he anticipated Quintilian's doctrine that a perfect orator should be the best possible man. His worst enemies never accused him of vice. While naturally timid, mild, and vacillating, he could on occasion be truly heroic. While he was vain, he was not ungenerous or jealous of others, but by his praise and eloquence did much to make his contemporaries more illustrious. His wit<sup>1</sup> and genial nature made him a great favorite in society, and especially among the youth, with whom he easily became young. Plutarch says, “He was by nature framed for mirth and jests.” In his friendships he was affectionate and true, ever

<sup>1</sup> See *Spectator*, 61.

ready to assist in the hour of need with counsel, influence, or purse.

In his family relations he was peculiarly unfortunate. The last years of his life with Terentia were unhappy; his only son Marcus was inclined to be wild and was often a source of anxiety; his daughter Tullia, who was her father's idol,<sup>1</sup> was cut off in her youth, after much sorrow and disappointment. His loving and affectionate nature is shown especially in his treatment of his slaves. A kind and merciful master, they were devoted to him. With Tiro, his freedman, who was his private secretary and general right-hand man, his relations were of fraternal intimacy.

Tall and slender in youth, Cicero had, as he became older, a graceful and dignified figure, trained by the best teachers in bearing and gesture. On the Rostra his appearance was impressive and inspiring. Many busts bearing the name of the great orator have come down to our time, but only a few have any claim to be considered genuine. Two of the most famous are given in the text (see Frontispiece and p. 43).

## XII. THE WORKS OF CICERO.

"Marcus Tullius Cicero, the greatest name in Roman literature."

— CRUTTWELL.

No writer of classic Latin has left us so many books as Cicero, yet such was the astonishing activity of his mind that these constitute scarcely more than a fifth of what he wrote. We can here do little more than mention a few of his greatest works. An excellent account and analysis of them may be found in Smith's *Dictionary*

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Quint.* 1. 8.

of *Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. His works may be considered in general under three heads: (1) orations; (2) philosophy and rhetoric; (3) letters.

### 1. ORATIONS.

More than fifty of Cicero's orations are extant, and, as containing the most perfect fruit of his talents, occupy the first place among his writings. They show the greatest care and skill in preparation, and an absolute command over all the resources of the Latin language. Most of them we have substantially as they were given. A few were worked over and changed for publication.

### 2. PHILOSOPHY AND RHETORIC.

Cicero's philosophical works include treatises on politics, morals, metaphysics, and theology. Under the first head comes his *De Re Publica*, in which he discusses the best form of government and the duty of the citizen. This was received with great favor by his contemporaries, and is considered by many as his best political writing. On morals the *De Officiis* has been called the best practical treatise that pagan antiquity affords. Under moral philosophy are to be classed, too, the famous essays on friendship, *De Amicitia*, and old age, *De Senectute*. In metaphysics his most famous work is undoubtedly the *De Finibus*. In this he expounds and discourses on the opinions of the Grecian schools on the Supreme Good. It is regarded as the most perfect and finished of all his philosophical productions. Though inferior to the former in learning, no work of his has been more read and admired than the *Tusculan Disputations* (*Tusculanae Disputationes*). Erasmus declares that its author must have been directly inspired from heaven. In theology *De*

*Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione* deserve especial mention.

His rhetorical works are both numerous and important. He was the first to create and exploit this field to the masses of his countrymen. The *De Inventione*, written in his youth and left unfinished, is said to be the first of his prose writings. It was intended to be an epitome of all that was best in the works of the Grecian rhetoricians. The *De Oratore*, written at the request of his brother Quintus and addressed to him, is a treatise on the art of oratory, and his most finished and mature treatment of the subject. The *Brutus sive de Claris Oratoribus* contains a complete critical history of Roman eloquence from the earliest times. In the *Orator sive de Optimo Genere Dicendi*, he delineates the perfect orator. Of this work, Cicero says that he is willing to stake his reputation on it for knowledge and taste in his own art. All these philosophical and rhetorical works are characterized by fine diction and sustained grandeur of tone.

### 3. LETTERS.

Boissier thinks that no one has ever possessed the qualities of a successful correspondent in an equal degree with Cicero. Here his vivacity and liveliness are marvellous. Men live in these wonderful lines, and from them we get as clear a view of his own life and that of his contemporaries as if portrayed by the artist's brush. He wrote an enormous number of letters. We still have over eight hundred of them, on every imaginable public and private subject. They begin in 68 B.C., and extend over a space of twenty-five years. They are our best authority on the last days of the Roman republic, and of inestimable value.

XIII. AUTHORITIES FOR THE LIFE OF CICERO.

I. ANCIENT AUTHORITIES.

**Cicero** : Letters and Orations.

**Sallust** : *Catiline*.

**Velleius Paterculus** : *Compendium of Roman History*, Book II.

**Plutarch** : *Life of Cicero*, and *Life of Pompey*.

**Suetonius** : *Vitæ Duodecim Caesarum*, *Lives of Julius Caesar and Augustus*.

**Appian** : *Roman History*, Books XII. and XIV.

**Dion Cassius** : *Roman History*, Books XXXVI. and XXXVII.

The chief authority for the life of Cicero is his own writings, especially the orations and epistles. The statements of Plutarch are chiefly valuable as corroborating other evidence, and the same may be said in general of Suetonius, Dion, Appian, and Velleius. Sallust, as the friend and supporter of Caesar, is not an impartial historian, and scarcely does Cicero justice.

II. MODERN AUTHORITIES.

**Abeken** : *Life and Letters of Cicero*.

**Boissier** : *Cicero and his Friends*.

**Church** : *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*.

**Collins** : *Cicero (Ancient Classics for English Readers)*.

**Conyer** : *Middleton's Life of Cicero*.

**Drumann** : *History of Rome*, Vols. V., VI.

**Fausset** : *The Student's Cicero*.

**Forsyth** : *Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*.

**Frøude** : *Caesar*.

**Merivale** : *History of Rome*, Vol. IV.

**Mommsen** : *History of Rome*, Vol. IV.

**Niebuhr** : *Lectures on the History of Rome*.

**Strachan-Davidson** : *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*.

**Trollope** : *Life of Cicero*.

Of the above, Merivale, Trollope, and Niebuhr go to the extreme of lavish eulogy, Drumann and Mommsen

to the opposite. Of the German writers mentioned above, Abeken alone gives a fair and discriminating estimate. Forsyth's *Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* should be read by every student. Boissier's *Cicero and his Friends* is sure to be very helpful. Fausset is rich in extracts from the most famous speeches, and shows us Cicero through his works. Church's *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero* gives an excellent picture of the social conditions surrounding the orator, and puts the learner in the proper environment.

For Cicero's place and value as a writer, the various histories of Roman literature should be consulted. For secondary school purposes, Cruttwell's is perhaps the best.

It should not be forgotten that the proper study of Cicero requires a large amount of collateral reading, and teachers should demand all that is possible in that direction.

#### XIV. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF CICERO.

##### B.C.

- 106. Cicero born at Arpinum, January 3.
- 90. Puts on the manly gown (*toga virilis*).
- 81. Delivers his first extant speech.
- 80. Defense of Roscius.
- 79. Cicero goes to Greece to study.
- 77. Returns to Rome.
- 75. Serves as quaestor in Sicily.
- 70. Impeachment of Verres.
- 69. Curule aedile.
- 68. Extant correspondence begins.
- 66. Praetor. Oration for the Manilian Law.
- 65. First conspiracy of Catiline.
- 63. Consul with Antonius. Second conspiracy of Catiline.  
Orations against Catiline.
- 62. Oration for the poet Archias.
- 58. Driven into exile by the bill of Clodius the Tribune. Caesar begins the conquest of Gaul.

57. Recalled from exile.
53. Cicero elected augur.
51. Proconsul of Cillicia.
50. Returns to Italy.
49. Caesar crosses the Rubicon. Cicero goes over to Pompey and joins him in Epirus.
48. Battle of Pharsalus and death of Pompey. Cicero returns to Italy.
47. Pardoned by Caesar and returns to Rome.
46. Divorces Terentia and marries Publilia. Oration for Marcellus.
45. Death of Tullia. Divorces Publilia.
44. Assassination of Caesar on the Ides of March. Begins his Philippics against Antony.
43. Finishes the Philippics. Killed by order of Antony, December 7.

# THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.<sup>1</sup>

## I. CITIZENS AND CITIZENSHIP.

- a. The Patricians and Plebeians.
- b. The Senatorial Order.
- c. The Equestrian Order.
- d. The Commons.
- e. The Libertini.
- f. The Municipal Towns and Colonies.

### a. *The Patricians and Plebeians.*

1. Rome was a republic, but all its citizens did not enjoy the same civil rights. At first there were no class distinctions. The citizens, known as patricians, all alike had a share in the management of the state. Afterward the strangers who had flocked to Rome, or had been transferred thither from conquered cities, created a new class known as plebeians. They had no civil rights, but were oppressed and arrogantly governed by the patricians.

2. As the plebeians increased in numbers, wealth, and importance, they rebelled against the ruling class and demanded more civil rights. The history of the first centuries of Roman civil government is the history of the struggle between these two parties, the patricians striving to retain their ancestral powers, the plebeians slowly but surely wresting them away. The issue of the contest was that after 300 B.C. the plebeians could fill any

<sup>1</sup> See Gow's *Companion to School Classics*; Mommsen's *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Becker and Marquardt, *Römische Altertümer*, Vol. II.





of the offices, civil or religious, and had the exclusive right to some of them.

3. Citizens possessing all the rights of citizenship were called *cives optimo iure*. Each citizen was thought of as a *caput* or political unit. From this conception arose such terms as *deminutio capitis*, *poena capitis*, etc., which refer not to capital punishment as we understand it, but to loss of citizenship and penalty involving it. After the Social War (90 B.C.) all free-born Italians, excepting women, children, and foreigners, were *cives optimo iure*. They were officially designated as *Populus Romanus*, or *Populus Romanus Quirites*, or simply *Quirites*.

4. With such general equality in civil rights, the terms "patrician" and "plebeian" had lost much of their political significance. A new struggle for authority had arisen, however, between two aristocracies, — the one of political power, the other of wealth, — represented respectively by the senators and the knights (*Equites*). A third element in the struggle was the people or Democracy, who sometimes sided with the knights against the senators.

#### b. The Senatorial Order.

5. The descendants of curule magistrates (see 41, iv. a) had the right to keep in their houses and carry in public at family funerals waxen portraits or masks (*imagines*) of their distinguished ancestors. This right, called *ius imaginum*, made the people possessing it nobles (*nobiles*). They ranked in dignity according to the number of *imagines* they could show. As even a quaestorship gave a seat in the senate, and a praetorship (see 45) or curule aedileship (see 47) the *ius imaginum*, its membership was practically made up of nobles. Descendants of the old patricians would naturally be found there too, as well as of plebeians who had risen to office.

6. The senatorial order, or *optimates*, as they were often called, had such control of the elections, that it was very difficult for an outsider to get into office and so into the senate. They naturally favored nobles, men of their own order, for the offices. An outsider winning a curule office, as, for example, Cicero, was called a *novus homo*. Such men were always more or less looked down upon by those possessing ancestral claims to nobility. Cicero, though politically identified with the senators during most of his career, was often made to feel that he was a *novus homo*. He, in turn, did not forget the equestrian order from which he sprang, and often showed it favors.

7. As a mark of rank the *ordo senatorius* wore a broad purple stripe on the front of the tunic, and high purple or red shoes fastened with black thongs; senators were also given the best seats in the theatre, those in the orchestra, the semicircular space directly in front of the stage.

### c. *The Equestrian Order.*

8. The knights (*ordo equester*), as their name shows, at first composed the cavalry forces of the Romans. They were chosen according to the constitution of Servius Tullius from the richest and most illustrious families, and made up the first eighteen centuries in his classification of the citizens (see 22).

9. In Cicero's day they had long ceased to serve as the actual cavalry, and the name was used of any one possessing the equestrian property qualification of 400,000 sesterces, about \$20,000. The name "knight" had only a negative political significance, indicating that the holder was not in politics; but the influence of the order in public affairs came to be very great. Money would do then what it will now, and most of the wealth of the state came to be concentrated in the hands of the knights. Cicero, being a knight by birth, the order gave him strong

support in his consulship, and took a prominent part in suppressing the conspiracy of Catiline.

10. As the senatorial order monopolized the offices, so the equestrian order controlled capital, and much jealousy existed between them. This feeling was much intensified by a law passed by C. Gracchus (122 B.C.) restricting the right to sit on juries to knights (see 61). This was bitterly opposed by the senators, and drew the line between the orders more sharply than ever. Of course most of the senators were wealthy and might have been classed among the knights had they so desired, but they considered their dignity of a higher order.

11. As a special distinction knights wore a gold ring, and a tunic with a narrow purple stripe down the front, and were given the first fourteen rows of seats in the theatre, directly behind the senators, who sat in the orchestra (see 7).

#### d. *The Commons.*

12. The *ordo plebeius*, *populus*, *plebs*, or *populares*, as they were variously called, made up the third estate. The descendants of the plebeians of the early days (see 1) were now mainly in the orders of knights and senators, and a motley and generally inferior class had taken their places. No doubt there were many excellent people among them, but the social and political conditions at this time were such as to afford the lower classes little opportunity to rise or even to be respectable. The centralization of wealth in the hands of the knights had driven the small traders out of commercial and industrial pursuits. The farmers of Italy, who had been the stay of the old republic, had been ruined by the vast importations of cheap grain from the provinces, and by the competition of slave labor on the great plantations of the rich. These conditions had driven an enormous throng of wretched,

impoverished people to Rome, where they lived miserably on what they could pick up. There were frequent free distributions of grain from the public granaries, the rich and powerful gave away large sums and fed thousands to win a following, and a man's vote was always worth something. To this low condition had the *ordo plebeius* degenerated.

e. *Libertini*.

13. Below the three orders just mentioned, was a large class of citizens who had the right to vote and to hold property, but who were not eligible to office. These were the *libertini* or freedmen. Slaves were mere chattels and had no rights, but if formally set free by their masters they became *libertini*, citizens with limited rights. When the taint of slavery had been removed two generations, the descendants of *libertini* became *cives optimo iure* (see 3).

f. *The Municipal Towns and Colonies*.

14. To certain conquered cities of Italy full or limited citizenship was given. These were called *municipia*, or municipal towns, because they were subject to the burdens (*munia*) of military service and of taxation, which belonged to full Roman citizens.

15. The colonies which Rome planted in various parts of Italy, if made up of Romans, retained full citizenship; if not, they were treated in general like *municipia*. They all owed certain duties to Rome, and received privileges in return.

16. After citizenship was extended to all Italians (90 B.C.), *coloniae* and *municipia* were practically the same. As a rule, they managed their internal affairs, elected their own magistrates, and administered justice. Their form of government was often patterned after that

of Rome, and varied according to circumstances, as determined by the Roman senate.

17. A third class of Italian towns were *praefecturae*. They were so called because the administration of justice was in the hands of prefects sent from Rome.

18. All citizens possessing the suffrage must vote at Rome, if at all.

19. The native inhabitants of Rome's foreign provinces had no civil or political rights. Sometimes limited Roman citizenship was conferred on individuals, as a special favor or reward.

## II. THE POPULAR ASSEMBLIES.

20. The administrative and legislative power of the state was vested in various assemblies or *comitia*. Chief among these were the *comitia curiata*, the *comitia centuriata*, and the *comitia tributa*. These were organized upon three different divisions of the citizens.

### a. *The Comitia Curiata.*

21. In the earliest times the three original tribes which united to form one people were divided into thirty *curiae* or wards, and each ward into *gentes* or houses. The *gentes*, represented each by its head, made up the *comitia curiata*. This ancient assembly had so far lost its former power in Cicero's time, that it met only to go through the formality of conferring the *imperium* (see 41), or military authority, upon the consuls and praetors.

### b. *The Comitia Centuriata.*

22. This *comitia* included both patricians and plebeians, and was based on the military organization of Servius Tullius. He had divided all the citizens into five classes according to their property qualifications, as follows:—

Class 1, property in asses, <sup>1</sup>	100,000.
Class 2, " " "	75,000.
Class 3, " " "	50,000.
Class 4, " " "	25,000.
Class 5, " " "	11,000.

The position of every citizen in the classes was determined by the census, and his military duties were in accordance with his class. The 18 centuries of cavalry all belonged to the first class, there were 170 centuries of infantry in the five classes, and 5 centuries of artisans, musicians, and the very poor, variously distributed, making a total of 193 centuries. After the expulsion of the kings the people continued to meet in the same class divisions for political purposes, and they voted as they once fought, in divisions of a hundred, more or less, called centuries (*centuriæ*). This was the *comitia centuriata*.

23. About 250 B.C. the *comitia* was reorganized on the basis of the local tribes, of which there were now thirty-five. Each of the tribes was divided into five classes on the former basis of property qualification, and each class into two centuries according to age, called *iuniores* and *seniores* respectively. To the 350 centuries ( $35 \times 5 \times 2 = 350$ ) thus obtained, 23 more, the 18 centuries of horsemen and the 5 not included in the propertied classes, were added, making a total of 373 centuries. The vote of each century was determined by the majority of the voters in that century.

24. This *comitia*, being theoretically an assembly of the army, could not meet inside the city. It was held usually on the Campus Martius, which extended north-west from the walls to the Tiber (see map of Rome). It could be summoned by any magistrate having military authority (*imperium*), i.e. dictator, consul, or praetor. It

<sup>1</sup> The *as* was the unit of value, originally one pound of copper, worth about  $6\frac{2}{3}$  cents.

had full law-making power and also judicial authority, but had relegated the former largely to the *comitia tributa* (see 25), and the latter to the standing courts established by Sulla (see 60). All the higher magistrates — consuls, praetors, censors — were elected by this *comitia*.

*c. The Comitia Tributa.*

25. The *comitia tributa* was an assembly of the people by tribes. This was a local division of the people, and hence no qualification of birth or property was necessary to vote in this *comitia*. It was essentially an assembly of the plebeians, as they were the most numerous. There were thirty-five tribes at this time and each tribe had one vote. This *comitia* elected tribunes, quaestors, aediles, and the petty magistrates. For the election of plebeian aediles and tribunes a tribune presided. For the election of curule aediles and quaestors, a praetor or even a consul might preside.

26. This *comitia* had come to be of the first importance, owing to its law-making power. Before Cicero's time practically all legislation had passed into its hands and its decrees or *plebiscita* were binding laws without the sanction of the senate or of any other body.

27. The meetings were usually held in that part of the Forum known as the Comitium (see 97), or in the Campus Martius.

*d. Contiones.*

28. None of the assemblies enumerated above were deliberative assemblies. There was no discussion and no speechmaking. They simply voted for or against the question before them. For purposes of discussion other assemblies were held, known as *contiones*. Any magistrate who wished to lay a matter before the people might call a *contio*. There the subject was formally



presented and arguments for and against were heard. It was before such a gathering that Cicero delivered the oration on the Manilian Law (p. 1). After the *contio* it was necessary to call a *comitia* to take a vote. *Contiones* were also called to hear public addresses on any subject of popular interest. Such were the meetings before which Cicero delivered the second and third orations against Catiline.

*e. Limitation of the Popular Assemblies.*

29. The assemblies, with all their show of democratic government, were almost entirely in the hands of scheming politicians. The people never felt sure that they would be allowed to express their will without interruption. The *comitia* could be adjourned at any time by the magistrate that called it, by one of his colleagues, or by one of superior rank. It could be postponed indefinitely by a declaration that the auspices (see 71) were unfavorable, or even by the declaration that a magistrate was going to observe the heavens. If it lightened, or if a storm arose, or if night came on while the meeting was in session, everything done was null and void, and must be done again from the very beginning. After the voting was all done, the magistrate presiding might still nullify the election by failing to announce the successful candidates. For these and similar reasons the *comitia* were, as a rule, poorly attended. There were too many uncertainties about them to bring many voters from a distance. If they came, they were likely to find the meeting adjourned. If they had a chance to vote, voting as they did by *curiæ* (see 21), centuries (see 22), or tribes (see 25), each man probably felt that his vote counted for but little. This lack of interest and attendance on the part of citizens at large left a corrupt minority to do the business of the state, — the Roman mob, — which represented the worst

classes of citizens, whose venality and baseness can be easily imagined. The popular form of government, as it existed in Cicero's time, was showing itself more and more of a failure, and only Caesar's masterful hand saved the state from complete anarchy.

### III. THE SENATE.

30. Under the kings, the senate was a select body of three hundred experienced men, who were chosen by the king, and summoned by him to give advice on questions of state. The power of the senate continued much the same after the kings were expelled. The king's authority had been divided among the magistrates, and the senate remained, as before, the advisory body to the magistrates. It had no law-making power, nor any authority to enforce its recommendations, and it ruled wholly by moral influence.

31. It was usually addressed as *patres conscripti*, which is probably a short form for *patres et conscripti*, the *conscripti* being the plebeian members who were added to the original patricians, in the year 509 B.C., after the expulsion of the kings. Later, the number of senators was increased to 600, and in Cicero's time they were chosen by the censor (see 44) from the ex-magistrates.

32. In course of time the senate so increased in strength that by the third century B.C. it had absorbed a large part of both the legislative and executive authority, and had become actually, though not formally, the dominant force in the republic. The power of the senate was due to several causes. Made up as it was chiefly of ex-magistrates, it had for its members all the most distinguished and most learned men in all departments of public life. All great generals, ex-governors of provinces, famous jurists, high religious dignitaries, were senators.

In the senate was contained such wisdom and experience as could be found nowhere else. Again, they were a permanent force and not subject to change from year to year. Senators held office for life. They therefore had that antecedent knowledge of existing conditions which alone could lead to wise action. It is not strange, then, that the magistrates, who, when elected, were often new to their duties, were very glad to lean upon the senate in assuming the great responsibilities of office, and that a deliberate opinion formally expressed by the senate was not to be despised or lightly cast aside.

33. The chief constitutional law-making body was the *comitia tributa* (see 26); but such was the authority of the senate, that if the latter had passed a decree on some question, the *comitia* was very slow to array itself against it. In this way the decrees of the senate (*senatus consulta*) came to have the effect of laws.

34. A peculiar form of decree was the *senatus consultum ultimum*, by which all ordinary laws were suspended and dictatorial powers placed in the hands of the consuls. A memorable instance of this was during Cicero's consulship, when Catiline was threatening the safety of the state. The senate met and by the formula, "*Videant consules ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat*," gave supreme authority to the consuls. (*Cat. I. § 4*; Sallust, *Cat. § 29*.)

35. Almost any civil magistrate, excepting a quaestor, might summon the senate. Usually it was convoked by a consul or a tribune. A call was sent out stating the time and the place of meeting. Any properly consecrated place, *i.e.* technically a *templum* (see 74), could be used. Usually the curia (105, 2) or one of the temples surrounding the Forum was chosen.

36. Before the meeting was called to order the auspices (see 71) were taken. If these were favorable, the magis-

trate that had called the meeting and wished its advice (*consultum*), took the chair and presented the business to the house (*rem ad senatum referre*). There was no rule as to quorum, but efforts were made by sending out messengers (*praecones*) to have as many present as possible. When the business had been presented, the chairman might call for an immediate vote, or he might ask for the opinions (*rogare sententias*) of the senators. The senate was the only voting assembly in which discussion was allowed, and even here it was not unrestricted. A senator might give his opinion (*sententiam dicere*) only as called on by the chairman; but magistrates could speak at any time, though they lost the right to vote during their year of office. No one could make a motion introducing new business, though he might talk off the question in giving his opinion. The Romans were past masters in the art of filibustering, and often, to delay a vote, would talk against time (*diem dicendo consumere*) when asked for their opinions. There was no way of stopping them. The chairman spoke as often as he chose and gave his opinion whenever he chose, but called on the others in order of precedence. He could slight or honor senators by calling on them out of their proper order (*extra ordinem*). He might even skip a man entirely. Senators ranked according to the offices they had held: first came the ex-consuls (*consulares*), then the ex-praetors (*praetorii*), etc. Magistrates elect (*designati*) ranked before the corresponding ex-magistrates, for example, the *consules designati* before the *consulares*. First of all, however, came the *princeps senatus*. This was an honorary title bestowed upon one of the higher ex-magistrates. In the Ciceronian epoch this office and title were no longer in use. If a senator did not care to make a set speech, he could indicate by a mere word with whom he agreed (*verbo adsentiri*).

37. After the debate was over the vote was taken by a division (*discessio*), *i.e.* the two sides separated and were counted. Every one present must vote. We have an interesting picture of the senate in session in the fourth oration against Catiline. Cicero is chairman, and the oration is his opinion, given during the debate, on the question of what should be done with the conspirators.

38. The main business of the senate was with questions of finance, foreign affairs, and the state religion. Ministers of finance, *i.e.* censors (see 44), were elected but once in five years and held office but eighteen months. During the interval when there were no censors, their duties devolved largely upon the senate. The provinces were entirely in the control of the senate. It controlled the appointment of pro-magistrates or provincial governors (see 49), provided needed legislation, and gave advice to the governors by *senatus consulta*. Thus the senate came to stand for Roman authority throughout the world, and ambassadors and kings came before it to sue for favors or make treaties. The power to make peace or to declare war, which belonged to the *comitia centuriata* (see 22), naturally passed into its hands. The religion of the state was in its control in that the magistrates of religious affairs depended on the decrees of the senate to enforce their demands.

39. The senate had neither secretaries nor records, but its formal opinions were written out by clerks (*scribae*) in the presence of those especially interested in their passage, and were then deposited for safe keeping in the treasury (*aerarium*), *i.e.* the temple of Saturn (see 105, 10), or in the *Tabularium* (111).

## IV. THE CIVIL MAGISTRATES.

*a. Classification.*

40. The secular powers of the king — military, judicial, and administrative — were, under the republic, divided among magistrates elected by the assemblies of the people (see 24, 25). The senate, however, reserved the right of appointing, in grave crises, a single *dictator*, who served for six months with regal authority. He appointed, for his time of office, his *magister equitum*, or master of horse, to serve as his lieutenant. These were extraordinary magistrates, and, in the later years of the republic, were rarely created. Instead of these, the senate, in time of need, passed a *senatus consultum ultimum* (see 34), which gave dictatorial powers to the consuls.

41. The civil magistrates may be variously classified according to different bases of subdivision: —

- I. *a.* Ordinary: consul, censor, praetor, tribune, aedile, quaestor.
  - b.* Extraordinary: dictator with his *magister equitum*.
  - II. *a.* With *imperium*: consul, praetor, dictator, *magister equitum*.
  - b.* Without *imperium*: censor, tribune, aedile, quaestor.
- By *imperium* is meant the supreme executive authority — military, civil, and judicial — which had once belonged to the kings, and passed from them to the consuls and praetors. The authority possessed by magistrates who had not *imperium* was called *potestas*.
- III. *a.* Major: consul, censor, praetor, dictator, *magister equitum*.
  - b.* Minor: tribune, aedile, quaestor.
- This distinction is a religious one. The former could take the auspices (see 71, 72) anywhere, the latter only at Rome.
- IV. *a.* Curule: consul, censor, praetor, curule aedile, dictator, *magister equitum*.
  - b.* Non-curule: tribune, plebeian aedile, quaestor.

Curule magistrates sat on a curule chair (*sella curulis*) inlaid with ivory (see III. p. 290). It was a symbol of authority, and came from the earliest times. Non-curule magistrates sat on an ordinary *subsellium* or low bench.

**b. Duties of the Magistrates.****1. CONSULS.**

42. The consuls were the chief officers of the state. Theoretically they were all-powerful, for they could not be touched while they were in office; but they were obliged to give an account of their deeds at the close of their term, a prospect which had a restraining influence upon them. Further, each consul acted as a check upon the other, and could veto his acts; and the veto of the tribune could at once arrest the plans of any curule magistrate. Practically, therefore, the powers of the consuls were much limited, and were not greater, if as great, as those of the President of the United States.

43. Each of the two consuls had equal powers, and held office for one year. The election occurred usually in July in the *comitia centuriata* (see 24). They entered office on the 1st of January, and during the months intervening between their election and inauguration were known as *consules designati*, or consuls elect. Each year was known by the consuls for that year; e.g. 63 B.C. is "*Cicerone et Antonio Consulibus*." Though the consuls possessed the *imperium* (see 41 ii.), they gradually ceased after 146 B.C. to lead the armies of Rome. In public they were preceded by twelve lictors, walking in single file and carrying upon their shoulders the *fasces*, bundles of rods, symbolizing the power of the law to punish (see Ill. p. 73). They called the senate together, and carried out its decrees, and, in a general way, exercised control over the other magistrates, excepting the tribunes, who could themselves veto the acts of the consuls. They had charge of the chief elections, and, when there were no censors, performed some of the duties of that office (see 44). By a *senatus consultum ultimum* (see 34)

they might be given dictatorial authority. When with the army, it was customary for each consul to command half and to be supreme on alternate days. At Rome they either permanently divided their duties, or each was superior during alternate months, and the superior was distinguished by *fasces* and lictors. Ex-consuls (*consulares*) retained much of the dignity of their office, and were alone eligible to some of the positions of honor and trust. After his consulship the consul's *imperium* could be prolonged as proconsul of a province. His civil authority ceased with his consulship, only the military authority remained.

## 2. CENSORS.

44. Two censors were elected from the *consulares* about every five years by the *comitia centuriata*. They held office for eighteen months, after which their duties were performed mainly by the consuls, praetors, or aediles, under the advice of the senate. The chief duties of the censors were: (1) To take the census, *i.e.* to assess the property of every citizen and register his name in his proper class or order (see 22, 23), and make out the list of senators for the next five years.

(2) To maintain the old time standards of public and private morality by removing from the senate or his order or class any one guilty of immoral conduct. The *nota* or mark of disgrace thus attached to a name on the register lasted only until the next censorship.

(3) To administer the finances of the state, including the raising of revenue and the superintendence of public works.

The office of censor, originally of great dignity, lost almost all its prestige in the last years of the republic, and was finally absorbed by the emperors.



## 3. PRAETORS.

45. The praetors were next to the consuls in authority. They, like the latter, were elected for one year by the *comitia centuriata*, and took office on the 1st of January. They, too, possessed the *imperium* (41, II.), and were accompanied by two lictors with *fusces* inside the city, and by six without the city. Holding the *imperium*, they could on occasion command troops. Their regular duties were judicial, — they were the chief judges of Rome. At first there was only one praetor, but as the city increased others were added, so that in Cicero's time there were eight (see 59). After their year of office, they, like the consuls, were appointed to the governorship of provinces as *propraetors*.

## 4. PLEBEIAN TRIBUNES.

46. These officers, as their name shows (*tribuni plebis*), were magistrates of the plebs, and were obtained by them (494 B.C.) after a hard struggle, to protect themselves from the arbitrary power of the consuls. They were ten in number, elected by the *comitia tributa* (see 25), and entered office on the 10th of December of each year. Representing but a single class, they did not possess the *imperium* nor any real executive powers, and their activities were confined to the city. In spite of these limitations their right of veto (*ius intercedendi*) made them the most powerful officers in the state. This gave them the right to veto any decree of the senate, any law of any *comitia*, or the act of any curule magistrate. In this way they could completely block the wheels of the government. The only check over them was the veto of one of their colleagues — for they must act as a unit to exert their power — and the shortness of their term of office. Their functions were finally usurped by Julius Caesar who did away with the office.

## 5. AEDILES.

47. Four aediles were elected each year by the *comitia tributa* (see 25). Two of these were plebeians and the other two were patricians and plebeians in alternate years. They were known as plebeian aediles and curule aediles respectively. The two classes had practically the same duties, the care of the streets, police and fire precautions, public buildings and markets. But perhaps the chief duty of the aediles was the superintendence of the public games and festivals. The government always made a liberal appropriation for these; but the aediles, if they were ambitious politically, were in the habit of spending large sums from their own means to win themselves popularity. They hoped in this way to secure votes for the praetorship and consulship, which followed the aedileship.

## 6. QUAESTORS.

48. The quaestors were the public treasurers of Rome. It was their duty to collect all the money due the state from whatever source, and to pay it out again to the proper officers. At first there were but two quaestors, but the number was increased with the growth of the empire till in Cicero's time there were twenty. Two remained at Rome, while the others served in the provinces and with the armies as paymasters. They seem to have entered office on the 5th of December, and on that day drew lots for their assignments (see *Cat.* IV. § 15). They were assisted in their work by a great army of clerks (*scribae quaestorii*), who were so numerous and powerful that they formed a corporation of their own, known as the *ordo scribarum*.

## 7. PROCONSULS AND PROPRAETORS.

49. Proconsuls and propraetors were officers whose *imperium* (see 41 II.) had been extended for a year or more by the senate, and who acted as governors of the provinces. The larger and richer provinces were usually assigned to the proconsuls, but both alike possessed absolute civil and military authority over their respective districts. To obtain a province was regarded as the surest and easiest road to fortune, as it afforded unlimited opportunity for all kinds of extortion and plunder. When their term had expired they returned to Rome as private citizens, and could then be called to account for extortion or abuse of the provincials.

*c. Powers and Insignia of the Magistrates.*

50. Of the ordinary magistrates (see 41) only the consuls and praetors had the *imperium*, and so they alone had lictors and *fusces* (see 43 and III. p. 73). All magistrates, however, had numbers of attendants, *viatores* (messengers or summoners), *praecones* (criers), and slaves.

51. If a magistrate misbehaved, he could not be touched while in office, but could be prosecuted at the close of his term. Still, pressure could be brought to bear upon him to make him resign, as in the case of the praetor Lentulus (*Cat.* III. § 15).

52. All curule magistrates (see 41, iv.) wore, on ordinary days, a white toga bordered with a band of purple (*toga praetexta*), and a *latus clavus*, or broad purple stripe on the front of the tunic. A purple toga was worn at festivities. They also sat on the curule chair, a symbol of official authority (see III. p. 290.) The non-curule magistrates, tribunes, plebeian aediles, and quaestors, had no special insignia.

*d. Candidature.*

53. A Roman became a voter after he had assumed the manly gown (*toga virilis*), but he was not eligible to office, except by special enactment, until he had served ten years in the army. Physical deformity, as being ill-omened, and various immoralities defined by statute disqualified for office.

*e. Cursus Honorum.*

54. The order in which the offices might be held was fixed by law and was known as the *cursus honorum*. A citizen could not be consul until he had been praetor, nor praetor until he had been quaestor. The aedileship might be omitted, but was usually eagerly sought between the quaestorship and consulship, because of the opportunity it gave of winning popularity (see 47). At least two years must elapse between successive offices, and ten years between two terms of the same office. In time of need this law was frequently broken. Cicero boasts that he passed through the *cursus honorum* at the earliest legal age. He was quaestor at thirty, praetor at forty, and consul at forty-three.

*f. Election.*

55. A candidate for office announced his candidature at least seventeen days before the election, and spent the intervening time in canvassing (*ambitus*) for votes, much as is done at present. His toga of shining white (*toga candida*; cf. English candidate) was a symbol of his supposed purity of character and fitness for office. The date of election was fixed by the senate and was usually in July. A consul presided over the *comitia centuriata* (see 22), and a consul or praetor over the *comitia tributa*

(see 25), except when tribunes or plebeian aediles were to be elected; then a tribune presided. The presiding officer proposed the names of the candidates to the *comitia*. When the votes had been counted, the president announced (*renuntiavit*) the names of the successful candidates. Should he fail to propose the names for election or to announce the result, the whole election was null and void. Neither could an election be held without the proper presiding magistrates. They represented in person the *imperium* or *potestas* of the state, which must be handed over by them, with the favor of the gods (*auspicia*, see 71), to their successors.

## V. THE LAWS AND THE COURTS.

56. Under the kings there were no written statutes. Justice was administered by the king, who sought the will of the gods as revealed by the auspices (see 71), and asked the advice of the senate. Precedent and public opinion were the basis of his decisions, and in capital cases (see 3) the condemned had the right of appeal to the people (see 60).

57. The laws thus gradually established by custom and precedent were first codified and published under the early consuls in the famous Twelve Tables, which remained ever after the foundation of Roman equity. The other sources of law under the republic were: —

(1) The decrees of the senate (*senatus consulta*), which had the authority of laws if they were not vetoed (see 33).

(2) The decisions of the *comitia centuriata* (see 24).

(3) The decisions (*plebiscita*) of the *comitia tributa* (see 26).

(4) The edicts of the magistrates, which had the force

of laws during their year of office, and which by the acceptance of later magistrates became laws.

58. The senate had no power to enforce the laws, but acted simply as an advisory body to the magistrates consulting it (see 30, 31). In a crisis it could, however, appoint a dictator or pass a *senatus consultum ultimum*, which suspended all laws (see 34, 40). Magistrates could enforce their edicts by imposing a fine.

59. The principal duties of the praetors were judicial. The *praetor urbanus* decided cases between citizens, the *praetor peregrinus* cases between citizens and aliens (*peregrini*). The former was the chief judge of Rome, and had his tribunal in the Forum. Questions of fact were referred by him to a judge (*iudex*), or to a jury (*iudices*), or in money cases to a sworn committee of from three to five members known as *recuperatores*. When the verdict had been pronounced, he pronounced the sentence by the facts and the law.

60. The right of appeal which every citizen possessed gave the *comitia*, both *centuriata* and *tributa*, jurisdiction over all important criminal trials. Practically the *comitia* found it difficult to manage so much legal business, and it soon became customary to appoint special juries to deal with particular cases. The next step was to make these special juries permanent (*quaestiones perpetuae*). The first of these was established to try cases of extortion. Sulla added several others, so that in Cicero's time there were at least eight of them. Each of these special courts was presided over by a praetor, or, when no praetor was available, by a *iudex quaestionis*.

61. Court could be held only on *dies fasti*, that is, days when legal business might be conducted. Other days were *nefasti*. The president of the court selected a jury (*iudices*) by lot from a list of names made out annually by the *praetor urbanus*. Both plaintiff and defend-

ant had the right to challenge a certain number of names selected for the jury, just as in modern courts. Juries were originally chosen only from the senatorial order (see 5); but in 122 B.C. Caius Gracchus transferred the privilege to the knights (see 10), and from then on there was much friction between the rival orders about the matter. In Cicero's time (after 70 B.C.) they were divided equally between the senators, the knights, and the *tribuni aerarii*, who represented the plebeian element. The office was purely honorary; there were no jury fees. The number composing a jury varied at different times and in different courts. After the jury had been sworn by the utterance of a solemn formula, evidence was received under oath, as in our courts. After the evidence was all in and the lawyers (*patroni*) had made their pleas, the case went to the jury. The voting was usually by ballot. The ballots bore on one side the letter A (*absolvo*, I acquit), on the other, C (*condemno*, I condemn). The juror would erase one letter or the other, or, if he did not wish to vote at all, both of them. Blank votes were not counted. The verdict went to the majority. A tie vote meant an acquittal. The verdict was final; there was no further appeal.

62. Imprisonment was not employed as a penalty for crime. Punishment usually took the form of a fine, or, in the worst cases, exile. The execution and flogging of citizens on the authority of a magistrate was abolished by the Valerian law (509 B.C.), the three Porcian laws (198, 195, 194 B.C.), and the Sempronian law (122 B.C.). This power, after trial and condemnation, remained with the people. Hence Cicero probably acted illegally in executing the conspirators. His plea was that the dictatorial power given him by the senate (see 34, 40) justified his act. Exile was a penalty voluntarily chosen by the culprit when he saw no hope of acquittal. He was made

an outlaw by the *aquae et ignis interdictio*, and his property was confiscated. Capital punishment was practically unknown.

63. Trials were ordinarily held in the open air in the Forum, but after 184 B.C. courts often sat in the basilicas around the Forum.

64. In Italy, outside of Rome, some towns had justice administered by prefects (*praefecti*), who went around from place to place like our circuit judges. The *municipia* and *coloniae* (see 14, 15, 16) had their own magistrates for the administration of local justice. The provinces were ruled by Roman governors (see 49).

## VI. RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS.

65. The practical, unimaginative mind of the Roman showed itself nowhere more strikingly than in his religion. While he recognized the presence of supernatural powers behind the phenomena and operations of nature, he did not, like the Greek, lift them up into poetry and art, and surround them with myths. He viewed his relations to the gods from a strictly practical standpoint. Acknowledging that he was entirely dependent upon them for welfare and prosperity, his chief interest lay in winning their favor, and in ascertaining their will concerning him. Through this habit of mind Roman religion very early became a dreary and anxious round of ceremonies. In these outward observances the Roman was most punctilious, but they did not touch his real heart and life. He confronted the gods as a debtor might a severe and uncompromising creditor, and was scrupulously honest in paying all that he owed. If he failed in the slightest particular, even by accident, he knew he would be punished for it in person or estate. He might, if he wished, enter into a kind of business



speculation with the gods, promising to do certain things for them, if they would grant him a fair equivalent. If he received the coveted blessing, he felt bound to pay his vow. The head of each family performed the ceremonies upon which the welfare of the household depended, worshiping the *Penates* or household gods in his *atrium*; and each succeeding generation carried on the traditional observances.

66. The religion of the state was modeled on exactly the same lines as the religion of the family. In the earliest times the king, as head of the state, performed the public religious ceremonies to the *Penates* of the state. After the expulsion of the kings, their priestly functions descended to the patricians; and from them was appointed the *pontifex maximus*, who had general supervision of the state religion.

67. The *pontifex maximus* appointed fifteen priests (*flamines*), who were devoted to the service of individual gods. Of these the *flamines* to Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus were first in rank and dignity, dating back as they did to the very founding of the city. All priests were originally selected from the patricians, and it was not till 367 B.C. that plebeians were admitted to any priesthood.

68. As in the family, so in the state, its welfare, nay, its very existence, was believed to depend upon the blessing of the gods; and it became of the first importance to maintain unbroken favorable relations with them, and to interpret for national guidance their messages. For this purpose colleges of men skilled in religious lore were established. The three most important of these were the *Augures*, the *Pontifices*, and the *Fetiales*. Men filling these and other religious offices were appointed for life. They did not form an exclusive caste or class, nor were they debarred from holding civil offices. On the

contrary, many of the most distinguished statesmen and generals were priests (*sacerdotes*). Cicero became augur in 53 B.C., and Caesar was *pontifex maximus* while campaigning in Gaul.

69. We may consider the important religious boards under the following heads:—

- a. Augures.
- b. Pontifices.
- c. Fetiales.
- d. Quindecim Viri Sacris Faciundis.
- e. Haruspices.

a. *Augures.*

70. The institution of the college of Augurs is lost in the myths of ancient Rome. Tradition says that Romulus appointed three answering to the three original tribes. In Cicero's time there were fifteen. The word *augur* is of uncertain etymology, but means "a diviner of birds." Beginning with the observation of the simplest instincts of birds as shown by their notes and flight, the science of augury (*ius augurium*) developed into much complexity and technicality that the augurs alone understood. They had to watch for all supernatural signs and advise on the expiation of prodigies. The sources of their science were the traditions and formulas handed down by the college and contained in their sacred books.

71. By far the most important duty of the augurs was taking the auspices for the higher magistrates. No public action of any kind could be taken without the *auspicia*, the august blessing of the gods. This a magistrate received from his predecessor and handed down to his successor. An election therefore was a religious as well as a political procedure. Along with his *imperium*, or civil and military authority, the elected magistrate received the *auspicia*, or religious sanction, and the former could not be enforced without the latter (see 55).

72. As the augurs alone had the right to take the auspices and determine their favorable or unfavorable character, and since there was no appeal from their decision, their power was exceedingly great and was much abused to further political ends. By the simple words *alio die*—on another day—an augur could postpone an election, delay legislation, adjourn a court, prevent a battle, in fact, stop anything he pleased. They were not magistrates themselves, but exerted their power only at the command of the major magistrates (see 41), who were not slow to use them to serve their own selfish designs. This was one of the chief weapons used by the patricians against the plebeians in their struggle for equal rights (see 2).

73. A general always took the auspices before setting out on a campaign, and all the operations of his army were said to be under them. If he was unsuccessful, he must return and take them again to win anew the blessing of the gods. As this was often inconvenient, it became customary for generals to take some sacred chickens with them, so that the auspices could be taken in camp.

74. In taking the auspices, considerable technical knowledge was necessary. Before daybreak the augur marked off a limited space of sky as a consecrated space (*templum*) with his wand (*lituus*); there he pitched his tent (*tabernaculum capere*), meanwhile repeating many prayers and formulae. Any interruption, however small, invalidated the whole; so also any slip or omission in a single word of the prayers and forms. *Auspicium* means the viewing of birds (*aves-spicere*). The kind of birds, the direction of their flight, their notes, etc., all entered into the character of the *auspicia*. There was so much detail that it was almost impossible to take the auspices without some flaw, which could be taken advantage of if it became necessary to declare the auspices unfavorable

The regular place for taking the *auspicia publica* was the *auguraculum* on the Capitol, but other places were allowed, as the Rostra in the Forum, the garden of Scipio (*Hortus Scipionis*) in the Campus Martius, and the various temples where a good view of the open sky could be had.

75. The oldest augur was the president of the College of Augurs (*Magister Collegi*). All wore the *toga praetexta* and the purple-striped tunic, and carried the curved wand (*lituus*) as the insignia of office.

#### b. Pontifices.

76. Nearly equaling in antiquity the College of Augurs, and rivaling it in importance, was the College of Pontifices. These were not priests in the strict sense of the word, but rather the interpreters of the divine law, and the guardians of the science and learning of the nation. They were the public astronomers, and regulated the calendar, and had to see to it that every religious and judicial act took place on the right day. They prescribed the forms of procedure in the civil and religious courts, and decided whether any proposed action was for or against divine law. They also kept the annals or records of important events, and, in that way, became the repositories of the first writings of history. These duties made the office of pontiff by far the most important of all those connected with religion. At their head was the *pontifex maximus*, who was, on the whole, the first officer in the state in rank and dignity. Among his duties was the appointment of the fifteen *flamines* (see 67) and the six Vestal Virgins. The Vestals were under his peculiar guardianship, and he lived in the Regia adjoining the temple of Vesta (see 105, 5 and 6). In Cicero's time there were fifteen *pontifices*. They gave information when asked, on all points relating to the external forms of worship, but never attempted to teach the people

at large their religious duties. Anything like "preaching" was entirely unknown to the Romans.

*c. Fetiales.*

77. In addition to the two colleges mentioned above, and versed in religious lore, was the college of twenty heralds or *fetiales*, whose duty it was to preserve, traditionally, treaties with foreign powers and to regulate all foreign relations. They passed on alleged violations of treaty rights, and in case of need made the formal declaration of war.

*d. Quindecim Viri Sacris Faciundis.*

78. Below the greater colleges were others of a minor character. Among these was the board of fifteen men who had charge of the Sibylline books. These books, sold, according to tradition, to King Tarquin by the Cumæan Sibyl, were of unknown age and authorship. They were written in Greek and kept in a stone chest underground in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (see 109). They were placed in charge of at first two, then ten, and finally of fifteen men. These, when ordered by the senate, consulted the books and interpreted their oracular sayings. They were consulted only on extraordinary occasions, when terrifying prodigies had occurred and great danger seemed to overhang the state. It is believed that the words were written on loose palm leaves. The leaves were shuffled and one drawn out. Whatever oracle this contained was understood to be an expression of the divine will. The books were destroyed in 83 B.C. when the Capitol burned, but a new collection was at once made to replace the old.

*e. Haruspices.*

79. When neither the divination of the augurs nor the responses of the Sibylline books seemed sufficient, the

Romans had recourse to the *haruspices*, who came first from Etruria. They had no official college, nor were they possessed of any recognized authority, like the augurs or pontiffs. The *haruspices* made great pretensions, for, while the augurs could, through the auspices, answer simply "Yes" or "No" to a question as to the propriety of some specified act, the former professed the ability to read the future in detail, and the harder the case the greater their confidence. This they did from lightning,<sup>1</sup> earthquakes, and especially from viewing the entrails of animals. In all that they did, they used the most hair-splitting subtleties and distinctions; and the more startling the prodigy, the more confident their answers.<sup>2</sup> There was much jealousy between the augurs and *haruspices*, and there was often so much absurdity in the latter's pretensions, that Cato used to say that he wondered how one *haruspex* could look at another with a straight face.

## ROMAN ORATORS AND ORATORY.

80. No country ever offered a grander field for the growth of oratory than ancient Rome. All conditions were favorable to its development. Freedom, the mother of eloquence, the Romans enjoyed from the earliest times. Nature had given them an innate readiness for speaking, a strong natural vein of eloquence. And education, social conditions, and the form of government were all such as to foster their talent.

81. A Roman boy received much of his training by his father's side, and accompanied him to the courts, the Forum, and the senate. From his earliest years he grew familiar with public life and heard the words of the most

<sup>1</sup> See *In Cat.* III. § 19.

<sup>2</sup> See Mommsen, *History of Rome*, I. 244.

famous statesmen. When he had grown to manhood and wished to establish himself socially, he found that the way to the Roman peerage, the order of nobles (see 5), lay through the state offices, and that the strongest recommendation to these, next to military fame, was eloquence. He must then needs become a politician, a soldier, and an orator. We find these three pursuits combined in all of Rome's greatest men.

82. Public speaking was much more important then than now. In the absence of newspapers it was the only way of disseminating political ideas and of shaping public policy. With the world's government centralized at Rome, the Roman *rostra* ruled the world. The growing turbulence of public affairs after the time of the Gracchi gave oratory still greater opportunities, and the fierce passions of partisan and demagogue expressed themselves in unparalleled vehemence. The grim reality of these bitter struggles must have been at the same time terrible and inspiring to the participants in them. The orator's denunciations were not mere empty thunders of eloquence addressed to an unresponsive audience. The Romans, with all their dignity, were a hot-blooded and excitable people, as was shown in many notable instances, and the stirring words of their orators were answered but too often by the flash of the dagger and the stroke of the sword. Few of Rome's greatest orators died natural deaths.

83. The earlier Romans were far more concerned with the *matter* than with the *manner* of a speech. At first they paid little attention to the latter. Eloquence was not based on theory, but was acquired by actual practice in public speaking. It was devoid of all artificial and technical adornment. Very little of this early oratory is extant, but Cicero praises it highly and gives a list of distinguished orators from 494 B.C. to his own time. Of

the early orators the last and most famous was Cato the Censor (died 149). He left more than one hundred and fifty speeches.

84. After Cato the introduction of Greek letters began to influence Roman oratory. Men began to aim at beauty as well as at practical effectiveness in discourse. Rhetorical treatises began to appear, and orators began to draw from the riches of Greek philosophy and literature for adornment and illustration. Among the earliest to follow Greek methods in composition were Laelius, the younger Scipio, M. Lepidus, and Sulpicius Galba, all in the first half of the second century B.C. After these came the Gracchi, who were no less distinguished as orators than as champions of the oppressed. They employed a mode of speech that in its ease and freedom was almost like the Greek. They have been called the founders of classical Latin. Tiberius was the more dignified and profound, Caius the more intense in his oratory.

85. In the generation immediately preceding Cicero lived two men, M. Antonius and M. Licinius Crassus, who stood at the very summit of their art. Cicero compares their advent with that of Demosthenes and Hyperides at Athens. He had them both as teachers, and finds it hard to choose between them. They were both versed in Greek letters, though both affected to despise them to humor the popular prejudice against everything Greek. Cicero was the first to make Greek learning generally accessible and popular.

86. With Cicero himself we must place Hortensius. He was eight years older than Cicero, and his chief rival and antagonist when the latter rose to fame. He was so strong a forensic pleader that he was known as "*rex iudiciorum*," the prince of the courts. Yet it was here, at the trial of Verres, that Cicero measured strength with him and proved himself superior. From rivals they



became intimate friends, and were retained together on many famous cases.

87. Cicero marks the climax of Roman oratory —

“Defendus Cicero est, Latiaeque silentia linguac.” — SENECA.

His magnificent struggle against Antony was followed by the final overthrow of Roman liberty and the subsequent death of eloquence. Oratory under the empire lacked the inspiration of patriotism, and was but an artificial striving after a lost ideal.

88. In Cicero's time there were two styles of oratory, each of which had its enthusiastic supporters. They were known respectively as the Asiatic and the Attic. The former stood for display and emotional affectation in composition and delivery, the latter for directness, simplicity, and naturalness. Hortensius was a conspicuous example of the Asiatic school. He had a natural fondness for ostentation, and a fine voice. Cicero classed himself with the Attic school, but was himself accused of Asianism. As a matter of fact, he belonged to neither. He had received most of his training at Rhodes, and the Rhodian school represents most nearly the golden mean between the two extremes.

89. The *gravitas* and *dignitas* which were so characteristic of Roman character and speech gave a majestic, sustained, and musical rhythm to Roman eloquence which was very effective. A musical alternation of long and short syllables was carefully observed and blended harmoniously with the word accent. Masters of style always studied for the best cadences, and certain combinations of quantity and accent were considered peculiarly desirable. For the end of a sentence Cicero favored the cadences — ∪ ∪ (*filiam*), — ∪ — (*optimi*), and especially — ∪ — ∪ (*comprobavit*). The cadence at the end of a hexameter (— ∪ ∪ — ∪) was not favored.

90. Even more important than the composition was the *actio* or delivery of the oration. Orators used far greater vehemence in voice, tone, and gesture than would be considered good taste now. Every fiber of the body was called into play. The speaker would run about the *rostra*, stamp his feet, get on his knees, wave his arms, while the expression of his face and the tone of his voice expressed all the varying shades of emotion.

91. No science was ever more carefully analyzed and labeled than oratory among the Romans. The duties of the orator in preparing his speech were embraced under the following: —

*Inventio, Dispositio, Elocutio, Memoria, Actio.*

*Inventio* is the gathering of the material; *dispositio*, its proper arrangement; *elocutio*, clothing it in proper language; *memoria*, memorizing it; *actio*, the delivery.

92. The oration itself had a definite plan, the principal features of which are usually easy to trace. A typical speech has the following arrangement: —

*Exordium*, the introductory remarks.

*Narratio*, the statement of the case.

*Propositio*, what the orator expects to prove.

*Partitio*, the divisions of his argument.

*Argumentatio*, the argument, which is divided into: —

a. *Confirmatio*, the affirmative argument.

b. *Confutatio*, the refutation of real or supposed arguments of the opposite side.

*Peroratio*, the closing remarks.

93. Orations were of three principal kinds, judicial, deliberative, and demonstrative. The judicial oration was one delivered before a judge or jury; a deliberative oration, one discussing some public question before the senate or an assembly of the people (see 28); a demon-

strative oration, one which had for its purpose the praise or blame of some particular person or deed. Of the orations in the text, the Archias belongs to the judicial class, the Manilian Law and the four orations against Catiline to the deliberative. The Marcellus, while technically judicial, is so filled with eulogy of Caesar that it may be classed with the demonstrative.

### THE PALATINE, THE FORUM, AND THE CAPITOLINE.

94. Among the seven hills of Rome none was more famous and none more venerated than the Palatine. There the Romans first settled and built and fortified Roma Quadrata, fragments of whose surrounding wall may still be seen on the south and west slopes of the hill. On the Palatine were many of the oldest and most sacred shrines; there was the temple of Jupiter Stator and the house of Romulus, and in its rocky side was the den in which the wolf was said to have cared for Romulus and Remus.

95. The convenience of the Palatine to the Forum, and its healthful location, made it a favorite residential spot for prominent citizens. Cicero, Crassus, Clodius, Hortensius, and Catiline, all lived there. But few traces of the early temples and private houses remain there now; for, under the empire, nearly the whole hill was covered with the magnificent palaces of the emperors, which to-day cover the sides and the summit with an immense labyrinth of ruined masonry (see Ill. p. 43).

96. At the foot of the Palatine, stretching northwest to the Capitoline, was a low marshy valley through which flowed a brook of water collected from the neighboring hills. This valley was the scene, according to the



legend, of the battle between the Romans of the Palatine under Romulus, and the Sabines of the Capitoline and Quirinal under Titus Tatius, which followed the seizure of the Sabine women. After peace was made, the new allies chose the valley which lay convenient for both as a common meeting and market place. The marshy ground was drained, and became the center of life for a new nation.

97. The larger and lower portion of the valley was used as a market, and known as the Forum, or market place. The higher, western end of the valley, lying below the northeast slope of the Capitoline, was reserved for popular assemblies, courts of justice, and the machinery of the state in general.

This was known as the Comitium. The general relationship of the two to each other will be made clear by the accompanying figure, and by reference to the plan.

98. The sides of the Forum were lined with shops (*tabernae*, see Ill. p. 118), temples, and public buildings known as basilicas, that is, quadrangular courts surrounded by colonnades, which in later times were of marble, and of great magnificence. They were used as halls of justice and places of exchange. The vacant area was used for public spectacles, the funerals of the nobility, and for traffic.

99. In the first century B.C., the Comitium became too small for the demands of the state, and the business formerly transacted there was transferred to the Forum.

The traders who were thus driven out, were given other *fora* or market places which were generally near the ancient site. We hear therefore of the *forum boarium*, *vinarium*, *suarium*, *holitorium*, etc., the cattle, wine, swine, vegetable market, etc., as well as of the *Forum Magnum* or *Forum Romanum*, as the latter came to be called in distinction from the others. The removal of shops from the Forum left more room for the erection of larger and more magnificent public buildings.

100. The early buildings of the Forum, such as the temple of Saturn (497 B.C.), the temple of Castor (484 B.C.), and the temple of Concord (366 B.C.) were by no means magnificent, and one should not judge of the appearance of the early Forum by the architectural ruins seen there to-day. The early Forum partook of the severity and simplicity of the early Roman character. The public buildings and the temples were of brick or of wood, and not handsome. Cicero speaks disparagingly of the city's appearance in his day. The buildings were poor, the streets narrow and crooked, and often desolated by fires.

101. It was not till near the end of the republic that citizens became ambitious to adorn and beautify the city. No marble was used for public buildings until about 60 B.C., and was then frowned down upon by old-fashioned Romans as dangerous extravagance. Julius Caesar made large plans for beautifying the city, and after his premature death they were most ably carried out by Augustus, whose boast that he had found a city of brick and left one of marble was not an idle one. Other great builders after Augustus were Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Caracalla, Diocletian, and Constantine. The best period of Roman architecture is from Augustus to Hadrian (30 B.C.—117 A.D.).

102. The ancient buildings were restored for the last time by Theodoric in the first half of the sixth century.

After the latter half of the sixth century many of the ancient temples were turned into churches, and to this they owe their present preservation. Among these may be mentioned S. Martina, S. Adriano, and S. Lorenzo, shown in the illustration, p. 107. But they have been so often altered and restored that they show but small resemblance to their original form.

103. As for the other buildings of the Forum not thus sanctified, they were systematically plundered, buried under *débris*, and used as quarries for building-stone for more than a thousand years. By the middle of the twelfth century, the middle of the Forum was no longer passable; and three hundred years later it was a veritable wilderness and canebrake, only a few columns protruding from the surface. The very name "Forum" was forgotten, and the desolate place was called the *Campo Vaccino*, or cattle pasture.

104. A little excavating was done in the sixteenth century, but nothing scientific or lasting until the beginning of the nineteenth. Considerable work was done between 1803 and 1848, and since 1871 there has been but little interruption. Most of the Forum of the Empire is now laid bare. But constant interesting and valuable discoveries are still being made in the lower levels, where lies the Forum of the Republic.

105. Brief mention will now be made of the principal buildings and monuments in the Forum, with special reference to such as were in existence in the time of Cicero. The plans, photographs, and reconstruction should be carefully followed.

### 1. THE CLOACA MAXIMA.

As noted above, the draining of the Forum was a matter of first importance, and this was accomplished by

regulating, and finally by enclosing in a great sewer, the brook which was the natural water course to the Tiber. Thus was formed the famous *Cloaca Maxima* (great sewer), one of the best examples of early engineering, and one of the most interesting remains of republican Rome.

## 2. THE CURIA.

The churches of San Adriano and S. Martina occupy a portion of the site of the ancient Comitium. This was originally a large open square with fixed boundaries. On its farther side stood the ancient Curia Hostilia or senate house. This was destroyed by fire 52 B.C. at the funeral of Clodius, and a new one erected by a son of Sulla. The new building was placed further forward, and filled the space covered by S. Adriano. In fact, that portion of the wall of this church, which faces the Forum, belongs in part to one of the restorations of the Curia. There were two other buildings connected with the Curia, the *Secretarium Senatus* and the *Chalcidicum*, which are partly preserved in the church of S. Martina. The later Curia was named the Curia Julia, in honor of Julius Caesar, as the early one was called the Curia Hostilia from Tullus Hostilius.

## 3. THE ROSTRA.

Facing the Comitium was the rostra or speaker's stand, so called because adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) of captured ships. No remains of the earlier rostra have been found *in situ*, and its exact location is therefore uncertain. It was from this rostra that Cicero spoke most of his orations. When the public assemblies were transferred from the Comitium to the Forum (see 99) the rostra was moved as well, and faced the Forum from the northwest. The new rostra was constructed 44 B.C. by



Julius Caesar partially out of materials from the old. The remains of this rostra are considerable. It consisted of a raised platform about ten feet high, seventy-eight

FIG. 10. — THE ROSTRA OF JULIUS CAESAR (RESTORED).

feet long and thirty-three feet wide. Its front was faced with marble and adorned with a double row of beaks of ships. It was approached from the rear by a broad flight of steps. On the rostra stood a number of statues, and before it ran a marble balustrade which was open in the middle where the orator stood.

#### 4. THE BASILICA FULVIA ET AEMILIA.

Next to the Comitium toward the southeast was anciently a long row of shops (*tabernae argentariae*, see Ill. p. 118), and behind these, in the year 179 B.C., the censors Fulvius and Aemilius built a basilica bearing their name. In 54 B.C. Aemilius Paulus removed the shops and extended the building to the north line of the Forum. After his reconstruction it was known as

the Basilica Aemilia. Later, after a fire, it was handsomely reconstructed by Augustus. The interesting remains of this basilica have been but recently laid bare.

#### 5. THE REGIA.

The Regia was the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus (see 76) and was where the king used to perform the sacred rites. In it were stored the archives of the supreme priesthood. The existing remains show a wall of tufa of the republican period, the entrance gateway, and other portions of the famous structure.

#### 6. THE TEMPLE OF VESTA.

To the west of the Regia and near the foot of the Palatine was the temple of Vesta. The worship of this goddess was associated in the Roman mind with the very foundation of the state. The founding of the temple was ascribed to Numa, the second king. The building suffered many destructions and reconstructions, but the ancient circular substructure of tufa still remains. In this temple was kept ever burning the sacred fire, watched and tended by the Vestal Virgins.

#### 7. THE ATRIUM VESTAE.

Adjoining the temple of Vesta to the south and under the brow of the Palatine was the house of the Vestals where the virgin priestesses lived. This house, magnificently restored by Hadrian, was excavated in 1883. In the atrium were found standing several statues of Vestals. One of these is shown in the illustration, p. 108.

#### 8. THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX.

This temple was dedicated 484 B.C. as a thank offering to Castor and Pollux for their assistance at the battle of

Lake Regillus. According to the legend they appeared in the Forum after the battle as messengers of the victory, and were seen watering their horses at the neighboring

FIG. 11. — THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

fountain of Juturna. The building was splendidly restored by Tiberius. The three fine Corinthian columns which still stand probably date from that restoration.

### 3. THE BASILICA SEMPRONIA AND THE BASILICA JULIA.

Across the Vicus Tuscus from the temple of Castor stood anciently the house of Scipio Africanus. On this site was erected in 170 B.C. the Basilica Sempronia by

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. This, in turn, as well as the row of shops (*tabernae veteres*) along the south side of the Forum, were removed to make room for the magnificent Basilica Julia, begun by Caesar 54 B.C., and finished by Augustus. There are still some remains of this immense pile, though most of the material was carried off in the sixteenth century for other buildings.

#### 10. THE TEMPLE OF SATURN.

This temple reaches back for its foundation to legendary history. It was dedicated in 497 B.C. and restored in 44 B.C. The eight granite pillars and architrave that still stand, belong to a late careless restoration. In this temple and its vaults was kept the state treasury (*aerarium Saturni*) and many of the bronze tablets of the laws and senate decrees.

#### 11. THE CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS.

Between the Basilica Julia and the temple of Saturn was the Vicus Jugarius, a street which took its name from the south summit (*iugum*) of the Capitoline, at the foot of which it ran. On the other side of the temple of Saturn was the famous *Clivus Capitolinus*, which ran in a zigzag course up to the area of the Capitol on the south summit of the Capitoline hill. This was the only carriage road leading to the Capitol, and up this rode the victorious generals in triumphal progress to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to return thanks for victory.

#### 12. THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.

At the northwest end of the Forum stood the temple of Concord, raised in the fourth century B.C., to commemorate the restoration of harmony between the patricians and the plebeians. It was frequently restored, embellished,

and enlarged, and was standing almost uninjured as late as the eighth century of our era. Nothing now remains of this magnificent building but its ruined foundations and some fragments of sculpture.

### 13. THE BASILICA PORCIA AND BASILICA OPIMIA.

Not far from the temple of Concord to the northeast, near the northwest line of the Comitium, were the Basilica Porcia and Basilica Opimia. The former of these was erected by Marcus Porcius Cato, 185 B.C., and was the oldest basilica in the Forum. The latter was built by Opimius, 121 B.C. Both were removed to make room for an extension of the Forum.

### 14. THE CARCER OR TULLIANUM.

The building of this prison is traditionally assigned to King Ancus Martius. It is unquestionably among the earliest monuments left us of republican Rome. At first a quarry, it next served as a reservoir or spring house and took its name from the spring (*tullus*) which still flows from its rock. Then it was drained and made into a prison. The prison has an upper and a lower dungeon. The lower dungeon, to which access could be had only by the round hole in the ceiling, is a small circular pit with an arched roof (see Ill. p. 123). Sallust<sup>1</sup> describes it as follows: "There is a place in the prison which is called the Tullian dungeon, and which, after a short ascent to the left, is sunk about twelve feet underground. Walls secure it on every side, and over it is a vaulted roof of stone. It is a disgusting and horrible place by reason of the filth, darkness, and stench." It was here that the convicted conspirators of Catiline were strangled. The oblong chamber above is of later origin,

<sup>1</sup> *Cat.* 55.

but also very ancient. Both chambers are walled in with great blocks of tufa.

Tradition asserts that the apostles Peter and Paul were imprisoned here. The photograph (p. 123) shows

FIG. 12. — TULLIANUM (A CROSS-SECTION).

the shrine erected in their honor. To the left of the shrine is the post to which prisoners were chained, and near by the spring covered with a metal disk.

The *Scalae Gemoniae*, the steps of woe, led from the Forum to the prison, and on these steps the bodies of notorious criminals were exposed after execution.

#### 15. THE SENACULUM, GRAECOSTASIS AND TEMPLE OF JANUS.

Of the other older structures in the Forum these three only remain to be mentioned. Their exact location is

somewhat uncertain, as not a vestige of them is left. The *Senaculum*, somewhere near the Curia, was a small building used by the senate, in which, as some suppose, senators gave audience to such as were not allowed to enter the Curia. The *Graecostasis* was a waiting room for foreign ambassadors. Certain remains near the Rostra are hypothetically regarded as belonging to it. The temple of Janus probably stood where the street Argiletum entered the Forum. It was one of the most ancient of the temples. Its doors were kept open during war and shut during peace.

#### 16. THE SACRA VIA.

The course of this ancient street is in some doubt. According to Lanciani it entered the Forum between the Regia and the temple of Vesta, and ran obliquely to the opening of the *Vicus Tuscus*, thence in a straight course, along by the Basilica Julia and the temple of Saturn, to the *Clivus Capitolinus*.

106. The more important later buildings and monuments are the following:—

(1) The temple of Antoninus and Faustina erected 141 A.D.

(2) The temple of Divus Julius erected by Augustus in honor of the deified Julius Caesar.

(3) The Porticus Deorum Consentium next to the temple of Vespasian at the west end of the Forum. Some columns of this graceful marble portico are still standing. It was constructed 367 A.D.

(4) The temple of Vespasian of which three columns still stand, erected by Domitian.

(5) The arch of Septimius Severus. This arch standing at the west end of the Forum is one of the most conspicuous and best preserved monuments of imperial

Rome. It was erected in 203 A.D. in honor of the emperor Septimius Severus and his sons, Caracalla and Geta.

(6) *Columnae*. The various monumental columns which still stand in the central space of the Forum are mostly of late origin.

107. As the city increased in size and wealth other magnificent *fora* were built by different emperors, adjoining the *Forum Magnum* to the north. Some of these quite exceeded the old Forum in size and vied with it in splendor; but the latter continued through the centuries to be regarded with peculiar reverence as the scene of Rome's most glorious past.

108. The Forum is bounded on the northwest by the Capitoline hill. This hill has two summits with a depression between them. The term "*Capitolium*" is sometimes loosely used of the whole hill, but strictly it applies only to the south summit, and to the sacred enclosure where the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus stood. To this summit the *Clivus Capitolinus* ascended, and it could be reached also by the *Centum Gradus* which rose from the *Forum Holitorium* near the Tiber.

109. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus or Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the most magnificent of all. It was first dedicated 509 B.C., and suffered numerous destructions, but was always rebuilt with greater splendor, for the last time by Domitian. The building faced southwest away from the Forum, toward the Tiber. Its cella contained shrines for Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Nothing of this wonderful structure remains but some of the foundations.

110. On the north summit of the Capitoline stood the *Arx* or citadel which enclosed the temple of *Juno Monēta*. The site is now covered by the church of Aracoeli. The *Arx* was reached from the Forum by the *Gradus Monetae*,



but was not accessible from the Campus Martius, on the west.

111. Between the two summits of the hill stood the Tabularium, in which the city archives were kept. The substructure of the modern Palazzo Municipale shows many important remains of this ancient building. The wall of large blocks of stone clearly visible in the lower story dates from the time of Cicero.

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M. TULLI CICERONIS  
DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEI AD QUIRITIS  
ORATIO.

*The orator's reasons for appearing on the Rostra.*

Quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multo iucundissimus,<sup>1</sup> hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus,<sup>2</sup> ad dicendum ornâtissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditum laudis quae semper optimo cuique maximè patuit,<sup>3</sup> non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed vitae meae rationes<sup>4</sup> ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. Nam cum antea per aetatem nondum huius auctoritatem loci attingere auderem statueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industriam adferri oportere, omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus<sup>5</sup> transmittendum putavi. 2. Ita neque hic locus vacuus umquam fuit ab eis qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor, in privatorum periculis castè integrèque versatus,<sup>6</sup> ex vestro iudicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam cum propter dilationem comitorum ter praetor primus centuribus cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me iudicaretis et quid aliis praescriberetis.

1. gratissimus, dulcissimus. 2. clarissimus. 3. apertus fuit. 4. consilia. 5. causis, discriminibus. 6. occupatus.

*He now dedicates his forensic powers to the Quirites.*

λ Nunc cum et auctōritātis in mē tantum sit, quantum vōs honōribus māndāndis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultātis tantum, quantum hominī vigilantī ex forēnsi ūsū prope cottidiāna dicendī exercitātiō potuit adferre; 5 certē et si quid auctōritātis in mē est, apud eos utar qui eam mihi dedērunt, et si quid in dicendō cōsequi<sup>1</sup> possum, eis ostendam potissimum quī ei quoque rei fructum suō iūdicīō tribuendum esse dūxērunt.<sup>2</sup>

*He is glad to have such a splendid subject for his first effort.*

3. Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum iure esse 10 videō, quod in hac insolitā mihi ex hōc locō ratiōne<sup>3</sup> dicendī causa tālis oblata est in quā orātiō deesse nēmīni possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompēi singulari eximiaque virtute; huius autem orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita mihi nōn tam 15 cōpia quam modus in dicendō quaerendus est.

*Statement of the case.*

II. 4. Atque ut inde orātiō mea proficiscātur undō haec omnis causa dūcitur, bellum grave et periculōsum vestris vectigālibus<sup>4</sup> ac sociis ā duōbus potentissimis rēgibus infertur, Mithradate et Tigrāne, quōrum alter 20 relictus, alter lacessitus,<sup>5</sup> occāsionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblātam esse arbitrātur. Equitibus Rōmānis,

1. efficere. 2. putaverunt, habuerunt. 3. modo, via. 4. provincialibus. 5. provocatus, concitatus.





honestissimis viris, adferuntur ex Asiā cottidiē litterae, quōrum māgnae rēs aguntur in vestris vectigālibus exercendis occupatae; quī ad mē, prō necessitudine<sup>1</sup> quae mihi est cum illō ordine, causam rei publicae periculaque rerum suarum detulērunt:<sup>2</sup> 5. Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra prōvincia est, vicōs exūstōs<sup>3</sup> esse complūris; rēgnum Ariobarzānis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigālibus, tōtum esse in hostium potestate; L. Lūcillum māgnis rēbus gestis ab eō bellō discēdere; huic quī successerit nōn satis esse parātum ad tantum bellum administrandum; 10 unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatōrem dēpōsci<sup>4</sup> atque expeti, eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metū, praeterea nēminem. ✓

*The divisions of the subject.*

6. Causa quae sit vidētis: nunc quid agendum sit considerāte. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, 15 deinde de māgnitudine, tum de imperatōre deligendō esse dicendum.

*The character of the war: The honor of Rome, the safety of her allies, her revenues, the property of many citizens, are at stake.*

Genus est belli eius modi, quod maximē vestros animos excitāre atque Inflammāre ad persequendi studium dēbeat: in quō agitur populi Rōmāni glōria, quae vōbis 20 ā māiōribus cum māgna in omnibus rēbus tum summa in rē militāri trādita est; agitur salūs sociōrum atque

1. cognatione, amicitia. 2. renunttaverunt. 3. incensos. 4. postulari, flagitari.

amicōrum, prō quā multa māiōrēs vestri māgna et gravia  
 bella gessērunt; aguntur certissima populī Rōmāni vecti-  
 gālia et maxima, quibus āmissis et pācis ōrnāmenta et  
 subsidia belli requirētis; aguntur bona multōrum cīvium,  
 5 quibus est ā vōbis et ipsōrum et rei pūblicae causā cōn-  
 sulendum.

*Mithradates has too long defied the arms of Rome.*

III. 7. Et quoniam semper appetentēs<sup>1</sup> glōriae praeter  
 cēterās gentis atque avidi laudis fuistis, dēlenda est vōbis  
 illa macula<sup>2</sup> Mithradāticō bellō superiōre concepta,<sup>3</sup> quae  
 10 penitus iam insēdit ac nimis inveterāvit in populī Rōmāni

#### COIN OF MITHRADATES.

nōmine; quod is qui unō diē, tōtā in Asiā, tot in cīvitāti-  
 bus, unō nūntiō atque unā significātiōne litterārum cīvis  
 Rōmānōs omnis necandōs<sup>4</sup> trucidandōsque<sup>5</sup> dēnotāvit,  
 nōn modo adhūc poenam nūllam suō dīgnam scelere  
 15 suscēpit, sed ab illō tempore annum iam tertium et

1. avidi. 2. infamia, dedecus. 3. admissa. 4. occidendos  
 5. crudeliter caedendos.



vicēsimum rēgnat, et ita rēgnat ut sē nōn Ponti neque Cappadociae latebris<sup>1</sup> occultāre velit, sed ēmergere ex patriō rēgnō atque in vestris vectigālibus,<sup>2</sup> hōc est, in Asiae luce versārī.<sup>3</sup> 8. Etenim adhūc ita nostrī cum illō rēge contendērunt imperātōrēs ut ab illō insignia<sup>4</sup> 8 victōriae, nōn victōriam reportārent. Triumphāvit L. Sulla, triumphāvit L. Mūrēna dē Mithradātē, duo fortissimi virī et summī imperātōrēs, sed ita triumphārunt ut ille pulsus superātusque rēgnāret. Vērūm tamen illis imperātōribus laus est tribuenda quod ēgērunt,<sup>5</sup> venia<sup>6</sup> 10 danda quod reliquērunt; propterea quod ab eō bellō Sullam in Italiā rēs pūblica, Mūrēnam Sulla revocāvit.

*He constantly prepares new forces against her.*

IV. 9. Mithradātēs autem omne reliquum tempus nōn ad oblivionem veteris bellī, sed ad comparationem novī contulit.<sup>7</sup> Quī postea, cum maximās aedificāset ornās- 15 setque<sup>8</sup> classis exercitusque permāgnōs quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset comparāset, et sē Bosporānis finitimis suis bellum inferre simulāret; usque in Hispaniam lēgātōs ac litterās misit ad eōs ducēs quibuscum- 20 tum bellum gerēbāmus, ut, cum duobus in locis disiunctissimis maximēque diversis unō cōsiliō & binis hostium cōpiis bellum terrā marique gererētur, vōs ancipiti<sup>9</sup> contentione districti dē imperiō dimicārētis.<sup>10</sup>

1. locis occultis. 2. provinciis. 3. esse, morari, manere. 4. signa, indicia. 5. fecerunt. 6. opposite, culpa. 7. occupavit. 8. instruxisset. 9. utrimque, ab utraque parte. 10. contenderetis.

*of Livy*

*Despite recent successes, the prestige of Roman arms is not established.*

10. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertōriānae atque Hispāniēnsis, quae multō plūs firmāmentī ac rōboris habēbat, Cn. Pompēi divīnō cōnsiliō ac singulārī virtūte dēpulsum est; in alterā parte ita rēs ā L. Lūcullō  
 5 summō virō est administrāta, ut initia illa rērum gestārum māgna atque praeclāra nōn fēlicitātī eius sed virtūtī, haec autem extrēma, quae nūper accidērunt, nōn culpae sed fortūnae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed dē Lūcullō  
 dicam aliō locō et ita dicam, Quiritēs, ut neque vōra laus  
 10 ei dētrācta orātiōne meā neque falsa adficta<sup>1</sup> esse videā-

#### COIN OF CORINTH.

tur. 11. Dē vestri imperī dignitāte atque glōriā, quoniam is est exōrsus<sup>2</sup> orātiōnis meae, vidēte quem vōbīs animum suscipiendum putātis.

*The ancestors guarded the national honor more carefully.*

V. Māiōrēs nostrī saepe mercātōribus aut nāviculariis<sup>3</sup>  
 15 nostris iniuriōsius trāctātis bella gesserunt. Vōs tot milibus civium Rōmānōrum unō nūntiō atque unō tempore

1. addita. 2. exordium, initium. 3. navium dominis.

necātis<sup>1</sup> quō tandem animō esse debētis? Lēgātī quod erant appellātī superbius, Corinthum patrēs vestri tōtius Graeciae lūmen exstinctum esse voluērunt. Vōs eum rēgem inultum<sup>2</sup> esse patiēminī, qui lēgātum populī Rōmānī cōsulārem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni suppliciō ex- 8  
cruciātum necāvit? Illi libertātem imminūtā<sup>3</sup> civium Rōmānōrum nōn tulōrunt. Vōs ēreptam vitam negligētis? Iūs lēgatiōnis verbō violātum illī persecūtī sunt.<sup>4</sup> Vōs lēgātum omni suppliciō interfectum relinquētis?  
12. Vidēte nē, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vōbīs 10  
imperī glōriam trādere, sic vōbīs turpissimum sit id, quod accēpistis, tuērī<sup>5</sup> et cōservāre nōn posse.

*The allies are in peril.*

Quid, quod salūs sociōrum summum in periculum ac discrimen<sup>6</sup> vocātur, quō tandem animō ferre debētis?

COINS OF MITHEADATES AND ARIOBARZANES.

Rēgnō est expulsus Ariobarzānēs rēx, socius populī 15  
Rōmānī atque amīcus; imminent duo rēgēs tōtī Asiae

1. occisi. 2. sine poena. 3. diminutam, opp. auctam. 4. ulti sunt. 5. defendere. 6. periculum.

nōn solum vobis inimicissimī, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitatēs autem omnēs eūnetā Asiā atque Graeciā vestrum auxilium exspectāre propter periculī magnitudinem cōguntur; imperātorem ā vōbis certum dēpōscere,<sup>1</sup> cum praesertim<sup>2</sup> vōs alium miseritis, neque audent neque sē id facere sine summō periculō posse arbitrantur.

*They long for Pompey to save them.*

13. Vident et sentiunt hōc idem quod vōs: unum virum esse in quō summa sint omnia, et eum propter<sup>3</sup> esse, quō etiam carent aegrius<sup>4</sup>; cuius adventū ipsō atque nōmine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum vēnerit, tamen impetūs hostium repressōs esse intellegunt ac retardātōs. Hi vōs, quoniam liberē loqui nōn licet, tacitē rogant ut sē quoque, sicut cēterarū provinciārum sociōs, dignōs existimētis,<sup>5</sup> quōrum salutem tālī virō commendētis<sup>6</sup>; atque hōc etiam magis, quod cēterōs in provinciam eius modī hominēs cum imperiō mittimus, ut etiam si ab hoste dēfendant, tamen ipsōrum adventūs in urbīs sociōrum nōn multum ab hostilī expūgnātiōne differant. Hunc 20 audiēbant antea, nunc praesentem vident tantā temperantiā, tantā mānsuetūdine,<sup>7</sup> tantā hūmānitate, ut ei beatissimī esse videantur, apud quōs ille diūtissimē comorātur.

*The revenues are also at stake.*

VI. 14. Quā rē si propter sociōs, nullā ipsi iniuriā 25 lacessiti,<sup>8</sup> māiōrēs nostrī cum Antiochō, cum Philippō,

1. *postulare* 2. *praecipue*. 3. *prope*. 4. *gravius*. 5. *putetis*  
6. *committatis*. 7. *lenitate animi, clementia*. 8. *provocati*.

cum Aetólis, cum Poenis bella gesserunt, quantó vós studio convenit iniuriis próvocátos<sup>1</sup> sociórum salutem uná cum imperi vestri dignitate défendere, praesertim cum dé maximis vestris vectigálibus agátur?<sup>2</sup> Nam ceterarum próvinciarum vectigalia, Quirités, tanta sunt, ut eis ad ipsás próvinciás tütandás<sup>3</sup> vix contenti esse possimus; Asia véró tam opíma<sup>4</sup> est ac fertilis ut et úbertate<sup>5</sup> agrórum et varietate fructuum et mágnitudine pastiónis et multitudine eárum rerum quae 10 exportentur facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque haec vóbis próvincia, Quirités, si et belli útilitatem et páois dignitatem retinere vultis, nón modo á calamitate, sed 15 etiam á metu calamitátis est défenda. 15. Nam in ceteris rébus cum vénit calamitás, tum détrimentum accipitur; at in vectigálibus nón solum adventus malí sed etiam metus ipse adfert calamitatem. Nam cum hostium cópiae nón 20 longé absunt, etiam si inruptió<sup>6</sup> núlla facta est, tamen pecuária relinquitur, agri cultúra déseditur, mercátórum návigatió conquiescit. Ita neque ex portá neque ex decumis neque ex scriptúra<sup>7</sup> vectigal cónservári potest; quá ré saepe tórtus anni fructus unó rúmore periculi 25 atque unó belli terróre ámittitur. 16. Quó tandem [igitur] animó esse existimátis<sup>8</sup> aut eós qui vectigália nóbis pénsitant<sup>9</sup> aut eós qui exercent atque exigunt,<sup>9</sup>

COIN OF ANTIOCHUS.

1. *lácésitos*. 2. *tuendas, defendendas*. 3. *opulenta, dives*. 4. *fertilitate*. 5. *incurtio*. 6. *ex agris publicis (vectigal)*. 7. *putatis*. 8. *solvunt, pendunt*. 9. *opp pensitant*.

cum duo rēgēs cum maximīs cōpiīs propter<sup>1</sup> adsint?  
 cum ūna excursiō equitatūs perbreuī tempore tōtius  
 anni vectigal auferre<sup>2</sup> possit? cum publicāni<sup>3</sup>\* familiās  
 maximās quās in saltibus habent, quās in agrīs, quās  
 5 in portubus atque cūstōdiīs, māgnō periculō sē habere  
 arbitrentur? Putātisne vōs illis rēbus frui<sup>4</sup> posse, nisi  
 eōs, qui vōbīs fructui sunt, cōservāritis nōn solum, ut  
 ante dīxi, calamitatē, sed etiam calamitātis formidine  
 liberātōs? *Wednesday*

*The property of many citizens is endangered.*

10 VII. 17. Ac nē illud quidem vōbīs negligendum est,  
 quod mihi ego extrēmum prōposueram cum essem dē  
 belli genere dictūrus, quod ad multōrum bona cīvium  
 Rōmānōrum pertinet, quōrum vōbīs prō vestrā sapientiā,  
 Quiritēs, habenda est ratiō diligenter. Nam et publicāni,  
 15 hominēs honestissimī atque ōrnatissimī, suās ratiōnēs<sup>5</sup>  
 et cōpiās in illam prōvinciam contulērunt, quōrum ipsōrum  
 per sē rēs et fortunāe vōbīs cūrae esse dēbent. Etenim  
 si vectigālia nervōs<sup>6</sup> esse rei publicae semper dūximus,<sup>7</sup>  
 cum certō ōrdinem, quī exercet illa, firmāmentum cēte-  
 20 rōrum ōrdinum rēctē esse dicēmus.

18. Deinde ex cēteris ōrdinibus hominēs gnāvi<sup>8</sup> atque  
 industrii partim ipsi in Asiā negōtiantur, quibus vōs  
 absentibus cōsulare dēbētis, partim eōrum in eā prō-

1. *prope.* 2. *adimere, detrahere.* 3. *numerum servorum maxi-  
 mum.* 4. *opp. carere.* 5. *negotia.* 6. *vires, robur.* 7. *habuimus.*  
 8. *opp. ignavi, remissi.*

\* A superior figure placed after a word refers to that word only;  
 when placed before, it refers to two or more following words.

vinciā pecūniās magnās conlocātās habent. Est igitur hūmānitātis vestrae māgnūm numerum eōrum cīvium calamitāte prohibēre, sapientiae vidēre multōrum cīvium calamitātem ā rē publicā sēiunctam esse nōn posse. Etenim primum illud parvi rēfert,<sup>1</sup> nōs publicānis omissis 5 vectigālia postea victōriā recuperāre; neque enim isdem redimendi facultās erit propter calamitātem neque aliis voluntās propter timōrem.

19. Deinde quod nōs eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithradātēs initiō belli Asiaticī docuit, id quidem certē 10 calamitāte doctī memoriā retinēre debemus. Nam tum, cum in Asiā rēs magnās permulti amiserant, scimus Rōmae solutiōne impeditā fidem concidisse. Nōn enim possunt unā in civitate multi rem ac fortunās amittere,<sup>2</sup> ut nōn plūrēs sēcum in eandem trahant calamitātem. 1  
 A quō periculō prohibēte rem publicam, et mihi crēdite id quod ipsi vidētis? haec fidēs atque haec ratio pecūniarum, quae Rōmae, quae in Forō versātur, implicāta est cum illis pecūniis Asiaticis et cohaeret; ruere<sup>3</sup> illa nōn possunt, ut haec nōn eodem labefacta mōtū concidant.<sup>4</sup> 20  
 Quā rē vidēte nō dubitandum vōbis sit omni studiō ad id bellum incumbere, in quō glōria nōminis vestri, salūs sociōrum, vectigālia maxima, fortunāe plurimōrum cīvium coniunctae cum rē publicā defendantur.

*The greatness of the war; much was done by Lucullus. :*

VIII. 20. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de 25 magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici: belli genus esse ita necessarium ut sit gerendum, nōn esse

1. interest. 2. perdere. 3. concidere. 4. ruant.

ita māgnum ut sit pertimēscendum. In quō maximē  
 labōrandum est nē forte ea vōbīs, quae dīligentissimē  
 prōvidenda sunt, contemnenda<sup>1</sup> esse videantur. Atque  
 ut omnēs intellegant mē L. Lūcullō tantum impertirē<sup>2</sup>  
 5 laudis, quantum fortī virō et sapientī hominī et māgnō  
 imperātōrī dēbeatur, dīcō eius adventū maximās Mithra-  
 datī cōpiās omnibus rēbus ornātās<sup>3</sup> atque instructās  
 fuisse, urbemque Asiae clārissimam nobisque amīcis-  
 simam, Cyzicēnōrum, obsessam<sup>4</sup> esse ab ipsō rēge max-  
 10 imā multitudīne et oppugnātā vehementissimē, quam  
 L. Lūcullus virtūte, adsiduitate,<sup>5</sup> cōsiliō summīs obsi-  
 diōnis<sup>6</sup> periculis liberāvit. 21. Ab eōdem imperātōre  
 classem māgnam et ornātā,<sup>7</sup> quae ducibus Sertōriānis  
 ad Italiam studiō [atque odiō] Inflammāta raperētur,  
 15 superātā esse atque depressā<sup>8</sup>; māgnās hostium praec-  
 terea cōpiās multis proeliis esse delētās, patefactumque<sup>10</sup>  
 nostrīs legiōnibus esse Pontum, quī antea populō Rōmānō  
 ex omni aditū clausus<sup>11</sup> fuisset; Sinōpēn atque Amīsum,  
 quibus in oppidīs erant domicilia rēgis, omnibus rēbus  
 20 ornātās ac refertās,<sup>12</sup> cēterasque urbīs Pontī et Cappa-  
 dociae permultās, unō aditū adventūque esse captās;  
 rēgem spoliātum<sup>13</sup> rēgnō patriō atque avitō ad aliōs sē  
 rēgēs atque ad aliās gentīs supplicem contulisse; atque  
 haec omnia salvīs populī Rōmāni sociīs atque integrīs<sup>14</sup>  
 25 vectigālibus esse gesta. Satis opīnor haec esse laudis,  
 atque ita, Quiritēs, ut hōc vōs intellegātis, ā nullō istōrum,

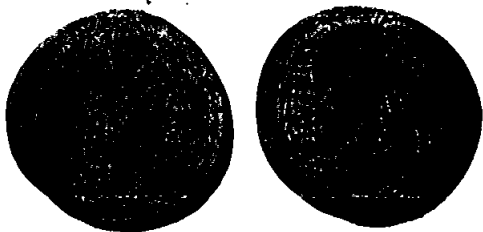
1. *neglegenda, despicienda.* 2. *tribuere, dare.* 3. *paratas, instruc-  
 tas.* 4. *oppugnatam.* 5. *diligentia.* 6. *oppugnationis.* 7. *instructam.*  
 8. *celeriter duceretur.* 9. *submersam.* 10. *opp. clausum.* 11. *opp.  
 patefactus, apertus.* 12. *repletas, plenas.* 13. *privatum.* 14. *salvus*



qui huic obtreant <sup>1</sup> lēgi atque causae, L. Lūcullum similiter ex hōe locō esse laudātum.

*Much still remains to be done. Mithradates was defeated but escaped.*

IX. 22. Requīrētur fortasse nunc quem ad modum, cum haec ita sint, reliquum possit māgnū esse bellum. Cōgnōscite, <sup>2</sup> Quirites; nōn enim hōc sine causā quacū <sup>5</sup> vidētur. Primum ex suō rēguō sic Mithradātēs profūgit ut ex eōdem Pontō Mēdēa illa quondam profūgisse dicitur, quam praedicant <sup>3</sup> in fugā frātris sui membra in eis locis, quā sē parēns persequerētur, dissipāvisse, <sup>4</sup> ut eōrum



COIN OF TIGRANES.

conlēcitiō dispersa <sup>4</sup> maerorque <sup>6</sup> patrius celeritatem perse-  
quendi retardāret. Sic Mithradātēs fugiēns maximam  
vim <sup>7</sup> auri atque argenti pulcherrimārumque rērum om-  
nium, quās et ā maiōribus accēperat et ipse bellō supe-  
riōre ex tōtā Asiā direptās <sup>8</sup> in suum rēgnū congesserat, <sup>9</sup>  
in Pontō omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri conligunt <sup>10</sup>  
omnia diligentius, rex ipse ē manibus effugit. Ita illum  
in persequendi studiō maeror, hōs laetitia tardāvit.

1. non probant, contra dicunt. 2. audite. 3. commemorant. *1. words*  
4. disieciisse. 5. dissipata. 6. opp. laetitia. 7. copiam. 8. ablatas.  
9. conlegerat.

*Tigranes, king of Armenta, received him, and the two kings joined forces.*

23. Hunc in illō timōre et fugā Tigrānēs, rēx Arme-  
nius, excēpit diffidentemque <sup>1</sup> rēbus suis cōfirmāvit  
et adffictum <sup>2</sup> ērēxit perditumque recreāvit.<sup>3</sup> Cāius in  
rēgnum postea quam L. Lūcullus cum exercitū vēnit,  
3 plūres etiam gentēs contrā imperātōrem nostrum concitā-  
tātae <sup>4</sup> sunt. Erat enim metus iniectus eīs nātiōnibus  
✓ quās numquam populus Rōmānus neque lacessendās <sup>5</sup>  
bellō neque temptandās putāvit. Erat etiam alia gravis  
atque vehemēns opīniō quae animōs gentium barbarārum  
40 pervāserat: fāni <sup>6</sup> locuplētissimī <sup>7</sup> et religiōsissimī dīrīpi-  
endī <sup>8</sup> causā in eās orās nostrum esse exercitum adductum.  
Ita nātiōnēs multae atque māgnae novō quōdam terrōre  
ac metū concitābantur.

*The enemy became more powerful than ever.*

Noster autem exercitus, tametsi <sup>9</sup> urbem ex Tigrānis  
15 rēgnō cēperat et <sup>10</sup> proeliis ūsus erat secundis,<sup>11</sup> tamen  
nimiā longinquitāte locōrum ac dēsideriō suōrum com-  
movēbātur. 24. Hic iam plūra nōn dīcam; fuit enim  
illud extrēmum, ut ex eīs locis ā militibus nostris reditus  
magis māturus quam prōcessiō <sup>12</sup> longior quaererētur.  
20 Mithradātēs autem et suam manum iam cōfirmārat, et  
eōrum quī sē ex ipsius rēgnō conlēgerant, et māgnis ad-  
venticiis auxiliis multōrum rēgum et nātiōnum iuvābātur.  
Nam hōc ferē <sup>13</sup> sic fierī solēre <sup>14</sup> accēpimus ut rēgum

1. *desperantem.* 2. *delectum.* 3. *refecit.* 4. *lacessitae.* 5. *con-*  
*citandas.* 6. *delubri, templi.* 7. *ditissimi.* 8. *praedandi.* 9. *quam-*  
*quam.* 10. *proelia fecerat.* 11. *opp. adversis.* 12. *opp. reditus.*  
13. *volgo.* 14. *consuevisse.*

afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opēs adliciant<sup>1</sup> ad misericordiam, maximèque<sup>2</sup> eorum qui aut régēs sunt aut vivunt in régnō, ut eis nōmen régale magnum et sānctum esse videātur. 25. Itaque tantum victus<sup>3</sup> efficere potuit quantum incolumis<sup>4</sup> numquam est ausus optāre.<sup>5</sup> Nam cum sē in régnum suum recēpisset, nōn fuit eō contentus quod ei præter<sup>6</sup> spem acciderat, ut illam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clārum atque victōrem impetum fecit. *med.*

*Triarius defeated, Lucullus discredited and superseded. The situation critical.*

Sinite<sup>7</sup> hōc locō, Quiritēs, sicut postæ solent qui rēs<sup>10</sup> Rōmānās scribunt, præterire<sup>8</sup> mē nostram calamitātem, quæ tanta fuit ut eam ad auris [L. Lūculli] imperātōris nōn ex proeliō nūntius, sed ex sermōne rūmor adferret. 26. Hic in illō ipsō malō gravissimāque belli offēnsiōne,<sup>9</sup> L. Lūcullus, qui tamen aliquā ex parte eis incommodis<sup>10</sup> 15 mederi<sup>11</sup> fortasse potuisset, vestrō iussū coactus, [quod] imperi. diūturnitātī modum statuendum vetere exemplō putāvistis, partem militum qui iam stipendiis cōfecti erant dīmisit, partem M<sup>7</sup> Glabriōni tradidit.

Multi prætereō cōsultō, sed eā vōs coniecturā per-20 spicite, quantum illud bellum factum putātis, quod coniungant régēs potentissimi, renoveant agitāte nātiōnes, suscipiant integræ gentēs, novus imperātōr noster accipiat vetere exercitū pulsō.

1. inducant. 2. præsertim. 3. superatus. 4. salvus. 5. cupere, expetere. 6. ultra, supra. 7. permittite. 8. prætermittere. 9. calamitate. 10. damnis, detrimentis. 11. remedium adferre.

*The choice of a commander; Pompey alone possesses the necessary qualifications.*

X. 27. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor quā rē esset hōc bellum genere<sup>1</sup> ipsō necessarium, magnitudine periculōsum; restat<sup>2</sup> ut dē imperātore ad id bellum deligendō ac tantis rēbus praeficiendō dicendum esse  
5 videatur.

Utinam, Quiritēs, virōrum fortium atque innocentium cōpiam tantam habērētis ut haec vōbis deliberatiō difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rēbus ac tantō bellō praeficiendum putārētis! Nunc vērō cum sit unus Cn.  
10 Pompēius qui nōn modo eōrum hominum qui nunc sunt glōriam, sed etiam antiquitātis memoriam virtūte superārit, quae rēs est quae cuiusquam animum in hāc causā dubium facere possit? 28. Ego enim sic existimō, in summō imperātore quattuor hās rēs inesse oportere:  
15 scientiam rei militaris, virtūtem, auctoritatem, felicitatem.<sup>3</sup>

*His knowledge of warfare.*

Quis igitur hōc homine scientior umquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? Qui ē lūdō<sup>4</sup> atque ē pueritiae disciplinis bellō maximō atque acerrimis<sup>5</sup> hostibus ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est; quī extrēmā pueritiā miles in exercitū fuit summī imperātōris; ineunte adulescentiā maximī ipse exercitūs imperātor, qui saepius cum hoste cōflavit<sup>6</sup> quam quisquam cum inimicō concertavit, plūra bella gessit quam ceteri legē-

1. natura. 2. reliquum est. 3. fortunam. 4. schola. 5. fortissimis. 6. dimicavit, pugnavit.





runt, plūris prōvinciās cōntēcit quam alii concupivērunt; cūius adulescentia ad scientiam rei militāris, nōn aliēnis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis, nōn offēnsiōnibus<sup>1</sup> belli, sed victōriis, nōn stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod dēnique genus esse belli potest in quō illum nōn exercuerit fortuna rei pūblicae? Civile, Africānum, Trānsalpīnum, Hispāniēse mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicōsissimis nātiōnibus, servile, nāvāle bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellōrum et hostium nōn solum gesta ab hōi unō sed etiam cōfecta,<sup>2</sup> nullam rem esse 10 dēclārant in usū positam militāri quae hūius viri scientiam fugere possit. }

*His soldierly virtues; his victories on land.*

XI. 29. Iam vērō virtūti Cn. Pompēi quae potest oratio pār inveniri? Quid est quod quisquam aut illō dignum aut vōbis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit <sup>15</sup> adferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutēs impēratōriae quae volgō<sup>3</sup> existimantur, labor in nēgōtiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendō, celeritas in cōficiendō, cōsiliū in prōvidendō; quae tanta sunt in hōe unō quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatōribus, 20 quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, nōn fuērunt. 7 30. Tēstis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla hūius virtute et subsidio<sup>4</sup> cōfessus est liberatam. Tēstis est Sicilia, quam, multis undique cinctam<sup>5</sup> periculis, nōn terrōre belli sed cōsili celeritate explicavit.<sup>6</sup> Tēstis est Africa, 23 quae magnis oppressa hostium cōpīs eōrum ipsōrum

1. calamitatibus. 2. finita. 3. plerumque. 4. auxilio. 5. circumdatam. 6. liberavit.

sanguine redundāvit. Tēstis est Gallia, per quam legiōni-  
 bus nostrīs iter in Hispāniam Gallōrum interneciōne<sup>1</sup>  
 patefactum est. Tēstis est Hispānia, quae saepissimē  
 plurimōs hostīs ab hōc superātōs prōstrātōsque cōspexit.  
 5 Tēstis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae, cum servili  
 bellō taetrō<sup>2</sup> periculōsōque premeretur, ab hōc auxilium  
 absente expetivit; quod bellum exspectatiōne eius at-  
 tenuātum atque imminūtum est, adventū sublātum<sup>3</sup> ac  
 sepultum.

*His conquests on the sea.*

10 31. Tēstēs nunc vērō iam omnēs orae atque omnēs  
 exterae gentēs ac nātiōnēs, dēnique maria omnia, eum  
 ūniversa, tum in singulis orīs omnēs sinūs atque portūs.

MEDAL OF POMPEY.

Quis enim tōtō mari locus per hōs annōs aut tam fir-  
 15 mum habuit praesidiū ut tūtus esset, aut tam fuit  
 abditus<sup>4</sup> ut latēret? Quis nāvigāvit qui nōn sē aut  
 mortis aut servitūtis periculō committeret,<sup>5</sup> cum aut  
 hieme aut refertō<sup>6</sup> praedōnum<sup>7</sup> mari nāvigāret? Hōc

1. exitio, caede. 2. turpi. 3. remotum. 4. opp. apertus. 5. man-  
 daret. 6. opp. vacuo. 7. latronum.



tantum bellum, tam turpe,<sup>1</sup> tam vetus,<sup>2</sup> tam latē dīvisum atque dīpersum, quis unquam arbitrārētur<sup>3</sup> aut ab omnibus imperātōribus ūnō annō aut omnibus annīs ab ūnō imperātōre cōfici posse? . . . 32. Quam prōvinciam tenuistis a praedōnibus liberam per hōsce annōs? Quod vectīgal 5 vōbīs tūtum fuit? Quem socium dēfendistis? Cui prae-

## GAËTA, ANCIENT CAIETA.

sidiō classibus vestrīs fuistis? Quam multās exīstimātis Insulās esse dēsertās? Quam multās aut metū relictās aut a praedōnibus captās urbīs esse sociōrum? *~ meso*

XII. Sed quid ego longinqua<sup>4</sup> commemorō? Fuit 10 hōc quondam, fuit proprium populi Rōmāni longē a domō bellāre et prōpūgnāculis imperi sociōrum fortūnās, nōn sua tēcta dēfendere. Sociis ego nostrīs mare per

1. tuetrum. 2. opp. recens. 3. existimaret. 4. remota.

hōs annōs clausum<sup>1</sup> fuisse dicam, cum exercitūs vestri  
 numquam ā Brundisiō nisi hieme<sup>2</sup> summā trāsmiserint?  
 Quī ad vōs ab exteris nātiōnibus venirent captōs querar,<sup>3</sup>  
 cum lēgātī populī Rōmānī redēptī sint? Mercātōribus  
 5 tūtum mare nōn fuisse dicam, cum duodecim secūrēs in  
 praedōnum potestātem pervēnerint? **33.** Cnidum aut  
 Colophōnem aut Samum, nōbilissimās urbīs, innumerābi-  
 lisque aliās captās esse commemorem, cum vestrōs portūs  
 atque eōs portūs, quibus vitam ac spīritum dūcitis, in  
 10 praedōnum fuisse potestāte sciātis? An vērō Ignōrātis  
 portum Caiētāe celeberrimum ac plōnissimum<sup>4</sup> nāvium  
 inspectante praetōre ā praedōnibus esse direptum? ex  
 Misēnō autem eius ipsius liberōs, quī cum praedōnibus  
 antea ibi bellum gesserat, ā praedōnibus esse sublātōs?<sup>5</sup>  
 15 Nam quid ego Ōstiēse incommodum<sup>6</sup> atque illam  
 lābem<sup>7</sup> atque Ignōminiam rei pūblicae querar, cum  
 prope inspectantibus vōbīs classis ea, cui cōsul populī  
 Rōmānī praepositus<sup>8</sup> esset, ā praedōnibus capta atque  
 oppressa est? Prō dī immortalēs! tantamne unius  
 20 hominis incredibilis ac divīna virtūs tam brevī tempore  
 lūcem adferre rei pūblicae potuit, ut vōs, quī modo<sup>9</sup> ante  
 ōstium Tiberīnum classem hostium vidēbātis, eī nunc  
 nullam intrā Ōceanī ōstium praedōnum nāvem esse  
 audiātis? *et c.*

*The marvelous quickness of his movements.*

25 **34.** Atque haec quā celeritāte gesta sint quamquam  
 vidētis, tamen ā mē in dīcondō praetereunda<sup>10</sup> nōn sunt.

1. opp. patefactum. 2. opp. aestate. 3. opp. laeter. 4. refertum.  
 5. ablatos. 6. calamitatem. 7. maculam. 8. praefectus. 9. paulo  
 ante. 10. praeterrmittenda.

Quis enim umquam aut obeundi<sup>1</sup> negotii aut consequendi quaestus<sup>2</sup> studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? Qui nondum tempestivo<sup>3</sup> ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit,<sup>4</sup> in Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque haec tria frumentaria

## BRINDISI, ANCIENT BRUNDISIUM.

subsidia<sup>4</sup> rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit. 35. Inde cum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia Transalpina praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Graeciam navibus, Italiae duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit; ipse autem, ut Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo

1. exsequendi. 2. lucri. 3. idoneo. 4. auxilia.

diē tōtam ad imperium populi Rōmāni Ciliciam adiūnxit; omnēs quī ubique praedōnēs fuērunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim ūnius hūius sē imperiō ac potestāti dēdiderunt. Idem Crētēnsibus, cum ad eum ūsque in  
 5 Pamphylīam lēgātōs dēprecātōrēsque mīsissent, spem dēditionis nōn adōmit<sup>1</sup> obsidēsque imperāvit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diūturnum,<sup>2</sup> tam longē lātēque dispersum, quō bellō omnēs gentēs ac nātiōnēs premēbantur, Cn. Pompēius extrēmā hieme apparāvit,<sup>3</sup> ineunte vērē  
 10 suscēpit, mediā aestāte cōnfēcit.

*His other virtues: he is the soul of honor.*

XIII. 36. Est haec divīna atque incrēdibilis virtūs imperātōris. Quid cēteraē quās<sup>4</sup> paulō ante commemorāre coeperam, quantae atque quam multae sunt? Nōn enim bellandī<sup>5</sup> virtūs solum in summō ac perfectō imperātōre  
 15 quaerenda est, sed multae sunt artēs eximiae<sup>6</sup> hūius administrāe comitēsque virtūtis. Ac primū, quantā innocentīā dēbent esse imperātōrēs, quantā deinde in omnibus rēbus temperantiā, quantā fidē, quantā facilitāte,<sup>7</sup> quantō ingeniō, quantā hūmānitāte! Quae breviter  
 20 quālia sint in Cn. Pompēiō cōsiderēmus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quiritēs, sed ea magis ex aliōrum contentiōne<sup>8</sup> quam ipsa per sēsē cōgnōsci atque intellegī possunt. 37. Quem enim imperātōrem possumus illō in numerō putāre cuius in exercitū centuriātūs vēneant<sup>9</sup>  
 25 atque vēnierint? Quid hunc hominem māgnū aut

1. eripuit. 2. opp. breve. 3. adornavit. 4. modo. 5. bellum gerendi. 6. egregiae. 7. benignitate, lenitate. 8. comparatione. 9. opp. emanantur.

amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex aerario  
 depromptam<sup>1</sup> ad bellum administrandum, aut propter  
 cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus divisit aut prop-  
 ter avaritiam Romae in quaestum reliquerit? Vestra  
 admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini  
 qui haec fecerint: ego autem nominum neminem; quam rem  
 irasci mihi neminem poterit, nisi qui ante deum se voluerit  
 confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum  
 quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum sit, nostri exer-  
 citus forant quis ignorat? **38.** Itinera, quae per hosce 10  
 annos in Italia per agrum atque oppida civium Romanorum  
 nostri imperatores fecerint, recordamini; tum facilius  
 statuatis<sup>2</sup> quid apud externas nationes fieri existimatis.  
 Utrum plures arbitramini<sup>3</sup> per hosce annos militum  
 vestrorum armis hostium urbis an hibernis sociorum 15  
 civitates esse deletas? [Neque enim potest exercitum  
 is continere<sup>4</sup> imperator qui se ipse non continet, neque  
 severus<sup>5</sup> esse in iudicando qui alios in se severos esse  
 iudices non volt. *39.* Hic miramur hunc hominem  
 tantum excellere ceteris, cuius legionibus sic in Asiam 20  
 pervenerint ut non modo manus tantum exercitus sed ne  
 vestigium quidem cuiquam peccato<sup>6</sup> nocuisse dicatur?  
 Iam vero quem ad modum milites hibernent, cotidiano  
 sermonibus ac litterae perferuntur; non modo ut<sup>7</sup> sumptum  
 faciat in militem nemini vis adfertur, sed ne cupienti 25  
 quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim non avaritiae  
 periculum maiores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum  
 tectis esse voluerunt.

1. *extractum.* 2. *iudicabit.* 3. *putatis.* 4. *cohibere, coercere*  
 5. *opp. remissus.* 6. *opp. hostili.* 7. *pecuniam pendat*

*His absolute self-control.*

XIV. 40. Age vērō, cēteris in rēbus quā sit temperantiā<sup>1</sup> cōsiderāte. Unde illam tantam celeritātem et tam incrēdibilem cursum inventum putātis? Nōn enim

ROMAN WAR GALLEY.

illum eximia<sup>2</sup> vīs rēmigum aut ars inaudīta quaedam  
 5 gubernandī<sup>3</sup> aut ventī aliquī novī tam celeriter in ultimās  
 terrās pertulērunt; sed eae rēs quae cēterōs remorārī  
 solent nōn retardārunt: nōn avāritia ab Institūtō<sup>4</sup> cursū  
 ad praedam aliquam dēvocāvit, nōn libidō ad voluptātem,  
 nōn amoenitās ad dēlectātiōnem, nōn nōbilitās urbis ad  
 10 cōgnitiōnem, nōn dēnique labor ipse ad quiētem; postrēmō  
 signa<sup>5</sup> et tabulās<sup>6</sup> cēteraque ōrnāmenta Graecōrum oppi-  
 dōrum, quae cēteri tollenda<sup>7</sup> esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille

1. *continentia.* 2. *singularis, praestans.* 3. *navem regendi, navigandi.* 4. *incepto.* 5. *simulacra, statuas, imagines.* 6. *picturas*  
 7. *aufferenda.*

nē vīsenda quidem exīstimāvit. 41. Itaque omnēs nunc in eīs locīs Cn. Pompēium sicut aliquem, nōn ex hāc urbe missum, sed dē caelō delāpsū intuentur.<sup>1</sup> Nunc dēnique incipiunt crēdere fuisse hominēs Rōmānōs hāc quondam continentīā,<sup>2</sup> quod iam nātiōibus exterīs in-<sup>3</sup>credibile ac falsō memoriae prōditum<sup>3</sup> vidēbātur. Nunc imperī vestri splendor illīs gentibus lūcem adferre coepit. Nunc intellegunt nōn sine causā māiōrēs suōs tum, cum eā temperantiā magistrātūs habēbāmus, servīre populō Rōmānō quam imperāre aliīs māluisse.

*W. mesday.*<sup>10</sup>

*His graciousness and clemency.*

Iam vērō ita facilēs aditūs ad eum privātōrum, ita liberae querimōniae dē aliōrum iniūriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitāte principibus excellit, facilitāte infimīs pār esse videātur. 42. [Iam quantum cōnsiliō,<sup>4</sup> quantum dicendī gravitāte et cōpiā valeat, in quō ipso inest<sup>5</sup> quaedam dignitās imperātōria, vōs, Quiritēs, hōc ipso ex locō saepe cōgnōvistis.] Fidem vērō eius quantam inter sociōs exīstimārī putātis, quam hostēs omnēs omnium generum sāctissimam iūdicārint? Hūmānitāte iam tantā est ut difficile dictū sit utrum hostēs magis<sup>6</sup> virtūtem eius pūgnantēs timuerint an mānsuetūdinem<sup>6</sup> victi dilēxerint. Et quisquam dubitābit quān huius hōc tantum bellum trāsmittendum<sup>6</sup> sit, qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella cōficienda divīnō quōdam cōnsiliō nātus esse videātur?

25

1. *aspiciunt.* 2. *temperantia.* 3. *traditum.* 4. *prudentia.*  
5. *opp. crudelitatem, inhumanitatem.* 6. *mandandum.*

*His great prestige: all desire him as commander.*

XV. 43. Et quoniam auctōritās quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperiō militārī valet, certē nēminī dubium est quā eā rē idem ille imperātor<sup>1</sup> plūrimū possit. [Vehementer autem pertinēre ad bella  
5 administranda quid hostēs, quid sociī dē imperātōribus nostrīs existiment quis Ignōrat, cum sciāmus hominēs in tantis rēbus ut aut contemnant aut metuant aut ōderint aut ament opīniōne nōn minus et fāmā quam aliquā ratiōne certā commoverī? Quod igitur nōmen unquam  
10 in orbe terrārum clārius fuit? Cūius rēs gestae pārēs? Dē quō homine vōs, id quod maximē<sup>2</sup> facit auctōritātem, tanta et tam praecelāra iūdicia fēcistis? 44. An vērō ūllam ūsquam<sup>3</sup> esse ōram tam dēsertam putātis quō nōn illius diēi fāma pervāserit, cum ūniversus populus Rō-  
15 mānus, refertō<sup>4</sup> Forō completisque omnibus templis ex quibus hīc locus cōspici potest, ūnum sibi ad commūne omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompēium imperātōrem dēpopōscit?<sup>5</sup> *W. Wednesday*

*His mere appointment against the pirates lowered the price of corn.*

Itaque, — ut plūra nōn dicam neque aliōrum exemplis  
20 cōfirmem quantum [hūius] auctōritās valeat in bellō, — ab eōdem Cn. Pompēiō omnium rērum ōregiārum<sup>6</sup> exempla sūmantur; [quī quō diē ā vōbis maritimō bellō

1. valeat. 2. praecipue, praesertim. 3. ullo loco. 4. pleno, repleto. 5. flagitavit. 6. eximiarum.



praepositus<sup>1</sup> est imperator, tanta repente vilitas<sup>2</sup> annonae<sup>3</sup> ex summa inopia<sup>4</sup> et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix ex summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. //

*He is feared by Mithradates and the entire East.*

45. Iam accepta in Pontō calamitate ex eo proelio de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, — cum socii pertinuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, — amississet Asia, Quiritēs, nisi ad ipsum discrimen<sup>5</sup> eius temporis<sup>10</sup> divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Huius adventus et Mithradatem insolite inflammatum victoriam continuit<sup>6</sup> et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit quid virtute perfecturus sit qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?

XVI. 46. Age vero illa res quantam declarat eiusdem hominis apud hostis populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic se uni dederunt! quod Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas<sup>7</sup> prope terras venerunt, eique se omnis Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixit<sup>25</sup>

1. praefectus. 2. opp. caritas. 3. rei frumentariae. 4. opp. copia, ubertate. 5. punctum. 6. coercuit, retinuit. 7. opp. diuturno. 8. opp. proximas.

runt! Quid? Idem iste Mithradātēs nōne ad eundem Cn. Pompēium lēgātum ūsque in Hispāniam mīsit? eum quem Pompēius lēgātum semper iūdicāvit, eī, quibus erat [semper] molestum<sup>1</sup> ad eum potissimum<sup>2</sup> esse missum, 5 speculātōrem quam lēgātum iūdicārī māluērunt. Potestis igitur iam cōstituere, Quirītēs, hanc auctōritātem, multis posteā rēbus gestīs māgnisque vestrīs iūdiiciis amplifi- cātam,<sup>3</sup> quantum apud illōs rēgēs, quantum apud exterās nātiōnēs valitūram esse exīstimētis. *r. Luradung*

*His good fortune.*

10 47. <sup>4</sup>Reliquum est ut de felicitate,<sup>4</sup> quam praestare<sup>6</sup> de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut aequum est homines de potestate deorum, timidē et pauca dicāmus. Ego enim sic existimō: Maximō, Marcellō, Scipiōni, Mariō, et ceteris magnis 15 imperatoribus, nō solum propter virtutem sed etiam propter fortunam,<sup>7</sup> saepius imperia mandata atque exercitūs esse commissōs. Fuit enim profectō quibusdam summīs virīs quaedam ad amplitudinē<sup>8</sup> et ad glōriam et ad rēs māgnās bene gerendās divinitus adiūncta for- 20 tūna. De huius autem hominis felicitate, de quō nunc agimus,<sup>9</sup> hāc ūtar moderatiōne dicendī, nōn ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita<sup>10</sup> meminisse, reliqua sperare videāmur, nō aut invisa<sup>11</sup> dīs immortalibus oratiō nostra aut ingrāta esse videatur. 25 48. Itaque nōn sum praedicātūrus<sup>12</sup> quantās ille rēs domi

1. opp. gratum. 2. prae ceteris. 3. auctam. 4. restat. 5. fortuna. 6. confirmare, in se recipere. 7. felicitatem. 8. dignitatem. 9. dicimus. 10. opp. futura. 11. odiosa. 12. commemoraturus.

militiae, terrā marique, quantāque felicitate gesserit; ut eius semper voluntatibus non modo civēs adsenserint,<sup>1</sup> socii obtemperarint,<sup>2</sup> hostēs oboedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint.<sup>3</sup> Hōc brevissimē dicam, nēminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui ab dīs 5 immortalibus tot et tantās rēs tacitus auderet optāre, quot et quantās dī immortalēs ad Cn. Pompēium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium<sup>4</sup> ac perpetuum sit, Quiritēs, cum commūnis salutis atque imperi tum ipsius hominis causā, sicuti facitis, velle et optāre debētis. 10

*Pompey should therefore be chosen.*

49. Quā rē, cum et bellum sit ita necessarium ut neglegi nōn possit, ita māgnū ut accuratissimē<sup>5</sup> sit administrandum, et cum ei imperatōrem praeficere<sup>6</sup> possitis, in quō sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtūs, clarissima auctoritās, egregia fortūna, dubitātis, Quiritēs, 15 quā hōc tantum bonū, quod vōbis ab dīs immortalibus oblātum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam<sup>7</sup> conferātis? *7 ready*

*Fortunately he is already on the spot.*

XVII. 50. Quod si Rōmae Cn. Pompēius privātus<sup>8</sup> esset hōc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deli- 20 gendus atque mittendus; nunc cum ad ceterās summās utilitatēs haec quoque opportunitās adiungatur, ut in eis ipsīs locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab eis qui

1. opp. obstiterint. 2. oboedierint. 3. obtemperarint. 4. opp. alienum. 5. diligentissime. 6. praeponere. 7. opp. minuendam. 8. opp. magistratus.

habent accipere statim possit, quid exspectamus? Aut cūr nōn ducibus dīs immortalibus eidem, cui cētera summā cum salūte rei pūblicae commissa sunt, hōc quoque bellum rēgium committamus?

*Objections are raised by Hortensius and Catulus.*

- 5 51. At enim vir clārissimus, amantissimus rei pū-  
 blicae, vestris beneficiis amplissimis adfectus, Q. Catulus,  
 itemque summis ornāmentis  
 honoris, fortunae, virtūtis, in-  
 genī praeditus, Q. Hortēsius,  
 10 ab hāc ratiōne<sup>1</sup> dissentiunt.  
 Quōrum ego auctōritātem apud  
 vōs multis locis plūrimum  
 valuisse et valēre oportēre<sup>2</sup>  
 cōnfiteor; sed in hāc causā,  
 15 tametsi<sup>3</sup> cōgnōscētis auctōri-  
 tātēs contrāriās virōrum for-  
 tissimōrum et clārissimōrum,  
 tamen omissis<sup>4</sup> auctōritātibus  
 ipsā rē ac ratiōne<sup>5</sup> exquirere  
 20 possumus vērītātem, atque  
 hōc facilius, quod ea omnia,  
 quae ā mē adhūc dicta sunt,  
 eidem istī vēra esse concēdunt, et necessariū bellum  
 esse et māgnū et in unō Cn. Pompēiō summa esse  
 25 omnia.

QUINTUS HORTENSIVS.

1. *sententia.* 2. *debere.* 3. *etsi, etiamsi.* 4. *neglectis.* 5. *causa*

*Hortensius contends that no man should be given such great power.  
This is refuted by the Gabinian Law.*

52. Quid igitur ait<sup>1</sup> Hortēsius? [¶ Si ūni omnia tribuenda<sup>2</sup> sint, dīgnissimum esse Pompēium, sed ad ūnum tamen omnia dēferri<sup>3</sup> nōn oportere. ¶] Obsolēvit iam ista orātiō, rē multō magis quam verbis refūtata. Nam tū idem, Q. Hortēsi, multa prō tuā summā cōpiā ac singulārī facultāte dicendī et in senātū contrā virum fortem, A. Gabinium, graviter ornātēque dixisti, cum is dē tūc imperātore contrā praedōnēs cōstituendō lēgem prōmulgasset,<sup>4</sup> et ex hōc ipsō locō permulta<sup>5</sup> item contrā eam lēgem verba fēcisti. *quod dicitur* 10

53. Quid? tum, per deōs immortalis! si plūs apud populum Rōmānum auctōritās tua quam ipsius populi Rōmāni salūs et vērā causa valuisset, hodiē hanc glōriam atque hōc orbis terrarū imperium tenērēmus? An tibi tum imperium hōc esse vidēbātur, cum populi Rōmāni 15 lēgātī, quaestōrēs practōrēsque capiēbantur, cum ex omnibus prōvinciis commeātū et privātō et publicō prohibēbāmur, cum ita clausa nobīs erant maria omnia ut neque privātam rem trānsmarinam neque publicam iam obire possēmus? 20

XVIII. 54. Quae civitās antea umquam fuit, nōn dicit Athēniēsiūm, quae satis latō quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, nōn Karthāginiēsiūm, quī permultum classe ac maritimis rēbus valuērunt, nōn Rhodiōrum, quōrum usque ad nostram memoriā discipina nāvālis et glōria 25

1. dicit. 2. deferenda. 3. tribui. 4. proposuisset. 5. opp. per-pauca.

remānsit; quae civitas, inquam,<sup>1</sup> antea tam tenuis,<sup>2</sup> quae tam parva insula fuit quae non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At hercule aliquot annos continuos  
 5 ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cuius usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserit, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperi caruit.<sup>3</sup>

55. Nos, quorum maiores Antiochum regem classe  
 10 Persemque superarunt,<sup>4</sup> omnibusque navalibus pugnis Karthaginensis, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatis-  
 simos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ei nullo in loco iam praedonibus pares esse poteramus; nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnis socios in  
 15 ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperi salvos praestare poteramus, <sup>vixit</sup> tum, cum insula Delos, tam procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quod omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commebant, referta<sup>5</sup> divitiis, parva, sine mure, nihil timebat, — eidem non modo provincis atque  
 20 oris Italiae maritimis ac portibus nostris, sed etiam Appiam iam viam carebamus; et eis temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum descendere, cum cum nobis maiores nostri exuviis<sup>6</sup> nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent. †

25 XIX. 56. [Bonoe te animo tum, Q. Hortensii, populus Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea quae sentiebatis; sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam

1. aio. 2. opp. firma, valida. 3. eguit, opp. abundavit. 4. vicerunt  
 5. plena. 6. spoliis.

auctōritātī vestrae obtemperāre.<sup>1</sup> Itaque ūna lēx, ūnus vir, ūnus annus nōn modo nōs illā miseriā ac turpitudīne liberāvit, sed etiam effēcit ut aliquandō<sup>2</sup> vērē<sup>3</sup> vidērēmur omnibus gentibus ac nātiōnibus terrā marīque imperāre.

5

## THE APPIAN WAY.

57. Quō mihi etiam indignius vidētur obtrētātum<sup>4</sup> esse adhūc — Gabiniō dicam ane Pompēiō an utrique, id quod est vērīus? — nē lēgārētur<sup>5</sup> A. Gabīnius Cn. Pompēiō expetenti ac pōstulanti. Utrum ille, qui pōstulat ad tantum bellum lēgātum quem velit, idōneus<sup>6</sup> nōn est qui impetret,<sup>7</sup> cum cēteri ad expilandōs<sup>8</sup> sociōs

1. obsecundare. 2. tandem. 3. opp. falso. 4. opp. concessum.  
5. Legatus adsignaretur. 6. dignus. 7. precibus obtineat. 8. spoliandos.

diripiendāsque prōvinciās quōs voluērunt lēgātōs ēdūxerint; an ipse, cuius lēge salūs ac dignitās populō Rōmānō atque omnibus gentibus cōstitutā est, expertus<sup>1</sup> esse dēbet glōriā eius imperātōris atque eius exercitūs qui cōsiliō ipsius ac periculō est cōstitutus? <sup>58.</sup> An C. Falcius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latiniēnsis, Cn. Lentulus, quōs omnis honoris causā nōminō, cum tribūni plēbi fuissent, annō proximō lēgātī esse potuerunt; in unō Gabiniō sunt tam diligentēs,<sup>2</sup> qui in hōc bellō, quod lēge Gabiniā geritur, in hōc imperātōre atque exercitū, quem per vōs ipse cōstituit, etiam praecipuō<sup>3</sup> iūre esse dēberet? Dē quō lēgandō cōsulēs spērō ad senātum relātūrōs. Qui si dubitābunt aut gravābuntur, ego mē profiteor relātūrū; neque mē impedit cuiusquam iniuriam edictum quō minus vōbīs frētus<sup>4</sup> vestrum iūs beneficiumque dēfendam, neque praeter intercessionem quicquam audiam, dē quā, ut arbitror, istī ipsī qui minantur etiam atque etiam quid liceat cōsiderābunt. Mea quidem sententiā, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeiō socius ascribitur, propterea quod alter unum illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

*Catulus thinks the bill unconstitutional.*

\*  
XX. 59. Reliquum est ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui cum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid

1. sine parte. 2. opp. negligentes. 3. proprio. 4. confusus.



'eō factum esset, in quō spem essētis habitūri, cōpit māgnū suae virtūtis fructum ac dignitātis, cum omnēs unā prope vōce in [eō] ipsō vōs spem habitūrōs esse dīxistis. Etenim tālis est vir, ut nūlla rēs tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille nōn et cōsiliō regere et integritāte tuērī<sup>2</sup> et virtūte cōficere possit. Sed in hōc ipsō ab eō vehemētissimē dissentio, quod, quō minus certa est hominum ac minus diūturna vita, hōc magis rēs publica, dum per deōs immortālis licet, frui<sup>3</sup> dēbet summī viri vitā atque virtūte.

60. ~~At~~ enim nō quid novi fiat, contrā exempla atque institūta māiōrum. *J. Fridary*

*Their ancestors themselves did not always follow precedent.*

Nōn dicam hōc locō māiōrēs nostrōs semper in pāce cōnsuetūdini, in bellō utilitāti pāruisse,<sup>4</sup> semper ad

#### COIN OF CARTHAGE.

novōs cāsūs<sup>5</sup> temporum novōrum cōsiliōrum ratiōnēs accommodāsse; nōn dicam duo bella maxima, Pūnicum 17

1. et accidisset. 2. defendere, conservare. 3. uti. 4. obtemperasse. 5. eventus.

atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta, duasque urbis potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Karthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse delatas<sup>1</sup>; non commemorabo nuper ita  
 5 vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Marius spes imperii poneretur, ut Idem cum Iugurtha, Idem cum Cimbris, Idem cum Teutonibus bellum administraret.<sup>2</sup>

*Catulus himself has heretofore supported exceptions in favor of Pompey.*

61. In ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil  
 volt Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summam Q. Catuli  
 10 voluntate constituta recordamini. XXI. Quid tam  
 novum quam adolescentulum privatum exercitum  
 difficili<sup>3</sup> rei publicae tempore conficere?<sup>4</sup> Confecit.  
 Huc praeesse?<sup>5</sup> Praefuit. Rem optimam ductum suum  
 gerere? Gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem  
 15 quam homini peradulescenti, cuius aetas a senatorio  
 gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari,  
 Siciliam permitti,<sup>6</sup> atque Africam bellumque in ea  
 provincia administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis sin-  
 gulari<sup>7</sup> innocentia, gravitate, virtute; bellum in Africa  
 20 maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid  
 vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare?  
 At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit,  
 sed omnium etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam  
 putavit. 62. Quid tam inusitatum<sup>8</sup> quam ut, cum duo

1. eversas. 2. gereret. 3. arduo, periculoso. 4. colligere. 5. praeponi. 6. committi, deferri. 7. eximia. 8. praeter consuetudinem

cōsulēs clārissimī fortissimīque essent, eques Rōmānus  
ad bellum maximum formīdolosissimumque prō cōsule  
mitteretur? <sup>et missus</sup> Missus est. Quō

quidem tempore, cum esset nōn  
nēmō in senātū qui diceret ‘nōn 5

oportere mitti hominem privā-  
tum prō cōsule,’ L. Philippus  
dixisse dicitur ‘nōn illum suā  
sententiā prō cōsule sed prō  
cōsulibus mittere.’ Tanta in 10

eō rei pūblicae bene gerendae  
spēs cōstituēbatur ut duōrum

COIN OF POMPEY.

cōsulū mūnus<sup>2</sup> unius adulē-

scientis virtūti committeretur. Quid tam singulāre quam  
ut, ex senātūs cōsultō lēgibus solūtus,<sup>3</sup> cōsul ante fieret 15

quam ūllum alium magistrātum per lēgēs capere licuisset?

Quid tam incrēdibile quam ut iterum eques Rōmānus ex

senātūs cōsultō triumphāret? Quae in omnibus homini-

bus nova post hominum memoriā cōstitutā sunt, ea

tam multa nōn sunt quam haec, quae in hōc ūnō homine 20

vidēmus. ¶ 63. Atque haec tot exempla, tanta ac tam

nova, profecta sunt in eundem hominem ā Q. Catulī atque

ā cēterōrum eiusdem dignitātis amplissimōrum hominum  
auctōritāte.

*Hortensius and Catulus should therefore withdraw their objections  
and submit to the will of the people.*

XXII. Quā rē videant nō sit periniquum<sup>4</sup> et nōn 25  
ferendum, illōrūm auctōritātem dē Cn. Pompēi dignitāte

1. mittendum esse. 2. offictum. 3. opp. coactus. 4. opp. aequum  
iustum.

ā vōbīs comprobātam semper esse, vestrum ab illis dē  
 eōdem homine iūdicium populūque Rōmānī auctōritātem  
 improbārī, praesertim cum iam suō<sup>1</sup> iūre populus  
 Rōmānus in hōc homine suam auctōritātem vel<sup>2</sup> contrā  
 5 omnis qui dissentiunt possit dēfendere, propterea quod  
 isdem istis reclāmantibus<sup>3</sup> vōs ūnum illum ex omnibus  
 dēlēgistis quem bellō praedōnum praepōnerētis. 64. Hōc  
 sī vōs temerē<sup>4</sup> fēcistis et rei publicae parum<sup>5</sup> cōnsulu-  
 istis, rēctō isti studia vestra suis cōnsiliis regero cōnantur.  
 10 Sīn autem vōs plūs tum in rē publicā vidistis, vōs eis  
 repūgnantibus<sup>6</sup> per vōsmet ipsōs dignitātem huic imperiō,  
 salutem orbī terrārum attulistis, aliquandō<sup>7</sup> isti principēs  
 et sibi et cēteris populi Rōmānī ūniversi auctōritātī  
 pārendum<sup>8</sup> esse fateantur. *W. ed.*

*They can not but see that a man of Pompey's character is needed  
 in Asia.*

15 Atque in hōc bellō Asiaticō et regiō nōn solum militāris  
 illa virtūs, quae est in Cn. Pompēiō singulāris, sed aliae  
 quoque virtūtēs animi magnae et multae requiruntur.  
 Difficile est in Asiā, Ciliciā, Syriā, rēgnisque interiōrum  
 nātiōnum ita versārī<sup>9</sup> nostrum imperātōrem ut nihil  
 20 aliud nisi dē hoste ac dē laude cōgitet. Deinde etiam  
 sī qui sunt pudōre<sup>10</sup> ac temperantiā moderatiōrēs, tamen  
 eōs esse tālis propter multitudinem cupidōrum hominum  
 nēmō arbitrātur. 65. Difficile est dictū, Quiritēs, quantō  
 in odiō simus apud exterās nātiōnēs propter eōrum, quōs

1. proprio. 2. etiam. 3. repugnantibus. 4. sine consilio, impru-  
 denter. 5. opp. nimium. 6. reclamantibus. 7. tandem. 8. opp.  
 resistendum. 9. se gerere. 10. opp. impudentia.

ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines<sup>1</sup> et iniurias. Quod enim fanum<sup>2</sup> putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? Urbes iam locupletēs<sup>3</sup> et opiosae requiruntur, quibus causa 5 belli propter diripiendī<sup>4</sup> cupiditatem inferatur.

66. Libenter haec coram<sup>5</sup> cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem. Novērunt enim sociorum volnera, vident eorum calamitātēs, querimoniās audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostis 10 exercitum mittere putatis an hostium simulatiōe contra socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia quae non modo imperatoris aut legati sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere<sup>6</sup> possit?

XXIII. Quā rē, etiam si quem habētis qui conlatis 15 signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen nisi erit idem qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum coniugibus ac liberis, [qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum,] qui ab auro gazaque<sup>7</sup> regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere<sup>8</sup> possit, non erit idoneus qui ad bellum 20 Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. 167. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse quae locuples sit? Ecquam esse locupletem quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam 25 requisivit.<sup>10</sup> Videbat enim imperatores locupletari quot-

1. cupiditates. 2. deludrum, templum. 3. divites. 4. praedandi.  
5. palam. 6. ferre, pati. 7. i.e. pugnandi causa, hence conlatis  
signis = oppositis signis, obiectis signis. 8. divitiis. 9. continere.  
10. depoposcit.

annis pecuniā publicā praeter paucōs, neque eōs quicquam aliud adsequi classium nōmine, nisi ut detrīmentis<sup>1</sup> accipiendis māiore adfici turpitudine vidēmur. Nunc quā cupiditate hominēs in provinciās et quibus iacturis,<sup>2</sup> quibus condiciōnibus proficiēcantur, Ignōrant videlicet isti qui ad unum dēferenda omnia esse nōn arbitrantur. Quasi verō Cn. Pompēium nōn cum suis virtūlibus tam etiam alienis<sup>3</sup> vitiis māgnū esse videāmus. 68. Quā rē nōlīte dubitare quin huic unī crēdātis<sup>4</sup> omnia, qui inter tot annōs unus inventus sit quem socii in urbīs suis cum exercitū vēnisse gaudeant.<sup>5</sup>

*They should defer to the opinion of other prominent men.*

Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quiritēs, cōfirmādam putātis, est vōbīs auctor vir bellōrum omnium maximārumquo rērum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cuius tantae rēs gestae terrā marique exstitērunt, ut, cum de bellō dēliberētis, auctor vōbīs gravior nēmō esse dēbeat; est C. Cūriō, summīs vestris beneficiis maximisque rēbus gestis, summō ingeniō et prūdentiā<sup>6</sup> praeditus; est Cn. Lentulus, in quō omnēs pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum cōnsilium, summam gravitatem<sup>7</sup> esse cōgnōvistis; est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, cōstantiā singulari. Quā rē vidēte hōrum auctoritatibus, illōrum orātiōni qui dissentiunt, respondēre posse videāmur.

1. *damnis.* 2. *sumptibus, largitionibus.* 3. *opp. suis, propriis*  
4. *committatis, deferatis.* 5. *opp. doleant.* 6. *consilio.* 7. *auctoritatem.*

*F. M. Bay*

*Peroration: Manilius should stand firm; the people are with him.  
The orator will give his own hearty support.*

XXIV. 69. Quae cum ita sint, C. Mānili, primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudō vehementissimēque comprobō;<sup>1</sup> deinde tē hortor ut auctore populō Rōmānō manēās in sententiā nēve cuiusquam vim aut minās pertimēscās. Primum in tē satis  
esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror; deinde cum tantam multitudinem cum tantō studiō adesse vidēamus,  
quantam iterum nunc in eōdem homine praeficiendō vidēmus, quid est quod aut de rē aut de perficiendī facultate dubitemus?<sup>2</sup> Ego autem quicquid est in mē  
studī, cōsiliī, labōris, ingenī, quicquid hōc beneficiō  
populi Rōmāni atque hāc potestate praetōriā, quicquid auctoritate, fidē, cōstantiā possum, id omne ad hanc rem cōficiendam tibi et populō Rōmānō polliceor ac deferō.<sup>3</sup>

15

*The orator's motives are patriotic and disinterested.*

70. Tēstorque omnis deōs et eōs maximē qui huic locō templōque praesident, qui omnium mentis eōrum qui<sup>4</sup> ad rem publicam adeunt maximē perspicunt, mē hōc neque rogātū facere cuiusquam, neque quō<sup>4</sup> Cn. Pompēi grātiā mihi per hanc causam conciliārī putem, neque quō<sup>4</sup> mihi  
ex cuiusquam amplitūdine<sup>5</sup> aut praesidia periculis aut adiumenta<sup>6</sup> honōribus quaeram; propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestāre oportet, innocentia tēcti

1. opp. dissentio. 2. tribuo, offero. 3. rem publicam administrant.  
4. quod. 5. auctoritate. 6. auxilia.

repellēmus, honōrem autem neque ab unō neque ex hōc  
 locō, sed eādē illā nostrā laboriōsissimā ratiōne<sup>1</sup> vitāe,  
 si vestra voluntās feret,<sup>2</sup> cōsequēmur. <sup>71.</sup> Quam ob  
 rem quicquid in hāc causā mihi susceptum est, Quirītēs,  
 5 id ego omne mē rei publicae causā suscepisse cōfirmō;  
 tantumque abest ut aliquam mihi bonam grātiā quae-  
 sisse videar, ut multās mē etiam simultātēs<sup>3</sup> partim  
 obscurās partim apertās intellegam mihi nōn necessariās,  
 vōbīs nōn inūtilis suscepisse. Sed ego mē hōc honōre  
 10 praeditum,<sup>4</sup> tantīs vestris beneficiīs adfectum statuī,  
 Quirītēs, vestram voluntātem et rei publicae dignitātem  
 et salutem prōvinciārum atque sociōrum meīs omnibus  
 commodis<sup>5</sup> et ratiōnibus praeferre oportere. *Wed.*

1. *vita, cursu.* 2. *permittet.* 3. *inimicitias.* 4. *adfectum.* 5. *utili-  
 tatibus.*



M. TULLI CICERONIS  
IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO PRIMA  
IN SENATU HABITA.

*The boldness of Catiline.*

Quō ūsque tandem abūtēre, Catilīna, patientiā nostrā?  
Quam diū etiam furor iste tuus nōs elūdet? Quē ad  
finem sēsē effrēnāta, iactābit audācia? Nihilne tē  
nocturnum praesidium Palātī, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil

<sup>1</sup>timor populi, nihil concursus bonōrum omnium, nihil hic mūntissimus habendī senātūs locus, nihil hōrum ōra voltūque mōvērunt? Patēre tua cōnsilia nōn sentis? Cōnstrictam iam hōrum omnium scientiā teneri coniūrā-  
<sup>5</sup>tiōnem tuam nōn vidēs? Quid proximā, quid superiōre nocte ēgeris, ubi fueris, quōs convocāveris, quid cōnsili cēperis, quem nostrum Ignōrāre arbitrāris?

*He should have been killed long ago.*

2. Ō tempora! Ō mōrēs! Senātus haec intellegit, cōnsul videt; hic tamen vivit. Vivit? Immō vērō etiam  
 10 in senātum venit, fit pūblici cōnsili particeps, notat et dēsīgnat oculis q̄ ad caedem ūnum quemque nostrum. Nōs autem, fortēs virī, satis facere rei pūblicae vidēmur, si istius furōrem ac tēla vitēmus.

Ad mortem tē, Catilīna, dūcī iussū cōnsulis iam pridem  
 15 oportēbat, in tē cōferri pestem quam tū in nōs [omnēs iam diū] māchināris.

*There are many precedents for this, but the consuls show fatal  
 and mistake or weakness.*

3. An vērō vir amplissimus, P. Scipiō, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum

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Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam eius timens sive irā commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. — *Sallust*, Chap. 31.

1. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque immutata urbis facies erat. Ex summa laetitia atque lascivia quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula metiri. — *Sall* 31.

rei publicae privatus interfecit; Catilinam, orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praeterea, quod C. Servilius Ahala Spurium Maelium novis rebus studentem manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent.



BRUTUS AND AHALA.

Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave. Non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius ordinis; nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

16  
 v II. 4. Decrevit quondam senatus ut L. Optimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulla intercessit: interfectus est propter quasdam seditio-  
 num suspiciones C. Gracchus [clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus; occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Marius et L. Valerius consulibus est permessa res publica. Num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum plebis et C. Servilium

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1. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit darent operam consules ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxima permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est. — *Sall.* 29.

praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At [verò] nos vicissimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim huiusce modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis tamquam  
 5 in vagina reconditum, quò ex senatus consulto confestim te interfectum esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad depouendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem; cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri,  
 10 sed iam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemnò. ✓

*Meanwhile Catiline is going on with his plans.*

5. <sup>1</sup>Castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus collocata; crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus; eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu  
 15 videmus, intestinam aliquam cottidie perniciem rei publicae molientem.

*Good citizens demand his death, but he will be allowed to live until all see his guilt.*

✓ Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credò, erit verendum mihi ne non potius hoc omnes boni seriùs à me, quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat.

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1. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore iniuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea latrones cuiusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; non nullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus libido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat. — *Sall.* 28.

Vērum ego hōc, quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit, certā dē causā nōndum addūcor ut faciam. Tum dēnique interficiēre, cum iam nēmō tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id nōn iure factum esse fateatur. ¶ 6. Quam diū quisquam erit qui tē dēfendere audeat, vivēs; et vivēs ita ut vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, nē commovēre tē contrā rem publicam possis. Multōrum tē etiam oculi et aurēs nōn sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculābuntur atque cūstōdient.

*The consul foreknew and frustrated all his former plans.*

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius exspectēs, si neque nox tenebris obscurāre coeptūs nefariōs nec privāta domus parietibus continēre vōcēs conidratōnis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Mutā iam istam mentem; mihi crēde, obliviscere caedis atque incendiōrum. Tenēris undiqūe; lāce sunt clārōra nōbis tua cōnsilia omnia, quae iam mecum licet recognōscās. ¶ 7. Meministine mē ante diē XII. Kalēndās Novembrīs dicere in senātū, fore in armis certō diē, qui diēs futurus esset ante diē VI. Kal. Novembrīs, C. Manlium, audāciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num mē fefellit, Catilina, nōn modo rēs tanta, tam atrox tamque incrēdibilis, vērūm, id quod multō magis est admirandum, diēs?

1. Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faeculis adlatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem VI. Kalendas Novembris. — *Sall.* 30.

Dixi ego idem in senātū caedem tē optimātium con-  
 tulisse in ante diem v. Kalendās Novembrīs, tum cum  
 multi principēs civitātis Rōmā nōn tam suī cōservandi  
 quam tuōrum cōsiliōrum reprimendōrum causā pro-  
 5 fāgerunt. Num infitiārī potes tē illō ipsō diē, meis  
 1) praesidiīs, meā diligentiā circumelūsum, commovēre tē  
 1) contrā rem publicam nōn potuisse, cum tū discessū  
 cēterōrum, nostrā tamen, quī remānsissēmus, caede tē  
 contentum esse dicēbās? 8. Quid? cum tē Praeneste  
 1) Kalendis ipsīs Novembribus occupātūrum nocturnō im-  
 petū esse cōfiderēs, sēnsistīne illam colōniam meō iussū  
 meis praesidiīs, cūstōdiīs, vigiliīs esse mūnitam? Nihil  
 agis, nihil mōliris, nihil cōgitās, quod nōn ego nōn modo  
 audiam, sed etiam videam plānēque sentiam.

*His present designs are equally well known.*

15 IV. Recōgnōsce tandem <sup>at length</sup> mēcum noctem illam superi-  
 ōrem; iam intellegēs multō mē vigilāre ācrius ad salutem  
 quam tē ad perniciem rei publicae. Dicō tē priōre  
 nocte vēnisse inter falcāriōs — nōn agam obscurē — <sup>look</sup> in

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1. Postremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intem-  
 pesta nocte coniurationis principes convocat ad M. Porcium  
 Laecam, ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet se  
 Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem quam ad capiunda  
 arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna qui initium  
 belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius  
 Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum officere.

Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris C. Cornelius eques  
 Romanus operam suam pollicitus et cum eo L. Vargunteius  
 senator constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus.

M. Laecae domum; convēnisse eōdem complūris eiusdem amentiae scelerisque sociōs. Num negāre audēs? Quid tacēs? Convincam, sī negās; videō enim esse hīc in senātū quōsdam qui tēcum unā fuērunt.

*The complicity of certain senators.*

9. O di immortālēs! Ubinam gentium sumus? in quā <sup>5</sup> urbe vivimus? quam rem pūblicam <sup>2, 3, -3</sup> habēmūs? Hīc, hīc sunt in nostrō numerō, patrēs cōscriptī, in hōc orbis terrae sānetissimō gravissimōque cōsiliō, quī dē nostrō omnium interitū, quī dē hūius urbis atque adeō dē orbis terrārum exitiō cōgitent. Hōs egō videō cōsul et dē rē <sup>10</sup> pūblicā sententiā rogō, et, quōs ferrō trucidārī oportēbat, eōs nōndum vōce volnerō.

*Review of the plans made at Laeca's house.*

Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illā nocte, Catilina; distribuisti partēs Italiae; <sup>1</sup> statuisti quō quemque proficisci placēret; delēgisti quōs Rōmae relinquerēs, quōs tēcum <sup>15</sup>

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sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem ac de improvise domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intellegit quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat. Ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant. — *Sall.* 27, 28.

1. Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Iulium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri: [consulibus] insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere. — *Sall.* 27.

5 *edūcerēs*; *dīscrīpsistī* urbis partīs ad incendia, cōn-  
 firmāstī tē ipsum iam <sup>non</sup> esse exitūrum; *dīxistī* paulum tibi  
 esse etiam nunc morae quod ego vīverem. Repertī sunt  
 duo equitēs Rōmānī quī tē istā cūrā liberārent et sēsē  
 10 illā ipsā nocte paulō ante lucem mē in meō lectulō inter-  
 fectūrōs [esse] pollicērentur. *10.* Haec ego omnia,  
 vixdum <sup>scarcely an hour dismissed</sup> etiā coetū vestrō dīmīssō, comperi; domum  
 meam māioribus praesidiīs mūnīvī atque firmāvī; exclūsi  
 eōs quōs tū ad mē salūtātum ināne miserās, cum illi ipsī  
 10 vēnīssent quōs ego iam multīs ac summīs virīs ad mē id  
 temporis ventūrōs esse praedīxeram. *8 5*

*He has been baffled in his attacks against the consul, but now  
 that he aims at the safety of the Commonwealth, he and his  
 followers should depart.*

V. Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quō coepistī.  
 Egredere aliquandō ex urbe; patent portae; proficiscere.  
 Nimium diū tē imperātōrem tua illa Mānliāna castra dēsī-  
 15 derant. *Edūc* tēcum etiā omnis tuōs; sī minus, quam  
 plūrimōs; pūrgā urbem. Māgnō mē metū liberābis, dum  
 modo inter mē atque tē mūrus intersit. Nōbīscum versārī  
 iam diūtius nōn potes; nōn feram, nōn patiār, nōn sinam.  
 11. Māgna dīs immortālībus habenda est atque huic ipsī  
 20 Iovī Statōrī, antquīssimō cūstōdī hūius urbis, grātia, quod  
 hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei  
 publicae pestem totiēns iam effūgimus. Nōn est saepius  
 in unō homine summa salūs periclitanda rei publicae. *in danger*

3 Quam diū mihi cōsulī dēsīgnātō, Catilina, insidiātus  
 25 es, nōn publicō mē praesidiō, sed privātā diligentīā  
 dēfendī. Cum proximīs comitīs cōsulārībūs mē cōn-



sulem in campō et competitōrēs tuōs interficere voluisti, compressi cōnātūs tuōs nefariōs amicōrum praesidiō et cōpīs, nullō tumultū publicē concitātō; dēnique, quotiēns-cumque mē petisti, per mē tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciōm meam cum magnā calamitatē rei publicae esse coniūctam. 12. Nunc iam apertē rem publicam universam petis; templa deōrum immortalium, tēcta urbis, vitam omnium cīvium, Italiam [dēnique] tōtam ad exitium et vāstitatē vocās. Quā rē, quoniam id quod est <sup>obscuro</sup> primum, et quod hūius imperi disciplinaeque māiōrum proprium est, facere nōdum audeō, faciam id quod est ad severitatē lenius et ad commūnem salutē utilius. Nam si tē interfici iusserō, residēbit in rē publicā reliqua coniūrātōrum manus: sīn tū, quod tē iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhauriētur ex urbe tuōrum comitum magna et perniciōsa sentina rei publicae.

*Exile his best refuge. His private life reviewed.*

13. Quid est, Catilina? Num dubitās id mē imperante facere, quod iam tuā sponte faciebās? Exire ex urbe iubet cōsul hostem. Interrogās mē num in exsilium? Nōn iubeō; sed, si mē cōsulis, suadeō.

VI. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod tē iam in hāc urbe dēlectāre possit? in quā nēmō est extrā istam coniūrātōnem perditōrum hominum qui tē nōn metuat; nēmō qui nōn oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis nōn

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1. L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis, grata fuere,

inſta vitæ tuæ eſt? Quod privatarum rerum dedecus  
 non haeret in famâ? Quæ libidō ab oculis, quod facinus  
 à manibus unquam tuis, quod flāgitium à tōtō corpore  
 afuit?<sup>1</sup> Cui tū aduſcentulō, quem corruptelārum in-  
 5 locebris inrētissēs, non aut ad audāciam ferrum aut ad  
 libidinem facem praetulisti? 14. Quid vērō? <sup>2</sup>nūper  
 cum morte superioris uxōris novis nūptiis domum vacuē-  
 fēcissēs, nōne etiam aliō incredibīlī scelere hōc scelus  
 cumulāsti? Quod ego praetermittō et facile patior silēri,  
 10 nē in hāc civitatē tantī facinoris immānitās aut exstitisse  
 aut non vindicāta esse videātur. Praetermittō ruinas

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ibique iuventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediae,  
 algeris, vigiliae, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus  
 audax, subdolos, varius, cuius rei libet simulator ac dissimula-  
 tor, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis  
 eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoderata,  
 incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post domina-  
 tionem L. Sullae libido maxima invaserat rei publicae capi-  
 undae, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum  
 pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque  
 in dies animus ferox inopiā rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum,  
 quae utraque eis artibus auxerat quas supra memoravi. Inci-  
 tabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessima ac diversa  
 inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. — *Sall.* 5.

1. Sed maxime adulescentium familiaritates appetebat;  
 eorum animi molles etiam et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capio-  
 bantur. — *Sall.* 14.

Sed iuventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, inlexerat, multis  
 modis mala facinora edocebat. — *Sall.* 16.

2. Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cuius praeter  
 formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi  
 dubitabat timens privignum adultā aetate, pro certo creditur  
 necato filio vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. — *Sall.* 15.

fortūnārum tuārum, quās omnis impendēre tibi proximīs Idibus sentiēs. Ad illa veniō quae nōn ad privātam ignōminiam vitiōrum tuōrum, nōn ad domesticam tuam difficultātem ac turpitūdinem, sed ad summam rem pūblicam atque ad omnium nostrūm vitam salutēque pertinent. ✓

*His infamous public record.*

15. Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum sciās esse hōrum nēminem qui nesciat tē pridie Kalendās Iānuāriās Lepidō et Tullō cōsulis stētisse in comitiō cum tēlō? <sup>1</sup> manum cōsulū et principum cīvitātis interficiendōrum causā parāvisse? scelerī ac furōri tuō nōn mentēm aliquam aut timōrem tuum, sed fortūnam populi Rōmāni obstētisse? Ac iam illa omittō — neque enim sunt aut obscura aut nōn multa commissā postea — quotiēns tū mē designātum, <sup>10</sup> quotiēns cōsulem interficere cōnātus es! Quot ego tuās petitiōnēs, ita coniectās ut vitari posse nōn vidērentur, parvā quādā declinātiōne et, ut aiunt, corpore effugī. Nihil [agis, nihil] adsequeris, [nihil mōliris,] neque tamen cōnari ac velle dēsistis. 16. Quotiēns tibi iam ex- <sup>20</sup> torta est ista sica de manibus! Quotiēns [verō] excidit cāsū aliquō et elāpsa est! [Tamen eā carere diūtius nōn potes] quae quidem quibus abs tē initiāta sacris ac dēvōta sit nesciō, quod eam necesse putās esse in cōsulis corpore dēfigere. 25

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1. Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit. — Sall. 18.

*What has his life become? All good men hate and fear him.  
He should depart.*

R.  
VII. Nunc vērō quae tua est ista vīta? Sic enim iam tēcum loquar, nōn ut odiō permōtus esse videar, quō dēbeō, sed ut misericordiā, quae tibi nulla dēbētur. Venisti paulō ante in senātum. Quis tē ex hāc tantā frequentiā, totque tuīs amicis ac necessariis salutāvit? Si hōc post hominum memoriam contigit nēmīni, vōcis exspectās contumēliam, cum sis gravissimō iudiciō taciturnitātis oppressus? Quid, quod adventū tuō ista subsellia vacuēfacta sunt, quod omnēs cōsulārēs, qui tibi 10 persaepe ad caedem cōstitutī fuērunt, simul atque adsēdistī, partem istam subselliōrum nūdā atque inānem reliquērunt, quō tandem animō [hōc] tibi ferendum putās?

17. Servi mēhercule mei si mē istō pactō metuerent, ut tē metuunt omnēs civēs tui, domum meam relinquendam 15 putārem; tū tibi urbem nōn arbitrāris? Et, si mē meis civibus iniūriā sūspēctum tam graviter atque offēsum vidērem, carere mē aspectū civium quam infēstis omnium oculis cōspicī māllem. Tū, cum cōscientiā scelerum tuōrum agnōscās odiū omnium iūstum et iam diū tibi 20 dēbitum, dubitās, quōrum mentis sēnsūsque volnerās, eōrum aspectum praesentiamque vitāre? Si tō parentēs timērent atque odissent tuī neque eos ullā ratione placāre possēs, ut optuor, ab eōrum oculis aliquō concēderēs. Nunc tō patria, quae communis est parēs omnium nostrūm, odit ac metuit, et iam diū nihil tē iudicat nisi dē parricidiō suō cōgitāre; hūius tū neque auctōritātem verēbere, nec iudiciū sequēre, nec vim pertinēscēs?

*His fatherland loathes him and bids him go.*

18. Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quōdam modō

tacita loquitur:

*Aloud*  
*silent* 'Nullum iam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine tō; tibi unī multōrum civium necēs, tibi vexatiō direptiōque sociōrum impunita fuit ac libera; tū nōn solum ad neglegendās lēgēs et quaestiōnēs, vērū etiam ad ēvertendās perfringendāsque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda nōn fuērunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli; nunc vērō mē tōtam esse in metū propter unum te, quicquid *at every sound* increperit, Catilinam timēri, nullum vidēri contra mē cōsiliū iniri posse quod ā tuō scelere abhorreat, nōn est ferendum. Quam ob rem discēde atque hunc mihi timōrem ēripe: si est vērū, nō opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquandō timēre dēsinam.'

VIII. 19. Haec si tecum, ita ut dixi, patria loquatur, nōne impetrāre dēbeat, etiam si vim adhibēre nōn possit?

*He has given himself into custody: a proof of conscious guilt.*

Quid, quod tū te ipse in cūstōdiam dedisti? quod vitandae suspiciōnis causā ad M. Lepidum te habitāre velle dixisti? A quō nōn receptus etiam ad mē venire ausus es, atque ut domi meae te adservārem rogasti. Cum ā mē quoque id respōsum tulissēs, mē nullō modō posse isdem parietibus tūtō esse tecum, qui magnō in periculō essem, quod isdem moenibus continēremur, ad Q. Metellum praetōrem vēnisti. A quō repudiātus ad sodālem tuum, virum optimū, M. Metellum dēmigrasti; quem tū videlicet et ad cūstōdiendum diligentissimū et ad sūspi-

candum sagācissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putāsti. Sed quam longē vidētur ā carcere atque ā vinculis abesse debēre, quī sē ipse iam dignum cūstodiā iudicārit? 20. Quae cum ita sint, Catilīna, dubitās, si 5 emori aequō animō nōn potes, abire in aliquās terrās et vitam istam, multīs suppliciīs iūstīs debitīsque ereptam, fugae solitūdinīque mandāre?

*The Senate's opinion of him.*

'Refer,' inquis, 'ad senātum;' id enim pōstulās, et, si hīc ordō [sibi] placēre dēcerēverit tē Ire in exsilium, 10 obtemperātūrum tē esse dicis. Nōn referam, id quod abhorret ā meīs mōribus; et tamen faciam ut intellegās quid hī dē tē sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilīna; liberā rem pūblicam metū; in exsilium, si hanc vōcem expectās, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilīna? Ecquid 15 attendis? ecquid animadvertis hōrum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid expectās auctōritātem loquentium, quōrum voluntātem tacitōrum perspicis? 21. | At si hōc idem huic adulescentī optimō, P. Sēstio, si fortissimō virō, M. Marcellō, dixissem, iam mihi cōsuli hōc ipsō 20 in templō iūre optimō senātus vim et manūs intulisset. Dē tē autem, Catilīna, cum quiēscunt, probant; cum patiuntur, dēcernunt; cum tacent, clāmant; neque hī solum, quōrum tibi auctōritās est videlicet cāra, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equitēs Rōmāni, honestissimi atque optimi viri, cēterique fortissimi civēs, quī circumstant senātum, quōrum tū et frequentiam vidēre et studia perspicere et vōcēs paulō ante exaudire potuisti. Quōrum

ego vix abs tē iam diū manūs ac tēla contineō, eōsdem facile addūcam ut tē hæec, quæ vāstare iam pridem studēs, relinquentem ūsque ad portās prōsequantur.

*The consul, even at the risk of odium, urges him to go.*

IX. 22. Quamquam quid loquor? Tē ut ūlla rēs frangat? Tū ut umquam tē corrigās? Tū ut ūllam fugam meditare? Tū ut ūllum exsilium cōgites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dī immortalēs dunt! Tametsi videō, si meā vōce perterritus Ire in exsilium animum indūxeris, quanta tempestās invidiæ nobīs, si minus in praesens tempus, recentī memoriā scelerum tuōrum, at in posteritatem impendat. / Sed est tantū, dum modo ista sit privāta calamitās et ā rei publicae periculis seiungatur. Sed tū ut vitis tuis commoveāre, ut lēgum pōenas pertimēscās, ut temporibus rei publicae cēdās, nōn est postulandum. ¶ Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut tē aut pudor is umquam ā turpitūdine aut metus ā periculō aut ratio ā furōre revocārit. 23. Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere, ac, si mihi inimicō, ut praedicās, tuō cōnflāre vis invidiam, rēctā perge in exsilium. Vix feram sermōnēs hominum, si id fēceris; vix mōlem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium iussū cōsulis ieris, sustinēbō. Sīn autem servīre meae laudī et glōriæ māvīs; ēgre dere cum importūnā scelerātōrum manū, cōnfer tē ad Mānlium, concitā perditōs civīs, sēcerne tē ā bonis, Infer patriae bellum, exultā impiō latrōciniō, ut ā mē nōn eiectus ad aliēnōs, sed invitātus ad tuōs Isse videāris.

*He has, in fact, already arranged to go to Manlius.*

24. Quamquam quid ego tē invitem, ā quō iam sciam  
 esse praemissōs qui  
 tibi ad Forum Aurē-  
 lium praestolārentur  
 5 armātī? cui iam sciam  
pactam et cōstitutam  
 eum Mānliō diem? ā  
 quō etiam aquilam  
 illam argenteam, quam  
 10 tibi ac tuis omnibus  
 cōfidō perniciosam  
 ac fūnestam futūram,  
 cui domī tuae sacrā-  
 rium [scelerum tu-  
 15 ōrum] cōstitutum  
 fuit, sciam esse prae-  
 missam? Tū ut illā  
 carere diūtius possis,  
 quam venerārī ad cae-

A SACRARIUM FROM POMPEII.

20 dem proficiscēns solē-  
 bās, ā cuius altāribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad  
 necem civium trānstulistī?

*There, surrounded by all forms of wickedness, he will be in his  
 element.*

X. 25. Ibis tandem aliquandō quō tē iam pridem ista  
 tua cupiditās effrēnāta ac furiosa rapiēbat; neque enim  
 25 tibi haec rēs adfert dolōrem, sed quandam incredibilem  
 voluptātem. Ad hanc tē āmentiam nātūra peperit, volun-



tās exercuit, fortūna servāvit. Numquam tū nōn modo otium, sed nō bellum quidem nisi nefārium concupisti. Nactus es ex perditis atque ab omnī nōn modo fortūnā, vērūm etiam spē dērelictis cōflātā improbōrum manū.

26. Hic tū quā laetitīā perfruere! quibus gaudiis exultabis! quantā in voluptāte bacchābere, cum in tantō numerō tuōrum neque audiēs virum bonum quemquam neque vidēbis! Ad hūius vitāe studium meditātī illi sunt qui feruntur labōrēs tuī, iacere humi nōn solum ad obsidendum stuprum, vērūm etiam ad facinus obeundum; 10 vigilāre nōn solum insidiantem somnō maritōrum, vērūm etiam bonis otiosōrum. Habēs ubi ostentēs tuam illam praeclāram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerū omnium, quibus tē brevī tempore cōfectum esse senties.

27. Tantum profēcī tum, cum tē a cōsulātū repellat ut exsul potius temptāre quam cōsul vexāre rem pūblicā possēs, atque ut id, quod esset a tē scelerātē susceptum, latrōcinium potius quam bellum nōminārētur.

*The State may well charge the consul with remissness for not pursuing a more vigorous policy.*

XI. Nunc, ut a mē, patrēs cōscriptī, quandam prope iūstā patriae querimōniam dētēster ac dēprecor, percipite, quaesō, diligenter quae dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandāte. Etenim si mēcum patria, quae mihi vitā meā multō est cārior, si cūncta Italia, si omnis rēs pūblica loquātur:

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1. Dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. — Sall. 27.

‘M. Tullī, quid agis? Tūne eum quem esse hostem comperistī, quem ducem bellī futūrum vidēs, quem expectārī imperātōrem in castris hostium sentīs, auctōrem sceleris, prīncipem coniūratiōnis, evocātōrem servōrum et  
 5 cīvium perditōrum, exire patiēre, ut abs tē nōn ēmissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videātur? Nōne hunc in vincla dūcī, nōn ad mortem rapī, non summō supplicio mactārī imperābis? / 28. Quid tandem tē impedit? Mōsne māiōrum? At persaepe etiam prīvātī in  
 10 hāc rē publicā perniciosōs cīvīs morte multarunt. An lēgēs quae dē cīvium Rōmānōrum supplicio rogatae sunt? [ At numquam in hāc urbe quī a rē publicā defecērunt cīvium iūra tenuērunt. An invidiam posteritātis timēs? Praeclāram vērō populō Rōmānō refers grātiā, quī tē  
 15 hominem per tē cōgnitum, nullā commendatiōne māiōrum, tam mātūrē ad summum imperium per omnis honōrum gradūs extulit, sī propter invidiam aut alicuius perculi metum salutem cīvium tuōrum negligis. ) 29. Sed si quis est invidiae metus, nōn est vehementius sevērītātis ac  
 20 fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nēquitiae pertimēscenda. An cum bellō vāstābitur Italia, vexābuntur urbēs, tēcta ardēbunt, tum tē nōn existimās invidiae incendiō cōnflagrātūrum?’

*But he has been waiting until all citizens shall be convinced that there is a conspiracy.*

XII. His ego sāntissimīs rē publicae vōcibus, et  
 25 eōrum hominum quī hōc idem sentiunt mentibus, pauca respondēbō. Ego, si hōc optimum factū iudicārem, patrēs cōnscriptī, Catillinam morte multārī, auius usūram hōrae

gladiatōri isti ad vivendum nōn dedissem. <sup>quid</sup> Etenim si summi viri et clarissimi civēs Sāturnini et Gracchōrum et Flacci et superiorum complūrium sanguine nōn modo sē nōn contāminārunť, sed etiam honestārunť, certē verendum mihi nōn erat nē quid hōc parricidā civium interfectō 5 invidiae [mihi] in posteritātem redundāret. Quod si ea mihi maximē impendēret, tamen hōc animō fui semper, ut invidiam virtūte partam glōriam, nōn invidiam putārem.

30. Quamquam nōn nulli sunt in hōc ordine, qui aut ea quae imminent nōn videant aut ea quae vident dis-10 simulent; qui spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt. coniūratiōnemque nāscentem nōn crēdendō corroborāverunt; quōrum auctoritāte multi nōn solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudēliter et rēgiē factum esse dicerent. Nunc intellegō, 15 si iste, quō intendit, in Mālianā castra pervēnerit, nēmīnem tam stultum fore qui nōn videat coniūratiōnem esse factam, nēmīnem tam improbum qui nōn fateātur.

*The death of Catiline would help but little.*

Hōc autem unō interfectō intellegō hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, nōn in perpetuum comprimī 20 posse. Quod si sē eiēcerit sēcumque suōs edūxerit et eōdem ceteros undique conlētōs naufragōs aggregārit, exstinguētur atque delēbitur nōn modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac sēmen malōrum omnium. XVIII. 31. Etenim iam diu, patrēs cōscripti, 25 in his periculis coniūratiōnis Insidiisque versāmur, sed nesciō quō pactō omnium scelerum ac veteris furōris et

audaciae maturitas in nostri consulationis tempus erupit. Quod si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tollatur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus curam et metum esse relevati; periculum autem residet et erit inclusum  
 5 penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestum febrilem iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque affliguntur. Sic hic morbus qui est in re publica, relevatus istius  
 10 poena, vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.

*if ever rest*

*But his departure would settle all doubts, and serve to declare the minds of the citizens.*

32. Quam rem secedant improbi, discernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, murem denique, [id] quod saepe iam dixi, discernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere  
 15 cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et facies ad inflammandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cuiusque quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in  
 20 equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectio omnia patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

*By profectio Catilinae*

*Jupiter will protect the city and punish its enemies.*

33. Hisce omnibus, Catilina, cum summam rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac perniciem, cumque eorum exitio  
 25 qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, pro-

ficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tū, Iuppiter, quī isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis ā Romulō es cōstitūtus, quem Statōrem hūius urbis atque imperī vērē nōmināmus, hunc et hūius sociōs ā tuis [ārīs] cēterisque templis, ā tōctis urbis ac moenibus, ā vitā fortūnisque cīvium [omnium] arcēbis, et hominēs bonōrum inimicōs, hostis patriae, latrōnēs Ītalīae, scelerum foedere inter sē ac nefariā societāte coniūctōs, aeternis suppliciis vivōs mortuōsque mactābis. AUG.

M. TULLI CICERONIS  
IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO SECUNDA  
HABITA AD POPULUM.

*Congratulations on the departure of Catiline.*

Tandem aliquandō, Quiritēs, L. Catilinam, furentem  
audaciā, scelus anhēlantem, pestem patriae nefariē mō-  
lientem, vōbīs atque huic urbī ferrō flammāque minitan-  
tem ex urbe vel eiēcimus vel emīsimus vel ipsum  
5 ēgredientem verbīs prōsecūtī sumus. <sup>with</sup> 1 Abiit, excessit,  
~~no longer will come~~ ēvāsit, erūpit. Nulla iam perniciēs ā mōnstrō illō atque  
prōdigio moenibus ipsis intrā moenia comparābitur.  
Atque hunc quidem ūnum hūius bellī domesticī ducem  
sine contrōversiā vicimus. Nōn enim iam inter latera  
10 nostra sīca illa versābitur; nōn in campō, nōn in Forō,  
nōn in cūriā, nōn dēnique intrā domesticōs parietēs  
pertimēscēmus. Locō ille <sup>lost his ground</sup> mōtus est, cum est ex urbe  
dēpulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nullō impediēte bellum  
iūstum gerēmus. Sine dubiō perdidimus hominem mā-  
15 gnificēque vicimus, cum illum ex occultīs Insidiīs in aper-  
tum latrōcinium coniēcimus. 2. Quod vērō nōn cruentum

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1. Iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris  
industriacque meae privatus statum dignitatis non obtinebam,  
publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi.—  
*Sall.* 35.

mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumis civis, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? Iacet ille nunc prostratus, Quiritēs, et se percussum atque abiectum esse sentit et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse lūget; quae quidem mihi laetari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.

*He ought to have been put to death, but it did not seem expedient.*

II. 3. Ac si quis est talis qualis esse omnis oportebat, 10 qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius quam emissem, non est ista mea culpa, sed temporum.<sup>1</sup> Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem oportebat, 15 idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperi severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis qui quae ego deferrem non crederent? [quam multos qui propter stultitiam non putarent?] quam multos qui etiam defenderent? [quam multos qui propter improbitatem 20 faverent?] Ac si illō sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum iudicarem, iam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem.

1. Tanta vis morbi ac veluti tabes perosque civium animos invaserat. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat qui consilii coniurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat. — *Sall.* 36, 37.

4. Sed cum vidērem, nō vōbīs quidem omnibus rē etiam  
 tum probātā, sī illum, ut erat meritus, mortē multāssem,  
 fore ut eius sociōs invidiā oppressus persequi nōn possem,  
 rem hūc dēdūxi ut tum palam pūgnāre possētis, cum  
 5 hostem apertē vidērētis.

*As an open and avowed enemy he is not to be feared.*

Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirītēs, quam vehementer  
 foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegātis, quod  
 etiam illud molestē ferō, quod ex urbe parum comitātus  
 exierit. Utinam ille omnis sēcum suās cōpiās edūxisset!  
 10 Tongilium mihi edūxit, quem amāre in practextā coeperat,  
 Publicium et Minucium, quōrum aes aliēnum contrāctum  
 in popinā nullum rei pūblicae mōtum adferre poterat.  
 Reliquit quōs virōs!<sup>1</sup> quantō aere aliēnō! quam valentis!  
 quam nōbilis!<sup>2</sup>

*His forces are contemptible. His partisans in the city are more  
 dangerous, but equally powerless.*

15 III. 5. Itaque ego illum exercitum<sup>3</sup> prae Gallicānis  
 legiōnibus, et hōc dilēctū quem in agrō Picēnō et Gallicō

1. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat  
 promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes fac-  
 tionis confirment; insidias consuli maturent; caedem, incendia,  
 aliaque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem cum magno  
 exercitu ad urbem accessurum. — *Sall.* 32.

2. Ceterum iuventus pleraque sed maxime nobilium Cati-  
 linæ inceptis favebat: quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter  
 vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem male-  
 bant. — *Sall.* 17.

3. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metel-



Q. Metellus habuit, et hīs copiis quae a nobis cottidiē comparantur, magnō opere contemnō, conlētum ex senibus dēspērātis, ex agrestī luxuriā, <sup>1</sup> ex rūsticis dēcoctōribus, ex eis qui vadimōnia dēserere quam illum exercitum māluerunt; quibus ego nōn modo si aciem exercitūs <sup>5</sup> nostrī, vērū etiam si ēdictum praetōris ostenderō, coincident. <sup>2</sup> Hōs, quōs vidēo volitāre in Forō, quōs stāre ad cūriam, quōs etiam in senātum venīre, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpurā, māllem sēcum suōs mīlitēs ēdūxisset; qui si hīc permānent, mementōte nōn tam <sup>10</sup> exercitum illum esse nobis quam hōs qui exercitum dēseruerunt pertimēscendōs. Atque hōc etiam sunt timendī magis, quod, quid cōgitent, mē scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. 6. Videō cui sit Apūlia attribūta, quis habeat Etrūriam, quis agrum Picēnum, <sup>15</sup> quis Gallicum, <sup>3</sup> quis sibi hās urbanās insidiās caedis

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lus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi, . . . sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum, eisque permissum uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. — *Sall.* 30.

1. Praeterea iuventus quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. — *Sall.* 37.

2. Erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consili huiusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. — *Sall.* 17.

3. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facillior aditus ad consulem ceterosque quibus insidiae parabantur fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam obsideret eumque vi aggrediretur. — *Sall.* 43.

atquo incendiōrum dēpopōscerit. Omnia superiōris noctis cōsilia ad mē perlāta esse sentiunt; patefēcī in

THE AURELIAN WAY.

senātū hesternō diē; <sup>1</sup>Catilina ipse pertimuit, profūgit hī quid exspectant? Nē illi vehementer errant, sī illam  
 5 meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam spērant futuram.

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1. Deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere ac, prius quam legiones scriberentur, multa antecapere quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. — *Sall.* 32.

*Let them leave the city at once or suffer the consequences.*

IV. Quod exspectāvī, iam sum adsecūtus; ut vōs omnēs factam esse apertē coniūratiōnem contrā rem publicam vidērētis. <sup>erat illud libere catilinae</sup> Nisi, vērō sī quis est, quī Catilinae similis cum Catilinā sentire nōn putet. Nōn est iam lēnitātī loeus; <sup>ut</sup> sevērītātem rēs ipsa flāgitat. Unum <sup>5</sup> etiam nunc concēdam: exeat, proficiantur nē patiantur dēsideriō suī Catilinam miserum tābescere. <sup>1</sup> Dēmōnstrābō iter, Aurēliā viā profectus est; sī accelerāre volent, ad vesperam cōsequentur. 7. Ō fortunātam rem publicam, sī quidem hanc sentīnam urbis ēiēcerit! Unō <sup>10</sup> mehercule Catilinā exhaustō, levāta mihi et recreāta rēs publica vidētur.

*All the dregs of society gather about Catiline as leader and friend.*

Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest quod nōn ille concēperit? <sup>2</sup> Quis totā Italiā venēficus, <sup>28-13</sup>

1. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum viciniam antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. — *Sall.* 36.

2. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus adulter, ganeo, aleo bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aēs grande conflaverat, . . . praeterea omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium fimentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua periurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, ei Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam eius inciderat,

quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, <sup>Pha. ut</sup> quis parricida, quis  
 testamentorum subiecto, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo,  
 quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis cor-  
 ruptor iuventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri  
 5 potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse  
 fateatur? Quae caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est?  
 quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? 8. Iam vero  
 quae tanta umquam in ullo [homine] iuventutis inlecebra  
 fuit quanta in illo? Qui alios ipse amabat turpissime,  
 10 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 conlegerat! Nemo non  
 15 modo Romae, sed [ne] ullo in angulo totius Italiae  
 oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile  
 sceleris foedus asciverit.

V. 9. Atque ut eius diversa studia in dissimili ratione  
 perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo  
 20 ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae esse  
 fateatur; nemo in scena levior et nequior, qui se non  
 eiusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque  
 idem tamen, <sup>1</sup>stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione adsu-

cotidiano usu atque inlecebris facile par similisque ceteris  
 efficiebatur. — *Sall.* 14.

1. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque  
 vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem  
 excitam vastabat. Igitur color ei exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus  
 modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia  
 inerat. — *Sall.* 15.

factus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumeret. ✓

*All these profligates should have left the city with him.*

10. Hunc verò si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, O nos <sup>8</sup> beatos! O rem publicam fortunatam! O praeclaram laudem consulatús mei! Non enim iam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae ac tolerandae audaciae; nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patri-  
monia sua profuderunt, fortunás suas obligaverunt; res <sup>10</sup> egras iam pridem deseruit, fides nuper deficere coepit; eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quod si in vino et alea comissiones solum et scorta quaerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi; hoc verò quis ferre possit, inertis <sup>15</sup> homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientis vigilantibus? Qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimitti, unguentis oblii, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus 20 suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia.

*But their punishment is at hand and then the State will enjoy lasting peace.*

11. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod et poenam iam diu improbati, nequitiae, sceleris, libidini debitam aut instare iam plane aut certe appropinquare. 25

Quos si meus cōsulātus, quoniam sanāre nōn potest, sustulerit, nōn breve nesciō quod tempus, sed multa saecula prōpāgarit rei publicae. Nulla est enim natiō quam pertimescāmus, nullus rēx qui bellum populō  
 5 Rōmānō facere possit. Omnia sunt externa unius virtute terrā marique pācāta. Domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclūsum periculum est, intus est hostis. Cum lūxuriā nobis, cum āmentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego mē bellō ducem  
 10 profiteor, Quirītēs; suscipiō inimicitias hominum perditōrum. Quae sanāri poterunt, quācumque ratione sanābō; quae resequenda erunt, nōn patiar ad perniciosam civitātis manēre. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eādē mente permanent, ea quae  
 15 merentur exspectent.

*Catiline's sympathizers have spread the report that he has gone into exile; but he has really gone to join Manlius.*

VI. 12. At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirītēs, a mē in exsilium eiectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbō adsequi possem, istos ipsos eicerem qui haec loquuntur. Homō enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus  
 20 vocem cōsulis ferre nōn potuit; simul atque ire in exsilium iussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesternō diē, Quirītēs,

1. At Catilina ex itinere perisque consularibus, praeterea optimo cuique litteras mittit: se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exsilium proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret neve ex sua contentione seditio oreretur. — Sall. 34.

cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis Statōris convocāvi, rem omnem ad patrēs cōscrip̄tōs dētulī.] Quō cum Catilīna vēnisset, quis eum senātor appellāvit? Quis salūtāvit? Quis dēnique ita aspexit ut perditum cīvem ac nōn potius ut importūnis-<sup>5</sup> simum hostem? Quīn etiam principēs eius ordinis

## MILITARY STANDARDS AND FASCES.

partem illam subselliōrum ad quam ille accesserat nūdā atque inānem reliquērunt. 13. Hic ego vehemēns ille cōsul, quī verbō cīvis in exsilium ēiciō, quaesivī ā Catilīnā in nocturnō conventū ad M. Laecam 10 fuisset necno. Cum ille, homō audācissimus, cōscientiā convictus, primō reticuisset, patefēcī cētera: quid eā nocte ēgisset, [ubi fuisset,] quid in proximam cōstituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratiō tōtius belli dēscripta,

edocuī. Cum haesitāret, cum tenērētur, quaesivī quid  
 dubitāret proficisci eō quō iam pridem parāret, cum arma,  
 cum securīs, cum fascīs, cum tubās, cum signa militāria,  
 cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrārium  
 5 [scelerum] domī suae fēcerat, scirem esse praemissam.  
 14. In exsilium eiciēbam quem iam ingressum esse in  
 bellum vidēbam? Etenim, crēdō, Mānlius iste centuriō,  
 qui in agrō Faesulānō castra posuit, bellum populō  
 Rōmānō suō nōmine indixit, et illa castra nunc nōn  
 10 Catilinam ducem expectant et ille eiectus in exsilium  
 sē Massiliam, ut aiunt, nōn in haec castra cōferet.

*The difficult task of government.*

VII. Ō condiciōnem miseram nōn modo administran-  
 dae, vērū etiam cōservandae rei publicae! Nunc sī  
 L. Catilina cōsiliis, labōribus, periculīs meis circumelū-  
 15 sus ac dēbilitātus subitō pertimuerit, sententiam mūtā-  
 verit, dēseruerit suōs, cōsiliū belli faciendī abiēcerit,  
 et ex hōc cursū sceleris ac belli iter ad fugam atque in  
 exsilium converterit, nōn ille ā mē spoliātus armīs audā-  
 ciae, nōn obstupefactus ac perterritus meā diligentīā, nōn  
 20 dē spē cōnatūque dēpulsus, sed indemnātus, innocēns, in  
 exsilium eiectus ā cōsule vī et minīs esse dicētur; et  
 erunt qui illum, sī hōc fēcerit, nōn improbum, sed mise-  
 rum, mē nōn diligentissimum cōsulem, sed crudēlissi-  
 mum tyrannum existimārī velint! 15. Est mihi tantī,  
 25 Quiritēs, hūius invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestātem  
 subire, dum modo ā vōbīs hūius horribilis belli ac nefariī  
 periculum dēpellātur. ✓



*Catiline has never thought of going into exile, neither do his partisans expect him to.*

Dicatur sanē eiectus esse a mē, dum modo eat in exsiliū. Sed, mihi credite, nōn est itūrus. Numquam ego ab dis immortalibus optābō, Quiritēs, invidiā meae levandae causā, ut L. Catilinam dūcere exercitū hostium atque in armis volitare audiātis, sed trīduō tamen audiētis; multōque magis illud timeō, nē mihi sit invidiosum aliquandō, quod illum omiserim potius quam quod eiēcerim. Sed cum sint hominēs quī illum, cum profectus sit, eiectum esse dicant, eidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? | 16. Quamquam isti, quī Catilinam Massiliam ire dicitant, nōn tam hōc queruntur quam verentur. Nēmō est istōrum tam misericors, quī illum nōn ad Mānlium quam ad Massiliēnsis ire mālīt. Ille autem, si mehercule hōc quod agit numquam antea cōgitasset, tamen latrōcinantem sē interficī māllet quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vērō, cum eī nihil adhūc praeter ipsius voluntātem cōgitatiōnemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobīs Rōmā profectus est, optēmus potius ut eat in exsiliū quam querāmur.

*Catiline's partisans are of various classes. Some may yet become loyal citizens.*

VIII. 17. Sed cūr tam diū de unō hoste loquimur, et de eō hoste quī iam fatētur sē esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, mūrus interest, nōn timeō; de his quī dissimulant, quī Rōmāe remanent, quī nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quōs quidem ego, si ullō modō

so as  
 fieri possit, nōn tam ulcisci studeō quam sanāre sibi ipsōs,  
 placāre rei pūblicae, neque id quā rē fieri nōn possit, si  
 mē audire volent, intellegō. Expōnam enim vōbīs, Quirī-  
 tēs, ex quibus generibus hominum istae cōpiae compa-  
 5 rentur; deinde singulis medicinam cōsili atque orātiōnis  
 meae, si quam poterō, adferam.

*The First Class: rich men in debt. They would lose much and  
 gain nothing by Catiline's success.*

18. Unum genus est eōrum, qui māgnō in aere aliēnō  
 māiōrēs etiam possessionēs habent, quārum amore ad-  
 ducti dissolvi nullo modō possunt. Hōrum hominum  
 10 speciēs est honestissima, sunt enim locuplētēs; voluntās  
 vērō et causa impudentissima. Tū agris, tū aedificiis, tū  
 argentō, tū familiā, tū rēbus omnibus ornātus et cōpiōsus  
 sis, et dubitēs de possessionē dētrahere, adquirere ad  
 fidem? Quid enim exspectās? Bellum? Quid ergō? in  
 15 vāstatiōne omnium tuās possessionēs sacrosānetās futurās  
 putās? An tabulās novās? Errant qui istās a Catilinā  
 exspectant; meō beneficiō tabulae novae prōferentur,  
 vērūm auctiōnāriae; neque enim isti, qui possessionēs  
 habent, aliā ratiōne ullā salvi esse possunt: Quod si  
 20 mātūrius facere voluissent, neque, id quod stultissimum  
 est, certāre cum usūrīs fructibus praediōrum, et locuplētī-  
 tiōribus hīs et meliōribus civibus uteremur. Sed hōsce  
 hominēs minimē putō pertimescendōs, quod aut dedūci

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1. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratūs, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae bellum atque libido victorum fert. — *Sall.* 21.

dē sententiā possunt, aut, si permanēbunt, magis mihi videntur <sup>esse</sup> vota factūri contrā rem publicam quam arma latūri.

*The Second Class: ambitious debtors who hope for something from a revolution.*

IX. 19. Alterum genus est eōrum, quī, quamquam premuntur aere aliēnō, dominātiōnem tamen exspectant, 5 rerum <sup>autem</sup> potiri volunt, honōres, quos quiētā rē publicā dēspērānt, perturbātā sē cōsequi <sup>esse</sup> posse arbitrantur. Quibus hōc praeciendum vidētūr, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut dēspērent sē id, quod cōnantur, cōsequi posse: primum omnium mē ipsum vigilāre, 10 adesse, prōvidere rei publicae; deinde magnōs animōs esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, [maximam multitudinem] magnās praeterea cōpiās militum; deōs denique immortalis huic invictō populō, clarissimō imperiō, pulcherrimae urbi contrā tantam vim sceleris praesentis 15 auxilium esse lātūrōs. Quod si iam sint id quod summō furōre cupiunt adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente cōnscelerātā ac nefariā concupiverunt, cōsulēs sē aut dictātōrēs aut etiam rēgēs spērant futurōs? Nōn vident id sē cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivō alicui aut gladiatōri concedi sit necesse?

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1. Neque illis qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius eā uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. — *Sall.* 39.

*The Third Class: the veterans of Sulla who hope to restore their ruined fortunes by a new reign of terror.*

20. Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed tamen exercitacione robustum, quod ex genere iste est Manlius

cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines

5 ex eis coloniis quas Sulla constituit; quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio, sed tamen

10 ei sunt coloni qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque iactarunt.

15 Hi dum aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis lectis, familiis magnis, convivis apparatus delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut,

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA.

20 si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit eis ab inferis excitandus; qui etiam non nullos agrestis, homines tenuis atque egentis, in eandem illam spem

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1. Eis amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingenserat et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimendae rei publicae consilium cepit. — *Sall.* 16.

rapinārum veterum impulērunt. Quōs ego utrōsque in eōdem genere praedātōrum direptōrumque pōnō. Sed eōs hōc moneō: dēsinant furere ac prōscriptiōnēs et dictātūrās cōgitāre. Tantus enim illōrum temporum dolor inūstus est civitāti ut iam ista nōn modo hominēs, sed nē pecudēs quidem mihi passūrae esse videantur.

*The Fourth Class: lazy good-for-nothings of all kinds, who will never succeed.*

X. 21. Quārtum genus est sanē varium et mīxtum et turbulentum, quī iam pridem premuntur, quī numquam emergunt, quī partim inertīā, partim male gerendō negōtiō, partim etiam sūmptibus, in vetere aere aliēnō vacillant; quī vadimōniis, iūdicīis, prōscriptiōne bonōrum defatigātī, permulti et ex urbe et ex agrīs sē in illa castra cōferre dicuntur. Hōsce ego nōn tam milites acris quam infitiātōrēs lentōs esse arbitror. Quī hominēs quam primum, si stāre nōn possunt, conruant, sed ita ut nōn modē civitās, sed nē vicinī quidem proximī sentiant. Nam illud nōn intellegō, quam ob rem, si vivere honestē nōn possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cūr minōre dolore peritūrōs sē cum multis, quam si solī pereant, arbitrentur.

20

*The Fifth and Sixth Classes: desperate criminals and effeminate debauchees. These had better perish with Catiline.*

22. Quīntum genus est parricidārum, sicāriōrum, dēnique omnium facinorōsōrum. Quōs ego a Catilinā

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1. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum

nōn revocō; nam neque ab eō divelli possunt, et pereant  
sānē in latrōciniō, quoniam sunt ita multī ut eōs carcer  
capere nōn possit.

Postrēmum autem genus est nōn solum numerō, vērūm  
5 etiam genere ipsō atque vitā, quod proprium Catilinae  
est, dē eius dilēctū, immō vērō dē complexū eius ac sinū;  
quōs pexō capillō, nitidōs, aut imberbis aut bene barbātōs  
vidētis, manicātis et tālaribus tunicis, vēlis amictōs nōn  
togis, quōrum omnis industria vitae et vigilandī labor  
10 in antelucānis cēnis exprōmitur. **23.** In hīs gregibus  
omnēs aleātōrēs, omnēs adulteri, omnēs impūrī impu-  
dicique versantur. Hī pueri tam lepidi ac delicatī nōn  
solum amāre et amāri, neque saltāre et cantāre, sed  
etiam sicās vibrāre et spargere venēna didicērunt. Quī  
15 nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam sī Catilina perierit, scītōte  
hōc in rē publicā sēminārium Catilinārum futurum.  
Vērūm tamen quid sibi istī miseri volunt? Num suās  
sēcūm mulierculās sunt in castra ductūri? Quem ad  
modum autem illis carēre poterunt, hīs praesertim iam  
20 noctibus? Quō autem pactō illi Apenninum atque illās  
pruinās ac nivīs perferent? nisi idcirco sē facilius  
hiemem tolerātūrōs putant, quod nūdī in conviviis saltāre  
didicērunt.

*Rome's resources as compared with those of this miserable rabble.*

XI. **24.** Ō bellum māgnō opere pertimēscendum, cum  
25 hanc sit habitūrus Catilina scortōrum cohortem prae-

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alius, alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam vic-  
tores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere.—  
*Sall.* 11.

tōriam! Instruite nunc, Quiritēs, contrā hās tam praeclārās Catilinae cōpiās vestra praesidia vestrōsque exercitūs. Et primum gladiātōri illī cōfectō et sauciō cōsulēs imperātōresque vestrōs oppōnite; deinde contrā illam naufragōrum ēiectam ac dēbilitātam manum flōrem tōtius Italiae ac rōbur ēducite. Iam vērō urbēs colōni-

## GLADIATORS.

arum ac mūniciplōrum respondēbunt Catilinae tumultis silvestribus. Neque ego cēterās cōpiās, ōrnāmenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latrōnis inopiā atque egestāte cōferre dēbeō. |

25. Sed si, omissis his rebus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille: senatū, equitibus Rōmānis, urbe, aerariō, vectigalibus, cūctā Italiā, prōvinciis omnibus, exteris natiō-

nibus; si hīs rēbus omissis causās ipsās, quae inter se  
 cōnfigunt, contendere velimus, ex eō ipsō quam valdē  
 illi iaceant intellegere possumus. Ex hāc enim parte  
 pudor pūgnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc  
 5 stuprum; hinc fidēs, illinc fraudātiō; hinc pietās, illinc  
 scelus; hinc cōstantia, illinc furor; hinc honestās,  
 illinc turpitūdō; hinc continentia, illinc libidō: dēnique  
 aequitās, temperantia, fortitūdō, prūdentia, virtūtēs  
 omnēs certant cum iniquitāte, lūxuriā, ignāviā, temeritāte,  
 10 cum vitiis omnibus; postrēmō cōpia cum egestāte, bona  
 ratiō cum perditā, mēns sāna cum āmentia, bona dēnique  
 spēs cum omnium rērum dēspērātiōne cōnfigit. In eius  
 modi certāmine ac proeliō nōne, si hominum studia  
 dēficient, dī ipsi immortalēs cōgant ab hīs praeclārissimis  
 15 virtūtibus tot et tanta vitia superārī?

*Let the citizens guard their houses. The consul will defend the  
 city.*

XII. 26. Quae cum ita sint, Quiritēs, vōs, quem ad  
 modum iam antea dixi, vestra tēcta vigiliis cūstōdiisque  
 dēfendite; mihi, ut urbī sine vestrō mōtū ac sine ullō  
 tumultū satis esset praesidī, cōnsultum atque prōvīsum  
 20 est. Colōnī omnēs mūnicipēsque vestrī, certiorēs ā me  
 facti dē hāc nocturnā excursiōne Catilinae, facile urbīs  
 suās finisque dēfendent; gladiātōrēs, quam sibi ille  
 manum certissimam fore putāvit, quamquam animō me-  
 liōre sunt quam pars patriciōrum, potestāvō tamen nostrā  
 25 continēbuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hōc prōspiciēs  
 in agrum Gallicum Picēnumque praemisī, aut opprimet  
 hominem aut eius omnis mōtūs cōnātusque prohibēbit.



Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

*The conspirators in the city once more warned.*

27. Nunc illōs qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilinā relictī sunt, quamquam sunt hostēs, tamen, quia [nati] sunt civēs, monitōs etiam atque etiam volō. Mea lenitās adhūc, si cui solūtior visa est, hōc expectāvit, ut id quod latebat erumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam nōn possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, mē hōrum esse cōsulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis cūstōs, nullus insidiator viae; si qui exire volunt, cōvivere possum. Qui verō se in urbe commoverit, cuius ego nōn modo factum, sed inceptum ūllum cōnātumve contra patriam deprehenderō, sentiet in hāc urbe esse cōsulēs, vigilantēs, esse egregios magistrātūs, esse fortem senātum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiōres nostri esse voluerunt.

*All shall be done quietly, and with no undue severity.*

XIII. 28. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quiritēs, ut maximae res minimō motū, pericula summa nullō tumultū, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum, mē unō togatō duce et imperatōre, sedetur. Quod ego sic administrābō, Quiritēs, ut, si ūllō modō fieri poterit, nē improbus quidem quisquam in hāc urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si

vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum  
 meo necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud pro-  
 fectio perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidiosio bello vix  
 optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intreat  
 8 paucorumque poenam vos omnes salvi esse possitis.

*The gods will protect the city and its citizens.*

29. Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque  
 humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed  
 multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significati-  
 bus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem ~~sententiam~~que  
 10 sum ingressus; qui iam non procul, ut quondam solebant,  
 ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo  
 numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta  
 defendunt. [Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, im-  
 plorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam floren-  
 15 tissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc, omnibus hostium copiis  
 terra marique superatis, & perditissimorum civium nefario  
 scelere defendant.]

The most essential parts  
Emmanuel Prof.

M. TULLI CICERONIS  
IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO TERTIA  
HABITA AD POPULUM.

*By the favor of the gods the State has been rescued from great dangers.*

Rem publicam, Quiritēs, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortunās, coniugēs liberōsque vestrōs, atque hōc domicilium clārissimī imperī, fortunātissimam pulcherri-  
namque urbem, hodiernō diē deōrum immortalium summō  
ergā vōs amōre, labōribus, cōsiliis, periculis meis ē 5  
flammā atque ferrō ac paene ex faucibus fātī ereptam et  
vōbīs cōservātam ac restitūtam vidētis. 2. Et si nōn  
minus nobīs iucundi atque inlūstrēs sunt ei diēs quibus  
cōservāmur quam illi quibus nāscimur, quod salutis  
certa laetitia est, nāscendī incertā condiciō, et quod 10  
sine sēnsū nāscimur, cum voluptāte servāmur; profectō,  
quoniam illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deōs immor-  
tālīs benevolentīā fāmāque sustulimus, esse apud vōs  
posterōsque vestrōs in honōre dēbēbit is, qui eandem hanc  
urbem conditam amplificātamque servāvit. Nam tōti 15  
urbī, templīs, dēlūbris, tectīs ac moenibus subiectōs prope  
iam Ignis circumdatōsque rēstinximus; Idemque gladiōs  
in rem publicam dēstrictōs rettudimus mucronēsque  
eōrum ā iugulis vestris dēscimus. 3. Quae quoniam  
in senātū inlūstrāta, patefacta, comperta sunt per mē, 20  
vōbīs iam expōnam breviter, Quiritēs, ut et quantā et

quā ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vōs, qui et  
ignōrātis et expectātis, scire possitis.

*The consul has been vigilant for the safety of the citizens and the  
detection of the conspirators.*

Principiō, ut Catilina paucis ante diēbus erūpit ex  
urbe, cum sceleris sui sociōs, hūiusce nefariī belli acer-  
rimōs ducēs, Rōmae reliquisset, semper vigilāvī et  
prōvidī, Quiritēs, quem ad modum in tantis et tam  
absconditis insidiis salvī esse possēmus II. Nam tum,  
cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciēbam — nōn enim iam vereor  
hūius verbī invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod  
10 vivus exierit —, sed tum, cum illum exterminārī volēbam,  
aut reliquam coniūratorum manum simul exitūram aut  
eōs, qui restitissent, infirmōs sine illō ac debilis fore  
putābam. 4. Atque ego, ut vidī quōs maximō furōre  
et scelere esse inflammātōs sciēbam eōs nobiscum esse et  
15 Rōmae remānsisse, in eō omnis diēs noctisque cōsumpsi,  
ut, quid agerent, quid mōlirentur, sentirem ac vidērem;  
ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem māgni-  
tūdinem sceleris minōrem fidem faceret orātiō mea, rem  
ita comprehenderem, ut tum dōmum animīs salutī vestrae  
20 prōvidērētis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum vidērētis.

*The intrigues of the conspirators with envoys of the Allobroges*

Itaque, ut comperī lēgātōs Allobrogum belli Trans-  
alpini et tumultūs Gallici excitandī causā a P. Lentulō

1. Ille (i.e. Umbrenus) eos (i.e. the Allobroges) in domum  
D. Bruti perducit, quod Foro propinqua erat. . . . Praeterea

esse sollicitatōs, eōsque in Galliam ad suos civis eōdemque itinere <sup>1</sup> cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missōs, comitemque eis adiunctum esse T. Volturcium,<sup>2</sup> atque huic esse ad Catilinam datās litterās, facultatem mihi oblātā putāvi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper optābam ab dīs immortalibus, ut tota res nōn solum ā mē, sed etiam, ā senātū et ā vōbīs manifestō dēprenderētur.

Gabinium accessit, quo maior auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo praesente coniurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos cuiusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset. Deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit. — *Sall.* 40.

Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere quidnam consili caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae; at in altera maiores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocínio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito legatis praecepit ut studium coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant. — *Sall.* 41.

1. Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt. Ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant ius iurandum quod signatum ad civis perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. — *Sall.* 44.

2. Lentulus cum eis T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges, prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilinā, data atque accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est. — *Sall.* 44.

*The envoys arrested on the Mulvian Bridge.*

5. Itaque hesternō diē L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetōrēs,<sup>1</sup> fortissimōs atque amantissimōs rei publicae virōs, ad mō vocāvī, rem exposuī, quid fieri placēret ostendī. Illi autem, quī omnia dē rē publicā praeclāra atque ēgregia sentirent, sine recūsatiōne ac sine ullā morā negotium suscepērunt et, cum advesperāsceret, occultē ad pontem Mulvium pervēnērunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartitō fuērunt ut Tiberis inter eōs et pōns interesset. Eōdem autem et ipsi sine cuiusquam sūspiciōne multōs fortis virōs edūxerant, et ego ex praefectūrā Reatinā complūrīs delēctōs adulescentis, quōrum operā utōr adsiduē in rei publicae praesidiō, cum gladiis miseram. 6. <sup>2</sup>Interim, tertiā ferō vigiliā exactā, cum iam pontem Mulvium magnō comitatū lēgātī Allobrogum ingredi inciperent unāque Volturcius, fit in eōs impetus; edūcuntur et ab illis gladii et ā nostris. Rēs praetōribus erat nōta sōlis, ignōrābātur ā cēteris.

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<sup>1</sup>1. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatūs deprehendant. — *Sall.* 45.

2. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit. — *Sall.* 45.

*The conspirators arrested and the Senate summoned.*

III. Tum interventū Pomptīni atque Flacci pūgnæ erat commissæ sēdātur. Litteræ quæcumque erant

#### WRITING MATERIALS.

in eō comitatū, integrīs signīs, prætoribus trāduntur; ipsī comprehēnsī ad mē,<sup>1</sup> cum iam dilucēsceret, dēducuntur. <sup>2</sup>Atque hōrum omnium scelerum improbissimum 8

1. Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupare. Nam lætabatur intellegens coniuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius erat dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset. Poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdendæ rei publicæ fore credebat. — *Sall.* 46.

2. Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque Caeparium Terracinensem qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt, Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito iudicio ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire iubet. — *Sall.* 46.

māchinātorem Cimbrum Gabīnium statim ad mē, nihil dum sūspicantem, vocāvī; deinde item arcessitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethēgus; tardissimē autem Lentulus vēnit, crēdō quod in littēris dandis praeter cōn-  
 5 suctudinē proximā nocte vigilārat. 7. Cum summīs ac clārissimīs hūius civitātis virīs, quī audītā rē frequentēs ad mē mānē convēnerant, litterās ā mē prius aperiri quam ad senātum dēferri placēret, nē, sī nihil esset inventum, temerē ā mē tantus tumultus iniectus civitātī  
 10 vidērētur, negāvī mē esse factūrum ut dē periculō publicō nōn ad cōnsilium publicum rem integram dēferrem. Etenim, Quiritēs, sī, ea quae erant ad mē dēlāta, reperta nōn essent, tamen ego nōn arbitrābar in tantis rei pūblīcae periculīs esse mihi nimiam dīligentiam pertimēscen-  
 15 dam. Senātum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coēgī. 8. Atque intereā statim admonitū Allobrogum C. Sulpicium praetōrem, fortem virum, mīsi, quī ex aedibus Cethēgī, sī quid tēlorum esset, efferret; ex quibus ille maximum sicārum numerum et gladiōrum extulit.

*The trial before the Senate. Evidence of Volturcius and the Gauls.*

20 IV. Intrōdūxī Volturcium<sup>1</sup> sine Gallis; fidem pūblīcam iussū senātūs dedī; hortātus sum ut ea quae sciret

1. Eo senatum advocat magnāque frequentīā eius ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit; Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris quas a legatis acceperat eodem adferre iubet. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit. — *Sall.* 46, 47.



sine timōre indicāret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix sē ex  
 māgnō timōre recreāsset, ab Lentulō sē habere ad Catili-  
 nam mandāta et litterās, ut servōrum praesidiō ūteretur,  
 ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitū accōderet; id  
 autem eō cōnsiliō, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, 5  
 quem ad modum dīscriptum distribūtumque erat, incen-  
 dissent caedemque infinitam cīvium fēcissent, praestō  
 esset ille qui et fugientis exciperet et sē cum hīs urbānis  
 ducibus coniungeret. ¶9. Intrōductī autem Galli iūs  
 iurandum sibi et litterās ab Lentulō, Cethēgō, Statiliō ad 10  
 suam gentem data esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab hīs et  
 ā L. Cassiō esse praescriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam  
 quam primum mitterent; pedestris sibi cōpiās nōn dē-  
 futūrās. Lentulum autem sibi cōfirmāsse ex fātis  
 Sibyllinis haruspicumque respōnsis sē esse tertium illum 15  
 Cornēlium, ad quem rēgnum hūius urbis atque imperium  
 pervēnre esset necesse; Cinnam ante sē et Sullam fuisse.  
 Eundemque dixisse fātalem hunc annum esse ad interitum  
 hūius urbis atque imperi, qui esset annus decimus post  
 virginum absolutiōnem, post Capitōli autem incēnsiōnem 20  
 vicēsimum. 10. Hanc autem Cethēgō cum ceteris contrō-  
 versiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulō et aliis Sāturnāli-  
 bus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placēret, Cethēgō  
 nimium id longum vidērētur.

*The incriminating letters produced and acknowledged.*

V. Ac nē longum sit, Quiritēs, tabellās prōferri iussi- 25  
 mus, quae ā quōque dicēbantur datae. Primō ostendimus  
 Cethēgō; signum cōgnōviti. Nōs linum incidimus, lēgi-  
 mus. Erat scriptum ipsius manū Allobrogum senātul et

populō, sēsē quae eōrum lēgātis cōfirmāset factūrum esse; orāre ut item illi facerent quae sibi eōrum lēgātī recēpissent. Tum Cethēgus, quī paulō ante aliquid tamen dē gladiis ac sicis quae apud ipsum erant dēpre-  
 5 hēnsa respondisset, dixissetque sē semper bonōrum ferrāmentōrum studiōsum fuisse, recitātis litteris dēbili-  
 tātus atque abiectus cōscientiā repente conticuit. In-  
 trōductus est Statilius; cōgnōvit et sīgnum et manum  
 suam. Recitāto sunt tabellae in eandem ferē senten-  
 10 tiam; cōfessus est. Tum ostendī tabellās Lentulō et  
 quaesivī cōgnōsceretne sīgnum. Adnuit. ‘Est vērō,’  
 inquam, ‘nōtum quidem sīgnum, imāgō avi tui, clārissimī  
 viri, qui amāvit unicē patriam et civis suōs; quae quidem  
 tē a tantō scelere etiam mūta revocāre dēbuit.’

*Lentulus cross-examines the Gauls, but fails to shake their  
 testimony.*

15 11. Leguntur eādē ratiōne ad senātum Allobrogum  
 populūque litterae; sī quid dē hīs rēbus dicere vellet,  
 fecī potestātem. Atque ille primō quidem negavit; post  
 autem aliquantō, tōtō iam indicio expositō atque editō,  
 surrēxit; quaesivit a Gallis<sup>1</sup> quid sibi esset cum eis,  
 20 quam ob rem domum suam vēnissent, itēque a Volturciō.

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1. Eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coargu-  
 unt praeter litteras sermonibus quos ille habere solitus erat;  
 ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi:  
 Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse cui fatum foret  
 urbis potiri; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vice-  
 simum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent  
 bello civili cruentum fore. — Sall. 47.

Qui cum illi breviter cōstanterque respondissent per quem ad eum quotiēnsque vēnissent, quaesissentque ab eō nihilne sēcum esset dē fātis Sibyllinīs locūtus, tum ille subitō, scelere dēmēns, quanta cōscientiae vis esset ostendit. Nam cum id posset infitiārī, repente praeter opīniōnem omnium cōfessus est. Ita eum nō modo ingenium illud et dīcendī exercitatio, quā semper valuit, sed etiam, propter vim sceleris manifestī atque deprehēnsī, impudentia, quā superābat omnis, improbitasque defecit.

*Meib*

10

*Lentulus and Gabinius confess.*

12. Volturocius vērō subitō litterās prōferri atque aperiri iubet, quas sibi à Lentulō ad Catilinam datās esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissimē perturbātus Lentulus tamen et signum et manum suam cōgnōvit. Erant autem sine nōmine, sed ita: " *Quis sim, sciēs ex eō quem ad te misi. Cūrā ut vir sis, et cōgitā quem in locum sis progressus. Vidē ecquid tibi iam sit necesse, et cūrā ut omnium tibi auxilia adiungās, etiam infimōrum.*" Gabinius deinde intrōductus, cum primō impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extrēmum nihil ex eis quae Galli insimulābant negavit.

*The guilty demeanor of the culprits.*

13. Ac mihi quidem, Quiritēs, cum illa certissima visa sunt argūmenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellae, signa,

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1. "Qui sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse. Consideres quid tuae rationes postulent. Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infinis." — *Sall. 44.*

manūs, dēnique ūnius cūiusque cōfessiō; tum multō certiora illa, color, oculi, voltus, taciturnitas Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuēbantur, sic fūrtim nōn nunquam inter sēsē aspiciēbant, ut nōn iam ab aliīs indicārī, sed indicāre sē ipsi vidērentur.

*The Senate decrees that all implicated be placed in custody.*

VI. Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quiritēs, senātum cōsului dē summā rē publicā quid fieri placēret. Dictae sunt ā principibus ācerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quās senātus sine illā varietate est secutus. Et quoniam nōndum est perscriptum senātus cōsultum, ex memoriā vōbīs, Quiritēs, quid senātus cōsuerit expōnam. ¶14. Primum mihi grātiaē verbīs amplissimīs aguntur, quod virtute, cōsiliō, prōvidentiā meā rēs publicā maximīs periculis sit liberāta. Deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praetōrēs, quod eōrum operā fortī fidēlique ūsus essem, meritō ac iūre laudantur, atque etiā virō fortī, conlēgae meō, laus impertitur, quod eōs, quī hūius cōiūratiōnis participēs fuissent, ā suis et ā rēi publicae cōsiliis removisset. Atque ita cōsuerunt: ut P. Lentulus, cum sē praetūrā abdicāssēt, in cūstōdiam trāderētūr; itemque utī C. Cethēgus, L. Statilius, P. Gabīnius, quī omnēs praesentēs erant, in cūstōdiam trāderentur; atque idem hōc dēcrētum est in L. Cassium, quī sibi prōcūratiōnem incendendae urbis dēpopōscerat; in M. Cēpārium, cui ad sollicitandōs pāstōrēs Āpūliam attribūtā esse erat indicātum; in P. Fūrium, quī est ex eis colōnis quōs Faesulās L. Sulla dēdūxit; in Q. Anniūm Chlōnem, quī unā cum

nō Furiō semper erat in hāc Allobrogum sollicitātiōne versātus; in P. Umbrēnum,<sup>1</sup> libertinum hominem, a quō primum Gallōs ad Gabīnium perductōs esse cōstabat.

[Atque eā lenitāte senātus est ūsus, Quiritēs, ut, ex tantā coniurātiōne tantāque hāc multitudine domesticōrum hostium novem hominum perditissimōrum pōenā rē publicā cōservatā, reliquōrum mentis sanārī posse arbitrāretur.]

*A day of thanksgiving is decreed in honor of the consul.*

*Lentulus resigns his office.*

15. Atque etiam supplicatiō dīs immortalibus prō singulari eōrum meritō meō nōmine dēcrēta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togatō contigit,<sup>10</sup> et his verbis dēcrēta est: *‘quod urbem incendiis, caede civis, Italiam bellō liberāssem.’* [Quae supplicatiō, si cum cēteris supplicatiōnibus cōferatur, hōc interest, quod cēterae bene gestā, haec ūna cōservatā rē publicā cōstitutā est.] Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit,<sup>15</sup> factum atque trānsactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam patefactis indicis, cōfessionibus suis, iudiciō senātūs nōn modo praetōris iūs, vērū etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratū sē abdicāvit,<sup>3</sup> ut, quae religio C. Mariō,

*et na  
Compla*

1. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat uti legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli, existimans publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod naturā gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. — *Sall.* 40.

2. Igitur perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus

clārissimō virō, nōn fuerat, quō minus C. Glauciam, dē  
quō nihil nōminātīm erat dēcrētum, praetōrem occideret, eā  
nōs religiōne in privātō P. Lentulō pūniendō liberārēmur. / 27 9

A ROMAN SACRIFICE.

*The conspirators were helpless without Catiline.*

VII. 16. Nunc quoniam, Quirītēs, cōnscelerātissimī  
periculōsissimīque bellī nefāriōs ducēs captōs iam et  
comprehēnsōs tenētis, existimāre dēbētis omnis Catilīnae  
cōpiās, omnis spēs atque opēs his dēpulsis urbis periculīs

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itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus  
P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Corni-  
ficio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius — nam  
is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat — Cn. Terentio senatori  
traduntur. — *Sall.* 47.

concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellēbam, hōc prōvidēbam animō, Quiritēs, remōtō Catilinā nōn mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassī adipēs nec C. Cethēgi<sup>1</sup> furiōsam temeritātem pertimēscendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex istis omnibus, sed tam diū dum 5 urbis moenibus continēbātur. |

*With him in the city the danger would have been much greater.*

✓ Omnia nōrat, omnium aditūs tenēbat; appellāre, temptāre, sollicitāre pōterat, audēbat; erat ei cōnsiliū ad facinus aptum, cōnsiliō autem neque manus neque lingua deerat. Iam ad certās rēs cōficiendās certōs hominēs 10 delēctōs ac dēscriptōs habēbat. ∑ Neque vērō, cum aliquid mandārat, cōfectum putābat; nihil erat quod nōn ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilāret, labōrāret. Frīgus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. > 17. Hunc ego hominem tam ācrem, tam audācem, tam parātum, tam callidū, tam 15 in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rēbus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrēse latrōcinium compulsem, dicam id quod sentiō, Quiritēs, nōn facile hanc tantam mōlem mali ā cervicibus vestris dēpulsem. Nōn ille nobis Sātūrnālia cōstituisset, neque tantō ante exiti 20

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1. Inter haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse, seque, si pauci adiuvent, languentibus aliis impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.—  
*Sall.* 48.

ac fātī diem rei pūblicae dēnūntiāvisset, neque commīsisset ut signum, ut litterae suae, tēstēs manifestī sceleris, dēprehenderentur. Quae nunc illō absente sic gesta sunt ut nullum in privātā domō furtum umquam sit tam palam  
 5 inventum quam haec tanta in rē pūblicā coniūratiō manifestō inventa atque dēprehēnsa est. Quod si Catilīna in urbe ad hanc diem remānsisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus eius cōsiliis occurrī atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissimō dicam, dimicandum nobīs cum illō fuisset,  
 10 neque nōs umquam, cum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem pūblicam tantā pāce, tantō otīō, tantō silentiō liberāssēmus.

*Thanks are due to the Gods who have shown many marks of their favor.*

VIII. 18. <sup>quod est</sup> Quamquam haec omnia, Quiritēs, ita sunt a mē administrāta, ut deōrum immortalium nātū atque  
 15 cōsiliō et gesta et prōvisa esse videantur. Idque cum coniectūrā cōsequi possumus, quod vix vidētur hūmāni cōsiliī tantārum rērum gubernātiō esse potuisse, tum vērō ita praesentēs hīs temporibus opem et auxilium  
 nobis tulērunt, ut eōs paene oculis vidēre possēmus.  
 20 Nam ut illa omittam, visās nocturnō tempore ab occidente facēs ardōremque caeli, ut fulminum iactūs, ut terrae mōtūs relinquam, ut omittam cētera, quae tam multa nobīs cōsulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, canere dī immortalēs vidērentur, hoc certē, quod sum  
 25 dictūrus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est.



*Divine warnings of the approaching danger.*

19. Nam profectō memoriā tenētis, Cottā et Torquātō cōsulibus, complūrīs in Capitōliō rēs dē caelō esse percussās, cum et simulācra deōrum dēpulsā sunt, et statuæ veterum hominum dēiectæ et lēgum aera liquefacta et tactus etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Rōmulus, 5

## THE BRONZE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL.

quem inauratum in Capitōliō, parvum atque lactentem, ūberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quō quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tōtā Etruriā convēnissent, caedēs atque incendia et lēgum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et tōtius ūrbis atque imperi<sup>10</sup> occāsum appropinquāre dixerunt, nisi dī immortalēs, omni ratione plācātī, suō nūmine prope fāta ipsa flexissent.

*In consequence a statue was vowed to Jupiter, which was not ready for erection until to-day.*

20. Itaque illōrum respōnsis tum et lūdi per decem diēs factī sunt neque rēs ulla quae ad plācandōs deōs pertinēret praetermissa est. Idemque iussērunt simulācrum Iovis facere māius et in excelsō conlocāre et contrā atque antea fuerat ad orientem convertere; ac sē spērāre dixerunt, si illud sīgnum, quod vidētis, sōlis ortum et Forum cūriamque cōspiceret, fore ut ea cōsilia quae clam essent inita contrā salūtem urbis atque imperi, inlūstrārentur, ut ā senātū populōque Rōmānō perspicī possent. Atque illud sīgnum conlocandum cōsulēs illi locāvērunt, sed tanta fuit operis tarditās, ut neque superioribus cōsulibus neque nōbis ante hodiernum diem conlocārētur.

*This coincidence is a proof of divine favor.*

IX. 21. Hic quis potest esse, Quiritēs, tam <sup>so averse to the interests</sup> āversus ā  
15 vērō, tam praeceps, tam mente captus, quī neget haec omnia quae vidēmus praecipuēque hanc urbem deōrum immortalium nūtū ac potestāte administrārī? Etenim cum esset ita respōnsum, caedēs, incendia, interitum rei publicae comparārī, et ea per civīs, quae tum propter  
20 magnitudinem scelerum nōn nullis incredibilia vidēbantur, ea nōn modo cōgitāta ā nefāris civibus vērū etiam suscepta esse sēnsistis. Illud vērō nōne ita praesēns est ut nūtū Iovis Optimī Maximī factum esse videātur, ut, cum hodiernō diē māne per Forum meō iussū et con-  
25 iurātī et eōrum indicēs in aedem Concordiae dūcerentur, eō ipsō tempore sīgnum statuerētur? Quō conlocātō

atque ad vōs senātumque conversō, omnia quae erant  
 contrā salutem omnium cōgitāta, inlūstrāta et patefacta  
 vidistis. 22. Quō etiam māiōre sunt istī odiō suppliciō-  
 que dignī, qui nōn solum vestris domiciliis atque tēctis,  
 sed etiam deōrum templis atque delūbris sunt funestōs 5  
 ac nefariōs Ignis Inferre cōnātī. Quibus ego si mē resti-  
 tisse dicam, nimium mihi sūmam et nōn sim ferendus. *7 ul*  
 Ille, ille Iuppiter restitit; ille Capitōlium, ille haec  
 templa, ille cūctam urbem, ille vōs omnis salvōs esse  
 voluit. Dis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, 10  
 Quiritēs, voluntātemque suscepī, atque ad haec tanta  
 indicia pervēnī.

*The gods made the conspirators rash and kept the Gauls faithful.*

Iam vērō ab Lentulō cēterisque domesticis hostibus tam  
 dēmenter tantae rēs crēditae et Ignōtis et barbaris com-  
 missaeque litterae nunquam essent profectō, nisi ab dīs 15  
 immortalibus huic tantae audāciae cōnsilium esset ērep-  
 tum. Quid vērō? Ut hominēs Galli, ex civitate male  
 pācātā, quae gēns ūna restat quae bellum populō Rōmānō  
 facere et posse et nōn nōlle videātur, spem imperī ac  
 rerum maximārum ultrō sibi ā patriciis hominibus oblātam 20  
 neglegerent, vestramque salutem suis opibus antepōnerent,  
 id nōn divinitus esse factum putātis? Praesertim qui nōs  
 nōn pūgnandō, sed tacendō superāre potuerint.

*The citizens are exhorted to thanksgiving.*

X. 23. Quam ob rem, Quiritēs, quoniam ad omnia  
 pulvinaria supplicatiō decreta est, celebrātōte illōs diēs 25  
 cum coniugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multī saepe

honōrēs dīs immortalibus iūstī habitī sunt ac dēbitī, sed profectō iūstiorēs numquam. ] Ereptī enim estis ex crudēlissimō ac miserrimō interitū [ereptī]; sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitū, sine dīmiciationē, togātī mē unō  
 8 togātō duce et imperātōre vicistis. ]

*Other civil disturbances as compared with this.*

24. Etenim recordāminī, Quiritēs, omnīs cīvīlīs dissēnsiōnēs, nōn solum eās quās audistis, sed eās quās vōsmet ipsī meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit [ēiecit ex urbe]; C. Marium, cūstōdem  
 10 hūius urbis, multōsque fortīs virōs partim ēiecit ex civitate, partim interēmit. Cn. Octāvius cōsul armīs expulit ex urbe conlēgam; omnis hīc locus acervīs corporum et  
 cīvium sanguine redundāvit.

Superāvit postea Cinna cum  
 15 Mariō; tum vērō clārissimis viris interfectis lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est hūius victōriæ crudelitatem postea Sulla; nō dīcī  
 20 quidem opus est quantā dēminūtiōne cīvium et quantā calamitate rei publicae. Dissēnsit M. Lepidus  
 ā clārissimō et fortissimō

CAIUS MARIUS.

23 virō Q. Catulō; attulit nōn tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum quam ceterōrum.  
 25. Atque illae tamen omnes dissēnsiōnēs erant eius modi [Quiritēs], quae nōn ad dēlendā, sed ad commūtandā

rem publicam pertinērent. | Nōn illi nullam esse rem pū-  
 blicam, sed in eā, quae esset, sē esse principēs, neque hanc  
 urbem cōnflagrāre, sed sē in hāc urbe florēre voluerunt.  
 Atque illae tamen omnēs dissēnsiōnēs, quārum nulla  
 exitium rei pūblīcae quaesivit, eius modi fuerunt ut nōn 5  
 reconciliātiōne concordiae, sed interneciōne civium di-  
 iudicatāe sint. | In hōc autem aūdō post hominum memo-  
 riam maximō crudēlissimōque bellō, quāle bellum nulla  
 umquam barbaria cum suā gente gessit, quō in bellō  
 lēx haec fuit a Lentulō, Catilinā, Cethēgō, Cassiō cōn- 10  
 stitūta, ut omnēs, qui salvā urbe salvī esse possent, in  
 hostium numerō dūcerentur, ita mē gessi, Quirītēs, ut  
 salvī omnēs cōnservārēmini; et, cum hostēs vestri tan-  
 tum civium superfutūrum putāssent quantum infīnitae  
 caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis quantum flamma 15  
 obire nōn potuisset, et urbem et civis integrōs incolu-  
 misque servāvi.

*The consul asks for no reward save the memory of his service.*

XI. 26. Quibus prō tantis rebus, Quirītēs, nullum ego  
 a vōbīs praemium virtūtis, nullum insignē honoris, nullum  
 monumentum laudis pōstulō praeterquam hūius diei 20  
 memoriam sempiternam. | In animis ego vestris omnis  
 triumphōs meos, omnia ornāmenta honoris, monumenta  
 glōriae, laudis insignia condi et conlocārī volō. Nihil  
 mē mūtum potest dēlectāre, nihil tacitum, nihil dēnique  
 eius modi quod etiam minus digni adsequi possint. 25  
 Memoriam vestrā, Quirītēs, nostrae rēs alentur, sermōnibus  
 crēscent, litterarum monumentis inveterāscēt et corrō-

borābuntur; eandemque diem intellegō, quam spēō  
 aeternam fore, prōpāgātā esse et ad salutem urbis et ad  
 memoriā cōsulātūs meī; ūndōque tempore in hāc rē

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

pūblicā duōs civīs exstitisse, quōrum alter finīs vestri  
 5 imperī nōn terrae sed caeli regiōnibus termināret, alter  
 eiusdem imperī domicilium sēdisque servāret.

*The citizens should protect him from his enemies.*

XII. 27. Sed quoniam eārum rērum, quās ego gessī,  
 nōn eadem est fortūna atque condiciō quae illōrum qui  
 externa bella gesserunt, quod mihi cum eis vivendum est  
 10 quōs vicī ac subēgī, illi hostis aut interfectōs aut oppres-

sos reliquerunt; vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris facta sua recte prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint providere. Mentēs 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.] Magnū 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 negligunt, cum me violare volent, se ipsi indicabunt.] 28. Est enim in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnis improbus ultrō semper lacessamus. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, quā condicione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus.

*The consul will ever be worthy of his deeds.*

Mihi quidem ipsi, quid est quod iam ad vitae fructum possit adquiri, cum praesertim neque in honore vestro, neque in gloria virtutis, quicquam videam altius quō mihi libeat ascendere? 29. Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea quae gessi in consulatu privatus tuear atque ornem; ut, si qua est invidia conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidios, 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.]

*A final word of warning and encouragement.*

Vos, Quiritēs, quoniam iam est nox, venerātī Iovem illum, cūstōdem hūius urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tēcta discēdite, et ea, quamquam iam est, perīculum dēpulsum, tamen aeq̄ne ac priore nocte cūstōdiis vigiliisque dē-  
5 fendite. Id nē vōbīs diūtius faciendum sit atque ut in perpetuā pāce esse possītis prōvidēbō.

26 7,



M. TULLI CICERONIS  
IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO QUARTA  
HABITA IN SENATU<sup>1</sup>

*The consul thanks the senators for their solicitude, but is prepared to do his duty.*

Videō, patrēs cōscripti, in mē omnium vestrum ōra atque oculōs esso conversōs. Videō vōs nōn solum dē vestrō ac rei pūblicae, vērūm etiam, si id dēpulsum sit, dē meō periculō esse sollicitōs. Est mihī iūcunda in malis et grāta in dolōre vestra ergā mē voluntās, sed eam, 8 per deōs immortalis, dēpōnite, atque obliti salūtis meae dē vōbīs ac dē vestris liberis cōgitāte. Mihī si haec condiciō cōsulātūs data est, ut omnis acerbitātēs, omnis dolōrēs cruciātūsque perferrem, feram nōn solum fortiter, vērūm etiam libenter, dum modo meis labōribus vōbīs 10 populōque Rōmānō dignitās salūsque pariātur. 2. Ego sum ille cōsul, patrēs cōscripti, cui nōn Forum, in quō omnis aequitās continētur, nōn campus cōsulāribus auspiciis cōsecrātus, nōn cūria, summum auxilium omnium gentium, nōn domus, commūne perfugium, nōn 13 lectus ad quietem datus, nōn dēnique haec sēdēs honoris [sella curulis] umquam vacua mortis periculō atque

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1. Consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, refert quid de eis fieri placeat qui in custodiam traditi erant. — Sall. 50.

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 virginisque Vestalis ex acerbissima vexatione, templa atque

## A ROMAN VESTAL.

delaebra, 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 existitisse?

*Monday*

*They should not have regard for him, but only for the safety of the State.*

II. 3. Quā rē, patrēs cōscripti, cōsulite vōbīs, prōspicite patriae, cōservāte vōs, coniugēs, liberōs fortunāsque vestrās, populi Rōmāni nōmen salutemque dēfendite; mihi parcere ac dē mē cōgitāre dēsinite. Nam primum dēbeō spērāre omnis deōs, qui huic urbī 5 praesident, prō eō mihi ac mereor relatūrōs esse grātiam; deinde, si quid obtigerit, aequō animō parātōque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors fortī virō potest accidere neque immātūra cōsulārī nec misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui frātris cārissimī atque amantissimī 10 praesentis maerōre nōn movear, hōrumque omnium lacrimis ā quibus mē circumsessum vidētis. Neque meam mentem nōn domum saepe revocat exanimāta uxor et abiecta metū filia et parvolus fīlius, quem mihi vidētur amplecti rēs pūblica tamquam obsidem cōsulātus 15 mei, neque ille, qui, exspectāns hūius exitum diēi, stat in cōspectū meō, gener. Moveor his rēbus omnibus, sed in eam partem uti salvi sint vōbiscum omnēs, etiam si mē vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nōs unā rei pūblīcae peste pereāmus. 20

*The designs of the conspirators were most criminal.*

4. Quā rē, patrēs cōscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei pūblīcae, circumspicite omnis procellās quae impendent nisi prōvidētis. Nōn Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribūnus plēbis fieri voluit, nōn C. Gracchus, quod agrārīōs concitāre cōnātus est, nōn L. Sātūrnīnus, quod C. Memmīum 25 occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae sevērītātis

iudicium addūcitur; tenentur eī qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Rōmae restitērunt; tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique ūnūs eūiusque cōfessiō; sollicitantur Allobrogēs,  
 5 servitia excitantur, Catilina arcessitur; id est initum cōsiliū, ut interfectis omnibus nēmō nō ad dēplōrandū quidem populī Rōmānī nōmen atque ad lāmentandam tantī imperī calamitātem relinquātur. *Wednesday*

*Their guilt is clear.*

III. 5. Haec omnia indicēs dētulerunt, rei cōfessi  
 10 sunt, vōs multis iam iudiciis iudicāvistis, primum quod mihī grātiās egistis singularibus verbis, et meā virtūte atque diligentiā perditōrum hominum coniūrātiōnem patefactam esse dēcrēvistis; deinde quod P. Lentulum sē abdicāre praetūrā coegistis; tum quod eum et ceteros,  
 15 de quibus iudicāstis, in cūstōdiam dandōs cēnsuistis; maximōque quod meō nōmine supplicātiōnem dēcrēvistis, qui honōs togātō habitus ante mō est nēmīnī; postrēmō hesternō diē praemia légātis Allobrogum Titōque Vulturciō dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia eius modī  
 20 ut ei, qui in cūstōdiam nōminatim datī sunt, sine ūllā dubitātiōne a vōbis damnātī esse videantur.

*A verdict is demanded. The danger is great and widely spread.*

6. Sed ego Institui referre ad vōs, patrēs cōscripti, tanquam integrum, et de factō quid iudicētis et de poenā quid cēseātis. Illa praedicam quae sunt cōsulis. Ego  
 25 māgnū in rē publicā versārī furōrem et nova quaedam miscērī et concitārī mala iam pridem vidēbam; sed hanc

tantam, tam exitiosam haberi coniurationem a civibus numquam putavi. Nunc quicquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit videtis. Huic si paucos putatis adfinis esse, vehementer erratis.]<sup>5</sup> Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum; manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpibus et obscurè serpens multas iam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentandò aut prolātandò nullò pacto potest; quacumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum<sup>10</sup> est.

*Y. Lewisday*

*Two opinions: Silanus favors death, Caesar, imprisonment for life.*

IV. 7. Video duas adhuc esse sententias: unam D. Silani,<sup>1</sup> qui censet eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos; alteram C. Caesaris,<sup>2</sup> qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnis acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summā severitate versatur.

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1. Tum D. Iunius Silanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de sis qui in custodiis tenebantur, et praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat. — *Sall.* 50.

2. *Sed ita censeo*: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quae maxime opibus valent; neu quis de eis postea ad senatum referat neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum. — *Sall.* 51.

Alter eōs qui nōs omnis [qui populum Rōmānum] vitā  
 privāre cōnātī sunt, qui dēlere imperium, qui populū  
 Rōmānī nōmen exstinguere, pūctum temporis frui vitā  
 et hōc commūnī spīritū nōn putat oportere; atque hōc  
 5 genus poenae saepe in improbōs civīs in hāc rē publicā  
 esse ūsrpātum recordātur.

Alter intellegit mortē ab dīs immortalibus nōn  
 esse supplicī causā cōstitūtā, sed aut necessitatem  
 nātūrae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse. Ita-  
 10 que eam sapientēs numquam invitī, fortēs saepe etiam  
 libenter oppetivērunt. Vincula vērō et ea sempiterna  
 certā ad singulārem poenam nefārii sceleris inventā sunt.  
 Mūnicipiis dispertiri iubet. Habere videtur ista rēs inī-  
 quitatem, sī imperāre velis; difficultatem, sī rogāre.  
 15 Dēcernātur tamen, sī placet. / 8. Ego enim suscipiam, et,  
 ut spērō, reperiam quī id, quod salutis omnium causā  
 statueritis, nōn putent esse suae dignitātis recūsāre.  
 Adiungit gravem poenam mūnicipibus, sī quis eōrum  
 vincula rūperit; horribilis cāstōdiās circumdat et dignās  
 20 scelere hominum perditōrum; sancit nē quis eōrum  
 poenam, quōs condemnat, aut per senātum aut per popu-  
 lum levāre possit; eripit etiam spem, quae sōla hominēs  
 in miseriis cōsōlārī solet; bona praetereā publicārī iubet;  
 vitam sōlam relinquit nefāriis hominibus, quam sī eri-  
 25 puisset, multōs unā dolōrēs animī atque corporis et omnis  
 scelerum poenās adēmisset. Itaque, ut aliqua in vitā  
 formidō improbīs esset posita, apud Inferōs eius modī  
 quaedam illi antiquī supplicia impiīs cōstitūta esse  
 voluerunt, quod videlicet intellegēbant, his remōtis, nōn  
 30 esse mortem ipsam pertimēscendam.

*xx* *indistinct*

*Caesar's opinion discussed.*

V. 9. Nunc, patrēs cōscripti, ego meā video quid intersit. Si eritis secūti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in rē publicā viam quae populāris habētur secūtus est, fortasse minus 5 erunt, hōc auctōre et cōgnitōre hūiusce sententiae, mihi populārēs impetūs pertimēscendī; sīn illam



COIN OF CAESAR.

alteram, nesciō an amplius mihi negoti contrahatur. Sed 10 tamen meōrum periculōrum ratiōnēs utilitās rei publicae vincat. Habēmus enim ā Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitās et māiōrum eius amplitūdō pōstulābat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntātis. Intellēctum est quid interesset inter levitatem cōtioniā- 15 tōrum et animum vērē populārem, saluti populi cōnsulentem. 10. Video dē istis, qui se populāris haberi volunt, abesse nōn nēminem, nē dē capite videlicet civium Rōmānōrum sententiam ferat. Is et nūdius tertius in cūstōdiam civis Rōmānōs dedit et supplicatiōnem mihi 20 dēcrēvit et indicēs hesternō diē maximis praemijs adfēcit. Iam hōc nēmini dubium est, qui reō cūstōdiam, quae sītōri grātulatiōnem, indicē praemium dēcrēvit, quid dē tōtā rē et causā indicārit.

At vērō C. Caesar intellegit lēgem Semprōniam esse 25 dē civibus Rōmānis cōstitutam; qui autem rei publicae sit hostis, eum civem nullo modō esse posse; dēnique ipsum lātōrem Semprōniae lēgis iniussū populi poenās rei publicae dēpendisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitō-

rem et prōdigum, nōn putat, cum dē perniciā populi Rōmāni, exitiō huius urbis tam acerbē, tam crudēliter cōgitārit, etiam appellārī posse populārem. Itaque homō mīttissimus atque lēnissimus nōn dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandāre, et sancit in posterum nē quis huius supplicio levandō sē iactāre et in perniciā populi Rōmāni posthāc populāris esse possit. Adiungit etiam publicatiōnem bonōrum, ut omnīs animi cruciātūs et corporis etiam egestās ac mendicitās cōsequātur. *Wednesday*

VI. 11. Quam ob rem, sive hōc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad contionem populō carum atque iucundum; sive Silāni sententiam sequi mālueritis, facile mē atque vōs ā crudelitātis vituperatiōne populō Rōmānō pūrgabō, atque obtinēbō eam multō lēniōrem fuisse.

*No punishment too severe for the crime attempted.*

Quamquam, patrēs cōscripti, quae potest esse in tantī sceleris immānitātē pūniendā crudelitās? Ego enim dē meo sensū iudicō. { Nam ita mihi salvā rē publicā vōbiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hāc causā vehementior sum, nōn atrocitātē animi moveor, — quis enim est mē mīttior? — sed singulari quādā hūmānitātē et misericordiā. Videor enim mihi vidēre hanc urbem, lūcem orbis terrārum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito unō incendio concidentem; cernō animō sepultā in patriā miserōs atque insepultōs acervōs civium; versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethēgi et furor in vestrā caede bacchantis. 12. Cum verō mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse sē ex fātis spērasse cōfessus est,



purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitū venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum familiās, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorrescō; et, quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos qui ea 5 perficere voluerunt me severum vehementemque praebeo. Etenim quaero, si quis pater familiās, 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 15 rei publicae domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis huius urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent, — si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur; si remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civum- 20 que perniciē fama subeunda est. ✓ *Wednesday*

*Too great leniency more to be feared than too great severity.*

13. Nisi vero cuiquam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nūdus tertius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem et audientem vitā privandum esse dixit, cum avum 25 suum iussu consulis interfectum filiumque eius impuberem; legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse

*Clay*

dixit. Quorum quod simile factum? Quod initum descendendae rei publicae consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est et partium quaedam contentio. Atque illo tempore huius avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus. Ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publica demineretur; hic ad evertenda rei publicae fundamenta Gallus accessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego et ceteros civis interficiendos Galieno, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immuni ac nefando nimis aliquid severe statuere videamini; multo magis est verendum ne remissione poenae crudeliter in patriam quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementer in acerbissimos hostis fuisse videamur.

*Public sentiment will support severe measures.*

VII. 14. Sed ea quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Iaciuntur enim voces, quae perveniunt ad auris meas, eorum qui vereri videntur ut habeam satis praesidi 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 communis fortunae conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium generum, omnium denique aetatum; plenum est Forum, plena templa circum Fori, pleni omnes aditus huius templi ac loci. Causa est enim post

urbem conditam haec inventa sola in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem, praeter eos qui, cum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt. 15. Hosce ego homines excipio et scerno libenter, neque in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos putō. *Edward*

*The various orders of the State are united in their support.*

Ceteri vero, di immortales! qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque consentiunt! Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consilique 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, in consulatu confirmatam 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 aeriarios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos, quos cum casu hinc dies ad aeriarium frequentasset, 20 video ab expectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos.

*Even the poorest classes, the freedmen and the slaves, are loyal.*

16. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim cui non haec templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et [hoc] 21 commune patriae solum cum sit carum tum vero dulce

atque iucundum? VIII. Operae pretium est, patrēs cōn-  
 scriptī, libertinōrum hominum studia cōgnōscere, quī, suā  
virtūte fortūnam hūius cīvitātis cōsecūtī, vērē hanc suam

A POMPEIAN SHOP (Taberna).

esse patriam iūdicant; quam quīdam hīc nātī et summō  
 5 nātī locō nōn patriam suam sed urbem hostium esse iūdicā-  
 vērunt. Sed quid ego hōsce hominēs ōrdinēsque comme-  
 morō, quōs prīvātae fortūnae, quōs commūnis rēs pūblica,  
 quōs dēnique libertās, ea quae dulcissima est, ad salūtem  
 patriae dēfendendam excitāvit? Servus est nēmō, quī  
 10 modo tolerābilī condiciōne sit servitūtis, quī nōn audāciam

civium perhorrescat, qui non haec stare cupiat, qui non [tantum] quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad communem salutem voluntatis. <sup>7</sup> 17. Quā rē si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli<sup>1</sup> concursare circum tabernās, pretio 5 sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum; est id quidem coeptum atque temptatum, sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortunā miseri aut voluntate perditī, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestūs cotidiani locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum, qui 10 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 15 civium sustentatur, aliter otio; quorum si quaestus occlusis tabernis minus solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit? (

*With such unanimous support the Senate should act fearlessly for the salvation of the State.*

18. Quae cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani praesidia non desunt; vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini providete. IX. Habetis consulem ex 20 plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte, non

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1. Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli diversis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. — Sall. 50.

ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum. Omnēs ordinēs ad cōservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, studiō, virtūte, voce cōsentiant. Obsessa facibus et telis impiae coniūratiōnis vōbīs supplex manūs  
 5 tendit patria cōmūnis; vōbīs sē, vōbīs vitam omnium civium, vōbīs arcem et Capitōlium, vōbīs arās Penātium, vōbīs illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vōbīs omnium deōrum templa atque delūbra, vōbīs mūrōs atque urbis tēcta commendat. Praeterea dē vestrā vitā, dē coniugum  
 10 vestrarum atque liberōrum animā, dē fortūnis omnium, dē sēdibus, dē focis vestris hodiernō diē vōbīs iudicandum est. <sup>providens</sup> 19. Habētis duccem memorem vestri, oblītum suī, quae nōn semper facultās datur; habētis omnīs ordinēs, omnis hominēs, universum populum Rōmānum, id quod  
 15 in civili causā hodiernō diē primum vidēmus, ūnum atque idem sentientem. Cōgitate quantīs laboribus fundatum imperium, quantā virtūte stabilitam libertatē, quantā deōrum benignitate auctās exaggeratāsque fortūnās, ūna nox paene delērit. Id nō unquam posthāc nōn modo  
 20 [nōn] cōfici, sed nē cōgitārī quidem possit ā civibus, hodiernō diē prōvidendum est. Atque haec nōn ut vōs, qui mihi studiō paene praecurritis, excitārem, locūtus sum, sed ut mea vox, quae debet esse in rē publicā prīnceps, officio functa cōsulārī vidērētur.

*The consul knows his peril, but is undaunted.*

25 X. 20. Nunc, ante quam ad sententiam redeō, dē mē pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est coniūratorum, quam vidētis esse permāgnam, tantam mē inimicōrum multitudinem suscepisse vidēō; sed eam esse iudicō turpem et

infirmam et [contemptam et] abiectam. Quod si aliquandō alicūius furōre et scelere concitāta manus ista plūs valuerit quam vestra ac rei pūblicae dignitās, mē tamen meōrum factōrum atque cōnsiliōrum numquam, patrēs cōscripti, paenitēbit. Etenim mors, quam illi [mihi] fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parāta; vitae tantam laudem, quantā vōs mē vestris dēcrētis honestāstis, nēmō est adsecūtus. Cēteris enim semper bene gestā, mihi ūni cōservatā rē pūblicā grātulātiōnem dēcrēvistis.

*He hopes for a place of honor among the illustrious benefactors of his country.*

21. Sit Scipiō clārus ille, cūius cōnsiliō atque virtūte Hannibal in Āfricam redīre atque [ex] Italiā dēcedere coāctus est; ornētur alter eximiā laude Āfricānus, qui

COIN OF PERSEUS.

duās urbis huic imperiō infestissimās, Karthāginem Numantiamque, delēvit, habeātur vir ēgregius Paulus ille, cūius currum rēx potentissimus quondam et nōbilissimus Persēs honestāvit; sit aeternā glōriā Marius, qui bis Italiā obsidiōne et metū servitūtis liberāvit; antepōnā-

tur omnibus Pompēius, cuius res gestae atque virtutes isdem quibus solis cursus regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostrae gloriae, nisi forte maius est patefacere nobis pro vincias quo exire possimus, quam curare ut etiam illi qui absunt habeant quo victores revertantur.

*And for the protection of the citizens.*

22. Quamquam est uno loco condicio melior externae victoriae quam domesticae, quod hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt aut recepti [in amicitiam] beneficio se  
 10 obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriae semel esse coeperunt, eos cum a perniciem rei publicae reppuleris, nec vi coercere nec beneficio placare possis. Quam rem mihi cum perditis  
 15 civibus aeternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro honorumque omnium auxilio memoriaeque 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 reperiatur, quae  
 20 coniunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspirationem honorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit. *T. Lunsday*

*He asks only for grateful remembrance.*

XI. 23. Quae cum ita sint, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia quam neglexi, pro triumpho ceterisque  
 25 laudis insignibus, quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitibusque provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus non minore



labore tueor quam comparo, pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac quam perspicitis ad conservandam rem publicam diligentiam, nihil a vobis nisi huius temporis totiusque mei consulationis memoriam postulo; quae dum erit in vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimum me mureo saeptum esse arbitrabor. Quod si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium, cui profecto satis erit praesidi non solum ad salutem verum etiam ad dignitatem, si eius, qui haec omnia suo solus periculo conservarit, illum filium esse memineritis.

*Let the Senate decree; the consul will act.*

24. Quapropter de summa salute vestrae populi que Romani, de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis.

dē fānis atque templis, dē tōtius urbis tēctis ac sēdibus,  
dē imperiō ac libertāte, dē salūte Ītalīae, dē ūniversā rē  
pūblicā dēcernite dīlīgenter, ut īstituistis, ac fortiter.  
Habētis eum cōsulem quī et pārēre vestrīs dēcrētīs nōn  
5 dubitet, et ea quae statueritis, quoad vīvet, dēfendere et  
per sē ipsum praestāre possit.

an Friday

*Just. et al. 1860.*

M. TULLI CICERONIS  
PRO A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA ORATIO.

*The orator sets forth his reasons for defending Archias.*

Si quid est in mē ingenī, iūdicēs, quod sentiō quam sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitātiō dicendī, in quā mē nōn infitior mediocriter esse versatum, aut si hūiusce rei ratiō aliqua ab optimārum artium studiis ac disciplinā profecta, ā quā ego nūllum cōfiteor aetātis meae tempus abhor- 5  
ruisse, eārum rerum omnium vel in primis hīc A. Licinius fructum ā mē repetere prope suō iūre dēbet. Nam quoad longissimē potest mēns mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis, et pueritiae memoriam recordārī ultimam, inde usque repetens hunc videō mili principem et ad sus- 10  
cipiendam et ad ingrediendam ratiōnem hōrum studiōrum exstitisse. / Quod si haec vōx, hūius hortatū praeceptisque cōfōrmata, nōn nullis aliquandō salūtī fuit, ā quō id accēpimus quō cēteris opitulārī et aliōs servāre posse-  
mus, huic profectō ipsī, quantum est situm in nōbis, et 15  
opem et salūtem ferre dēbēmus. / 2. Ac nē quis ā nōbis hōc ita dici forte mirētur, quod alia quaedam in hōc facultās sit ingenī neque haec dicendī ratiō aut disciplina, nē nōs quidem huic unī studiō penitus umquam dēditi fuimus. Etenim omnēs artēs, quae ad hūmānitatem per- 20  
tinent, habent quoddam commūne vinculum, et quasi cōgnātiōne quādā inter sē continentur.

*With a poet as client, he will use an unusual method of pleading.*

II. 3. Sed nē cui vestrum m̄frum esse videātur mē in  
 quaestione lēgitimā et in iūdicō p̄blicō, — cum rēs agatur  
 apud praetōrem populī Rōmānī, lēctissimum virum, et  
 apud sevērissimōs iūdicēs, tantō conventū hominum ac  
 5 frequentiā, — hōc ūtī genere dīcendī, quod nōn modo ā  
 cōnsuetūdine iūdiciorum, vērū etiam ā forensī sermōne  
 abhorreat, quaesō ā vōbīs ut in hāc causā mihi dētis hanc  
 veniam, accommodātam huic reō, vōbīs, quem ad modum  
 sp̄rō, nōn molestam, ut mē prō summō poētā atque  
 10 eruditissimō homine dīcentem, hōc concursū hominum  
 litterātissimōrum, hāc vestrā hūmānitāte, hōc dēnique  
 praetōre exercente iūdicium, patiāminī dē studiīs hūmāni-  
 tātis ac litterārum paulō loquī liberius, et in eius modī  
 personā, quae propter ōtium ac studium minimē in iūdicīs  
 15 periculisque trāctāta est, ūtī prope novō quōdam et inusi-  
 tātō genere dīcendī. / 4. Quod sī mihi ā vōbīs tribui con-  
 cēdīque sentiam, perficiam profectō ut hunc A. Licinium  
 nōn modo nōn sēgregandum, cum sit cīvis, ā numero  
 cīvium, vērū etiam sī nōn esset, putētis āsciscendum  
 20 fuisse. ✓

*The poet's early fame.*

III. Nam ut prīmum ex pueris excessit Archiās atque  
 ab eis artibus quibus aetās puerilis ad hūmānitatem infōr-  
 mārī solet, sē ad scribendī studium contulit; prīmum  
 Antiochiae — nam ibi nātus est locō nōbili — celebri  
 25 quōdam urbe et cōpiōsā atque eruditissimis hominibus  
 liberalissimisque studiīs adfluentī, celeriter antecellere  
 omnibus ingenī glōriā contigit. Post in cēteris Asiae

partibus cunctaque Graecia sic eius adventus celebrabantur ut famam ingenii expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admirationeque superaret. 5. Erat Italia tunc plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur 5 quam nunc eiusdem in oppidis, et hic Romae propter tranquillitatem rei publicae non neglegentur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini et Locrensenses et Regini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque praemiis donarunt, et omnes, qui aliquid de ingenii poterant iudicare, cognitione atque 10 hospitio dignum existimaverunt.

*His enthusiastic reception at Rome.*

Hae tanta celebritate famae cum esset iam absentibus notus, Romanam venit Mario consule et Catulo. Nactus est primum consules eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter cum res gestas tum etiam studium atque 15 auris adhibere posset. Statim Luculli, cum praetextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Et erat hoc non solum ingenii ac litterarum, verum etiam naturae atque virtutis, ut domus, quae huius adulescentiae prima favit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. 20 6. Erat temporibus illis incundus Q. Metello illi Numidico et eius Pio filio, audiebatur a M. Aemilio, vivebat cum Q. Catulo et patre et filio, a L. Crasso colebatur. Lucillos vero et Drusum et Octavios et Catonem et totam Hortensiorum domum devinetam consuetudine cum te- 25 neret, adiciebatur summo honore, quod eum non solum colebant qui aliquid percipere atque audire studabant, verum etiam si qui forte simulabant. ✓

*He becomes a citizen of Heraclea, and is later enrolled at Rome under the statute of Silvanus and Carbo.*

IV. Interim satis longō intervällō, cum esset cum M. Lūcullō in Siciliam profectus et cum ex eā prōvinciā cum eōdem Lūcullō dēcēderet, vēnit Hēracliam. Quæ cum esset civitās æquissimō iūre ac foedere, āscribī sē in eam  
5 civitātem voluit, idque, cum ipse per sē dignus putārētur,

THE SITE OF HERACLEA, AT PRESENT.

tum auctōritāte et grātiā Lūculli ab Hēracliēnsibus impetrāvit. § 7. Data est civitās Silvāni lēge et Carbōnis: sī quī foederātis cīvitātibus āscriptī fuissent; sī  
TUM, CUM LĒX FERĒBĀTUR, IN ĪTALIĀ DOMICILIUM  
10 HABUISSENT; ET SĪ SEXĀGINTĀ DIĒBUS APUD PRAETŌREM  
ESSENT PROFESSĪ. Cum hic domicilium Rōmæ multōs

iam annōs habēret, professus est apud praetōrem Q. Metellum familiārissimum suum.

*Archias has fully complied with all the legal requirements.*

8. SI nihil aliud nisi dē civitate ac lēge dicimus, nihil dicō amplius; causa dicta est. Quid enim hōrum Infrimārī, Grattī, potest? Hēraclaeae esse eum āscriptum negābis? Adest vir summā auctōritāte et religiōne et fidē, M. Lūcullus, quī sē nōn opīnārī, sed scīre, nōn audisse, sed vidisse, nōn interfuisse, sed ēgisse dicit. Adsunt Hēracliēnsēs lēgātī, nōbilissimī hominēs; huius iūdicī causā cum mandātis et cum publicō tēstimōniō vērunt, quī hunc āscriptum Hēracliēnsem dicunt. Hic tū tabulās dēsiderās Hēracliēnsium publicās, quās Italicō bellō, incēnsō tabulāriō, interisse scīmus omnis. Est ridiculum ad ea quae habēmus nihil dicere, quærere quae habere nōn possumus; et dē

COIN OF HERACLEA.

hominum memoriā tacēre, litterārum memoriā flagitare; et, cum habeās amplissimī virī religiōnem, integerrimī mūnicipī iūs iūrandum fidemque, ea, quae dēprāvārī nūllō modō possunt, repudiāre, tabulās, quās Idem dicis solere corrumpī, dēsiderāre.

9. An domicilium Rōmae nōn habuit is, quī tot annis ante civitatem datam sedem omnium rerum ac fortunārum suarū Rōmae conlocavit? An nōn est professus? Immō

vērō eīs tabulīs professus quae sōlae ex illā professiōne  
 conlēgiōque, praetōrum obtinent publicārum tabulārum  
*associationem* auctoritatē. V. Nam cum Appī tabulae negligentius  
 adservatae dicerentur, Gabīnī, quam diū incolumis fuit,  
 5 levitās, post damnatiōnē calamitās omnem tabulārum  
 fidem resignasset; Metellus, homō sāctissimus mode-  
 stissimusque omnium, tantā diligentīā fuit ut ad L.  
 Lentulum praetōrem et ad iūdicēs vēnerit, et ūnius  
 nōminis litūrā sē commōtum esse dixerit. Hīs igitur  
 10 *in* tabulīs nullam litūrā in nōmine A. Licinī vidētis.

*His enrollment at Heraclea is also antecedently probable.*

10. Quae cum ita sint, quid est quod dē eius civitate  
 dubitētis, praesertim cum aliis quoque in civitatibus

#### COIN OF RHEGIUM.

fuerit ascriptus? / Etenim cum mediocribus multis et aut  
 nullā aut humili aliquā arte praeditis grātuitō civitatem  
 15 in Graeciā hominēs impertiēbant, Rēginōs crēdō aut  
 Locrēnsis aut Neāpolitānōs aut Tarentinōs, quod scēnicis  
 artificibus largiri solēbant, id huic summā ingenī praeditō  
 glōriā nōluisse! Quid? [cum] ceteri nōn modo post  
 civitatem datam, sed etiam post lēgem Pāpīam aliquō



modò in eòrum mūnicipiòrum tabulās inrēpsērunt; hīc, quī nō ūtitur quidem illis in quibus est scriptus, quod semper sē Hēraclēusem esse voluit, rēiciētur?

*His name is not on the census rolls, but that is easily explained.*

*His citizenship is further proved by his acts.*

11. Cēnsūs nostrōs requiris. Scīlicet; est enim obscūrum proximis cēnsōribus hunc cum clārissimō imperātōre L. Lūcullō apud exercitum fuisse, superiōribus cum eodem quaestōre fuisse in Asiā, primis, Iuliō et Crassō, nūllam populi partem esse cēnsam. Sed, quoniam cēnsus nōn iūs civitātis cōfirmat ac tantum modo indicat eum, quī sit cēnsus, ita sē iam tum gessisse; prō cive eīs temporibus, quem tū crimināris nē ipsus quidem iūdiō in civium Rōmānōrum iūre esse versātum, et tēstamentum, saepe fēcit nostris lēgibus et adiit hērēditatēs civium Rōmānōrum et in beneficis ad aerārium delātus est a L. Lūcullō prō cōnsule. ¶ I. Quære argūmenta, si quae potes; numquam enim hīc neque suō neque amicōrum iūdiō revincētur.

*Reasons for taking an interest in Archias: such men provide us with needed mental relaxation.*

12. Quærēs a nobis, Grattī, cūr tantō opere hōc homine dēlectēmur. Quia suppeditat nobis ubi et animus ex hōc forēnsi strēpitu reficiātur, et aurēs conviciō dēfessae cōquiescant. ¶ An tū existimās aut suppetere nobis posse quod cotidie dicāmus in tantā varietate rōrum, nisi animōs nostrōs doctrinā excolāmus, aut ferre animōs tantam posse contentiōnem, nisi eōs doctrinā eādē relaxēmus?

Ego vērō fateor mē hīs studiis esse dēditum. Cēterōs pudeat, sī qui ita sē litteris abdidērunt ut nihil possint ex eis neque ad commūnem adferre fructum, neque in aspectum lūcemque prōferre; mē autem quid pudeat, quī  
 5 tot annōs ita vivō, iūdicēs, ut a nūllius unquam mē tempore aut commodō aut otium meum abstrāxerit aut volup-

CALLIOPE, THE MUSE OF EPIC POETRY.

tās avocārit aut dēnique somnus retardārit? 113. Quā rē quis tandem mē reprehendat, aut quis mihi iure suscēseat, sī, quantum cēteris ad suās rēs obeundās, quantum ad fēstōs diēs lūdōrum celebrandōs, quantum ad aliās voluptatēs et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum, quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum dēnique alveolō, quantum pilae, tan-

tum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc eo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis haec quoque crescit oratio et facultas, quae, quantumque in me est, numquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quae si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quae summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam sentio.

*The highest moral truths are conveyed by literature.*

14. Nam nisi multorum praecipis multisque litteris mihi ab adolescentia suavissem nihil esse in vita magno opere expetendum nisi laudem atque honestatem, in ea autem persequenda omnis cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsili parvi esse ducenda, numquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum cotidianos impetus obicissem. Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, plene sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quae iacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum lumen accederet. Quam multas nobis imagines, non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt! quas ego mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

*Opinion*

*The greatest characters are produced by the union of natural excellence with culture.*

VII. 15. Quaeret quispiam: 'Quid? illi ipsi summi viri quorum virtutes litteris proditae sunt, istane doctrina quam tu effers laudibus eruditi fuerunt?' Difficile est 25

hōc dē omnibus cōfirmāre, sed tamen est certum quod respondeam. Ego multōs hominēs excellentī animō ac virtūte fuisse sine doctrīnā et nātūrae ipsius habitū prope divīnō per sē ipsōs et moderātōs et gravis existitisse fateor; etiam illud adiungō, saepius ad laudem atque virtūtem nātūram sine doctrīnā quam sine nātūrā valuisse doctrīnam. Atque idem ego hōc contendō, cum ad nātūram eximiam et inlūstrem accesserit ratiō quaedam cōfōrmātiōque doctrīnae, tum illud nesciō quid praecelārū ac singulāre solēre existere. ¶ 16. Ex hōc esse hunc numerō quem patrēs nostrī vidērunt, divīnum hominem Africānum, ex hōc C. Laelium, L. Fūrium, moderātissimōs hominēs et continentissimōs, ex hōc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catōnem illum senem; quī profectō sī nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtūtem litterīs adiuvārentur, nunquam sē ad eārū studium contulissent.

*In and of itself culture is a glorious possession.*

Quod sī nōn hīc tantus frūctus ostenderētur, et sī ex his studiis dēlectātiō sōla peterētur, tamen, ut opīnor, hanc animī remissiōnem hūmānissimam ac liberalissimam iudicārētis. Nam cēterae neque temporum sunt neque aetātum omnium neque locōrum; at haec studia adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundās rēs ornant, adversis perfugium ac solācium praebent, dēlectant domī, nōn impediunt forīs, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

*Great artists are therefore worthy of admiration and protection,  
and Archias is a great artist.*

17. Quod si ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus etiam cum in aliis videremus. VIII. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit ut Rosci morte nuper non

COMIC POET AND A MUSE WITH ACTORS' MASKS.

commoveretur? Qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen 5  
propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur  
omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu  
tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus. Nos  
animorum incredibilis motus celeritatemque ingeniorum  
neglegemus? 18. Quotiens ego hunc Archiam vidi, 10  
iudices, — utar enim vestram benignitate, quoniam me in

hōc novō genere dicēdī tam diligenter attenditis, —  
 quotiēns ego hunc vidī, cum litteram scripsisset nullam,  
 māgnū numerum optimōrum versuum quē eis ipsīs rēbus  
 quae tum agerentur dicere ex tempore! quotiēns revocā-  
 8 tum eandem rem dicere commūtātis verbis atque sen-  
 tentiis! Quae vērō acurātē cōgitātēque scripsisset, ea  
 sic vidī probari ut ad veterum scriptōrum laudem per-  
 veniret. Hunc ego nōn diligam? nōn admirer? nōn omni  
 ratiōne defendendum putem?

*Poets are peculiarly sacred and are eagerly claimed by rival  
 cities.*

10 Atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accēpi-  
 mus, cēterarum rērum studia ex doctrinā et praeceptis et

*Depended upon*  
 arte constāre; poētā nātūrā ipsā valēre, et mentis viri-  
 bus excitari et quasi divinō quōdam spiritu infari. Quā  
 rē suō iure noster ille Ennius 'sāctōs' appellat poētās,  
 quod quasi deōrum aliquō dōnō atquē mūnere commen-  
 dātī nobīs esse videantur. 19. Sit igitur, iūdicēs, sānc- 5  
 tum apud vōs, hūmānissimōs hominēs, hōc poētae nōmen,  
 quod nūlla umquam barbaria violāvit. Saxa et solitudi-  
 nēs vōci respondent, bēstiae saepe immānēs cantū flectun-  
 tur atque cōsistunt; nōs institūtī rēbus optimīs nōn  
 poētārum vōce moveāmur? Homērum Colophōniī civem 10  
 esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminiī repetunt,  
 Smyrnaei vērō suum esse cōfirmant, itaque etiam delū-  
 brum eius in oppidō dēdicāvērunt; permultī alii praē-  
 tereā pūgnant inter sē atque contendunt. ✓

*Archias deserves citizenship because he has recorded the glorious  
 deeds of the Romans.*


IX. Ergo illi aliēnum, quia poēta fuit, post mortem 15  
 etiam expetunt; nōs hunc vīvum, qui et voluntate et  
 lēgibus noster est, repudiābimus? Praesertim cum omne  
 olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archiās ad  
 populī Rōmāni glōriam laudemque celebrandam? Nam  
 et Cimbricās rēs adulēscēns attigit et ipsi illi C. Mariō, 20  
 qui dūrior ad haec studia vidēbātur, iūcundus fuit.  
 20. Neque enim quisquam est tam āversus ā Mūsīs qui  
 nōn mandārī versibus aeternum suōrum laborum facile  
 praecōnium patiātur. Themistoclem illum, summum  
 Athēnis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eō quaereretur 25  
 quod acroāma aut cūius vōcem libentissimē audiret:

‘eius, a quō sua virtūs optimē praedicārētur.’ Itaque ille Marius item eximiē L. Plōtium dilēxit, cūiūs ingeniō putābat ea quae gesserat posse celebrārī. 21. Mithradāticum vērō bellum, māgnūm atque difficile et in multā  
5 varietāte terrā marīque versātum, tōtum ab hōc expressum

SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAJOR.

est; quī libri nōn modo L. Lūcullum, fortissimū et  
clārissimū virum, vērūm etiam populī Rōmānī nōmen  
inlūstrant. Populus enim Rōmānus aperuit Lūcullō  
imperante Pontum, et rēgiīs quondam opibus et ipsā  
10 nātūrā et regiōne vāllātum; populī Rōmānī exercitus  
eōdem duce nōn maximā manū innumerābilis Armeniō-  
rum cōpiās fūdīt; populī Rōmānī laus est urbem amicis-



simam Cyzicēnōrum eiusdem cōsiliō ex omni impetū  
rēgiō atque tōtius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse  
atque servātam; nostra semper ferētur et praedicābitur,  
L. Lūcullō dimicante, cum, interfectis ducibus, dēpressa  
hostium classis est, incredibilis apud Tenedum pūgna illa  
nāvālis. Nostra sunt tropaea, nostra monumenta, nostri  
triumphi. Quae quōrum ingenis efferuntur, ab eis populi  
Rōmāni fāma celebrātur. /22. Cārus fuit Āfricānō supe-  
riōri noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcrō Scipiōnum  
putātur is esse cōstitūtus ex marmore; cuius laudibus  
certē nōn solum ipse quī laudātur, sed etiam populi Rō-  
māni nōmen ornātur. In caelum hūius proavus Catō  
tollitur; māgnus honōs populi Rōmāni rēbus adiungitur.  
Omnēs dēnique illi Māximi, Mārcelli, Fulvii nōn sine  
commūni omnium nostrum laude decorantur. X. Ergō  
illum quī haec fēcerat, Rudinum hominem, māiōres nostri  
in civitātem recēperunt. Nōs hunc Hēracliēnsem, multis  
civitātibus expetitum, in hāc autem lēgibus cōstitūtum,  
dē nostrā civitāte eiciēmus? 

*Both nations and individuals long for the immortality of verse.*

23. Nam si quis minōrem glōriae fructum putat ex 20  
Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer  
errat, propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus ferē  
gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sanē, continentur.  
Quā rē si rēs eae quās gessimus orbis terrae regiōnibus  
dēfiniuntur, cupere debēmus, quō manuum nostrārum 25  
tēla pervēnerint, eōdem glōriam fāmamque penetrāre;  
quod cum ipsis populis, dē quōrum rēbus scribitur, haec

ampla sunt, tum eis certē, quī de vitā glōriæ causā  
dīmīcant, hōc maximum et periculōrum incitāmentum  
est et laborum. 24. Quam

multōs scriptōrēs rērum su-  
5 arum māgnus ille Alexander  
secum habuisse dicitur!

Atque is tamen, cum in  
Sigeō ad Achillis tumulum  
astitisset, "O fortunāte,"

10 inquit, "adulēscēns, quī tuæ  
virtūtis Homērum præcōnem  
invēneris!" Et verē. Nam

nisi Ilias illa exstitisset,  
idem tumulus, quī corpus  
15 eius contēxerat, nōmen etiam

obruisset. Quid? noster hīc  
Māgnus, quī cum virtūte  
fortūnam adaequāvit, nōne

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Theophanem Mytilēnaeum,  
20 scriptōrem rērum suarum, in cōtione militum civitate  
dōnāvit; et nostrī illi fortēs virī, sed rūstici ac militēs,  
dulcedine quādam glōriæ commōti, quasi participēs eius-  
dem laudis, māgnō illud clamōre approbāverunt?

*Many commanders would have been glad to give Archias the  
citizenship.*

25 Itaque, crēdō, si civis Rōmānus Archiās lēgibus  
nōn esset, ut ab aliquō imperātore civitate dōnārētur  
perficere nōn potuit. Sulla cum Hispānōs et Gallōs  
dōnāret, crēdō, hunc petentem repudiāset; quem nōs

in cōtione vidimus <sup>4</sup> cum ei libellum malus poeta de populō subiēcisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset, tantum modo alternis versibus longiusculis — statim ex eis rebus, quas tum vendebat, iubere ei praemium tribui, sed eā condicione, nē <sup>5</sup>

quid postea scriberet. Quis sedulitatem malī poetae duxerit aliquō tamen praemio dignam, huius <sup>10</sup> ingenium et virtutem in scribendō et



COIN OF SULLA.

cōpiam nōn expetisset? <sup>26</sup> Quid? a Q. Metellō Piō, familiarissimō suō, quī civitate multōs donāvit, neque per sē neque per Iulcullōs impetrāvisset? Quī praesertim <sup>15</sup> usque eō de suis rebus scribi cuperet ut etiam Cordubae nātis poētis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen auris suas dēderet.

*All men desire fame. It is the highest object of human ambition.*

XI. Neque enim est hōc dissimulandum, quod obscurārī nōn potest, sed prae nobis ferendum: trahimur <sup>20</sup> omnēs studiō laudis et optimus quisque maximē gloriā dūcitur. Ipsī illi philosophi, etiam in eis libellis quōs de contemnendā gloriā scribunt, nōmen suum inscribunt; in eō ipsō, in quō praedicātionem nobilitatemque dēspiciunt, praedicārī de sē ac nōminārī volunt. <sup>27</sup> Decimus <sup>25</sup> quidem Brūtus, summus vir et imperātor, Atti, amicisimī sui, carminibus templōrum ac monumentōrum aditūs

exornāvit suōrum. Iam vērō ille, quī cum Aetōlis Enniō comite bellāvit, Fulvius, nōn dubitāvit Mārtis manubiās Mūsīs cōsecrāre. Quā rē in quā urbe imperātōrēs prope armātī poētārum nōmen et Mūsārum delūbra coluērunt, 5 in eā nōn dēbent togātī iūdicēs ā Mūsārum honōre et ā poētārum salūte abhorrēre.

28. Atque ut id libentius faciātis, iam mē vōbīs, iūdicēs, indicābō et dē meō quōdam amōre glōriae, nimis acri fortasse vērum tamen honestō, vōbīs cōnfitebor. 10 Nam quās rēs nōs in cōsulātū nostrō vōbīscum simul prō salūte hūius *urbis* atque imperī et prō vitā cīvium prōque ūniversā rē publicā gessimus, attigit hīc versibus atque incohāvit; quibus audītis, quod mihi māgna rēs et iūcunda vīsa est, hunc ad perficiendum adhortātus sum. 15 Nullam enim virtūs aliam mercēdem labōrum periculōrumque dēsiderat praeter hanc laudis et glōriae; quā quidem detractā, iūdicēs, quid est quod in hōc tam exiguō vitae curriculō et tam brevi tantis nōs in labōribus exerceāmus? 29. Certē si nihil animus praesentiret in 20 posterum, et si quibus regiōnibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnis cōgitiōnēs termināret suās, nec tantis sē labōribus frangeret neque tot cūrīs vigiliisque angerētur nec totiēns dē ipsā vitā dīmiciāret. Nunc insidet quaedam in optimō quōque virtūs, quae noctis ac 25 diēs animum glōriae stimulis concitat atque admonet nōn cum vitae tempore esse dīmittendam commemoratiōnem nōminis nostrī, sed cum omnī posteritāte adaequandam. J

*Overlaid  
Confused*

*The monuments of literature are alone immortal and alone desirable.*

XII. 30. An vērō tam parvī animī videāmur esse omnēs, quī in rē publicā atque in hīs vitæ periculis labōribusque versāmur, ut, cum ūsque ad extrēmum spatium nūllum tranquillum atque ōtiōsum spīritum dūxerimus, nobiscum simul moritūra omnia arbitremur? An statuās et imāginēs, nōn animōrum simulācra sed corporum, studiōsē multī summī hominēs reliquērunt; cōsiliōrum relinquere ac virtūtum nostrārum effigiem nōnne multō malle debēmus, summīs ingeniīs expressam et politam? Ego vērō omnia quæ gerēbam, iam tum in gerendō spargere mē ac dissēmināre arbitrābar in orbis terræ memoriā sempiternā. Haec vērō, sive ā meō sēnsū post mortem āfutūra est, sive, ut sapientissimī hominēs putāvērunt, ad aliquam animī mei partem pertinēbit, nunc quidem certē cōgitātiōne quādā spēque delector.

*Summary of the preceding arguments and an appeal for a favorable verdict.*

31. Quā rē cōservāte, iūdicēs, hominem pudōre eō, quem amicōrum vidētis comprobārī cum dignitate tum etiam vetustate; ingenio autem tantō quantum id convenit existimārī, quod summōrum hominum ingeniīs expetitum esse videātis; causā vērō eius modi quæ beneficio legis, auctoritate municipi, tēstimōniō Luculli, tabulis Metelli comprobētur.

Quæ cum ita sint, petimus ā vōbis, iūdicēs, si qua nōn modo hūmāna, vērū etiam divīna in tantis ingeniīs

commendātiō dēbet esse, ut eum quī vōs, quī vestrōs  
imperātōrēs, quī populī Rōmānī rēs gestās semper ōrnā-  
vit, quī etiam hīs recentibus nostrīs vestrisque dome-  
sticīs periculīs aeternum sē tēstimōnium laudis datūrum  
5 esse profitētur, estque ex eō numerō quī semper apud  
omnīs sāctī sunt habitī itaque dictī, sic in vestram  
accipiālis fidem, ut hūmānitāte vestra levatus potius  
quam acerbitāte violātus esse videātur. /

32. Quae dē causā prō meā cōsuētūdine breviter sim-  
10 pliciterque dixī, iūdicēs, ea cōfidō probāta esse omni-  
bus; quae ā forēnsī aliēna iūdicīalique cōsuētūdine et  
dē hominis ingenīo et commūniter dē ipsō studiō locūtus  
sum, ea, iūdicēs, ā vōbīs spērō esse in bonam partem  
accepta, ab eō quī iūdicium exercet, certō sciō. /

M. TULLI CICERONIS  
PRO M. MARCELLO ORATIO.

*Caesar's magnanimity causes the orator to break his long silence.*

Diūturnī silentī, patrēs cōscriptī, quō eram hīs temporibus ūsus, nōn timōre aliquō, sed partim dolōre partim verēcundiā, finem hodiernus diēs attulit, idemque initium, quae vellem quaeque sentirem, meō pristinō mōre dicendī. Tantam enim mansuetudinem, tam inusitatam inauditamque clēmentiam, tantum in summā potestāte rērum omnium modum, tam dēnique incrēdibilem sapientiam ac paene dīvinam, tacitus praeterire nullō modō possum.

2. M. enim Mārcellō vōbīs, patrēs cōscriptī, reiūque publicae redditō, nōn illius solum, sed etiam meam vōcem 10 et auctōritātem et vōbīs et rei publicae cōservātam ac restitūtam putō. Dolēbam enim, patrēs cōscriptī, et vehementer angēbar virum tālem, cum in eādē causā, in quā ego, fuisset, nōn in eādē esse fortunā; nec mihi persuādēre poteram nec fās esse dūcēbam versārī mē 15 in nostrō vetere curriculō, illō aemulō atque imitātōre studiōrum ac labōrum meōrum quasi quōdam sociō ā mē et comite distrāctō.

*The pardon of Marcellus is a good omen for the future and a joy to all.*

Ergō et mihi meae pristināe vitāe cōnsuetūdinem,  
C. Caesar, interclūsam aperuisti, et hīs omnibus ad bene 20

dē omnī rē publicā spērandum quasi signum aliquod sus-  
tulistī. 3. Intellēctum est enim mihi quidem in multīs  
et maximō in mē ipsō, sed paulō ante [in] omnibus, cum  
M. Mārcellum senātui rei que publicae concessistī, com-  
15 memorātis praesertim offēsiōnibus, tē auctōritātem hūius  
ōrdinis dignitātemque rei publicae tuis vel dolōribus vel  
sūspiciōnibus anteferre. Ille quidem fructum omnis ante  
āctae vitae hodiernō diē maximum cēpit, cum summō cōn-  
sēnsū senātūs tum iūdicio tuō gravissimō et maximō. Ex  
10 quō profectō intellegis quanta in datō beneficiō sit laus,  
cum in acceptō sit tanta glōria. Est vērō fortunātus ille,  
cūius ex salūte non minor paene ad omnīs quam ad ipsum  
ventūra sit laetitia pervēnerit. 4. Quod quidem ei me-  
ritō atque optimō iūre contigit; quis enim est illō aut  
15 nōbilitāte aut probitāte aut optimārum artium studiō aut  
innocentiā aut ūllō laudis genere praestantior?

*Caesar's achievements are indescribably great, but this deed excels  
them all.*

II. Nullius tantum flūmen est ingenī, nullius dicēdi  
aut scribēdi tanta vīs, tanta cōpia, quae, nōn dicam  
exōrnāre, sed enārrāre, C. Caesar, rēs tuās gestās possit.  
20 Tamen adfirmō, et hōc pāce dicam tuā, nullam in hīs esse  
laudem ampliōrem quam eam quam hodiernō diē cōnsecū-  
tus es. 5. Soleō saepe ante oculos pōnere idque libenter  
crebrīs ūsūrpāre sermōnibus, omnīs nostrōrum imperātō-  
rum, omnīs exterārum gentium potentissimōrumque po-  
25 pulōrum, omnīs clārissimōrum rēgum rēs gestās, cum tuis  
nec contentiōnum māgnitūdine nec numerō proeliōrum  
nec varietāte regiōnum nec celeritāte cōficiēdi nec



dissimilitūdine bellōrum posse cōferrī; nec vērō disiūctissimās terrās citius passibus cūiusquam potuisse peragrārī quam tuis, nōn dicam cursibus, sed victōriīs lūstrātae sunt.

*The fame for winning battles must be shared with many.*

6. Quae quidem ego nisi ita māgna esse fatear ut ea t vix cūiusquam mēns aut cōgitātiō capere possit, amēns sim; sed tamen sunt alia māiōra. Nam bellicās laudēs solent quīdam extenuāre verbīs eāsque dētrahere ducibus,

#### COINS OF CAESAR.

commūnicāre cum multīs, nē propriae sint imperātōrum. Et certē in armīs militum virtūs, locōrum opportunitās, 10 auxilia sociōrum, classēs, commeātūs multum iuvant; maximam vērō partem quasi suō iūre Fortūna sibi vindicat, et quicquid prōsperē gestum est, id paene omne dūcit suum.

*The glory for this deed belongs to Caesar alone.*

7. At vērō hūius glōriae, C. Caesar, quam es paulō ante 15 adeptus, socium habēs nēminem. Tōtum hōc, quantumcumque est, quod certē maximum est, tōtum est, inquam,

tuum. Nihil sibi ex istā laude centuriō, nihil praefectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma dēcerpit; quā etiam illa ipsa rerum hūmānarum domina, Fortūna, in istius societātem glōriae sē nōn offert; tibi cēdit, tuam esse tōtam et propriam fatētur. Numquam enim temeritās cum sapientiā commiscētur neque ad cōsiliū cāsus admittitur.

*A victory over the spirit is far greater than a victory by force of arms.*

III. 8. Domuistī gentis immānitāte barbarās, multitudine innumerābilis, locis infīnitās, omni cōpiarum genere abundantis: sed tamen ea vicisti quae et nātūram et condicionem ut vincī possent habēbant. Nulla est enim tanta vis quae nōn ferrō et viribus dēbilitārī frangi que possit. Animum vincere, Irācundiam cohibēre, victōriae temperāre, adversārium nobilitāte, ingenio, virtute praestantem nōn modo extollere iacentem, sed etiam amplifiāre eius pristinam dignitātem, haec qui facit, nōn ego cum cum summis viris comparō, sed simillimum deo iudicō.

*Caesar's military exploits will always be praised, but more his qualities of mind and heart.*

9. Itaque, C. Caesar, bellicae tuae laudes celebrābuntur illae quidem nōn solum nostris sed paene omnium gentium litteris atque linguis, nec ulla unquam aetas de tuis laudibus conticēset; sed tamen eius modi res nescio quō modō etiam cum leguntur, obstrepī clamōre militum videntur et tabarum sonō. At verō cum aliquid clementer, mansuetē, iustē, moderatē, sapienter factum, in Irācundiā praesertim, quae est inimica cōsilio, et in

victoriā, quae nātūra insolens et superba est, [aut] audi-  
 mus aut legimus, quō studiō incendimur, nōn modo in  
 gestis rēbus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eōs saepe quōs num-  
 quam vidimus diligāmus! 10. Tē vērō, quem praesen-  
 tem intuēmur, cuius mentem sēnsūque et ōs ceruimus, 5  
 ut, quicquid belli fortūna reliquum rei pūblicae fēcerit,

## THE PIRAEUS.

id esse salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferēmus? quibus  
 studiis prōsequēmur? quā benevolentia complectēmur?  
 Parietēs, mē dīus fidius, ut mihi vidētur, hūius cūriae  
 tibi grātiās agere gestiunt, quod brevī tempore futūra sit 10  
 illa auctōritās in hīs māiōrum suōrum et suis sēdibus.  
 IV. Equidem cum C. Marcelli, viri optimi et commemo-  
 rābili pietāte praediti, lacrimās modo vōbiscum vidērem,

omnium Marcellōrum meum pectus memoria offūdit, quibus tū etiam mortuis, M. Marcellō cōservātō, dignitatem suam reddidistī, nōbilissimamque familiam iam ad paucōs redāctam paene ab interitū vindicāstī.

*The memory of this day will outlast all his other monuments and trophies.*

- 5 11. Hunc tū igitur diem tuīs maximīs et innumerābilibus grātulātiōnibus iūre antepōnēs. Haec enim rēs ūnus est propria C. Caesaris; cēterae duce tē gestae māgnae illae quidem, sed tamen multō māguōque comitatū. Hūius autem rei tū idem es et dux et comes; quae qui-  
 10 dem tanta est, ut tropaeīs et monumentīs tuīs adlātūra finem sit aetās (nihil est enim opere et manū factum quod nōn aliquandō cōficiat et cōsumat vetustās),  
 12. at haec tua iūstitia et lōnitās animī florēscit cottidiē magis, ita ut quantum tuīs operibus diūturnitās dētrahet,  
 15 tantum adferat laudibus.

*He has shown himself superior not only to all other victors but even to victory itself.*

Et cēterōs quidem omnis victōrēs bellōrum cīviliū iam ante aequitāte et misericordiā vicerās, hodiernō vērō diē tē ipsum vicistī. Vereor ut hōc quod dīcam perinde intellegī possit audītum atque ipse cōgitāns sentiō; ipsam  
 20 victōriam vicisse vidēris, cum ea, quae illa erat adeptā, victīs remisistī. Nam cum ipsius victōriae condiciōne omnēs victī occidissēmus, clēmētiaē tuae iūdicio cōservātī sumus. Rēctē igitur ūnus invictus [es], ā quō etiam ipsius victōriae condiciō vīsque dēvicta est.

*This act shows his mind toward those that opposed him.*

V. 13. Atque hōc C. Caesaris iūdicium, patrēs cōn-  
scriptī, quam latē pateat attendite. Omnēs enim qui  
ad illa arma fātō sumus nesciō quō rei pūblicae miserō  
fūnestōque compulsī, etsī aliquā culpā tenēmur erroris  
hūmānī, scelere certē liberātī sumus. Nam cum M. 5  
Mārcellum dēprecantibus vōbīs rei pūblicae cōservāvit,  
mē et mihi et item rei pūblicae, nullō dēprecante, reliquōs  
amplissimōs virōs et sibi ipsōs et patriae reddidit, quō-  
rum et frequentiam et dignitatem hōc ipsō in cōsessū  
vidētis, nōn ille hostis indūxit in cūriam, sed iūdicāvit 10  
ā plērisque ignōrātiōne potius et falsō atque inānī metū  
quam cupiditāte aut crudelitāte bellum esse susceptum.

*The orator justifies his own conduct.*

14. Quō quidem in bellō semper dē pāce audiendum  
putāvi, semperque dolui nōn modo pācem sed etiam orā-  
tiōnem civium pācem flāgantium repudiārī. Neque 15  
enim ego illa nec ūlla umquam secūtus sum arma civīlia;  
semperque mea cōnsilia pācis et togae socia, nōn belli  
atque armōrum fuērunt. Hominem sum secūtus privātō  
officiō, nōn publicō; tantumque apud mē grātī animī  
fidēlis memoria valuit ut, nullā nōn modo cupiditāte sed 20  
nē spē quidem, prūdēns et sciēns tamquam ad interitum  
ruerem voluntārium. 15. Quod quidem meum cōnsilium  
minimē obscurum fuit. Nam et in hōc ordine integrā rē  
multa dē pāce dixi, et in ipsō bellō eadem etiam cum  
capitis mei periculō sēnsi.

*Caesar would have preferred peace to victory.*

Ex quō nēmō iam erit tam iniūstus existimātor rērum  
quī dubitet quae Caesaris de bellō voluntās fuerit, cum  
pācis auctōrēs cōservandōs statim cēnsuerit, cēteris  
fuerit irātior. Atque id minus mirum fortasse tum, cum  
5 esset incertus exitus et anceps fortūna belli. Quī vērō  
victor pācis auctōrēs diligit, is profectō dēclārat sē  
māluisse nōn dīmicāre quam vincere.

*Caesar's magnanimity in marked contrast with what was feared  
from Pompey.*

VI. 16. Atque hūius quidem rei M. Mārcellō sum  
tēstis. Nostrī enim sēnsūs ut in pāce semper sic tum  
10 etiam in bellō congruēbant. Quotiēns ego cum et quantō  
cum dolōre vidī, cum insolentiam certōrum hominum  
tum etiam ipsius victōriae ferocitatem extimēscen-tem!



COINS OF CAESAR.

Quō grātior tua liberālītās,  
C. Caesar, nobīs quī illa

15 vidimus dēbet esse. Nōn  
enim iam causae sunt  
inter sē, sed victōriae  
comparandae. 17. Vidi-  
mus tuam victōriam proe-

20 liōrum exitū terminātam; gladium vāgnā vacuum in  
urbe nōn vidimus. Quōs amīsimus cīvīs, eōs Mārtis vīs  
perculit, non ira victōriae; ut dubitāre dēbeat nēmō quīn  
multōs, sī fierī posset, C. Caesar ab inferīs excitāret,  
quoniam ex eādē aciē cōservat quōs potest. Alterius  
25 vērō partis nihil amplius dicam quam, id quod omnēs

verēbāmur, nimis Irācundam futūram fuisse victōriam.  
**18.** Quīdam enim nōn modo armātīs, sed interdum etiam  
 ōtiosīs minābantur; nec quid quisque sēnsisset, sed ubi  
 fuisset, cōgitandum esse dīcēbant; ut mihi quidem vide-  
 antur dī immortalēs, etiam sī poenās ā populō Rōmānō 5  
 ob aliquod dēlictum expetivērunt, quī civīle bellum  
 tantum et tam lūctuosum excitāvērunt, vel plācātī iam  
 vel satiātī aliquandō omnem spem salutis ad clēmēntiam  
 victōris et sapientiam contulisse.

*He should rejoice in his noble gifts and continue to exercise them.*

**19.** Quā rē gaudē tuō istō tam excellentī bonō, et fruere 10  
 cum fortunā et glōriā tum etiam nātūrā et mōribus tuis;  
 ex quō quidem maximus est fructus iūcunditāsque sa-  
 pientī. Cētera cum tua recordābere, etsī persaepe virtūtī,  
 tamen plērumque fēlicitātī tuae grātulābere. Dē nobīs,  
 quōs in rē pūblicā tēcum simul esse voluisti, quotiēns 15  
 cōgitābis, totiēns dē maximīs tuis beneficiīs, totiēns dē  
 incredibīlī liberālitate, totiēns dē singulārī sapientiā tuā  
 cōgitābis; quae nōn modo summa bona, sed nīmfrum  
 audēbō vel sōla dīcere. Tantus est enim splendor in  
 laude vērā, tanta in māgnitūdine animī et consīliī dignitās, 20  
 ut haec ā Virtūte dōnāta, cētera ā Fortunā commodāta  
 esse videantur. **20.** Nōlī igitur in cōservandīs bonīs  
 virīs dēfetīgārī, nōn cupiditate praesertim aliquā aut  
 prāvitate lapsīs, sed opīniōne officī stultā fortasse, certē  
 nōn improbā, et speciē quādam rei pūblīcae. Nōn enim 25  
 tua ūlla culpa est, sī tē aliquī timuērunt, contrāque  
 summa laus, quod minimē timendum fuisse sēnsērunt.

*Cæsar has no enemies, hence need have no fears for his life.*

VII. 21. Nunc veniō ad gravissimam querellam et atrocissimam suspiciōnem tuam, quæ nōn tibi ipsi magis quam cum omnibus civibus tum maximē nobis, qui a te cōservāti sumus, prōvidenda est; quam etsi spērō falsam esse, tamen numquam extenuābō. Tua enim cautiō nostra cautiō est, ut si in alterutrō peccandum sit, mālim vidēri nimis timidus quam parum prūdēns. Sed quisnam est iste tam dēmēns? Dē tuisne? — tametsi qui magis sunt tui quam quibus tū salutem inspērantibus reddidisti? — an ex hōc numerō qui unā tecum fuerunt? Nōn est crēdibilis tantus in ullō furor, ut, quō duce omnia summa sit adeptus, hūius vitam nōn antepōnat suæ. An si nihil tui cōgitant sceleris, cavendum est nē quid inimici? Qui? omnēs enim qui fuerunt aut suā pertinaciā vitam amisērunt, aut tuā misericordiā retinuērunt; ut aut nulli supersint dē inimicis, aut qui fuerunt sint amicissimi.

*Still his safety cannot be too well guarded.*

22. Sed tamen cum in animis hominum tantæ latebræ sint et tantī recessūs, augeāmus sanē suspiciōnem tuam; simul enim augebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est omnium tam Ignārus rerum, tam rudis in rē publicā, tam nihil umquam nec dē suā nec dē commūni salute cōgitāns, qui nōn intellegat tuā salute continēri suam et ex unius tuā vitā pendere omnium? Equidem dē te diēs noctisque, ut dēbeō, cōgitāns, cāsūs dumtaxat hūmānōs et incertōs eventūs valētūdinis et nātūrae commūnis fragilitatem extimēscō, doleōque, cum rēs publica immortalis esse



dēbeat, eam in ūnīus mortālis animā cōnsistere. 23. SI  
 vērō ad hūmānōs cāsūs incertōsque mōtūs valētūdinis  
 sceleris etiam accēdit insidiārumque cōnsēnsiō, quem  
 deum, sī cupiat, posse opitulārī rei publicae crēdāmus?

*Caesar alone can heal the wounds of war.*

VIII. Omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Caesar, ūnī, quae  
 iacēre sentīs, bellī ipsīus impetū, quod necesse fuit, per-  
 cussa atque prōstrāta; cōstituenda iūdicia, revocanda  
 fidēs, comprimendae libīdinēs, prōpāganda subolēs, omnia,  
 quae dilāpsa iam diffluxērunt, sevērīs lēgibus vincienda  
 sunt. 24. Nōn fuit recūsandum in tantō civīli bellō, 10  
 tantō animōrum ārdōre et armōrum, quā quassāta rēs  
 publicā, quicumque bellī ēventus fuisset, multa perderet  
 et ōrnāmenta dīgnitātis et praesidia stabilitātis suae;  
 multaque uterque dux faceret armātus, quae idem to-  
 gātus fierī prohibuisset. Quae quidem tibi nunc omnia 15  
 bellī volnera sānanda sunt, quibus praeter tē medērī  
 nēmō potest.

*His life is not his own, but belongs to the State.*

25. Itaque illam tuam praeclārissimam et sapientis-  
 simam vōcem invītus audīvī: “Satis diū vel nātūrae vixī  
 vel glōriae.” Satis, sī ita vīs, fortasse nātūrae, addō etiam, 20  
 sī placet, glōriae; at, quod maximum est, patriae certē  
 parum. Quā rē omitte istam, quaesō, doctōrum hominum  
 in contemnendā morte prūdentiam. Nōlī nostrō periculō  
 esse sapiēns. Saepe enim vēnit ad aurīs meās tē idem  
 istud nimis crēbrō dīcere, tibi satis tē vixisse. Crēdō; 25

sed tum id audirem, si tibi solī viverēs aut si tibi etiam solī nātus essēs. Omnium salutem civium cūctamque rem pūblicam rēs tuae gestae complexae sunt; tantum abes ā perfectiōne maximōrum operum, ut fundāmenta nōndum, quae cōgitās, iēceris. Hic tū modum vitae tuae nōn salute rei pūblīcae, sed aequitate animi dēfiniēs? Quid, si istud nē glōriae tuae quidem satis est? cūius tē esse avidissimum, quamvis sis sapiēns, nōn negābis.

*He has still a great work to perform: the State must be restored.*

26. "Parumne igitur," inquit, "magna relinquēmus?"  
 10 Immō vērō aliis quamvis multis satis, tibi unī parum. Quicquid est enim, quamvis amplum sit, id est parum tum, cum est aliquid amplius. Quod si rerum tuarum immortalium, C. Caesar, hic exitus futurus fuit, ut devictis adversariis rem pūblicam in eō statu relinquerēs  
 15 in quō nunc est, vidē, quaesō, nē tua divīna virtūs admīratiōnis plūs sit habitūra quam glōriae, — si quidem glōria est inlūstris ac pervagāta māgnōrum vel in suos civis vel in patriam vel in omne genus hominū fama meritōrum.

IX. 27. Haec igitur tibi reliqua pars est, hic restat  
 20 actus, in hōc elaborandum est, ut rem pūblicam cōstituās, eāque tū in primis summā tranquillitate et otio perfruāre; tum tē, si volēs, cum et patriae quod debēs solveris et nātūram ipsam explēveris satietate vivendi, satis diū vixisse dicitō. Quid enim est omninō hōc ipsum  
 25 diū, in quō est aliquid extrēmum? Quod cum venit, omnis voluptās praeterita prō nihilō est, quia postea nūlla est futūra.

*He should consider not merely this brief existence, but his fame in future ages.*

Quamquam iste tuus animus nunquam his angustiis, quās nātūra nobīs ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit; semper immortalitātis amōre flagravit. 28. Nec vērō haec tua vīta dūcenda est, quae corpore et spīritū continētur. Illa, inquam, illa vīta est tua, quae vigēbit memoriā saeculōrum omnium, quam posteritās alet, quam ipsa aeternitās semper tuēbitur. Huic tū inserviās, huic tē ostentēs oportet; quae quidem, quae mirētur, iam pridem multa habet; nunc etiam quae laudet exspectat.

*If he reestablishes the nation, his fame will endure forever.*

Obstupēscent posterī certē imperia, prōvinciās, Rhēnum, Oceanum, Nilum, pūgnās innumerābilis, incredibilis victōriās, monumenta, mūnera, triumphōs audientēs et legentēs tuōs. 29. Sed nisi haec urbs stabilita tuis cōsiliis et institūtis erit, vagābitur modo tuum nōmen longē atque lātē, sēdem stabilem et domicilium certum nōn habēbit. Erit inter eōs etiam qui nāsentur, sicut inter nōs fuit, māgna dissēnsiō, cum aliī laudibus ad caelum rēs tuās gestās efferent, aliī fortasse aliquid requirēt, idque vel maximum, nisi bellī cīvilis incendium salūte patriae restīxeris, ut illud fātī fuisse videātur, hōc cōsili. Servi igitur eis etiam iūdicibus, qui multis post saeculis de tē iūdicābunt, et quidem haud sciō an incorruptius quam nōs. Nam et sine amōre et sine cupiditāte, et rūsus sine odiō et sine invidiā iūdicābunt. 30. Id autem etiam si tum ad tē, ut quīdam [falsō] putant, nōn

pertinēbit, nunc certō pertinet esse tē tālem ut tuās laudēs obscurātūra nūlla umquam sit obliviō.

*Through Caesar's efforts civil wars are now at an end.*

X. Diversae voluntātēs civium fuērunt distrāctaeque sententiae. Nōn enim cōsiliis solum et studiis, sed  
 5 armīs etiam et castris dissidēbāmus; erat enim obscuritās quaedam, erat certāmen inter clarissimōs ducēs; multī dubitābant quid optimum esset, multī quid sibi expediret, multī quid deceret, nōn nulli etiam quid liceret. **31.** *Per-*  
*fūncta rēs pūblica est hōc miserō fātālique bellō; vicit*  
 10 *is, qui nōn fortunā inflammāret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret; nec quī omnīs, quibus irātus esset, eōdem [etiam] exsiliō aut morte dignōs iudicāret. Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt. Ingrātus est iniūstusque civis, qui armōrum periculō liberātus animum tamen retinet armā-*  
 15 *tum, ut etiam ille melior sit [quī in aciē cecidit,] qui in causā animam profūdīt. Quae enim pertinācia quibusdam, eadem aliis cōstantia vidērī potest. 32.* Sed iam omnis frācta dissēnsiō est armīs, exstincta aequitate victōris; restat ut omnēs unum velint, quī modo habent  
 20 aliquid nōn solum sapientiae, sed etiam sānitātis. Nisi tō, C. Caesar, salvō et in istā sententiā, quā cum antea tum hodiē vel maximē ūsus es, manente, salvī esso nōn possumus. Quā rē omnēs tē, quī haec salva esse volumus, et hortāmur et obsecrāmus ut vitae tuae et salūti cōn-  
 25 sulās; omnēsque tibi, ut prō aliis etiam loquar quod dē mē ipse sentiō, quoniam subesse aliquid putās quod cavendum sit, nōn modo excubiās et cūstodiās, sed etiam laterum nostrōrum oppositūs et corporum pollicēmur.

*The orator concludes as he has begun, by expressing to Caesar the deepest gratitude.*

**XI. 33.** Sed, ut unde est òrsa, in eòdem terminètur òratiò, maximàs tibi omnès grātiàs agimus, C. Caesar, mòiòrès etiam habèmus. Nam omnès idem sentiunt, quod ex omnium preeibus et lacrimis sentire potuisti.

THE ACADEMY — ATHENS. BURIAL-PLACE OF MARCELLUS.

Sed quia nòn est omnibus stantibus necesse dicere, à mè ò certè dici volunt, cui necesse est quòdam modò. Et quod fieri decet, — M. Märcellò à tè huic òrdini populòque Ròmänò et rei püblicae redditò, — fieri id intellegò. Nam laetäri omnis nòn dè ünüs solum, sed dè communi omnium salute sentiò. **34.** Quod autem summae benevo- 10

lentiae est, quae mea erga illum omnibus semper nota  
fuit, ut vix C. Marcellō, optimō et amantissimō frātrī,  
praeter eum quidem cēderem nēminī, cum id sollicitū-  
dine, cūrā, labōre tam diū praestiterim quam diū est  
5 de illius salūte dubitātum; certē hōc tempore magnīs  
cūrīs, molestiīs, dolōribus liberātus praestāre dēbeō.  
Itaque, C. Caesar, sic tibi grātiās agō, ut, omnibus mē  
rēbus a tē nōn cōservātō solum sed etiam ōrnātō, tamen  
ad tua in mē ūnum innumerābilia merita, quod fierī iam  
10 posse nōn arbitrābar, maximus hōc tuō factō cumulus  
accesserit.

POMPEY'S MILITARY COMMAND,  
OR  
THE MANILIAN LAW.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY,  
66 B.C.

INTRODUCTION.

After the days of Hannibal, the Romans met with no more powerful and courageous foe than Mithradates the Great, king of Pontus. He came to the throne at the early age of eleven, and, gifted by nature with astounding powers of body and mind, succeeded in evading all the plots laid for him in his boyhood. He reached manhood with a body perfectly trained in all athletic and military exercises, and inured to every hardship, with a spirit undaunted by danger and ambitious for power, and with a mind so well equipped for his royal office, that he is said to have been able to address the envoys of the various tribes under his sway, more than twenty in number, each in his own language. He was, however, cruel, jealous, and rapacious as any Oriental despot. His greatest passions were for gold and for territory, and early in his reign he succeeded in enlarging his ancestral domains so as to include all the territory around the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) to the north and east, the province Lesser Armenia to the south, and all beyond the Halys river to the west as far as Bithynia.

It was inevitable that sooner or later he would come into hostile contact with the Romans, who, since the war with Antiochus (190 B.C.), had assumed a sort of protectorate over Asia Minor. They had already organized the province of Asia, consisting of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia in the west, and were making a province of Cilicia in the southeast. To protect his rear and provide himself with a strong ally, Mithradates had given his daughter in marriage to Tigranes, the king of Greater Armenia. In the year 91 B.C. he instigated his son-in-

law to invade Cappadocia, of which Ariobarzanes was king. In the same year he compelled Nicomedes III., king of Bithynia, to flee from his realm. Both of these aggrieved monarchs sought aid from Rome, which was promptly granted. The Romans restored both to their thrones, meeting with no resistance from Mithradates. But when in 89 Nicomedes, probably at the suggestion of Rome, invaded the territory of Mithradates, the latter promptly seized arms, drove Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, Nicomedes out of Bithynia, and having conquered every force sent against him, had possession of all western Asia Minor before the end of the summer of 88. During the winter he sent out an order from Pergamum to kill all Italians in the cities of Asia on one and the same day. This order was in general promptly obeyed, and over 80,000 men, women, and children were cruelly massacred.

In 87 Mithradates sent his general Archelaus to Greece with a powerful army. Archelaus took possession of the country, but the next year was defeated with great loss by L. Cornelius Sulla, who had been sent against Mithradates. In the same year Mithradates was himself defeated in Asia by a Roman army, and was glad to sue for peace. Sulla, who felt that his interests demanded his presence in Italy, granted it. Mithradates gave up all his conquests, paid a large fine, and surrendered part of his fleet. Thus closed the First Mithradatic War (88-84 B.C.).

Sulla had left L. Murena in command of the forces in Asia. He, refusing to recognize the peace made by Sulla because the terms had not been put in writing, invaded the territory of Mithradates on his own responsibility, and was defeated by him in two engagements in 83 and 82. Sulla then sent him peremptory orders to desist. This is usually known as the Second Mithradatic War (83-82 B.C.).

Mithradates spent the next few years in preparations for renewing the struggle. He equipped a fleet of 400 ships, and raised an army of 120,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry, armed and trained in Roman fashion by Roman officers, whom Serto-



rius, the famous Marian general, with whom Mithradates had concluded an alliance, had sent from Spain. When his preparations were complete, he began hostilities (74 B.C.) by invading Bithynia, which the Romans had received as a bequest from Nicomedes, and which they now claimed as a province.

The conduct of the war against Mithradates was given to L. Licinius Lucullus. The Roman general had but 30,000 men and 1600 cavalry, but at first met with great success. He compelled Mithradates, who was carrying all before him, to raise the siege of Cyzicus, then drove him back to Pontus, defeated him with great loss at Cabira, and would have captured the king in person had the Roman soldiers not been diverted by plunder. Mithradates fled with 3000 horsemen to Tigranes of Armenia, his son-in-law. Lucullus, after completing the conquest of Pontus, returned to his province, Asia, for winter quarters (70 B.C.).

Tigranes not only gave Mithradates refuge but prepared to give him active assistance. In 69, therefore, Lucullus invaded Armenia. He had but two legions and three thousand cavalry, but he defeated an immense army of Tigranes and took Tigranocerta, his residence city, and in the following year defeated both kings not far from Artaxata. He was on the point of bringing the war to a successful conclusion when he was compelled to relinquish all the fruits of his victory by a serious mutiny in his army. These troops had been in service abroad for many years, and demanded to be led home.

Lucullus was an able general but a severe disciplinarian and hard taskmaster, who did not know how to temper his severity with such words of praise as his soldiers deserved. He was, therefore, unpopular with them. At home, too, he had many enemies who were active in fostering discontent among his troops. As a patrician, he naturally had no friends in the popular party (12). The Equites (9, 10), who farmed the taxes in the provinces, were hostile to him because by standing between the rapacious *publicani*, or tax-gatherers, and the provincials, he had diminished their profits.

Mithradates was not slow to take advantage of the forced inactivity of Lucullus. He returned to Pontus, and with a strong force annihilated the army of Triarius, the legate of Lucullus, invaded Cappadocia and Bithynia, and in a short time succeeded in recovering all his lost territory.

Lucullus, meanwhile, owing to this accumulation of ill-fortune, and the cabal against him at home, had been recalled and his command given to Manius Acilius Glabrio, proconsul for 66, a man of no military ability. Glabrio on his arrival was so discouraged by the outlook that he refused to take over the army from Lucullus, and remained inactive. Under these circumstances the public mind naturally turned to Pompey.

Pompey's military career gave ground for the belief that he was the greatest soldier of his day. He began service at the age of seventeen, and with considerable talent, had been peculiarly fortunate in all his undertakings. He had won distinguished success in Italy, Sicily, Africa, and Spain, for which he had been honored with two triumphs. In 70 he was given the consulship, although still under the legal age. Then after an interval of three years he was again called to the front.

Piracy, which had been growing worse ever since the fall of Carthage (146 B.C.) and the subsequent decline of the Roman navy, had now become so dangerous that the welfare and prosperity of the entire republic were seriously threatened. The pirates swept the seas with great fleets, preyed on all commerce, sacked islands and coast towns, made treaties with the enemies of Rome, held possession of a large part of Crete and Cilicia, where they stored their booty in inaccessible strongholds, had their allied coast cities and places of refuge, and had become so bold that they threatened even Ostia, the seaport of Rome, and seized prominent Romans on the Appian Way and held them for ransom. The Romans had already made several fruitless attempts to destroy them. Now commerce had virtually ceased, corn could not be imported, Rome was threatened with famine, and something must be done at once.

It was in this crisis that the tribune, A. Gabinius, presented

a bill giving Pompey the supreme command for three years over all the Mediterranean and its coasts for fifty miles inland, with unlimited power to expend money and raise forces for the destruction of the pirates. The bill was carried in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Optimates or nobility, who saw in it a most dangerous precedent in granting such autocratic power to any individual.

Pompey more than justified the expectations of his friends. In two short expeditions, one of thirty days and the other of forty-nine, he not only cleared the seas, but attacked and routed the pirates in their Cilician strongholds. The sea was again free. Commerce went on its accustomed course, and there was plenty where hunger had been before.

Pompey was still on the Cilician coast when the crisis in the conduct of the Mithradatic War arose. Anxious as the *publicani* in Asia Minor and the Equites at Rome had been to have Lucullus recalled, they saw that they were liable to lose still more through Glabrio's inability. They were the first to suggest Pompey as the proper man for the place. The suggestion was eagerly seconded at Rome by all classes excepting the conservative Optimates. Pompey's success against the pirates had made him immensely popular. C. Manilius, the tribune, therefore only voiced the public desire when, in the beginning of 66, he brought in his bill nominating Pompey.

The bill was discussed first at a *contio* (28). Catulus and Hortensius of the Optimates opposed the bill on the same grounds that they had previously opposed the bill of Gabinus. They clearly saw that such extraordinary bestowal of power upon a single individual was fundamentally hostile to the republican form of government, and would eventually lead to its overthrow.

One of the chief speakers for the bill was Cicero. This was his first appearance as a public orator on the rostra, though he had been famous as a public pleader in the courts for many years. He doubtless felt this to be an important occasion, and was anxious to make a favorable impression. He spoke as the

mouthpiece of the Equites, who, as we have said above, were particularly anxious to have Pompey appointed. Cicero belonged to this order by birth, and often worked in its interest. Further, he was aiming for the consulship, and was glad of the chance to speak on so popular a measure and win the favor of the people and the gratitude of Pompey. He would need the influence and support of both later.

It is safe to say that he did not see the danger to the state inherent in the bill. Had he done so, he would not have supported it. His patriotism was always above question, but he was often short-sighted on questions of public policy. On the other hand he greatly overestimated the war, whose dangerous phase, thanks to Lucullus, was already past; and the consequent urgency of sending Pompey to the scene.

The bill of Manilius was passed by the comitia, and Pompey brought the war to a successful conclusion. In 61 he returned to Rome with his victorious army.

This speech, known as the *De Imperio Cn. Pompei* or the *Pro Lege Manilia*, belongs to the deliberative class (93), but in the portion devoted to the praise of Pompey, goes over to the demonstrative. In clearness of statement, beauty of diction, and regularity of construction, it is one of the model speeches for all time. But much as we admire the talent and the eloquence of the orator, we miss the far-seeing wisdom of the statesman. The great question of public policy at stake receives but superficial treatment. There is no careful weighing of *pros* and *cons.* but, rather, the powerful pleader of the courts conjuring with facts in order to win his case.

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#### THE MITHRADATIC WARS.

First Mithradatic War,	88-84 B.C.,	Sulla	in command.
Second	"	83-82 B.C.,	Murena " "
Third	"	"	{ 74-67 B.C., Lucullus " "
			{ 67-66 B.C., Glabrio " "
			{ 66-63 B.C., Pompey " "

## THE MANILIAN LAW.

**Suggested Reading on the Manilian Law.**

- Church, *Two Thousand Years Ago: The Story of a Roman Boy*.  
 Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*, p. 186.  
 Forsyth, *Life of Cicero*, Vol. I., pp. 100-103.  
 Liddell, *History of Rome*, Chaps. LIX. and LXIII.  
 Merivale, *General History of Rome*, pp. 249-250, 256-258, 290-294.  
 Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. I., pp. 42-45,  
 74.  
 Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol. III., pp. 332-378; Vol. IV., pp. 68-95,  
 145-161.  
 Niebuhr, *Lectures on the History of Rome*, Lecture 40.  
 Plutarch, *Lives of Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey*.  
 Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*, pp.  
 86-89.

The Grammars cited are the following: Allen and Greenough (A.), Bennett (B.), Gildersleeve-Lodge (G.), and Harkness (H.). Both the old and the new Harkness are cited; the reference to the new is placed first, the reference to the old follows in parenthesis. Most of the abbreviations used will be easily understood. Among the less obvious are: Cf. (*confer*) = compare; cons. = construction; ff. = and following; sc. (*scilicet*) = supply. Syn. refers to the list of synonyms and contrasted words p. 351. Figures in parenthesis (9) refer to the numbered paragraphs of the Introduction.

## ARGUMENT.

Sec. 1-3. **Exordium.** Cicero explains why he has never before appeared on the rostra as a political orator. He congratulates himself on having so good a subject.

Sec. 4-5. **Narratio.** The case is stated. Two hostile kings, Mithradates and Tigranes have invaded Roman territory. Great interests are in danger. The situation demands the proper leader.

Sec. 6. **Propositio.** Something must be done. **Partitio.** The divisions of the discussion.

Sec. 6-68. **Argumentatio.**

Sec. 6-50. *Confirmatio*. I. Sec. 6-19. **THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR.** It is a defensive war and therefore necessary (6). The dignity and military reputation of the Roman people are at stake (7-11), the safety of the allies (12, 13), the chief revenues of the state (14-16), the property of many citizens (17-19). II. Sec. 20-26. **THE GREATNESS OF THE WAR.** Lucullus has done much (20, 21), but much more remains to be done (22-26). III. Sec. 27-50. **THE CHOICE OF A COMMANDER.** No one is better qualified than Pompey. Four qualities are requisite in a great commander: *scientia, virtus, auctoritas, and felicitas*. All of these Pompey possesses (27). (a) His knowledge of war and military experience (28). (b) His soldierly virtues (29-35). His other virtues (36-42). (c) His prestige and influence (43-46). (d) His good fortune (47, 48). Recapitulation (49). An additional argument is that he is already on the spot (50).

Sec. 51-68. *Confutatio*. The objection of Hortensius that supreme authority should not be given to one man answered (51-56). Digression with reference to the lieutenantcy of Gabinius (57-58). The objection of Catulus that no new precedents should be established, answered (59-63). The judgment of the people should prevail, especially in a case like this, where Pompey is the only man capable of restoring what is lost. The bill has the support of many influential men (63-68).

Sec. 69-71. **Peroratio.** Manilius is urged to defend his bill, depending upon the support of the people and the help of Cicero. The latter calls the gods to witness the purity and patriotism of his motives.

EXORDIUM. SEC. 1-3.

PAGE 1. Ch. I. Sec. 1. Cicero has not appeared on the *rostra* before. His duties as an advocate have taken all his time. Furthermore, he has felt hardly equal to it.

1. **Quamquam**: the regular conjunction with the indicative, introducing a conceded fact. **frequens conspectus**, nearly equal to *conspectus vestrae frequentiae*, the sight of you in full assembly. The word *conspectus* is peculiarly well chosen as sig-

nifying "the all-embracing view." which the orator had of the throng from the commanding position of the rostra. See illustrations Nos. 7, and 8, and 10.

2. **multo**: the ablative of *multus* used adverbially. The neuter accusative and ablative singular of adjectives often pass into adverbs. **iucundissimus**: see Syn., 21. **autem**: a conjunction expressing a transition rather than an opposition; hence not *but*, but *moreover*, and *what is more*, and the like. **locus**: the rostra, see (105, 3.) **ad agendum**: the common gerund of purpose; A. 506; B. 338, 3; G. 432, r.; H. 628; (542, III. n. 2). *Agere* is used technically of debating a question before the people. **amplissimus**: referring especially to the influence exerted from the rostra, **ornatissimus** to the honor of speaking from it.

3. **Quirites**: the regular term of address for the Romans in their civil capacity. The word is connected with *curia*; see (21).

4. **aditu laudis**: *path to honor*; ablative of separation with **prohibuerunt**. **optimo cuique**: literally *each best*, hence *all the best*; *quisque* with a superlative, therefore, has the force of *omnes* taken distributively. Only the noblest by birth or rank had access to the rostra. These are usually called *boni*, *optimi*, or *optimates*. The words have no reference to moral character.

5. **vitae meae rationes**: *my plan of life*.

7. **cum . . . auderem statueremque**: *cum* is the common word for *when*, but when used with the subjunctive it never expresses merely time, but rather description or circumstance. It is then often better translated by *while*, *as*, *it being the case that*, or by a present or past participle. Translate, *For heretofore not yet daring . . . and being convinced*, etc. **per**: often used of a preventing reason. **huius auctoritatem loci**: a not uncommon use of a substantive for an attributive adjective, *the influence of this place = this influential place*. The noun gives greater emphasis than the adjective for which it is used.

8. **perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria**: the former phrase refers to the contents, the thought; the latter to the form, of a composition.

10. **temporibus**: *demands, exigencies*. **transmittendum**: *sc. esse*, very commonly omitted with a periphrastic infinitive.

Sec. 2. The people have been kind enough to reward his faithful service in the courts with the gifts of office, and he now dedicates his forensic eloquence to their service in the political arena.

11. **neque . . . et**: the first clause is really subordinate in thought to the second. We may translate *while . . . at the same time*.

12. **qui . . . defenderent**: a rel. cl. of characteristic. A. 535; B. 283, 1, 2; G. 631, 1; H. 591, 2; (503, I.).

13. **privatorum**: in antithesis to the interests of the state. **caste integreque**: *blamelessly and incorruptibly*, implying that Cicero had taken no money from his clients. A law against this was passed as early as 204 B.C., but a lawyer received many rich presents in lieu of fees.

14. **amplissimum**: see on l. 2.

15. **dilationem comitiorum**: *a postponement of the election*. What it was that twice interrupted the election for praetors in the year 67 we do not know. It might have been through some political scheme. See (29). Cicero means that on all three occasions he received the most votes; he was, therefore, according to the custom, first announced elected. On the first two occasions the votes for all the praetors had probably not been counted when the interruption occurred; and so the whole election was null and void. On the duties of the praetor see (45) and (59).

16. **cunctis**: *to all* in a body, i.e. *the assembled*. See Syn. 22.

17. **iudicaretis . . . praescriberetis**: subjv. in indirect questions. A. 573-575; B. 300; G. 467; H. 649, II.; (529, I.). **quid aliis**, etc., i.e. that others should follow his example, if they expected similar rewards.

PAGE 2. 1. **cum . . . sit**. The subjv. shows us, as in the instance above, 1, 7, that **cum** does not express merely time. Here the attendant circumstance is regarded as *cause*, and we translate **cum** by *since*. A. 549, N. 2; B. 286, 2; G. 586; H. 598;



(517). The subject of **sit** is **tantum**, upon which **auctoritatis** depends as a part. gen.

2. **honoribus mandandis**: *by giving me offices. honores* is the regular word for the higher offices of state. See (54). For construction see A. 503, 507; B. 339, 1; G. 427, 431; H. 623, 630; (543, 544).

3. **ex forensi usu**: *from practice in the courts*. The courts were held in the Comitium and the Forum. See (99).

5. **et**: correlative with **et** below. **utar**: a word of wide meaning, here about equals **ostendam**, *show conspicuously*, the object being easily supplied from the context.

7. **ei . . . rei**: here, as usual, the exact meaning of *res* must be gathered from the context. It refers back to the phrase **si quid in dicendo consequi possum**. It may therefore be translated by *ability* or *activity*. The correct translation of this word always requires unusual care. **quoque**: i.e. as well as to noble blood or deeds of arms. Cicero had nothing but his eloquence to recommend him. See (6). **fructum**: *reward*.

8. **duxerunt**: *have thought*.

Sec. 3. He counts himself fortunate in having so good a subject for his first effort.

9. **atque**: *and what is more*, often used to introduce an emphatic additional thought. **mihilaetandum iure esse**: *should properly be a source of joy to me*. **mih**i, the so-called dat. of apparent agent. A. 374, a; B. 189; G. 355; H. 431; (388).

10. **ratione dicendi**: *freely, manner of speaking*.

11. **oratio**: *materials for a speech*.

14. **mih**i, see on l. 9.

## NARRATIO. SEC. 4, 5.

The war with Mithradates has assumed a most dangerous phase. Great public and private interests are in peril, and Roman territory is being laid waste by the enemy. Lucullus has left the scene, and his successor is hopelessly incompetent. A leader must be chosen, and there is but one such as will satisfy all requirements.

16. Ch. II. Sec. 4. **Atque** really belongs to *hoc dico*, or something of the sort, to be supplied, of which *ut . . . proficiatur* expresses the purpose. Such a use of *atque ut* is far from rare.

17. **causa**: *condition of things*. Beware of translating Latin words by their English cognates, as here **causa** by *cause*.

18. **vectigalibus ac sociis**: being connected with **sociis** and standing after **bellum inferre**, the word **vectigalibus** is probably masculine, though it occurs below in the neuter. The *vectigales* were those belonging to the Roman provinces in Asia Minor, the *socii*, those of the allied but still nominally independent states.

20. **relictus**: *let slip*, viz. after the battle of Cabira in 71 B.C. See p. 163. **laccessitus**: sc. **bollo**. In §23 Cicero says that a quarrel with Armenia was never contemplated by Rome, and should have been avoided.

21. **Asiam**: i.e. the Roman province Asia, including Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. **Equitibus Romanis**, see (8)-(11).

PAGE 3. 2. **res**: here *fortunes or capital*, see on 2, 7. in **vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae**: *invested in collecting your revenues*. The business of collecting the taxes was mostly in the hands of the knights. They paid into the state treasury the fixed sum, and then through the *publicani* and their assistants in Asia and in other provinces collected as much more as could be forced from them.

3. **pro necessitudine**, etc.: Cicero himself was a knight by birth.

5. Sec. 5. **Bithyniae**, etc.: see p. 164. The general contents of these letters is given in indirect discourse, the principal clauses in the infinitive and the subordinate ones in the subj. just as we should expect. The subordinate clauses using the indicative are not from the letters, but are parenthetical remarks inserted by the speaker.

6. **regnum Ariobarzani**: Cappadocia.

7. **vectigalibus**: referring here to the lands that are taxed rather than to the people.

9. **huic qui successerit**: referring to Glabrio. Cicero evidently tries to shield him, and does not expose his utter incompetence.

11. **civibus**: i.e. the Roman citizens in Asia.

12. **unum**: Cicero artistically does not mention the name. Every one knew who was meant.

13. **metui**: see Syn. 18.

### PROPOSITIO.

You have the case. What's to be done!

14. Sec. 6. **causa quae**, etc. . . . ; **nunc quid**, etc. This form of transition from one division of a speech or essay to another is common. First we have a brief recapitulation or glance backward, then the new theme introduced by *nunc* or *deinceps*.

### PARTITIO.

There are three points to be considered: the character of the war, its extent, and the choice of a commander.

### ARGUMENTATIO. SEC. 6-68.

Confirmatio. Sec. 6-50.

#### I. CHARACTER OF THE WAR. SEC. 6-19.

Sec. 6. The character of the war is such that it involves (1) the prestige of the Roman arms, (2) the safety of friends, (3) the revenues of the state, (4) the fortunes of many citizens.

18. **quod**: introducing a rel. cl. of characteristic, and referring to **genus** as antecedent.

19. **persequendi**: sc. *belli*: *persequi bellum* means to carry a war through to a successful conclusion.

20. **agitur . . . , agitur . . . ; aguntur . . . , aguntur**. This emphatic repetition of a word at the beginning of successive clauses is a rhetorical device especially common in Cicero. It is technically known as *anaphora*.

21. **cum . . . tum**: correlatives, throwing special emphasis on the second statement, *not only this, . . . but in particular, but what is more, that*.

PAGE 4. 2. **certissima vectigalia**: such as could be reckoned on most surely. The riches of the East were proverbial.

3. **quibus amissis**: an abl. abs. with conditional force, *if these are lost*. In general, a literal translation of the abl. abs. should be avoided. Aim to bring out the exact force in translation. **pacis ornamenta**: *the embellishments for peace*, referring especially to the money used for public buildings and temples. The objective gen. is used here and in the next phrase (**belli**) to express the idea of *for objects of, for purposes of*.

4. **bona**: cf. English *goods*. See Syn. 34.

5. **quibus est a vobis consulendum**: *for whose interests you must take thought*. Instead of a **vobis** we should naturally expect the dat. (cf. **mihi**, 2, 9), but the abl. of agt. is here used to avoid the ambiguity which would arise between the two datives, *quibus, vobis*, both depending on *consulendum*. A. 374, a; B. 189, 1, a; G. 355, r.; H. 431, 1; (388 r.).

(1) Sec. 7-11. The prestige of Roman arms is in danger. Mithradates' massacre of thousands of Roman citizens is still unavenged. He still reigns, and is as powerful as ever, in spite of Roman victories and triumphs. He employs the intervals of peace in preparing for war, and has even made alliances with the enemies of Rome. The campaign of Lucullus, which began so brilliantly, has ended in disaster. The Roman spirit has become degenerate. Our ancestors were much quicker to resent insult and injury.

7. Ch. III. Sec. 7. **quoniam**: here introducing a causal clause of fact on the speaker's authority, hence with the indic. A. 540; B. 286, 1; G. 540; H. 588; (516).

9. **bello superiore**: i.e. the first, the short struggle with Murena not being counted.

10. **penitus**: *all too deep*.

11. **quod**: *in that, because*. **uno die**, etc.: referring to the atrocious edict of the king by which more than 80,000 Italians were put to death. See Introduction, p. 162. **tota in Asia**: in

would regularly be omitted. A. 429, 2; B. 228, 1, b); G. 388; H. 485, 2; (425, 2), but is inserted here to balance the next phrase, **tot in civitatibus**. The meaning here is *over*, rather than *in*. **Asia** is, of course, the province, not the continent.

12. **una significatione litterarum**: like our *one stroke of the pen*. **civis . . . necandos trucidandos denotavit**: the common construction of the gerundive, in agreement with the object, expressing purpose. A. 500, 4; B. 337, 7, b), 2); G. 430; H. 622; (544, 2, x. 2). Cf. *neco* and *trucido*, Syn. 20.

PAGE 5. 1. **regnat**: for tense see A. 466; B. 259, 4; G. 230; H. 533, 1; (467, 2).

2. **latebris**: abl. of means, where we might have had the abl. of place with *in*.

3. **vectigalibus**: see on 2, 18, and note. **in Asiae luce**, i.e. that part of Asia which is in the light and sight of all, as distinguished from the hiding-places of Pontus and Cappadocia. The metaphor is that of a wild beast creeping (**emergere**) out of his den (**latebris**) into the light (**luce**).

4. **versari** has here the force of *being conspicuous in, spreading one's self in, slang to make one's self numerous in*.

6. Sec. 8. **triumphavit . . . triumphavit, anaphora**: see on 3, 20. Sulla triumphed in 81, Murena in 80.

9. **regnaret**: *still reigned, remained king*.

10. **quod egerunt . . . quod reliquerunt**: both of these verbs are here used without objects. We may translate freely, *for what they did, for what they left undone*.

12. **res publica**: *the political condition*. While Sulla was absent in the East, the Marian faction under Cinna had regained control. For this reason Sulla was anxious to return to Italy as soon as possible.

13. Ch. IV. Sec. 9. **autem**: see on 1, 2. **omne reliquum tempus**, i.e. after his defeats.

15. **Qui postea cum**: *afterwards, when he*. **aedificasset, ornasset**: common contraction for **aedificavisset, ornavisset**. For the subjv. in these and the following verbs see on 1, 7.

16. **exercitus permagnos**: Plutarch gives as the lowest

estimate 120,000 foot soldiers, 16,000 cavalry, 100 scythe-bearing chariots, and 400 ships.

17. **potuisset**: we might have expected the indic. here. The subjv. seems due to the influence of **comparasset**, the so-called subjv. by attraction or of the integral part. A. 593; B. 324; G. 629; H. 652; (529, II.). **Bosporanis**: the people of the Cimmerian Bosphorus in the Crimea. These, along with other barbarous races and Greek colonies on the Black Sea, Mithradates had formed into his Kingdom of the Bosphorus. During the first war with Rome some of these had shown signs of revolt.

18. **simularet**: note the change in tense to denote action continuing while the action of the other verbs was being brought to completion. That is, while Mithradates was building and equipping his fleet and getting his army together, and even after he had completed his preparations, he was still making believe (**simularet**) that he was preparing for war against the Bosporani.

19. **duces**: referring to Sertorius and his associates, see p. 162. It was about 76 B.C. that this alliance was made.

21. **binis**: distributives are regular with nouns that are plural in form and singular in sense. A. 137, b; B. 81, 4, b; G. 97, 3; H. 164, 3; (174, 2, 3)).

23. **de imperio dimicaretis**: *you would have to fight for supremacy*. The translation requires this turn to emphasize the actuality of the result aimed at in the Latin verb.

PAGE 6. l. Sec. 10. **alterius partis**: *in the one direction*. See Syn. 10.

2. **firmamenti ac roboris**: the first of these words refers to outer support, the latter to inner strength.

3. **Cn. Pompei divino consilio**, etc.: Cicero, as often, gives Pompey more credit here than he deserves. He found himself quite unable to cope with Sertorius and his Marian legions as long as that great general was alive. Pompey's victory in Spain was far more due to the death of Sertorius than to his own **divino consilio ac singulari virtute**.

4. **res**: for translation see on 2, 7.

10. **ei**: for the dat. see A. 381; B. 188, 2, d; G. 345, R. 1; H. 427; (385, 2).

12. Sec. 11. **exorsus**: *the first point*, of the four under the general head of the character of the war. See analysis of § 6.

13. **auscipientum**: for omission of *esse*, see on 1, 10. **putetis**: for cons. cf. **iudicaretis** and **praescriberetis**, 1, 17. Very frequently an indirect question is a question used as the object of a verb.

15. Ch. V. **iniuriosius**: *the comparative has the force of somewhat, only a little, rather*. So, too, in l. 18, **superbius**. A. 291, a; B. 240, 1; G. 297, 2; H. 498; (444, 1).

PAGE 7. 2. **appellati superbius**: Polybius says that the ambassadors were not merely 'rather arrogantly addressed,' but were driven out with jeers and insults, and according to others, were actually imprisoned. Naturally, however, Cicero wishes to minimize these injuries for the sake of contrast with the deeds of Mithradates. **totius Graeciae lumen**: in the sense of the *glory* or the *ornament* of all Greece. No city of ancient times was more famous for wealth and luxury. The city was taken and destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C., but was afterward rebuilt by Julius Caesar. Many interesting remains of this famous city have been laid bare by the excavations of the American School at Athens.

3. **exstinctum** (agreeing with **lumen**) instead of **dirutam** (agreeing with **Corinthum**), to continue the metaphor in **lumen**.

4. **qui legatum**, etc.: the reference is to M. Aquilius, who was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the first Mithradatic War by urging Nicomedes of Bithynia to invade Pontus. Afterward he had command of an army which fought against Mithradates and was defeated by him. He had in every way forfeited his right to inviolability as an ambassador, and Mithradates quite properly refused to regard him as such. He was taken prisoner in 88 B.C. and cruelly put to death.

5. **omni**: *all possible, every kind of*.

6. **libertatem imminutam**: *the infringement of the liberty.*  
**ereptam vitam**: *the taking of life.* A noun and a passive part. are often so united that the participle and not the noun contains the main idea. In such cases the participle is best translated by a substantive or participial noun with *of*. Cf. the common phrase: *post urbem conditam, since the founding of the city.*

10. Sec. 12. **videte ne**: *beware lest.* **ut . . . sic**: correlatives.

Look back over the portion of this chapter just read and observe how the whole is made up of a series of pairs of antitheses; and how the words to be contrasted stand in the same or reverse (chiastic) order in each pair, the most important words invariably standing first or near the beginning of the sentence.

12. **non posse**: subj. of **sit**.

(2) Sec. 12, 13. Your friends and allies in Asia are in great peril, and are looking to you for help. There is one man that can save them, at whose mere approach the attacks of the enemy are stayed; who, unlike other provincial governors, is a blessing and not a curse to his province. Their silent appeal deserves to be heard.

13. **Quid**: a very common form of transition to a new division of the argument or an additional thought. It is frequently, as here, immediately followed by a substantive clause introduced by **quod**, giving the main point to be discussed next; then follows the remainder of the question introduced by its proper interrogative (**quo tandem animo**, etc.). Often, however, the remainder of the question at the end is omitted. In this transitional use **quid** may be translated *and again, further, I ask, what of the fact that*, etc. For the cons. of **quod**, etc., see A. 572, b; B. 299; G. 542; H. 588, 3, n.; (540, IV. n.).

15. **Ariobarzanes**: Rome's candidate for the throne of Cappadocia, from which Mithradates expelled him three times. See p. 162. **socius populi Romani atque amicus**: an honorary title often bestowed by the senate upon friendly monarchs.



Students of Caesar will recall that this title had been given Ariovistus, king of the Germans (Caes. Bell. Gall. I. 35).

PAGE 8. 2. **cuncta Asia**: used without *in* after the analogy of **tota Asia**. A. 429, 2; B. 228, 1, b); G. 388; H. 485, 2; (425, 2).

4. **certum**: *a particular*.

5. **cum**: the attendant circumstance is here regarded as the cause, and we translate **cum** by *since*. The subjv. of course follows. See on 1, 7, and 2, 1.

6. **sine summo periculo**: they feared to offend Lucullus and especially Glabrio, the newly appointed *imperator*, by asking for some one else.

8. Sec. 13. **vos**: sc. **videtis et sentitis**.

9. **summa omnia**: *all virtues in the highest degree*. The subjv. **sint** is in ind. disc. A. 580; B. 314, 1; G. 628; H. 643; (524), and also denotes characteristic. **propter**: adv., here equals *iuxta* or *prope*. Pompey was in winter quarters in Cilicia.

10. **quo**: abl. of degree of difference with **aegrius**. As the clause with **quo** is parenthetical and not part of the ind. disc., the verb **caerent** is in the indic. **adventu ipso atque nomine**: Pompey's fame had preceded him, and his victories over the pirates made a great impression throughout Asia, and may well have stayed the advance of the hostile kings. See Mommsen, *History of Rome*, II. 116.

11. **venerit**: the subjv. is due to the ind. disc.

15. **quorum salutem**, etc.: depending on **dignos**, and expressing characteristic. A. 535, f.; B. 282, 3; G. 631, 1; H. 591, 7; (503, II. 2).

16. **hoc**: sc. *rogant*.

17. **imperio**: the supreme executive authority possessed by a Roman governor. See (41, ii.).

18. **defendant**: subjv. of integral part. The obj. is easily supplied from the context. **tamen**: stands regularly after a concessive clause. Cf. 1, 4.

19. **non multum . . . differant**: the wretched provincials suffered terribly at the hands of the rapacious Roman gov-

ernors. Cicero goes into the matter more fully in Sec. 65. Lucullus had been an exception to this rule, however, and that is one reason why the rich capitalists had demanded his return. See p. 163.

(3) Sec. 14-16. Not only are the lives of allies imperiled, but the revenues of the state as well. A financial panic in Asia and the ruin of the *publicani* are threatened.

24. Ch. VI. Sec. 14. **propter socios**: the protection of allies was merely the pretext which Rome used to further her conquests. Here, of course, it suits Cicero's argument to give the pretext as the real cause. Antiochus the Great of Syria was defeated in 190 B.C. at Magnesia. The Ætolians, who were the allies of Antiochus, were defeated in the same battle. The war arose through the attacks of the Ætolians on Greek states in alliance with Rome. The pretext for the war with Philip V. of Macedon was a grievance of the Athenians, who appealed to Rome. He was defeated at Cynoscephalæ, 197 B.C. Each of the three great Carthaginian wars (264-202 B.C.) was begun by Rome on behalf of allies in Sicily, Spain, and Africa, respectively.

PAGE 9. 3. **una**: adv. **praesertim**, etc.: the transition to the third point is very neat. He first recapitulates the first two points of damaged Roman military prestige and danger to allies, and then, as a sort of afterthought, adds the third as lending weight to the first two.

4. **agatur**: for mood see on 1, 7, and 2, 1. **tanta**: *so great* or *so small*. If a thing is *so great* it is also *so small*, depending on the point of view. Here, in proportion to the revenues from Asia, those of the other provinces are *so small*. The thought is that the income from the other provinces was hardly enough to pay the cost of defending them.

6. **eis**: i.e. **vectigalibus**, depending on **contenti**.

7. **Asia vero**, etc.: Asia and Sicily were the richest provinces. The revenues were from three sources, which are respectively referred to in the words that follow: the *decumae*, or tenth of

the field products; the *scriptura*, or tax on pasture land; and the *portoria*, or duty on exports.

12. **vobis**: for case see on **mihi**, 2, 9.

13. **belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem** = *eas res quae belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem efficiunt*, i.e. the *vectigalia*. The same thought is expressed by **et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli**, 4, 3.

18. Sec. 15. **cum venit**, etc.: **cum** here has the force of *whenever, as often as, if at any time*, and introduces a general condition expressing repeated or customary action. The protasis, in such cases, usually has the perf. ind. (as here), translated by the English present, and the apodosis the pres. ind. A. 518, b; B. 302, 3; G. 594, n. 1; 567; H. 578, 1; (508, 5).

23. **portu, decumis, scriptura**: repeating in the opposite order **pecuaria, agri cultura, and navigatio**, to which they respectively refer.

25. **fructus**: *income*, of revenue.

28. Sec. 16. **qui exercent atque exigunt**: referring to the *publicani* and their assistants.

PAGE 10. 1. **propter**: for meaning see on 8, 9.

3. **possit**: see note on **cum . . . auderem**: 1, 7. **familias**: most of the collectors who assisted the *publicani* and attended to the details of the work were slaves.

5. **custodiis**: *watch-stations*, to prevent dutiable goods from being smuggled out of the country.

6. **illis rebus**: abl. with *frui*. A. 410; B. 218, 1; G. 407; H. 477, I.; (421, I.).

7. **vobis fructui**: A. 382, 1, n. 1; B. 191, 2; G. 356; H. 433; (390). **conservarit**: fut. perf. in a fut. condition. A. 516, 1, c; B. 264; 302, 1; G. 244, 2; H. 540, and 2; (473, 2).

(4) Sec. 17-19. Not only the public revenues are affected, but the private fortunes of many Roman citizens are in danger. They should be helped both for their own sakes and also because their ruin would cause a financial crisis at Rome.

11. Ch. VII. Sec. 17. **cum essem dicturus**: *when I purposed to speak*.

12. **quod ad bona pertinet**: *that it affects the property*. This *quod* clause is in apposition with *illud*. A. 572; B. 299, 1, a; G. 525, 2; H. 588, 3; (540, IV. N.).

13. **quorum** modifying **ratio**. **vobis**: dat. of ag't.

14. **Quirites**: see note on 1, 3. **et**: has no correlative here, but we may translate it with **Deinde**, line 21, as if we had *et . . . et*. There are two classes: the *publicani* and other citizens, both of which have money at stake.

15. **honestissimi**: not *honest*. See note on 2, 17. **ornatissimi**: this word is often used in the sense of well equipped, splendidly furnished (cf. **naves ornatissimae**). As applied to a man it has the force of *solid, substantial, wealthy*. **rationes et copias**: *business interests and capital*.

16. **ipsorum per se**: *for their own sake*.

17. **vobis curae**: cf. **vobis fructui**, line 7 above.

18. **nervos**: cf. English "the sinews of war." **duximus**: has the same meaning 2, 8.

19. **ordinem**: meaning the corporation of *publicani*. Below Cicero uses **ordinum** in its usual political sense, referring to the three great classes of citizens: *ordo senatorius*, *ordo equester*, and *ordo plebeius*. See (5)-(12). Of course many of the *ordo equester* belonged also to the corporation of *publicani*.

22. Sec. 18. **quibus vos absentibus**, etc.: for cons. cf. the similar expression **quibus est . . . consulendum**, 4, 5.

23. **partim**: by virtue of its origin (acc. of *pars*) this adv. sometimes takes a modifying part. gen., and then has the force of *pars* or *alii*. Trans. *some of them* or *others of them*.

PAGE 11. 1. **conlocatas habent**: used instead of *conlocaverunt* to emphasize the fact that the money is still there. Cf. the English 'they have invested money' (*pecunias conlocaverunt*) and they have money invested (*pecunias conlocatas habent*). The expression here is interesting linguistically, as foreshadowing the general use of *have* (*habeo*) as an auxiliary in the modern languages.

2. **humanitatis**: A. 343, c; B. 198, 3; G. 366; H. 439, 3; (401, N. 2). So, too, **sapientiae**.

4. **a re publica**: abbreviated for *a rei publicae calamitate*.

5. **etenim primum, . . . Deinde**: these words introduce the two reasons why private citizens should be protected from loss. **illud parvi refert**, etc.: *that argument is of small value, that though the publicani be ruined, we can afterward make good the revenues by a victory*. A. 417; B. 203, 3; G. 379, 380, 1; H. 448, 1; (404, n. 1). The argument is that if the *publicani* are left to ruin, neither they nor any one else will collect the taxes; the former, because of financial losses, will not be able to do it, and others will be afraid to assume the risk.

7. **redimendi**: sc. *vectigalia*.

9. Sec. 19. **quod**: the antecedent is **id** in the next line.

10. **initio belli**: i.e. the First Mithradatic War.

13. **solutione impedita fidem concidisse**: the course of a financial panic in four words. Rome was the commercial center of the world, as London or New York is to-day, and its money market was as sensitive to good or bad influences as our own. Failures in Asia meant a crash in the Forum.

15. **ut non trahant**: *without dragging*, subjv. of result. **Lit.**, *so as not to drag*.

17. **ratio pecuniarum**: *system of finance*.

18. **in Foro**: here were the banks and the shops of the money changers (*tabernae argentariae*). See plan of the Forum.

19. **illa**: *those* in Asia contrasted with **haec**, *these* in Rome. Both words used substantively in the neuter, though referring back to the feminine **pecuniis**.

21. **Qua re videte**, etc.: *Therefore, see to it that you do not hesitate*. **ne non** with the subjv. is very unusual after such a verb as **videte**, though common enough after negative expressions of fearing. A. 564; B. 296, 2, a; G. 550, n. 2; H. 567, 2; (408, III. n. 2)). The manuscript reading is doubtful. With a brief recapitulation, Cicero closes the first division of his affirmative argument.

## II. THE GREATNESS OF THE WAR. SEC. 20-26.

Sec. 20-21. The war is still too great to be regarded lightly, and this can be said without disparaging the great exploits of Lucullus on land and sea. A summary of what Lucullus has accomplished.

25. Ch. VIII. Sec. 20. **quoniam**: *since now*, common in transitions.

26. **belli genus**: *the war in its nature*.

PAGE 12. 1. **in quo**: i.e. *in dicendo de magnitudine*. **maxime laborandum est**: *I should be especially careful*. Impersonal passive expressions should be rendered by personal active ones.

6. **dico**: after this word follows a long passage in ind. disc. (to **Satis opinor**, 25) summarizing the exploits of Lucullus.

7. **ornatas**: for meaning see on 10, 15.

8. **urbem**: Cyzicus, on an island in the Propontis and extending over the adjoining mainland. The island and mainland were connected by bridges. Lucullus released Cyzicus from siege in 74 B.C., and compelled Mithradates to retire with great loss. For this and other events in the Mithradatic wars, the books referred to in the reading references (p. 167) should be consulted.

9. **obsessam . . . oppugnatam**: *invested . . . assailed*. **liberavit**: the subjv. would be more regular.

13. Sec. 21. **classem**: in 73 Mithradates sent out a fleet of fifty ships with ten thousand men, many of whom were Marians furnished by Sertorius, to carry the war into Italy. The fleet was overtaken and destroyed by the ships of Lucullus near the island of Lemnos. **ducibus Sertorianis**: *with Sertorian officers*, abl. abs. (for translation see on 4, 3). On the alliance between Mithradates and Sertorius see § 9.

14. [**atque odio**]: found in one manuscript. If adopted, it forms an antithesis to **studio**, *zeal* for one party, and *hatred* for the other.

16. **patefactum Pontum**: on the opening of Pontus see also the oration for Archias, Sec. 21.

18. **clausus fuisset**, the subjv. is used, not only on account of the ind. disc., but also because the clause has a concessive force, **qui** being equivalent to *cum is, though it*. A. 535, e; B. 309, 3; G. 634; H. 593, 2; (515, III.)). **Sinopen atque Amisum**: important cities on the north coast of Asia Minor, which made Lucullus a stout resistance.

19. **domicilia**: royal residences, the *βασιλεια* so often mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, of these eastern monarchs always had a number.

20. **ceteras**: see Syn. 38.

21. **uno aditu**, etc.: Cicero greatly exaggerates here. Many of the cities, notably Sinope and Amisus, made a vigorous defense.

22. **alios reges**: the kings of Bosphorus, Armenia, Parthia, and other allied states.

24. **salvis . . . sociis atque integris vectigalibus**: Lucullus paid for all his campaigns out of the booty. Neither the allies nor the state's funds (**vectigalibus**) were drawn upon.

26. **ita**: of such a kind.

Sec. 22-26. The king is still at large. He has found a powerful ally in Tigranes of Armenia. The invasion of Armenia was at first successful, but ended in stirring up trouble with other powerful tribes and in a mutiny of the soldiers against Lucullus. Now Mithradates is again at the head of a powerful army, he has annihilated several Roman legions under Triarius. Lucullus has been recalled, and Glabrio, who is quite helpless, has succeeded him.

PAGE 13. 7. Ch. IX. Sec. 22. **ex eodem Ponto Medea**: after Jason had secured the Golden Fleece he fled from Colchis, on the east coast of the Euxine, with Medea, the famous sorceress, daughter of king Acetes. The father pursued the fugitives, and Medea, to cause him delay, cut up her little brother Absyrtus, whom she had taken with her, and scattered his remains on the surface of the sea. While Acetes was gathering these, Jason and Medea escaped. (See Harrington and Tolman's *Greek and Roman Mythology*, p. 126; Gayley, *Classic Myths*, p. 244; Hawthorne, *Tanglewood Tales, Golden Fleece*.) Ancient Colchis was part of Mithradates' kingdom of Pontus. **illa**: that famous, that well known. A. 297, b; B. 246, 3; G. 307, 2; H. 507, 4; (450, 4).

9. **qua se parens persequeretur**: *where (she thought) her father would follow her*. The subjv. is used here, not primarily, because of the ind. disc. after **praedicant**, but because the thought is given as Medea's, hence the reflexive **se** and not *eum*: a good illustration of informal ind. disc. A. 592, 3; B. 323; G. 628; H. 649, I.; (528, 1). **eorum conlectio dispersa**: *the gathering of these scattered here and there*.

15. **omnem**: agreeing with **vim**. The immense booty which Mithradates had stored up in his domains is referred to also in § 21, 12, 19.

16. **diligentius**: *too industriously*. The story was that Mithradates escaped, while his pursuers were plundering a mule laden with gold. **illum . . . hos**: i.e. Acètes and the soldiers of Lucullus.

PAGE 14. 1. Sec. 23. **timore**: see Syn. 18.

2. **rebus suis**: *his fortunes*, dat. with **diffidentem**. A. 367; B. 187, II. a; G. 346, r. 2; 426, 1; (385). On the translation of *res* see on 2, 7.

5. **plures etiam gentes**: *more nations still*. These were the subjects of Tigranes about the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf.

6. **nationibus**: see Syn. 46.

8. **gravis atque vehemens**: *deep-seated and very strong*.

10. **fani**: possibly the temple of Anaites in the Persian district of Elymais not far from the Euphrates. See Syn. 6.

13. **concitabantur**: it is easy to conceive how a rumor of this sort would arouse the fanatical hordes of the East.

14. **urbem**: the city of Tigranocerta. Lucullus was on the way to Artaxata when the mutiny in his army broke out. See p. 163.

16. **suorum**: *their friends*; substantive use, objective gen.

17. Sec. 24. **hic iam plura non dicam**: *on this point I will not go into particulars*. Cicero wishes to conceal this disgrace to Roman arms as much as possible.

18. **extremum**: *the outcome, the upshot*.

20. **suam manum**, etc.: these troops, consisting mostly of Armenians, he had drilled by Pontic officers.



PAGE 15. 1. *opes . . . misericordiam*: i.e. move them to pity so that they give their assistance. *opes* refers to gifts of men and money.

3. *ut . . . videatur*: a result clause. *eis* refers only to *vivunt in regno*, not of course to *reges*.

4. Sec. 25. *victus*: with concessive force.

5. *incolumis, optare*: see Syn. 7 and 47.

7. *ut . . . attingeret*: a substantive clause of result in apposition with *eo quod . . . acciderat*. A. 571, c; B. 297, 3; G. 557; H. 571, 4; (501, III.).

8. *umquam*: instead of *aliquando*, because of the implied negative in *praeter spem*, the thought being that he had not expected at any time (*umquam*) to see his country again. A. 105, h.

10. *Sinite . . . praeterire*, etc.: a common figure called *praeteritio*, where, under the pretence of omitting something, the speaker really makes it more emphatic. It is still much used by public speakers.

11. *calamitatem*: the disastrous defeat of Triarius the legatus of Lucullus, whose army was almost annihilated at Zela (67 B.C.). Cicero says that not a man was left to tell the tale; but Triarius himself escaped and a few others.

14. Sec. 26. *belli offensione*: euphemistic for *clades*.

15. *qui tamen*, etc.: in spite of Cicero's praise of Lucullus (§§ 20-21) he makes it clear by *aliqua ex parte* and *fortasse* that, even if he had been allowed to stay, he could not have brought the war to a victorious conclusion. *potuisset*, line 16, is subjv. of characteristic or possibly of concession.

17. *imperii*: see on 8, 17, and Syn. 26. *vetere exemplo*, for the more usual *more maiorum*.

20. *ea*: obj. of *perspicite*, and refers to *quantum*, etc.

21. *quod coniungant*, etc.: with this summing up the orator closes the argument on the greatness of the war.

## III. THE CHOICE OF A COMMANDER. SEC. 27-50.

Sec. 27. The war has been shown to be great and necessary, it remains to consider the choice of a commander. Cn. Pompey is the only man possessing the necessary qualifications.

PAGE 16. 2. Ch. X. Sec. 27. **esset**: subjv. of indirect question translated *is*. The imperfect is used by the law of sequence after **fecisse**. A. 585, a; B. 268, 2; G. 518; H. 548; (495, IV.).

3. **restat ut . . . dicendum esse videatur**: *it remains for me to speak, as it seems*, lit. *it remains that it seems that it should be spoken*, a sentence that suffers from fulness of expression. See (88). For the cons. see A. 561, n. 1; B. 297, 2; G. 553, 4; H. 571, 1; (501, I. 1).

4. **rebus**: translate with care as always.

6. **Utinam haberetis**: *I wish you had* (but you haven't). A. 442, a and n. 2; B. 279, 2; G. 260, 261; H. 558, 1, 2; (483, 1, 2)). **innocentium**, not *innocent* any more than *honestus* means *honest* or *superbus*, *superb*; see on **causa**, 2, 17. The word is synonymous with *abstinens* and the opposite of *avarus*. We may translate *clean-handed*, *incorruptible*.

8. **quemnam**: emphatic *quem*, *who in the world*. The sentence is an ind. question in apposition with **deliberatio**. Indirect questions are usually objects, but they are occasionally subjects or appositives.

9. **cum**: causal, see on 8, 5.

10. **qui . . . superarit**: the student who remembers the military genius of such men as Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, and Pyrrhus, will be slow to agree with Cicero here. Cicero may have been sincere in his praise, or he may have been "talking politics."

12. **superarit**: cf. the same cons. **dignos quorum salutem commendetis**, 8, 15. A. 535, b; B. 282, 3; G. 631, 1; H. 591, 7; (503, II. 2). **cuusquam**: regular indefinite in a question expecting a negative answer. A. 311; B. 252, 4; G. 317, 1; H. 513; (457).

Sec. 28. The four essential qualifications for a commander are: (1) a practical knowledge of war; (2) excellence of mind and heart; (3) prestige and influence; (4) good fortune. Pompey has the first in an eminent degree.

18. Sec. 28. **debut**: *could help being, must needs be*, in view of his life's experience.

19. **bello . . . hostibus**: translate by *when*, etc., the cons. being the abl. of time. Although in our idiom the idea of circumstance or place seems stronger than that of time. The war referred to was the Social War (90-88 B.C.) in which Pompey served under his father at the age of seventeen.

20. **extrema pueritia**: *at the end of his boyhood*, cf. *summus mons*, *the top of the mountain*, and similar expressions.

21. **summi imperatoris**: again his father, who was then serving in the Civil War against Cinna.

23. **hoste . . . inimico**: see Syn. 23.

PAGE 17. 1. **confecit**: this verb means *to do thoroughly, do to a finish*; as applied to a province, *subdue thoroughly*.

3. **offensionibus belli**: see on 15, 14.

6. **Civile**, etc: Pompey took a prominent part in the wars between Sulla and Marius and their factions in Italy, Sicily, Africa, and Spain. It was while crossing the Alps on the way to Spain that he defeated some tribes of hostile Gauls who tried to stop his advance.

7. **mixtum**: so-called because the troops were made up of Romans, Spaniards, Lusitanians, and contingents sent by Mithradates.

8. **servile**: referring to the desperate rising of the gladiators under Spartacus (73-71 B.C.). Pompey, while on his way back from Spain, fell in with a body of five thousand of these, who were trying to escape into Gaul, and destroyed them. **navale bellum**: the war against the pirates. Pompey's most brilliant exploit.

(2) Sec. 29-42. Pompey also possesses the second important qualification for a commander, namely, **virtus**, by which is

meant not alone the virtues of a soldier (§§ 29-35), but other higher and nobler qualities (§§ 36-42).

Sec. 29-35. Pompey's soldierly virtues are discussed.

13. Ch. XI. Sec. 29. **Iam vero**: common in transition to something important.

14. **quid est quod, . . . possit**: A. 320, a; B. 283, 2; G. 631, 2; H. 591, 4; (503, l.). **quisquam**: see on **cuiusquam**, 16,

12. **illo**: A. 418, b; B. 226, 2; G. 397, x. 2; H. 481; (421, III.).

21. Sec. 30. **Testis est Italia**, etc.: the wars are mentioned in the same order as in Sec. 28, but with more detail.

PAGE 18. 3. **Hispania**: as a fact, Pompey met with many reverses in Spain. The Marian party there was led by Sertorius, a man of such extraordinary ability that he held the armies of Rome at bay for five years. Metellus Pius, who served with Pompey in Spain and twice saved him in defeat, deserves quite as much credit as Pompey himself. See on 6, 3.

5. **iterum et saepius**, etc.: see on **servile**, 17, 8.

6. **taetro**: because fought against slaves and gladiators.

7. **quod bellum**, etc.: there is much exaggeration here. The gladiators had been defeated and scattered by M. Licinius Crassus, before Pompey appeared on the scene. See on **servile**, 17, 8. **attenuatum**, etc.: a figure of wasting away, *death and burial*.

10. Sec. 31. **Testes nunc vero iam**: these introductory words merit particular attention. Cicero has been giving different proofs of Pompey's abilities as a warrior in the past. He now adds proofs of recent date, and these are more important than the former ones. All this we get from these four words. **PROOFS (testes)** stands first as being the subject of the argument. They are **RECENT (nunc)**, not old, as the others were. They are more important than the others were (**vero**, a word regularly used to introduce something weighty). **iam** marks the transition in thought from the former paragraph, just as in 17, 13, and has the force of *now, moreover, again, finally*. We may then translate, *Finally, as proofs of recent date in truth*.

**omnes . . . omnes . . . omnia . . . omnes**: note the emphatic repetition, *all lands, all peoples, all seas, all inlets and harbors*, testify to Pompey's glorious exploits.

11. **gentes ac nationes**: see Syn. 46.

16. **servitutis**: the pirates sold their captives as slaves, or held them for ransom.

17. **hieme**: abl. of time; in the winter the sea was dangerous, in the summer the pirates infested it. **mari**: the idea of time seems more prominent here than either place or route. Trans. the whole, *since he had to sail either in the winter season or when the sea was full of pirates*.

PAGE 19. 1. **vetus**: there had been piracy in the Mediterranean for centuries, and it was especially fostered by the numerous wars of Rome, which drove the scattered remains of conquered armies to this desperate means of making a living. The unsettled condition of society resulting from the civil wars of Marius and Sulla, doubtless contributed much to the present crisis. See page 164.

2. **quis unquam arbitraretur**: *who would ever have thought*. A. 445, 446; B. 277; G. 259; H. 557; (486, II.).

6. Sec. 32. **cui praesidio**: two datives. See on **vobis fructui**, 10, 7.

10. Ch. XII. **Fuit . . . fuit**: note the emphatic repetition. See note on 3, 20.

12. **propugnaculis**: i.e. fleets and armies.

PAGE 20. 1. **dicam**: subjv. in a deliberative question. A. 444; B. 277; G. 265; H. 559, 4; (484, V.). So **querar**, 3; **dicam**, 5; **commemorem**, 8.

2. **Brundisio**: the famous seaport of Italy for Greece and the Orient. There is still a fair harbor there, but the commercial importance of the place is very much smaller. See ill. on page 21. **transmiserint**: i.e. *transmittere ausi sint*.

3. **Qui**: sc. antecedent *eos*, with which **captos (esse)** agrees. **venirent**, for *veniebant* of dir. disc.

4. **legati**, etc.: this particular occurrence is not elsewhere men-

tioned. **redempti sint**: see translation of **navigaret**, 18, 17.

5. **duodecim secures**: outside of the city each praetor went about with six lictors bearing *fascēs* (see (45) and ill. on page 73). *Twelve axes*, therefore, means two praetors and twelve lictors. Plutarch, in his *Life of Pompey*, § 24, corroborates this story.

7. Sec. 33. **innumerabilis**: according to Plutarch, four hundred.

8. **portus**: Rome depended on grain from her provinces, especially Sicily, Egypt, and Sardinia.

11. **Caetae**: now Gaëta and the most important naval station in Italy. It lies very near Formiae, where Cicero had a famous villa, and where he was murdered and buried. See ill. on pages xxvii and 19.

13. **liberos**: some take this for a rhetorical plural, and refer it to the daughter of Antonius the orator. See (85). She is said to have been seized while walking in the grounds of her father's villa near Misenum. Antonius fought against the pirates in 104 B.C.

15. **Nam quid**, etc.: another case of *praeteritio*. See on 15, 10. **Ostiense**: Ostia was at the mouth of the Tiber, and the seaport of Rome. It still has interesting ruins of warehouses and docks. According to Dio Cassius, the pirates sailed into the harbor, burnt the ships lying at the docks, and plundered everything.

17. **cui . . . praepositus esset**: a clause of characteristic.

19. **tantam**: very emphatic; agrees with **lucem**.

22. **ei**: simply repeats **vos**.

23. **Oceani ostium**: the Straits of Gibraltar.

24. **audiatis**: by sequence of tenses an imperfect might have been expected here. The present is used to emphasize the existing state of affairs. Observe how complete the antithesis is in this sentence to the one before it; **nunc** is contrasted with **modo**, **intra Oceani ostium** with **ante ostium Tiberi-**

**num, praedonum** with **hostium**, **nullam navem** with **classem**, and **audiatis** with **videbatis**.

25. Sec. 34. **haec**: attracted out of its clause by emphasis, and used as subj. of **sunt**. — **qua . . . gesta sint**: ind. question, object of **videtis**. See on **quemnam**, 16, 8.

26. **tamen**: as usual, after a concessive clause. See on 1, 4; 8, 18. — **a me**: for *mihī*, the former is a more forceful construction.

PAGE 21. 3. **Pompeio duce**: *under the leadership of Pompey*. See on **quibus amissis**, 4, 3.

4. **tanta belli**, etc.: *the storm of so great a war swept the sea*. The metaphor is clear. The **impetus** was Pompey's fleet of 500 war galleys.

6. **frumentaria**: see on 20, 8. Sicily, called by Cato the Elder *nutrix plebis Romanae*, still maintains its marvelous fertility to a wonderful degree.

8. Sec. 35. **duabus**: Spain was divided into two provinces, *Citerior* and *Uterior*.

11. **Achaia omnemque Graeciam**: at this time *Achaia* was the name given to the Peloponnesus only; **omnem Graeciam** therefore refers to northern Greece. After Augustus, the whole of Greece was organized as one province under the name *Achaia*.

13. **ut**: temporal, *from the time that*; in this sense always with the indic. **Brundisio**: see on 20, 2.

PAGE 22. 1. **Ciliciam**: Cilicia and Crete were the chief centers of piracy.

3. **imperio ac potestati**: an unconditional surrender. See Syn. 26.

4. **Cretensibus**: dat., depending on both **ademit** and **imperavit**. A. 381; B. 188, 2, d; G. 345, r. 1; H. 427; (385, 2). Q. Metellus had been waging a merciless war against the Cretans for two years, and had about subdued them. The Cretans, hoping for more generous terms, made offers of surrender to Pompey, which he accepted, thus stealing the fruits of victory from Metellus. This resulted in much hard feeling. Metellus

appealed to the senate, which supported his claim and gave him a triumph.

9. **extrema hieme**: see **extrema pueritia**, 16, 20, and note.

Sec. 35-42. Pompey's other higher and nobler qualities.

11. Sec. 36. **Est haec**, etc.: a recapitulation and transition, the thought being 'we have just seen (**est haec**) what military qualities a general should have (**labor, fortitudo, industria, celeritas, consilium**, enumerated in Sec. 29); now how about the others?' (**quid ceterae**.)

12. **commemorare**: in Sec. 29.

17. **innocentia**: see on **innocentium**, 16, 6. Use discrimination in translating the qualities mentioned below, and do not be deceived by English cognates, which may be misleading.

19. **Quae**: a connecting relative, the nom. subj. of **sint**, while **qualia** is the pred. nom.

20. **Summa**: *in the highest degree*.

21. **ex aliorum contentione**: *by contrast with others*.

Sec. 37-39. Pompey's scrupulous honesty and freedom from avarice.

24. Sec. 37. **putare**: in its first meaning to 'reckon' or 'count.' See Syn. 41. **centuriatus**: centurions were appointed by the general, usually as a reward for conspicuous gallantry. — **veniant atque venerint**: from *veneo*, which serves as a passive of *vendo*.

25. **quid magnum aut amplum**: obj. of **cogitare**, which depends on **possumus putare**, supplied from the previous sentence. Freely: *What great or noble thought on public affairs can we suppose that this man has, who, etc.*

PAGE 23. 1. **ex aerario**: the treasury was in the temple of Saturn. See (105, 10) and picture of the Forum.

3. **provinciae**: (*sc. retinendae*), obj. gen. after **cupiditatem**; i.e. they used the money in bribery, so that they might be continued in office.



7. **ante**: adv. The point is that whoever shows anger will only be betraying his guilt.

10. **ferant**: for **adferant**, *bring with them*; the armies do more harm than good wherever they go (**quocumque ventum sit**), on account of the avarice and incompetence of the commanders. For **ventum sit** see A. 208, d; B. 138, IV.; G. 208, 2; H. 518, 1; (465, 1). The subjv. is due to the influence of the ind. question **quantas . . . ferant**, of which this forms a part. A. 593; B. 324; G. 629; H. 652, I.; (529, II.).

14. Sec. 38. **per hosce annos**: i.e. during the Social War, the wars between the factions of Sulla and Marius, and the Servile War.

15. **hibernis**: cities and states often paid large sums to avoid having the legions quartered upon them.

19. Sec. 39. **hic**: *this being the case*. In force almost like **qua re**.

21. **non modo**: *not only not*. *Non* is regularly omitted after *non modo* when it is followed by *sed ne . . . quidem* and a common predicate. **manus, vestigium**: the former referring to deeds of violence, the latter to treading down of fields and crops, while on the march.

22. **cuiquam**: for case see A. 367; B. 187, II., a; G. 346; H. 426, 1; (385).

23. **Iam vero**: see on 17, 13.

26. **Hiemis, avaritiae**: emphatically contrasted by their position. The first is an objective the second a subjective genitive.

Sec. 40-41. Pompey's perfect self-control.

PAGE 24. 1. Ch. XIV. Sec. 40. **Age**: commonly combined with *vero* or *nunc* to mark a transition to a new point in the argument.

3. **inventum (esse)**: *made possible*.

4. **vis remigum**: the large war-galleys manned by hundreds of trained rowers attained a speed almost equal to that of modern steam vessels.

5. **aliqui**: more definite than *ulli*, which would be regular

here, the sentence being negative. A. 311, 312; B. 252, 2, 4; G. 314; 317; H. 512; 513; (455; 457).

6. **res**: here *temptations, attractions*.

7. **non avaritia**, etc.: this was undoubtedly the keynote to Pompey's character. He was a man of great caution and of cool calculation, who had his feelings under such perfect control that he never gave way to any emotion or weakness that would stand in the way of his interests. In that respect he was like Julius Caesar, but lacked the latter's genius.

8. **aliquam**: we might have expected *ullam* here, this being a negative clause (see on **aliqui** above.) *non ulla praeda* means *not any booty whatever*; *non aliqua praeda*, *not some booty in particular*. **voluptatem, amoenitas**: see Syn. 28, and 21.

12. **tollenda**: Rome was filled with treasures of art of which the provinces had been robbed by Roman governors and generals.

PAGE 25. Sec. 41. **delapsum**: the regular word for the descent of gods to earth. **nunc . . . nunc . . . nunc**: anaphora, see on 3, 20.

4. **fuisse**: emphatic position, *that there were actually*. **hac**: i.e. like Pompey's.

5. **quod**: *a fact which*, the antecedent being the preceding clause.

6. **falso**: adv., see **multo**, 1, 2, and note.

Sec. 41-42. Pompey's affability, wisdom, eloquence, good faith, humanity.

11. **Iam vero**: see on 17, 13, and 23, 23. Again below, line 14, we have the transitional **iam**, *and again*.

17. Sec. 42. **loco**: the Rostra. See (105, 3) and ill. on page lxxix. **Fidem**: *as for his good faith*, standing first as the important word of the next thought, the transition being marked by **vero**. **humanitate iam**, below, is correspondingly introduced. **humanitate**: Pompey could hardly be called humane, even for a Roman. He was guilty of many barbarous cruelties, but could be merciful when mercy was the best policy.

20. **dictu**: A. 510, n. 2; B. 340, 2, a; G. 436; H. 635, 1, 2; (547, 2).

(3) Sec. 43-46. The third important qualification for a commander, **auctoritas**, prestige and influence, Pompey also possesses.

PAGE 26. 1. Ch. XV. Sec. 43. **Et quoniam**: cf. the beginning of § 7, and see note. **quoque**: regularly throws its emphasis upon the word which it follows.

3. **ea re**: in that respect, i.e. **auctoritate**.

5. **quid hostes, quid socii, etc.**: the ind. questions are used as the subject of the infinitive **pertinere**, which depends upon **quis ignorat**.

7. **ut aut contemptant, etc.**: subjv. of result depending on **homines commoveri**. The subjunctives are best translated by infinitives. — **oderint**: perf. with force of pres. A. 205, b, 476; B. 133, 2; G. 175, 5; H. 299, 2; (297, 2).

8. **opinione**: a preconceived notion, prejudice.

9. **igitur**: this conjunction is often used, as here, to resume an interrupted thought, *to resume, as I was saying*, etc. Here it calls us back to line 4; the sentence **vehementer, etc.**, being a digression.

12. **iudicia**: referring to gifts of office, triumphs, etc. A conspicuous example follows.

Sec. 44. **An vero, etc.**: the very common use of the second half of a double question, the first half of which is suppressed. (Is the opposite true) *or really, etc.* A. 334, 335, b; B. 162, 4, a; G. 457, 1; H. 380, 3; (353, n. \*).

15. **templis**: the steps leading to the temples of Saturn, Castor, Vesta, and Concord. See maps and illustrations of the Forum. The time referred to is the day when the Gabinian law was proposed, which gave Pompey the command against the pirates.

19. **ut plura non dicam** = *ut plura omittam*. Trans. by the Eng. infin. So, too, **confirmem**.

22. **sumantur**: potential subjv. A. 445, 446; B. 280; G. 257; H. 552; (485). **qui quo die** = *nam eo die quo is, for on the day that he*. The Latin prefers the relatives as making a closer

connection with what precedes. A. 308, f; 307, b, n.; B. 251, 6, 7; G. 610, r. 1; H. 510; (453).

PAGE 27. 3. **quantam** (*vilitatem*): correlative with *tanta vilitas*.

5. **potuisset**: plup. subjv. in the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact. The indic. *potuit* would have been more regular. A. 517, c; B. 304, 3, a; G. 597, r. 3; H. 583; (511, n. 3). The protasis of the condition is implied in **ex summa ubertate agrorum**: as if he had said *si ubertas agrorum summa fuisset, vix diuturna pax*, etc.

7. Sec. 45. **paulo ante**: see 15, 10-13, and note on 15, 11.

11. **ad eas regiones**: i.e. to Cilicia.

14. **Asiae**: for case cf. *mihī*, 23, 7.

15. **perfecturus sit**: indirect questions referring to fut. time take the subjv. of the first periphrastic conjugation.

18. **rumore**: sc. *sui adventus*.

19. Ch. XVI. Sec. 46. **Age vero**: cf. the beginning of Sec. 40, and see on 24, 1.

23. **cum**: concessive, consequently with the subjv. **noster imperator**: *a commander of ours*, i.e. Q. Metellus. See 22, 4, and note on **Cretensibus**.

PAGE 28. 1. **Quid**: marking a transition. See on 7, 6.

2. **legatum . . . misit**: about this transaction nothing is known. The thought seems to be that an ambassador was sent from Mithradates to Pompey. The enemies of Pompey, however, who were jealous of this preferment, declared he was a spy and not an ambassador.

4. **ad eum**: Pompey. **esse missum**: sc. *legatum*.

6. **igitur**: *in view of what has been said, therefore*. Not like the use in 26, 9; see note there. This closes the argument on the third point, viz. that a general should have *auctoritas*.

(4) Sec. 47-48. In the fourth and last place the model commander must have **felicitas**, *good fortune*.

10. Sec. 47. **Reliquum est**: regularly followed by a subject clause of result, as here by *ut . . . dicamus*. See **restat ut**,

etc., 16, 3, and note. **felicitate**: by this is meant the good fortune that comes to a man by the blessing of heaven, and which he cannot control or get for himself.

12. **homines**: subj. of *dicere*, understood from **dicamus**.

13. **timide**: *reverently*.

14. **Maximo, Marcello**: *Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator* and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, both famous generals in the Second Punic War. Fabius won his title of Delayer (*Cunctator*) by pursuing a waiting policy and avoiding battle with Hannibal; Marcellus distinguished himself most by the capture of Syracuse, 212 B.C. See also Vocab. **Scipioni**: either the conqueror of Hannibal, Scipio Africanus Major, or the destroyer of Carthage, Scipio Africanus Minor. See Vocab. **Mario**: *Caius Marius*. See Vocab. and ill. page 102.

18. **ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam**: *sc. augendam*.

21. **agimus**: see on **ad agendum**, 1, 2. — **non ut dicam** . . . **sed ut**: *not so as to say . . . but such*.

23. **videamur**: here passive, not middle; *are seen or shown, not seem*.

25. Sec. 48. **Itaque non sum praedicaturus**, etc.: another case of *praeteritio*. See 15. 10; 20. 15; and notes.

PAGE 29. 1. **ut**: *how*, introducing a series of indirect questions.

6. **optare**: see Syn. 47.

8. **quod ut** = *ut hoc*, but the Latin prefers the relative. See 26, 22, and note.

9. **cum . . . tum**: correlatives.

Sec. 49. Recapitulation of the arguments.

16. Sec. 49. **quin . . . conferatis**: after **dubitare** in the sense of *to hesitate* the regular construction is the infinitive; but when **dubitare** is negated, or when it stands in a question expecting a negative answer, as here, the subjv. with **quin** may be used. — **boni**: part. gen. A. 346, 3; B. 201, 2; G. 369, R. 1; H. 440, 5, N.; (397, 3).

Sec. 50. For all the reasons stated Pompey should be ap-

pointed; but a weighty additional reason is that he is already near the field of action with a powerful force.

19. Ch. XVII. Sec. 50. **Quod si . . . esset, . . . erat deligendus**, etc.: a good example of a present contrary to fact condition, with the indic. of a periphrastic form in the apodosis. See A. 517, c; B. 304, 3, b; G. 597, R. 3; H. 582; (511, 2).

23. **habeat**: sc. *exercitum*. Pompey had an army of his own and also took over the troops of Glabrio and Lucullus in Asia.

PAGE 30. 2. **eidem**: ind. obj. of **committamus**.

4. **committamus**: subjv. in a deliberative question. See **dicam**, 20, 1, and note.

### CONFUTATIO. SEC. 51-68.

Sec. 51. The objections of Hortensius and Catulus still remain to be answered.

5. Sec. 51. **At enim**: very common in introducing objections to an argument and involving an ellipsis. *But* (in spite of all you have said, Pompey should not be appointed) *for*; translated freely, *But still, But you will say*.

6. **beneficiis**: referring to the offices of the state. **Catulus**: *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*, a distinguished leader of the Optimates, but beloved and trusted by all parties. See *Vocab*.

9. **Q. Hortensius**: the famous orator, and Cicero's chief rival. See *Introd. Life of Cicero*, p. xvi, (86), and *Vocab*.

11. **auctoritatem**: *expressed opinion*.

12. **multis locis**: *on many occasions*. For cons. see A. 429, 1; B. 228, 1, b; G. 385, R. 1; H. 485, 2; (425, 2).

15. **cognoscetis**: i.e. in Sec. 68. Remember that this verb means *to learn* in the present system, and *to know* in the perfect.

18. **omissis auctoritatibus**: *leaving all questions of opinion out of consideration*. That is, Cicero proposes to discuss, not the theory or principles involved, but rather to argue *from a consideration of the fact itself (ipsa re ac ratione)*.

Sec. 52-56. The objection of Hortensius, that no individual should be given so much power, considered and answered.

PAGE 31. 1. Sec. 52. **Si . . . tribuenda sint**: a simple condition in ind. disc.

4. **oratio**: *argument, plea*.

5. **idem**: for force see A. 298, b; B. 248, 1; G. 310; H. 508, 3; (451, 3).

6. **et**: correlative with **et** in l. 9.

7. **Gabinium**: on the law proposed and carried by Gabinus, see introduction to this oration, p. 164. **graviter ornateque**: often combined. The former refers to the thought, the content; the latter to the beauty of form and diction of a speech.

8. **promulgasset**: a bill had to be posted up in some public spot at least 17 days before it could be voted on.

11. Sec. 53. **Quid?** see on 7, 6. **tum**: very emphatic by position, to be taken with **valuisset**. The thought is that if the opinion of Hortensius had been followed at that time, the reputation and power of the state would have suffered. — **si . . . valuisset, . . . teneremus**: a contrary to fact condition. The difference in the tenses should be brought out in the translation. See A. 517; B. 304, 1; G. 597; H. 579, 1; (510, n. 1).

14. **An**, etc.: see 26, 12, and note.

16. **legati**, etc.: see Ch. XII.

17. **commeatu**: in its original meaning, *intercourse, communication*. Construed as abl. of spec.

18. **cum . . . erant**: observe that in this **cum** clause, as well as in the two that precede, the verb is in the indic. They simply define and do not describe the time of the principal verb on which they depend. See on 1, 7; 2, 1.

22. Ch. XVIII. Sec. 54. **Atheniensium**: after the Persian wars in the fifth century B.C., Athens was mistress of the Aegean Sea and the neighboring parts of the Euxine and Mediterranean.

23. **Karthaginiensium**: the Carthaginians were a seafaring nation, and in the third century B.C. controlled most of the shipping of the Mediterranean.

24. **Rhodium**: the naval power of Rhodes succeeded that of Carthage in the last centuries before Christ.



COIN OF RHODES.

PAGE 32. I. **inquam**: for conjugation see A. 206, b; B. 134; G. 175, 2; H. 300; (297, H. 2).

4. **annos**: acc. of duration of time.

8. **utilitatis . . . dignitatis . . . imperi**: not *utility, dignity, empire*; but *profits, standing, supremacy*;

Another good place to be misled by English cognates.

9. Sec. 55. **Antiochum . . . Persem . . . Karthaginiensis**: for the Roman wars with the first and last, see on 8, 24. Perseus, or Perseus, king of Macedonia, was defeated by Aemilius Paulus, 168 B.C. The final supremacy of Rome upon the sea was all the more remarkable because the Romans were not naturally a nation of sailors. The wars with Carthage compelled them to build and equip fleets and learn how to use them successfully against the best seamen in the world.

12. **ei**: simply repeats **nos**. Such repetition is not uncommon in a long sentence, that we may not forget the subject. See on **ei**: 20, 22, which repeats the preceding **vos**.

16. **Delos**: a small island in the Aegean, which rose to great commercial importance after the destruction of Corinth (146 B.C.). It was the reputed birthplace of Apollo and Diana, and its sacred character protected it from assault for many years.

19. **eidem**, repeats **nos**: see note above l. 12.

21. **Appia via**: the great Roman road running south to Capua and thence to Brundisium and Tarentum. See ill. page 33. Plutarch says that the pirates made the road near the sea dangerous, and destroyed the neighboring buildings.

23. **cum**: concessive. **exuviis nauticis**, etc.: referring to the beaks (*rostra*) of captured ships which decorated the Rostra. See (105, 3).

25. Ch. XIX. Sec. 56. **Bono animo**: *with good intentions*.



Usually this phrase means of *good courage*. This section repeats the sentiments of Sec. 53.

28. **dolori**: *dolor* is a general designation for any painful or oppressive feeling. Here it is used for the *anxiety* felt by the people to pass the Gabinian law.

PAGE 33. 3. **videremur**: *are seen, not seem*. See on **videamur**, 28, 23.

Sec. 57-58. A digression with reference to the appointment of Gabinius as Pompey's *legatus*. Pompey should be allowed his way in the matter, just as other generals have had theirs. Besides, Gabinius should share in the success which his bill made possible.

6. Sec. 57. **Quo mihi etiam, etc.**: *for this reason it seems to me that objection has been made all the more undeservedly hitherto*. The senate had good reason for not wishing to appoint Gabinius. In the first place, he had angered them by forcing his bill through the comitia and giving Pompey extraordinary powers against the pirates. Secondly, the laws forbade a man to share in an office which his own bill had created. Pompey had the right to appoint his *legati* without an appeal to the senate or people. The fact that he referred the case of Gabinius to them shows that he himself thought the appointment would be illegal.

7. **dicam**: subjv. in a deliberative question. See on 20, 1. **anne = an**.

9. **Utrum . . . an**: a double question. A. 884, 335.

10. **idoneus . . . qui impetret**: see **dignos quorum, etc.**, 8, 15, and note.

11. **cum . . . eduxerint**: concessive.

PAGE 34. 5. **periculo**: the feeling of the optimates against the bill of Gabinius had been very strong. The historian, Dio Cassius, says that Gabinius was almost killed when the bill was discussed in the senate.

Sec. 58. **An**: connect closely with **in uno Gabinio sunt, etc.**, and subordinate the clause **C. Falcidius . . . potuerunt**, by introducing it with *while*. Or, *while C. Falcidius, etc., in the case of Gabinius alone are they, etc.* The persons mentioned in line 6 are otherwise unknown.

7. **quos omnis honoris causa nomino**: this was a complimentary phrase used when a speaker took the liberty of naming a person of consequence in public. **cum tribuni plebi fuissent, anno proximo**: *the year after they had been tribunes of the plebs*. We infer from this that the fact that Gabinius had been tribune the year before was a further objection to his appointment. Whatever the objections may have been, Gabinius secured the appointment.

10. **in hoc imperatore**, for **cum hoc imperatore**: to harmonize with **in hoc bello**, and **in hoc exercitu**.

11. **esse deberet**: *ought to have been* (*sc. legatus*). For the translation of **esse**, see A. 486, a; B. 270, 2; II. 618, 2; (537, 1).

13. **Qui si**: another characteristic example of the use of a relative where we use a demonstrative. See **qui quo die**, 26, 22, and note. **me . . . relaturum**: as praetor Cicero had this power. See (35).

14. **inimicum edictum**: either consul, as superior in rank, could forbid a praetor to bring a matter before the senate, but he would not be bound to obey.

15. **quo minus . . . defendam**: A. 558, b; B. 295, 3; G. 549; II. 568, 8; (497, II. 2).

16. **intercessionem**: the veto of a tribune, which all magistrates were bound to respect. See (46).

18. **quid liceat**: *what they may do*. The tribunes would think twice before they would veto a popular measure.

Sec. 59-63. The objection of Catulus. He says that no new precedents should be established; but the Roman people have often been obliged to adapt new methods to new circumstances, and in Pompey's own case have conspicuously violated precedent on many occasions.

23. Ch. XX. Sec. 59. **Reliquum est ut**: see **restat ut**, etc., 16, 3; **reliquum est ut**, 28, 10, and notes. **auctoritate et sententia**: *weighty expression of opinion*, a sort of hendiadys, i.e. two nouns are used, connected by *and*, where we use a noun and an adjective or a noun and a genitive.

24. **Qui cum**: see **Qui si**, 34, 13, and note. **ex vobis**: i.e. in

the *contio* (28), where the bill of Gabinius was discussed. Cicero shared in the general esteem felt for Catulus, and for that reason pays him a handsome compliment before proceeding to argue against him.

25. **si in uno Cn. Pompeio**, etc.: Catulus's own words would be: *si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia ponetis, si quid eo factum erit, in quo spem eritis habituri?* Account for all changes in mood and tense.

PAGE 35. 1. **eo**: for cons. see A. 403, c; B. 218, 6; G. 401, n. 7; 474, 3; (415, III. n. 1).

2. **cum . . . dixistis**: see on **cum . . . erant**, 31, 18.

7. **quo . . . hoc**: abl. of degree of difference (A. 414, a; B. 223; G. 403; H. 479; (423)), best translated *the . . . the*.

9. **vita atque virtute**: abl. with *frui*; see 10, 6, and note.

10. Sec. 60. **At enim**: see on 30, 5. Here the ellipsis may be for: **At** (*imperium Pompeio deferendum non est; est*) **enim** (*cavendum*) **ne quid novi fiat**, etc.

12. **Non dicam**, etc.: another good example of *praeteritio*; see 15, 10; 20, 15; 28, 25, and notes. Observe, too, the anaphora, **non dicam** being repeated below.

14. **novorum consiliorum**: modifying **rationes**.

PAGE 36. 1. **ab uno imperatore**: P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus. See Vocab. Scipio was consul the first time in 146 B.C., before he was of legal age, and the second time in 133, when the law that no one should be consul twice was still in force.

5. **Mario**: see Plutarch's life of Marius. Under stress of fear of the Cimbri and Teutones, Marius was appointed consul several years in succession, though the law then was that ten years should elapse before a man was again eligible to the same magistracy.

9. **Catuli voluntate**: i.e. the extraordinary powers heretofore conferred upon Pompey were sanctioned by Catulus.

10. Ch. XXI. Sec. 61. **Quid tam novum**, etc.: in this and in the following sentences *est* is to be supplied. A summary of Pompey's public life follows, from its beginning in 83 B.C. to

his consulship in 70; see Sec. 28-30 and notes, and p. 164 of the introduction to this oration.

11. **adulescentulum**: at the age of twenty-three.

15. **cuius . . . abesset**: concession. **aetas**, etc.: Pompey was sent to Sicily and Africa by Sulla, with the consent of the senate, at the age of twenty-four. The lowest legal age for entering the senate was thirty.

18. **administrandum**: gerundive expressing purpose. A. 500, 4; B. 337, 7, b) 2); G. 430; H. 622; (544, 2, n. 2). **provinciis**: used in its original meaning, *spheres of activity, positions*.

20. **victorem**: adj., *victorious*.

21. **equitem**: *a mere knight*, i.e. having held no office, not a member of the senate. See (8-11).

24. Sec. 62. **Quid tam inusitatum quam ut**, etc.: observe that in the foregoing section, infinitive clauses were used after **quid tam novum**, and similar expressions, while in this section we have a series of **ut** clauses. There is no essential difference in the meaning.

PAGE 37. 2. **bellum maximum**: the war in Spain against Sertorius.

4. **non nemo**: *not no-one = some*. The idea is plural, though the following verbs are singular to agree with **nemo**.

7. **pro consule**: see (49). **L. Philippus**: a famous wit.

9. **pro consulibus**: because both consuls refused to go.

15. **ex senatus consulto legibus solutus**: strictly speaking, the power to make or unmake laws belonged to the *comitia tributa*, but the senate had gradually usurped much of this power. See (33). **consul**: the legal age for the consulship was forty-three; as Pompey was only thirty-six when he was elected (70 B.C.), the laws had to be set aside (**solutus**) in his favor. **ante**: with **quam**, the parts being separated as usual. For mood of **licuisset** see A. 550, 551; B. 292; G. 577; H. 605; (520).

16. **ullum alium magistratum**: i.e. he was too young to hold any other curule office (41, iv. a) when elected consul.

17. **iterum . . . triumpharet**: Pompey celebrated triumphs in

80 and in 71. The law allowed only a consul or a praetor to have a triumph. As Pompey had held no office, and did not hold a regular *imperium*, it needed a special enactment to grant him a triumph.

Sec. 63-68. Hortensius and Catulus should therefore withdraw their objections, and yield to the people, who showed themselves wiser than they in appointing Pompey commander against the pirates. The position in Asia holds peculiar temptations, and Pompey is the only man that can withstand them. This they know, and they should also show some respect for the opinion of the eminent men that are supporting the bill.

25. Ch. XXII. Sec. 63. **Qua re**: very common in summing up an argument. See 11, 21.

26. **illorum**: i.e. the optimates. The thought is that the people have always ratified the acts of the optimates as regards Pompey, and that now that the people want something done for him the optimates should not stand in the way.

PAGE 38. 1. **ab illis**: connect with **improbari**.

3. **suo iure**: with *peculiar right, with full right*.

4. **vel**: *even*.

6. **isdem istis reclamantibus**: trans. by a temporal clause, *when, etc.* See on 4, 3. The thought is that the people's right to be heard now depends upon their having shown their superior wisdom in passing the Gabinian law against the opposition of the optimates. **unum illum . . . quem . . . praeponeretis**: subjv. of characteristic. A. 535, b; B. 283, 2; G. 631, 1; H. 591, 5; (503, II. 1).

8. Sec. 64. **rei publicae parum consuluitis**: *had too little care for the general good*.

10. **Sin**: with **vidistis** and **attulistis**. **vos plus tum, etc.**: *you at that time had a deeper political insight*. **eis repugnantibus**: concessive.

12. **principes**: i.e. Hortensius, Catulus, and other leaders of the senatorial party.

13. **sibi et ceteris**: dat. of agent with **parendum esse**. Intransitive verbs that take the dative in the active retain it

(here **auctoritati**) in the passive, but are used impersonally. In translation such passive impersonal expressions should always be made active and personal, e.g. *that they and the others must obey, etc.*

17. **virtutes**: Cicero repeats in substance what he said in Sec. 36-41.

19. **nostrum imperatorem**: here indefinite, *any general of ours.*

21. **qui**: indefinite pronoun.

22. **cupidorum**: with force of *avarorum*.

23. Sec. 65. **dictu**: see on 25, 20.

PAGE 39. 1. **libidines**: *lawless acts.*

3. **nostris magistratibus religiosum**: by way of contrast it may be stated that when Jerusalem fell into the hands of Pompey in 63 B.C., he forbade any spoil to be taken from the temple.

5. **iam**: transitional, *moreover, furthermore.* See 25, 11, and note. **quibus** = *ut eis*, and expresses purpose.

7. Sec. 66. **Libenter . . . disputarem**: *I should be glad to discuss.* For the subjv. see A. 445; 446; B. 280, 2; G. 257; II. 552; (485).

11. **hostium simulatione**: *under the pretense that there are enemies*, i.e. the army really did nothing but prey upon friends and allies. See on Sec. 38-39.

12. **non modo . . . sed**: *I do not say . . . but even.*

15. Ch. XXIII. **quem**: indefinite pronoun, followed by a rel. cl. of characteristic. The same construction follows below. **idem qui . . . possit**, and again **idoneus qui . . . mittatur**.

18. [**qui . . . oppidorum**]: these words are found in but one manuscript, and are bracketed as doubtful.

22. Sec. 67. **pacatam fuisse**: *has been left in peace.*

23. **pacata**: *pacified*, a technical expression meaning that resistance to Roman arms had ceased.

PAGE 40. 1. **praeter paucos**: *with few exceptions.*

2. **classium nomine**: *under the name of fleets*, i.e. these corrupt commanders, under the pretext of equipping a fleet, would

raise large sums of money from the provinces or draw it from the treasury, and would then keep a large share of it themselves, leaving the country without the means of making a successful defense. One reason why former expeditions against the pirates were so unsuccessful was that the commanders of the fleets stole so much of the money appropriated, that not enough was left properly to equip and man the ships. The losses thus sustained (cf. **detrimentis accipiendis**) were more disgraceful (cf. **maiore turpitudine**) than if nothing had been attempted.

3. **videremur**: *we are seen* (by all the world). See on **videamur**, 28, 23.

4. **quibus facturis, quibus condicionibus**: *after what expenditures and under what conditions*. To secure a province a man would not only spend all he had, but borrow all he could. **condicionibus** refers to the conditions for repayment made by the money lenders. In the end the province would have to pay the whole bill, and enough more to send the governor back to Rome at the end of his term with a large fortune.

5. **videlicet**: ironical, as usual.

7. **Quasi . . . non . . . videamus**: for cons. see A. 524; B. 307, 1; G. 602; II. 584; (513, II.).

9. Sec. 68. **dubitare quin . . . credatis**: *hesitate to intrust*. See on **quin . . . conferatis**, 29, 16. **qui**, etc.; **quem**, etc.: for construction compare **unum illum . . . quem . . . praeponeretis**, 38, 6, and note.

13. **est**: note the repetition (anaphora) of **est** in the three following clauses, serving to give an emphatic introduction to each of the four distinguished men who support the bill.

14. **P. Servilius . . . C. Curio . . . Cn. Lentulus . . . C. Cassius**: see Vocab.

15. **tantae**: pred. adj. **exstiterunt**: *have come to light*, hence *are*. As the force of the verb is really present, it is followed by primary and not secondary tense sequence.

17. **beneficiis**: i.e. he had been consul and had received a triumph. This ablative and **rebus** depend upon **ornatus** or some such word understood from **praeditus**.

20. **gravitatem**: Lentulus was so strict in his censorship that he expelled sixty-four senators from the senate.

22. **auctoritatibus**: abl. of means.

23. **responderene posse videamur**: *whether we seem able to answer*, an ind. question depending on **videte**.

#### PERORATIO. SEC. 69-71.

Manilius is urged to stand by his bill, relying upon his own courage, the support of the people, and the help of Cicero. In conclusion the orator calls the gods to witness that his personal motives are pure and disinterested.

PAGE 41. 1. Ch. XXIV. Sec. 69. **Quae cum ita sint**: a very common form of introducing the peroration or close of the entire speech. See 122, 23, and 143, 24.

2. **voluntatem et sententiam**: *wish* (to give Pompey the command) *and opinion* (that the best interests of the state demand it).

4. **auctore populo Romano**: abl. abs. expressing cause. **neve** = *et ne* in force.

7. **studio**: *manifestations of sympathy*.

8. **iterum**: the first time was when the Gabinian law was proposed. See the beginning of Sec. 44.

9. **re**: *the cause*.

10. **Ego**: subj. of **polliceor ac defero**, line 14.—**autem**: see on 1, 2.

11. **quicquid . . . possum**: *whatever power I have*.

12. **potestate**: see Syn. 26, and (41, II. b).

16. Sec. 70. **huic loco temploque**: *this consecrated spot*. Another case of hendiadys. See **auctoritate et sententia**, 34, 23, and note. The reference is to the Rostra, which was a place consecrated by the auspices, and hence a *templum*. See (74).

17. **qui ad rem publicam adeunt**: *who are engaged in affairs of state*.

19. **neque quo . . . neque quo** = *neque quia . . . neque ut eo*: **eo** being abl. of means.



23. **ut hominem praestare oportet**: *so far as a mere man may give assurance of the future.*

PAGE 42. 1. **repellemus**: plural used for the singular, as often, for rhetorical reasons. — **honorem**: *political office*. Cicero is thinking especially of the consulship. — **ab uno**: i.e. Pompey.

6. Sec. 71. **tantum abest ut . . . videar, ut . . . intellegam**: *so far am I from seeming, etc., . . . that I perceive, etc.* For cons. see A. 571, b; G. 552, R. 1; H. 570, 2; (502, 3).

7. **multas me etiam similtates . . . suscepisse**: i.e. among the optimates, who did not feel pleased with Cicero for advocating this bill so strongly.

9. **honore**: his praetorship, while **beneficiis**, following, refers to his curule-aedileship and quaestorship.

13. **rationibus**: *interests*. **oportere**: *it is proper for me*. The subj. of **oportere** is the clause **me . . . praeferre**. The whole is, of course, dependent on **ego statui**.

*For Review Questions see page 373.*

## INTRODUCTION TO THE ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE.

### THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

L. Sergius Catiline was born about 108 B.C. His family belonged to the noble Sergian gens, but had been going down in fortune for many years. Catiline was left with small means, but had natural gifts which might have made him famous. He was endowed with herculean strength, unusual intellectual power, and a faculty for attracting others to him, which, with his ambitious temperament, might have made him a powerful national leader. But from early youth he threw himself into all the excesses of the corrupt capital, and came to manhood with a thoroughly perverted nature.

He first appeared in public life as an active partisan of Sulla, and took a disgraceful part in the bloody proscriptions of 82 B.C., under cover of which he is said to have murdered his brother. Later he was suspected of poisoning his son by a former marriage, who was an obstacle to his marriage with the notorious Aurelia Orestilla. Many other serious crimes are charged to him, some perhaps unjustly, but all tending to show that he was a very wicked and dangerous man.

In spite of his sullied character, his powers of personal leadership brought him first the quaestorship (48) and then the praetorship (45). In 67 B.C. he went as propraetor (49) to Africa, whence he returned in 66 to stand for the consulship. His oppression, cruelty, and wickedness as governor had been such, however, that he was called upon to face charges for extortion brought before the senate by the suffering provincials. He was therefore compelled by law to withdraw his candidacy.

P. Autronius Paetus and P. Cornelius Sulla were elected consuls for 65; but being condemned for using bribery at the election they were obliged to withdraw in favor of the rival candidates, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus. Catiline and Autronius, both disappointed in their hopes, made a plot to murder the consuls Cotta and Torquatus on January 1, the day of their inauguration, and seize the consular power for themselves. The plan included also some popular changes in the constitution and the abolition of debts. Though usually called the first conspiracy of Catiline, there is some evidence to show that Catiline was not the prime mover, but that Caesar and Crassus were using him to further their political schemes against Pompey and the senatorial party. The plot failed on Jan. 1, owing to its being discovered. It was postponed to Feb. 5, but failed again, owing this time to Catiline's giving the signal for attack prematurely. Though the matter was well known, there was no investigation, and no one was punished; a fact which doubtless encouraged Catiline to try again.

It was not till 64 that Catiline had disposed of the charges for extortion brought against him in 66. He managed to secure an acquittal by bribing both the prosecutor and the jury. Now he was free to enter the lists for the consulship for 63. Among the candidates were his particular friend, C. Antonius Hybrida, and Cicero. With Antonius, who was a son of the great orator (85), but in no way worthy of him, Catiline made a close combine to defeat Cicero, who was their chief competitor. Nothing was left undone in the way of bribery and other illegalities to win the election against him. They had, too, the secret support of Caesar and Crassus, who hoped to make use of Catiline against Pompey and the senate. At this critical point, Cicero was able to give such a presentation of his opponents' plots and schemes (*Oratio in Toga Candida*) that he was elected by a good majority, with Antonius as his colleague.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also *Introd. Life of Cicero*, p. xvii.

After this bitter disappointment, Catiline again began to dream of conspiracy and social revolution. All the conditions seemed favorable. There was no strong military force in Italy. Pompey, the only man strong enough to enforce order, was in the far East; the senate was unsuspecting, weak, and negligent; the capital was full of an immense unruly population ready for anything that they could turn to their advantage. In all classes there was deep moral degeneracy and an unsettled feeling, resulting from years of civil strife and widespread disasters to business, industry, and capital. Under these circumstances, it is not strange that Catiline found many adherents to his scheme. His first object was to gain the consulship for 62, and all were instructed to work with that in view. He counted on the sure support of Antonius, and expected to dispose of Cicero by force, if he proved troublesome.

Cicero knew very well what was going on. His chief informant was a certain Fulvia, who had the confidence of Q. Curius, one of the conspirators. He had been able to win Antonius to inactivity by promising him the rich province of Macedonia for his proconsular year, and secured his own personal safety by surrounding himself with a guard of friends and clients.

A few days before the consular election, which was usually held in July (24, 43), the senate held a meeting, before which Cicero fully exposed Catiline's plots and threats, and called upon Catiline, who had the effrontery to attend the meeting, to explain his actions and intentions. Instead of trying to evade the question, Catiline declared boldly that the state had two bodies (i.e. the optimates and plebeians), one infirm with a weak head, the other strong without a head; but that the latter would not lack for a head so long as he was alive. With this defiance he left the room. But even then the senate took no vigorous action.

A few days later the election took place (22-24). The consul was present, strongly guarded and with a shining coat of mail under his toga. This show of force held the armed bands of

Catiline in check, and gave the voters courage. Decimus Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena were declared elected.

After this third and worst disappointment, Catiline determined on open rebellion. To increase his forces, he sent messengers through the country districts, incited slaves and gladiators to revolution, aroused the lawless shepherds of southern Italy, and above all, the veterans of Sulla in Etruria, who were only too anxious for another harvest of plunder. Stores of arms were collected in various places, and money was sent to Faesulae in N. Etruria (see III. page 64) where Manlius, a former centurion of Sulla, was collecting a large force. It was decided that he should raise the standard of revolt on the 27th of October, and that the consul and prominent optimates at Rome should be murdered the next day, and the city laid waste by fire.

Cicero, informed of these plans, called a meeting of the senate on the 21st of October to consider what should be done. That body had finally awakened to the danger of the situation, and, after a two days' session, gave the consuls unlimited power (*consultum ultimum* (34)) to provide for the safety of the state. A few days later word came from Faesulae that C. Manlius had taken up arms, and risings of slaves in Capua and Apulia were reported. The senate thereupon sent out men to raise troops, and offered rewards for information about the conspiracy, but without result. During all this time Catiline remained in the city. When legal charges were brought against him, as the cause of all the trouble, he acted the part of injured innocence and went to several prominent men and asked them, each in turn, to keep him in custody, to make it clear that he had nothing to fear and did not intend to run away.

However, the military preparations in progress warned Catiline that his only hope lay in placing himself at the head of his troops with the least possible delay, that he might strike a decisive blow before the state could muster its forces. Before leaving Rome, however, he determined to kill the consul, who

stood most in his way and had thwarted most of his plans. On the night of Nov. 6, he called the conspirators together at the house of M. Porcius Laeca. He gave final instructions to all, and demanded the immediate assassination of Cicero. The senator L. Vargunteius and the knight C. Cornelius volunteered to do the deed.

Cicero heard of his danger before morning, and guarded his house against the assassins. On Nov. 8, he called a meeting of the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator on the Palatine (see Ill. page 43), and surrounded the building with armed men. When Catiline had the boldness to appear at this meeting, Cicero, full of indignation, burst forth into the fiery oration which follows. No speech of Cicero is better known than this. As given, it must have been largely *ex tempore*. Cicero afterward wrote it out and published it.

## THE ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE.

### Chronology of the Life of Catiline.

B.C.

108 (?). Born.

82 (?). Assists in the proscription of Sulla.

78 (?). Quaestor.

68. Praetor.

67. Proprætor in Africa.

66. Returns to Rome to stand for the consulship, but is accused of extortion and withdraws.

65. Forms his first conspiracy.

64. Is acquitted of the charges against him and becomes candidate for the consulship, but is defeated.

63. Again tries for the consulship and is again defeated. Makes his second conspiracy.

62. Falls in battle.

### Consuls for the Years 66-62 B.C.

66. M'. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Volcatius Tullus.

65. P. Cornelius Sulla. }  
P. Antronius Paetus. } Did not serve.

Lucius Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus.

64. L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcius Figulus.  
63. M. Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius Hybrida.  
62. D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena.

**Suggested Reading on the Orations against Catiline.**

- Beesly, Catiline as a Party Leader,<sup>1</sup> *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. I., p. 175.  
Beesly, Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius.<sup>1</sup>  
Church, Roman Life in the Days of Cicero, p. 129.  
Collin's Classical Series, Cicero, p. 27.  
Forsyth, Life of Cicero, Vol. I., pp. 131-147.  
Froude, Caesar, Ch. XI.  
Liddell, History of Rome, pp. 641-648.  
Merivale, History of the Romans, Vol. I., p. 114.  
Merivale, The Roman Triumvirates, p. 46.  
Mommsen, History of Rome, Vol. IV., p. 203.  
Niebuhr, Lectures on the History of Rome, Lecture 41.  
Smith's Biographical Dictionary, Cicero, Catiline.

<sup>1</sup>Of special interest because defending Catiline.

## THE FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SENATE, Nov. 8, 63 B.C.

### ARGUMENT.

This oration does not fall into the regular subdivisions noted in the general Introduction (92) and in the introduction to the Manilian law, p. 167. Cicero's vehemence and excitement are too great to admit of a formal *exordium* or introduction. He plunges at once into the statement of the case (*propositio*, Chs. I.-IV.); this is followed by an appeal to Catiline to leave the city (*hortatio*, Chs. V.-X.); and finally we have the *peroratio*, in which the consul seeks to defend his conduct as regards Catiline, and calls upon Jupiter to defend the state.

### I. PROPOSITIO. Chs. I.-IV.

Catiline, what limit is there to your boldness! You know that your schemes are known, and yet you dare to enter the senate. You deserve death, and the precedents of our ancestors demand this, but you have been spared, and the senate's decree has gone unheeded for twenty days. I confess to remissness, and you have presumed on my leniency, and are even now collecting troops in Etruria. But your time will come. As soon as all are convinced of your guilt, you will be put to death, and meanwhile you shall be watched. You are hemmed in on every side, and your designs are all known to me. I told the senate that Manlius would rise in arms on the 27th of October, and I was not mistaken, was I? I foretold and prevented the massacre which you had planned for the 28th of October, and the attack on Praeneste on the 1st of November. I know, too, about your meeting at Laeca's house night before last, who was there, and what you planned. Some of your confederates, who were present, are here before me. Two of them came to my house this morning to murder me, but I was prepared for them, and shut them out.



PAGE 43. 1. Ch. I. Sec. 1. **tandem**: *I pray*, often used in impatient or indignant questions. — **abutere**: note the length of the penult. Where must it be made? **patientia**: for case, see A. 410; B. 218, 1; G. 407; H. 477, I.; (421, I.). Trans., *To what point, pray, Catiline, will you try our forbearance.*

2. **etiam**: *still*; connect with **quam diu**. **Quem ad finem**: *to what limit.*

3. **Nihilne**, etc.: note the emphatic repetition of **nihil** in the successive clauses. (Anaphora, see 3, 20, and note.) The interrogative particle **-ne** is added as usual to the most emphatic word on which the whole question hinges. For cons. of **nihil**, see A. 390, c; B. 176, 3; G. 338; H. 416, 2; (378, 2).

4. **praesidium Palati**: in time of danger the Palatine hill was always guarded as one of the strongest and most important military points in the city. See (94), (95), and Ill. page 43. Cicero had called the meeting there, in the temple of Jupiter Stator, because it was near to his house, and because of its security.

PAGE 44. 1. **timor**: see Syn. 18. **bonorum**: used in a political sense of the senatorial party or *optimates*, as contrasted with the party of the people, the plebeians or *populares*.

2. **locus**: the temple of Jupiter Stator, believed to have stood on the northern slope of the Palatine, near the *Sacra Via* (105, 16). The regular meeting-place for the senate was the Curia (105, 2), but the temples about the Forum were often so used (35). **ora voltusque**: the first word has reference to the *face*, the second to the *expression* of the face; we may therefore translate, *the expression of the faces*. The use of two nouns connected by *and* instead of a noun with a genitive or a noun with an adjective is called hendiadys. See also Syn. 44.

3. **Patere . . . Constrictam**: note the emphatic position. — **non**: for *nonne*. The interrogative particle **-ne** is often omitted in rapid and lively questions.

4. **horum**: the senators before him. This word was probably accompanied by a gesture.

5. **proxima**: referring to the night of Nov. 7, when the attempt on Cicero's life was made. **superiore**: the night of Nov. 6, when the meeting was held at Laeca's house.

6. **egeris . . . fueris**, etc.: subjv. in ind. questions depending upon **ignorare**.

9. Sec. 2. **Immo vero**: used to correct or add something to a previous statement. *Lives, did I say? Nay, he actually comes into the senate.*

11. **unum quemque nostrum**: stronger than **omnes nos**, because it individualizes. **Nostrum** is regular as partitive genitive, **nostrum** being objective.

12. **fortes**: of course ironical. — **satis facere . . . videmur, si . . . vitemus**: a simple condition in ind. disc., **videmur** having the force of *we seem to ourselves, we believe, we think*. What would the condition be in the direct form?

14. **Ad mortem, . . . in te**: note the emphasis. **iussu consulis**: by the Valerian, Porcian, and Sempronian laws every citizen had the right of appeal to the people against the decision of any magistrate (62), but by the *consultum ultimum* (34) passed on the 22d of October, Cicero claimed the right to put citizens to death on his own authority.

15. **oportebat** with **iam pridem** = *ought to have been long ago*. The expression is equal to the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact in past time. For the indic. **oportebat** instead of the subjv., see A. 517, c; B. 304, 3; G. 597, R. 3, a; H. 583; (511, 1, N. 3). For the imperfect with the force of the pluperfect, see A. 471, b, B. 260, 4; G. 234; H. 535, 1; (469, 2). [**omnes iam diu**]: words in brackets are of doubtful manuscript authority, and may generally be omitted.

17. Sec. 3. **An vero**: see on 26, 12. As the sentence is expressed, the verbs **interfecit** and **perferemus** are coördinate. In translation, subordinate the first clause by introducing it with *while*. — **P. Scipio . . . Ti. Gracchum**: Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people in 133 B.C., aroused the hatred of the aristocracy by his Agrarian laws in the interest of the poor. On the day of the election of tribunes for the next year, he was

killed, with three hundred of his followers, by a mob of senators led by P. Scipio Nasica. Gracchus was a noble-spirited patriot, and his murder made Scipio so unpopular that he was obliged to leave the city, and died in exile. Cicero does violence to the memory of Ti. Gracchus in comparing him with Catiline, as he does below in speaking with approval of the murder of C. Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius, who lost his life in fighting for the same noble cause. Cicero's language about the Gracchi varies with what he has in view. Sometimes he praises them, but here he needed a precedent for the violence with which he threatened Catiline, and he knew that his senatorial audience would not object to having their ancestral enemies, the Gracchi, placed in an odious light. — **pontifex maximus**: see (76). This was not strictly a political office, so Scipio was still technically a **privatus**.

18. **mediocriter . . . privatus**: these words are emphatic, and stand in rhetorical contrast to **orbem terrae** and **consules**, the emphatic words of the next clause.

PAGE 45. 3. **illa**: *that case*, plural for singular. — **praetereo**, rhetorical *praeteritio*, see on 15, 10. **quod**: *the fact that*, introducing a substantive clause in apposition with **illa**. A. 572, n.; B. 299, 1, a; G. 525, 2; H. 588, 3; (540, IV. n.).

4. **Ahala**, etc.: see Vocab.

6. **Fuit, fuit**: emphatic repetition (anaphora). The tense is also emphatic, indicating that what *was* is no longer true.

12. **senatus consultum**: i.e. the decree referred to below, 46, 4, conferring dictatorial power upon the consul. See (34).

13. **rei publicae**: dat. with **deest**.

14. **consilium, auctoritas**: i.e. the senate had given the state the benefit of its deliberation (**consilium**) and its authority (**auctoritas**); all that is lacking is the executive power lodged in the consuls.

16. Ch. II. Sec. 4. **ut . . . videret**: an obj. cl. of purpose after **decrevit**. **ne . . . caperet** is another clause of the same sort depending on **videret**.

18. **interfectus est, occisus est**: note the emphatic position

of the verbs. The *action* of the past is contrasted with the *inaction* of the present.

19. **C. Gracchus**: in 121 B.C. Caius Gracchus had carried and was attempting to enforce a series of measures still more revolutionary and hostile to the aristocracy than those of his brother. The senate passed the *consultum ultimum*, whereupon Opimius, the consul, with an armed force, attacked Gracchus and killed him and M. Fulvius Flaccus, his chief supporter, and hundreds of others. See also note above, 44, 17, and the vocabulary. **clarissimo patre**: Ti. Sempronius Gracchus was censor, twice consul, and twice enjoyed a triumph.

20. **avo**: the mother of the Gracchi, the famous Cornelia, was the daughter of P. Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

22. **num**: introducing a question, expecting a negative answer. 'It didn't, did it?' **unum diem**: acc. of time.

23. **Saturninum**, etc.: L. Saturninus and C. Servilius Glaucia were unworthy imitators of the Gracchi. They were closely allied with Marius and the popular party, and were the greatest demagogues of their day. In 100 B.C., when Saturninus was tribune and Glaucia praetor, the latter became candidate for the consulship. As he seemed likely to be defeated by C. Memmius, Saturninus and Glaucia hired some ruffians who murdered Memmius openly in the comitia. The senate thereupon ordered the consuls to put them down. Marius, the consul, was unwilling to proceed against them, but had no alternative. They surrendered to Marius, who shut them up for safe keeping in the senate house, and did all he could to save their lives; but an infuriated mob tore the tiles from the roof and stoned them to death. It will be noted that this illustration of consular authority lacks force, because the men were not killed by the consul, but in spite of him.

**PAGE 46. 1. remorata est**: lit. *Did death, etc., keep them waiting a single day after.* The thought is that they were killed on the same day that the decree of the senate was passed.

2. **At**: the strongest adversative conjunctive, which adds to

a sentence, admitted to be true, another which is the direct opposite. [**vero**]: see on 44, 17. **viocesimum**: i.e. from Oct. 22 to Nov. 8, really only eighteen days; but Cicero is speaking in round numbers. **hebescere aciem**: the metaphor of a sword, which is continued in the next sentence.

3. **horum**: the senators. **huiusce modi**: of the sort just mentioned.

4. **in tabulis**: in the records of the senate.

6. **interfectum esse**: the perfect inf. with the force of the present, the participle having the force of a predicate adjective. **convenit**: perf. *it was proper or fitting*, i.e. *you should have been*. Another example of the indic. of a verb of propriety or obligation used instead of the subjv. in the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition. See 44, 15, and note. In this construction the perf. ind. is translated with the force of a pluperf. subjv.

7. **ad deponendam**: gerundive expression of purpose. A. 506, and N. 1; B. 338, 8; 339, 2; G. 432; H. 623, 628; (542, III., 544, I.).

8. **patres conscripti**: the regular title used in addressing the senate. See (31). **cupio**: rhetorical repetition, anaphora, see on **Nihilne**, 43, 3.

9. **dissolutum**: *neglectful of duty*.

12. Sec. 5. **in Etruriae faucibus**: at Faesulae, modern Fiesole, on the southwest slope of the Apennines, and commanding a pass into Cisalpine Gaul. See Ill. on page 64.

13. **imperatorem ducemque**: see Syn. 30.

14. **atque adeo**: used to introduce something more important as a climax, *and what is more, and even*.

17. **Si te iam**, etc.: for the force of the condition see A. 516, c; B. 302, 1; G. 595; H. 574, 2; (508, 2).

18. **credo, erit verendum mihi**, etc.: *I shall have to fear, I suppose, that all good patriots will not say that this has been done too late by me, rather than that any one will say that it has been done too cruelly*. **Credo** marks this passage as ironical. What Cicero says is that he is more afraid of being criticised for being cruel than for being tardy; but what he really means is just the op-

posite, viz., that all good patriots will be much more apt to accuse him of tardiness than of being cruel. **Ne non**, after a verb of fearing, equals **ut** and means *that not*. **Boni** is used as in Sec. 1, referring to the members of his own party, the *optimates*. The verb with **omnes boni** is **dicant**, supplied from **dicat**.

PAGE 47. 1. **factum esse oportuit**: this phrase resembles **interfectum esse convenit** above, 46, 6. See notes.

2. **certa de causa**: the *good reason* follows in the next sentence.

4. **tui**: for case see A. 385, c, 2; B. 204, 3; G. 359, n. 4; H. 435, 4, n.; (391, II. 4). **qui . . . fateatur**: rel. cl. of characteristic. A. 535, a; B. 283, 2; G. 631, 2; H. 591, 1; (503, I.). So, too, **qui . . . audeat** below.

6. Sec. 6. **multis . . . et firmis**: the connective, which is regular in Latin, should be omitted in English.

11. Ch. III. **quid est quod**: regularly followed by the subjv. of characteristic. A. 535, a; 480; G. 631, 2; H. 591, 4; (503, I. n. 2). **amplius**: see Syn. 15.

13. **privata domus**: referring to Laeca's house. See *Introduct.*, p. 216. **parietibus**: see Syn. 45.

14. **inlustrantur, erumpunt**: note how these verbs answer as opposites to **obscurare** and **continere**.

15. **mihī crede**: *take my advice*.

16. **caedis, incendiorum**: A. 350. **luce**: A. 406; B. 217; G. 398; H. 471; (417).

18. **recognoscas**: we may supply **ut**. Then **ut recognoscas** is a substantive cl. used as the subj. of **licet**. A. 565, n. 2; B. 295, 6; G. 553, 4; H. 564, II. 1; (501, I. 1; 502, 1).

18. Sec. 7. **Meministine** for **nonne meministi**: **-ne** is often used for **nonne**, especially in colloquial language. **Memini** is often followed, as here, by the present infinitive. **ante diem**, etc.: for cons. see A. 631; 424, g; B. 371; 372; G. p. 491; H. 754-756; (641-645). On the events referred to see *Introduct.*, p. 215.

19. **fore** = *futurum esse*: its subj. is **Manlium**.

20. **futurus esset**: subordinate cl. in ind. disc. The direct form would be *erit*, and the first periphrastic is used for the simple subjv. form (*esset*) to carry the vivid future idea of *erit* into the ind. disc. As the simple subjv. has no future tense, the Romans made use of the periphrastic subjv. as a substitute.

22. **Num me fefellit**: *I wasn't mistaken, was I?* lit. *it did not deceive me, did it?* Cf. the force of **num** on 45, 22. **non modo res**, etc.: *not only not in the fact, etc., but not even (verum) in the day.* Of course, grammatically, **res** is the subj. of **fefellit**.

PAGE 48. 1. **idem**: *also*. See on 31, 5. **in senatu**: at the same meeting of Oct. 21-22.

2. **in ante diem**: A. 424, g; B. 371, 6; G. p. 491; H. 754, III. 3; (642, III. 4). **tum cum**: *at the time when*, an expression usually followed by the indic. as defining the time of the principal verb and not describing it. See 31, 18, and note.

3. **sui conservandi . . . causa**: for cons. see A. 504, b, c; B. 339, 5; G. 428, r. 1, r. 2; H. 626, 3; (542, n. 1).

4. **profugerunt**: Cicero wants to let the senators off as easily as he can for their cowardice in running away.

6. **diligentia**: *watchfulness*.

8. **qui**: the antecedent is to be found in the possessive **nostra**, which is used for the gen. plur. of **ego**. The subjv. **remansissemus** is used because it is a part of the ind. disc. depending on **dicebas**. In the direct form we should have, *caede eorum qui remanserunt contentus sum*.

9. See 8. **Quid?** *again, further, I ask, tell me*. A very common form of transition to a new division of the argument or an additional thought. **Praeneste**: a strong position among the mountains, twenty miles southeast of Rome. Its occupation would have secured for Catiline one of the most important military points in Latium. Its modern name is Palestrina. See Ill. on page 48,

11. **sensistine**: **-ne** for **nonne**. See note above, 47, 18. **coloniam**: a military colony (15) had been planted there by Sulla.

12. **praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis**: see Syn. 13. **Nihil agis**, etc.: note the anaphora and climax.

13. **quod . . . audiam . . . videam . . . sentiam**: subjv. of characteristic. A. 535; B. 283, 2; G. 631, 2; H. 591, 4; (503, 1.).

15. Ch. IV. **tandem**: see 43, 1, and note. **noctem superiorem**: the night of Nov. 6. Two lines below, the same night is referred to by **priore nocte**.

18. **inter falcarios**: in the street of the scythe-makers.

PAGE 49. 1. **eodem**: adv.

2. **num negare audes?** See on **num me fefellit**, above, 47, 22.

4. **una**: adv.

5. Sec. 9. **O di immortales!** etc.: an interruption in the narrative caused by the overpowering emotions of the orator as he sees members of the conspiracy sitting before him in the senate. The narrative is resumed again, line 13. **gentium**: for cons. see A. 346, a, 4; B. 201, 3; G. 372, x. 3; H. 443; (397, 4). **qua . . . quam**: the adjective use of the interrogative *what kind of . . . what sort of*.

8. **qui . . . cogitent**: not merely *who think*, which would be indic., but *of such a kind that they think; so base, so infamous that they think*, hence subjv. of characteristic.

9. **omnium**: agreeing with the gen. plur. understood in the possessive **nostro**, *our* destruction = the destruction *of us*. The Latin usually uses the possessive instead of the gen. of the personal pronoun in such cases. See **nostra caede** above, 48, 8. **de**, sc. *exitio*. **atque adeo**: see on 46, 14.

10. **Hos . . . sententiam rogo**: for the two acc's see A. 396; B. 178, l. c); G. 339; H. 411, 2; (374). **sententiam**: for the custom see (36).

11. **quos . . . oportebat**: *who ought to have been*. **trucidari**: see Syn. 20.

13. **igitur**: *as I was saying*, resumes the narrative. See 26, 9, and note.

14. **quemque**: i.e. of the conspirators. The word is the subj. of **proficisci**, which is technically the subj. of **placeret**. The whole is an ind. question used as obj. of **statuisti**.



15. **quos . . . relinqueres . . . educeres**: in the direct form these would be pres. subjv. expressing deliberation. A. 444; B. 277; G. 265; H. 559, 4; (484, V.). In the indirect form after **delegisti**, the subjv. is, of course, retained, but the tense is changed by the rules for tense sequence. A. 574, 575, b; B. 315, 3; G. 651, R. 2; H. 612, 3; (523, II. 1, N.). **Romae**: locative case. A. 427, 3; B. 232; G. 411; H. 78, 4; (48, 4).

PAGE 50. 1. **confirmasti** = *confirmavisti*.

3. **morae**: part. gen. with **paulum**. — **quod ego viverem**: subordinate cl. ind. disc.

4. **duo equites**, etc.: see Introd., p. 216.

5. **illa ipsa nocte**: they probably did not make the attempt, however, until the next night, or rather early in the morning of Nov. 8. **in meo lectulo**: the time to pay formal calls in Rome was very early in the morning. It was then that the rich and powerful received their

#### A BED (LECTUS).

clients. The atrium of the house served as a reception hall, and the master of the house often received his visits lying on a couch.

7. Sec. 10. **vixdum etiam**: see on **quam diu etiam**, 43, 2.

9. **salutatum**: supine expressing purpose. A. 509; B. 340, 1; G. 435; H. 633; (546). **cum . . . venissent**: as the idea of time is here mingled with an idea of circumstance or description, we have the subjv. Remember that **cum** takes the indic. only when pure time, and nothing but time, is expressed. See on **tum cum**, 48, 2.

10. **multis ac summis**: see on 47, 6. **id temporis**: *at that very time*. A. 346, a, 3; 397, a; B. 185, 2; G. 336, n. 2; 369; H. 416, 2; 441; (378, 2; 307, 3).

## II. HORTATIO. CHS. V.—X.

In view of all this, Catiline, I urge you to leave the city, and to take your followers with you. The gods have saved us thus

far, but we must not tempt Providence. While your attacks were confined to me alone, I could defend myself; but now you are attacking the whole state. I will not kill you, for that would not rid us of your followers. Your best course is to leave. Here you can hope for nothing; your infamous private life, and your plots against the republic and against me are too well known. The senators shun you, the citizens fear you, the fatherland hates and distrusts you. The state has borne with you long, and now bids you depart. The fact that you have given yourself into custody shows how guilty you are even in your own eyes. You challenge me to take a vote of the senate, but the senators show by their silence that they wish you to go. The other good citizens, too, are anxious that you leave. But you are meditating neither flight nor exile, though the latter would be sure to make me very unpopular, and yourself a martyr in the eyes of the people. You are secretly planning to go to the camp of Manlius. There you will be in your element, and revel in wickedness.

12. Ch. V. **Quae cum ita sint:** *since this is so*, a common form of transition.

14. **desiderant:** *has been longing.* A. 466; B. 259, 4; G. 230; H. 533, 1; (467, III. 2).

15. **Educ:** for form, see A. 182; B. 116, 3; G. 130, 5; H. 241; (238). **si minus:** i.e. *si non omnes.*

17. **intersit:** A. 528; B. 310; G. 573; H. 587; (513, I.).

18. **non feram,** etc.: Cicero uses three synonymous verbs with emphatic repetition of **non** (anaphora) to express with as much force as possible the idea that he will not allow Catiline to remain in the city under any circumstances. We may translate, *I cannot, I shall not, I will not endure it.*

19. **atque:** *and especially.* **huic ipsi:** because the meeting was in his temple.

20. Sec. 11. **Iovi Statori:** *Jupiter Stator*, the name goes back to Romulus, who, in a battle with the Sabines, vowed a temple to Jupiter if he would *stay* the flight of his troops. "At tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostem, deme terrorem Romanis fugamque foedam siste: Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi voveo." Livy I. 12, 5.

22. **saepius:** *too often.*

23. **in uno homine**: *by* (lit. *in*) *one man*, i.e. Catiline.

24. **consuli designato**: see (43).

26. **proximis comitiis consularibus**: on account of the unsettled condition of affairs the election in 63 was held somewhat later than usual, probably in the latter part of July. See (24), (43), and (55).

PAGE 51. 1. **in campo**: sc. *Martio*. See map of Rome. The site is now covered by the modern city. On the incident referred to, see *Introd.*, p. 214.

3. **nullo tumultu publice concitato**: *without any public call to arms*.

4. **per me**: *by my own efforts*. **quamquam**: see on 1, 1.

6. Sec. 12. **Nunc iam**: *now at last*.

8. **vitam**: note that we say *lives* where the Latin uses the singular. The plural *vitae* means *biographies*.

10. **id quod est primum**: *that which is most obvious*, i.e. to put Catiline to death. **huius imperi**: *the power I now hold*, referring to the extraordinary authority conferred on him by the **consultum ultimum** of Oct. 22. See 46, 3-6.

13. **si . . . iussero, residebit . . .**: **sin . . . exieris, exhaurietur**: two more vivid future conditions. A. 516, c; B. 302, 1; G. 595; H. 574, 2; (508, 2).

14. **iam dudum hortor**: A. 466; B. 259, 4; G. 230; H. 533, 1; (467, III. 2).

15. **exhaurietur sentina**: the figure seems to be that of drawing dregs from a cask or bilge-water from a ship. Who the *dregs of the state* are is explained by the appositional genitive, **tuorum comitum**. The gen. to express apposition is rare in Latin, but common enough in English, e.g. the *state of New York*, the *city of Chicago*.

18. Sec 13. **quod . . . faciebas**: i.e. leave the city.

19. **num in exilium**: sc. *te ire iubeam*, an ind. quest., **num** = *whether*. Cf. a different use of *num* two lines above.

21. Ch. VI. **Quid est . . . quod**: see on 47, 11. The same construction follows **nemo est qui**. Cf. the next two clauses.

24. **oderit**: denotes the same time as **metuat**. A. 476; B. 138, 2; G. 175, 5; H. 299, 2; (297, l. 2). — **domesticæ turpitudinis**: referring to family scandals; **privatarum rerum dedecus**: disgraces in private life outside of the family.

PAGE 52. 2. **facinus, flagitium**: see Syn. 16.

4. **Cui tu adolescentulo**, etc.: *before what youth, whom you had ensnared by the charm of your enticements, have you not carried a sword to encourage (lit. for) his audacity or a torch to fire (lit. for) his lust*, i.e. just as slaves, armed with swords and carrying torches, guided their masters at night through the streets of Rome, so Catiline has guided the youth to deeds of violence and debauchery.

6. Sec. 14. **Quid vero**: see on 48, 9. Here strengthened by **vero**.

7. **morte**, etc.: the charge that Catiline killed his first wife is made only by Cicero.

8. **alio incredibili scelere**: referring to the charge that Catiline killed his son; Aurelia Orestilla, his second wife, objecting to marrying a man with children.

9. **omulasti** = *cumulavisti*.

10. **ne . . . aut . . . aut**: *in order that . . . neither . . . nor*.

11. **Fraeternitto**, etc.: rhetorical *praeteritio*. See 43, 8, and note.

PAGE 53. 1. **omnis**: connect with **ruinas**, *the complete ruin*.

2. **Idibus**: Catiline had borrowed money on the strength of his conspiracy being successful; when it was seen to be a failure his creditors would demand payment. The Kalends and the Ides, the beginning and the middle of the month, were the regular days for settling accounts.

4. **difficultatem**: *embarrassment*, in money matters.

5. **ad omnium nostrum vitam**: more often *ad omnium nostram vitam*. See on **omnium**, 49, 9.

8. Sec. 15. **cum**: causal, therefore followed by the subjv. See on **cum venissent**, 50, 9. **neminem qui nesciat**: see 51, 21, and note.

9. **pridie Kalendas**: for cons. see A. 432, a; B. 144, 2; G

p. 491; H. 420, 5; (437, 1). The event referred to belongs to the so-called 'first conspiracy of Catiline.' See *Introd.*, p. 213.

10. **comitio**: see (97). **manum**: obj. of **paravisse**.

12. **mentem**: *reflection*.

13. **fortunam**: fortunately Catiline gave the signal too soon, or the plot might have succeeded.

14. **illa**: *the following*. **omitto**: what rhetorical figure?

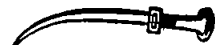
15. **non multa**: *few*. **commissa postea**: *later offenses*.

17. **petitiones**: the term is the technical one used for the cuts and thrusts of a gladiator.

18. **parva quadam**, etc.: *by a slight turn of the body, so to speak*. Cicero uses a popular expression borrowed from the arena, and so says **ut aiunt**, which is often used to introduce proverbs or colloquialisms. Observe that **declinatione et corpore** is a **hendiadys** for **declinatione corporis**. See on **ora voltusque**, 44, 2.

20. **tibi . . . de manibus**: *from your hands*; lit. *from your hands for you*, **tibi** being a dat. of reference. A. 377; B. 188, 1; G. 350, 1; H. 425, 4, n.; (384, n. 2).

21. Sec. 16. **sica**: a dagger shaped like the tusk of a wild boar. At Rome it was carried by ruffians, criminals, and gladiators, and was regarded as fit for such only. There was, moreover, a law against carrying concealed weapons. See *Syn.* 36.



SICA (DAGGER).

23. **quae quidem**, etc.: **quae** is a connecting relative, where in English we should have a conjunction with a demonstrative pronoun or a noun, *and as for this dagger* (A. 308, f.; B. 251, 6, 7; G. 610, r. 1; H. 510; (453)). Grammatically it is the subject of **sit**. **quibus . . . sit** is an ind. question after **nescio**. **initiata . . . ac devota**: *consecrated and vowed*, alludes to the practice of assassins of vowing a weapon to some god in case an intended murder should be successfully accomplished.

PAGE 54. 1. Ch. VII. **Nunc vero**: *now truly*, transition from the consideration of his past life to the present. **ista**: *that of yours*. A. 297, 298, c; B. 246, 4; G. 306; H. 505; 507, 3; (450, n.)

3. **ut misericordia**: sc. *permotus esse videar*. **nulla**: emphatic negative, *not at all*.

6. **vocis**: emphatic, and opposed to **taciturnitatis**.

8. **Quid, quod**: *And again, the fact that*. — **ista subsellia**: *those benches near you*. These were wooden benches without backs brought in for the occasion. The consul, by virtue of his office, sat on the *sella curulis* (41, iv.). See Ill., p. 290.

9. **tibi**: the dat. of agent, which is regular after the gerundive (see 12 below), is occasionally found in the case of personal pronouns after a perfect participle (here **constituti**).

10. **fuerunt**: not *sunt*, because they *have been* destined to death, but are no longer so now.

11. **partem istam . . . reliquerunt**: Catiline as *ex-praetor* (*praetorius*) would sit among the *praetorii*, who sat next to the *consulares* or *ex-consuls*.

12. **tibi**: the regular dat. of ag't. See on 9 above.

13. Sec. 17. **Servi**: very emphatic in position, and made still more so by **mehercule**. The latter is a mere emphatic expletive reduced from **me Hercules iuuet**: *so help me, Hercules*. **si metuerent, . . . putarem**: a good example of a condition contrary to fact (unreal) in present time. A. 517; B. 304; G. 597; H. 579; (510). Two more cases follow below.

14. **relinquendam**: sc. *esse*, which is often omitted with periphrastic infinitives.

15. **urbem**: sc. *relinquendam (esse)*.

16. **suspectum tam graviter**: *so grave an object of suspicion*.

17. **aspectu**: abl. of separation after **carere**.

22. **odissent**: expresses the same time as **timerent**. See **oderit**, 51, 24, and note.

24. **Nunc**: *but as it is*, the real case as opposed to the imagined ones.

25. **iam diu . . . iudicat**: see **iam dudum hortor**, 51,

14. **nihil te cogitare nisi**: *that you are thinking of nothing except*.

27. **yerebere**: see Syn. 18.

PAGE 55. 2. Sec. 18. **tacita**: concessive, *though silent*.

3. **aliquot annis**: abl. of time within which, but translate by *for*. **facinus, flagitium**: see Syn. 16.

4. **civium neces**: during the proscriptions of Sulla, in which Catiline took a prominent part.

5. **vexatio direptioque sociorum**: as propraetor of Africa in 87. On his return home he was tried for extortion, but bribed the jury and the prosecutor and was acquitted. See *Introd.*, p. 212.

6. **leges et quaestiones**: see (56), (57), (60).

7. **Superiora illa**: *those former misdeeds*.

9. **totam**: fem. because referring to the fatherland (*patria*).

10. **quicquid increpauerit**: *at every sound, lit. whatever makes a noise*. The subjv. is due to the dependence of the clause on the infinitive *timeri*. A. 593; B. 324; G. 629; 663, 1; H. 652; (529, II.).

11. **posse**: depends on *videri*. **quod a tuo scelere abhorreat** = *a quo tuum scelus abhorreat*. The subjv. expresses characteristic.

12. **non est ferendum**: the subj. is the three preceding inf. clauses. — **Quam ob rem**: used like *qua re* and *quae cum ita sint* in summing up an argument or drawing a conclusion.

13. **mihī**: for case see A. 381; B. 188, 2, d; G. 347, 5; H. 427; (385, II. 2).

15. Ch. VIII. Sec. 19. **si . . . loquatur, . . . debeat**: a less vivid future condition. A. 516, 2; B. 303; G. 596; H. 576; (509). For **etiam si possit**, see A. 526, 527, c; B. 303; G. 604, r. 2; H. 585; (515, II.).

17. **Quid, quod**: *what of the fact that*. **tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti**: the intensive *ipse*, according to the Latin idiom, connects itself with the subj. rather than with the obj., though in our idiom the obj. appears to be the emphatic word (you gave *yourself*). A citizen awaiting trial was not imprisoned, but gave bail or placed himself under the care of some reputable citizen, who then became responsible for his safe keeping. On the incident referred to see *Introd.*, p. 215.

18. **ad**: here for *apud*. See *apud Laecam*, 49, 13.

20. **domi meae**: the locative **domi** may be modified by a possessive adjective or genitive, but when otherwise modified the locative abl. must be used.

22. **parietibus, moenibus**: see Syn. 45. — **tuto**: adv. where we might have expected **tutum**. **qui**: since *I*, rel. cl. of cause, and hence with the subjv. A. 535, e; B. 283, 3; G. 626, r.; H. 592; (517). A second reason for the subjv. here is, of course, the indir. disc.

25. **optimum**: ironical, as is also the next clause, where the irony is marked by **videlicet**. **M. Metellum**: nothing further is known about this man, but it is easy to judge from Cicero's language that he was known to be weak and simple.

PAGE 56. 2. **Sed quam longe videtur abesse debere**: *But how far does it seem that he ought to be from*. Notice that the Latin says, 'does he seem,' etc., the personal being preferred to the impersonal construction. A. 582; G. 528, 1, 2, R. 2; H. 611; (534, 1, n. 1).

3. **qui se ipse**: see **tu te ipse**, 55, 17, and note. **custodia**: for cons. see A. 418, b; B. 226, 2; G. 397, n. 2; H. 481; (421, III.).

4. Sec. 20. **Quae cum ita sint**: see on 55, 12.

5. **emori, abire**: suicide or exile were the two ways open to a convicted Roman citizen. Many preferred the former.

8. **Refer ad senatum**: the technical expression, see (36). **inquis**: the regular word used with a direct quotation. For the conjugation, see A. 144, b; B. 134; G. 175, 2; H. 300; (297, II. 2).

9. **te ire in exsilium**: subj. of **placere**.

10. **non referam**: three reasons may be given why Cicero was unwilling to put the matter to a vote. In the first place, the senate was not a judicial body and had no power to pass sentence on an individual. In the second place, Catiline had not a few friends in the senate who might have voted in his favor. Anything less than a unanimous vote would have been a virtual victory for Catiline. In the third place, a unanimous decree for banishment would still have been favorable to Catiline, for as



he had not been formally tried or convicted of anything, he could have posed as an innocent citizen suffering under the persecution of an unjust senate. Cicero, therefore, wisely refuses to ask the senate to take any formal action, but adroitly manages to secure all the advantages of a decree for banishment, with none of its dangers, by taking the course which follows.

12. **hi**: the senators.

14. **proficiscere**: after this word the orator pauses a moment to give time for protests. There is deep silence. Thereupon he points out that all are clearly of the opinion that Catiline should go. Cicero's device was a skillful one. He well understood that Catiline's secret supporters would be slow to speak out publicly in the senate.

15. **ecquid**: *at all*; used in emphatic questions.

16. **Quid exspectas**, etc.: *why do you wait for the spoken command of those whose desire you perceive by their silence*: lit. *the authority of them speaking whose wish you perceive (when) silent*.

17. Sec. 21. **si dixissem**, . . . **intulisset**: a good example of a condition contrary to fact (unreal) in past time. A. 517; B. 304, 1; G. 597; H. 579; (510, N. 1). Cf. this sentence with the conditions, 54, 13-18.

18. **Sestio**: one of Cicero's best friends, who was afterward very active in defending him against Clodius, and in recalling him from banishment, 57 B.C. In 56 B.C. Cicero defended him in one of his most famous orations, *Pro Sestio*.

19. **Marcello**: afterward one of the bitterest opponents of Caesar. In 46 B.C. Caesar pardoned him and recalled him from exile. Cicero's address of thanks to Caesar on that occasion is contained in this book.

20. **vim et manus**: *violent hands*. What figure? See on *ora voltusque*, 44, 2.

23. **cara**: alluding to his demand for a vote from the senate. **videlicet**: as in 55, 25, above, marking the irony of the statement.

24. **equites Romani**: see (8-11).

25. **circumstant**: the crowd filled all the space about the temple.

27. **voces**: *shouts* of rage against Catiline heard from a distance (**exaudire**) during the progress of the speech. **Quorum**: antecedent is **eosdem**.

PAGE 57. 2. **haec**: *these things which are before us*; object of **relinquentem**. **iam pridem studeo**: see on **iam dudum hortor**, 51, 14.

3. **prosequantur**: when citizens went into voluntary exile their friends and relatives escorted them to the city gates. The thought here is that the populace would be so glad to get rid of him that they would gladly show him this honor.

4. Ch. IX. Sec. 22. **Quamquam**: *but yet, however*; here a rhetorical particle of transition, and not to be confused with the other use of the word where it means *though*, and introduces a concessive clause. See 51, 4. **te, . . . tu, . . . tu, . . . tu**: note the emphasis, — “YOU (of all men, do these things)?” implying that he is the last man of whom it could be expected. **ut . . . frangat**, etc.: *what! anything crush YOU? YOU ever reform*, etc. This and the following clauses are used as exclamatory questions. These are more commonly expressed by the acc. and infinitive. Grammatically the **ut** clauses may be construed as subject clauses of result with *potestne fieri* (*can it be*) understood.

6. **Utinam . . . duint**: A. 441; B. 279; G. 261; H. 558, 2; (483, 1). **duint** is used in old Latin for *dent*.

7. **Tametsi**: *but yet*.

9. **quanta . . . impendeat**: indirect question, obj. of **video**.

10. **recenti memoria**: abl. of time. Translate freely, *while the memory of your crimes is fresh*.

11. **tanti**: *worth the cost*; lit. *of so much* (value). A. 417 B. 203, 3-5; G. 380, R.; H. 448, 1; (404, N. 1). **dum modo . . . sit et . . . seiungatur**: see **dum modo . . . intersit**, 50, 16, and note.

13. **ut . . . commoveare**, etc.: subj. of **postulandum est**.

14. **temporibus**: *the dangers, the exigencies*, as often.

15. **is**: *such a man*; followed naturally by an **ut** clause of characteristic.

17. Sec. 23. **Quam ob rem**: see 55, 12 and note.

18. **inimico**: see Syn. 23. **praedicas**: not **praedicas**.

19. **vis**: from *volo*. **recta**: sc. *via*, *straightway*.

20. **sermones hominum**, *what people say*. See Syn. 53.

22. **Sin . . . mavis**; **egrederè**, **confer**, etc.: like **si . . . vis**, **perge** above; a simple condition with imperative in the apodosis. A. 515, a; B. 302, 4; G. 595; H. 581; (508, 4). **mavis** is from *malo*.

25. **lactrocinio**: *brigandage*; as opposed to regular war (*bellum*). See Syn. 32. It is **impio**, as directed against his country.

26. **isse**: i.e. *ivisse*, from *eo*.

PAGE 58. 1. Sec. 24. **Quamquam**: see on 57, 4. **invitem**: for mood see A. 444; B. 277; G. 265; H. 559, 4; (484, V.). **a quo sciam**: *since I know that by you*; a rel. cl. expressing cause, and hence with the subjv. See 55, 22, and note.

3. **Forum Aurelium**, a small town on the Aurelian Way (see *ill.*, p. 68), about fifty miles north of Rome.

5. **cui . . . sciam**, another rel. cl. of cause. For the dative, see 54, 9, and note.

6. **pactam**: from *paciscor*.

7. **diem**: Manlius was to rise on the 27th of October.

8. **a quo**, etc.: see on **a quo . . . sciam** above, 1.

9. **aquilam illam argenteam**: *that famous silver eagle*. Marius introduced the silver eagle as the standard of the legion. This particular one he is said to have carried in his campaign against the Cimbri.

STANDARD BEARER WITH  
THE EAGLE (AQUILA).

13. **domi tuae**: see on **domi meae**, 55, 20, and note. **sa-**

**crarium**: the Romans often had a little shrine in their houses for the worship of the household gods. So Catiline erected a shrine in his house for the worship of this famous eagle, which to him signified the leadership of the popular party, the object of his ambition.

17. **Tu ut . . . possis**: see the sentence at the beginning of the chapter. **illa**: see on **aspectu**, 54, 17.

21. **altaribus**: *altar*; the word is not found in the singular in classical Latin.

23. Ch. X. Sec. 25. **tandem aliquando**: an emphatic *at length*, the words mutually strengthening each other. **iam pridem rapiebat**: see on **iam dudum hortor**, 51, 14, and A. 470, 471, b; B. 260, 4; G. 234; H. 535, 1; (469, II. 2).

25. **haec res**: i.e. making war against his country.

PAGE 59, 1. **non modo, . . . sed ne . . . quidem**: see on **non modo**, 23, 21.

2. **nefarium**: i.e. civil, also called **impium**. See Syn. 33.

3. **atque**: connecting **perditis** and **derelictis**. **ab . . . fortuna . . . spe**: the preposition shows that *fortune* and *hope* are here personified. They modify **derelictis**.

5. Sec. 26. **laetitia, gaudiis, voluptate**: see Syn. 28. For construction of **laetitia**, see **patientia**, 43, 1, and note.

6. **bacchabere**: the word is borrowed from the wild and frenzied orgies of Bacchus, and would suggest the height of sensual enjoyment.

7. **virum**: in apposition with **quemquam**. Lit., *any one a good man*.

8. **meditati sunt**: here in a passive sense, although from a deponent verb.

9. **iacere, vigilare**: the infinitive clauses are in apposition to **labores**. **ad obsidendum stuprum**: *to be on the lookout for an intrigue*, which is further explained in the next clause by **insidiantem somno maritorum**, just as **ad facinus obeundum**, *to commit a deed of violence*, is explained by **insidiantem bonis otiosorum**. **insidiantem** agrees with the understood acc. subj. of **iacere** and **vigilare**.

12. **Habes ubi ostentes**: *you have an opportunity of displaying.* **ubi** = *ut ibi*, a rel. adv. introducing a purpose clause. A. 530, 531, 2, n.; B. 282, 2; G. 545, 1; H. 589, II.; (497, I.).

15. Sec. 27. **tum cum**, etc.: see 48, 2, and note. **a consulatu**: referring to the last election. See *Intro.*, p. 213.

16. **exsul, consul**: the play upon the words is evident.

17. **esset**: some editors read *est* here. What difference does it make in the thought?

18. **nominaretur**: see *Syn.* 3.

### III. PERORATIO. CHS. XI.—XIII.

I may be accused of remissness in letting such a dangerous enemy as Catiline leave the city. I am influenced to do this neither by the fear of breaking the laws which protect the rights of the citizen, nor because I dread the unpopularity which will fall upon me if I have Catiline put to death. I am letting him go, in the first place, because I wish every one in the city to be convinced of the existence and dangerous character of this conspiracy, as they will be when Catiline appears openly in arms against his country; in the second place, because killing Catiline alone will not rid us of this danger half as effectively as for him to leave the city and take all his followers with him.

And now may Jupiter Stator, the guardian of this city, protect us and punish the enemies of our fatherland.

19. Ch. XI. **Nunc**: transitional use introducing a new subject.

20. **detester ac deprecor**: *remove by protest and entreaty.* This portion of the speech (Sec. 27–30), in which Cicero justifies his conduct toward Catiline, bears the marks of having been inserted later when the speech was put into writing and published. It is too formal and deliberate for an impromptu effort.

21. **quae**: rel. pron., sc. *ea*. This is therefore not an indirect question, and **dicam** is not a subjv. **animis, mentibus**: see *Syn.* 24.

PAGE 60. 1. **Tunc eum**: connect with **exire patiere**. These words make the main clause, all the rest being subordinate.

4. **evocatorem servorum**: the slaves were always a source of danger. Under Spartacus, less than ten years before, they had defeated army after army, and brought Rome to the verge of ruin. Great numbers of slaves flocked to the standards of Catiline in Etruria, but he refused to enroll them, thinking it would injure his cause with the citizens. The epithet Cicero applies to him here is, therefore, scarcely just.

5. **emissus, immissus**: again, a play upon words. Cf. **exsul, consul**, on the previous page. We may translate *let out, let against*.

7. **duci, rapi, mactari**: the regular construction after **imperabis** would be **ut** and the subjv., but Cicero occasionally uses a *passive* infinitive. With the active the subjv. must be used.

9. Sec. 28. **Mos maiorum**: this had the authority of law among the Romans (56), (57). **At**: the regular word introducing an objection in an argument. For the other common use of **at**, see on 46, 2. **persaepe**, etc.: a very strong exaggeration. In Sec. 3, where Cicero discusses this point, he can think of only one case, that of Scipio and Ti. Gracchus.

10. **multarunt** = *multaverunt*.

11. **leges**: the first of these was the Valerian law (509 B.C.). This was reënacted and strengthened by the Porcian laws (198-194 B.C.) and the Sempronian law (122 B.C.). See (62).

11. **rogatae sunt**: *passed*, usually the word means *proposed*.

15. **hominem per te cognitum**, etc.: see (6).

16. **per omnis honorum gradus**: see (54), (55).

19. Sec. 29. **invidiae**: it was this *odium* which five years later drove Cicero into exile.

26. Ch. XII. **si iudicarem, . . . non dedissem**: this contrary-to-fact (unreal) condition refers to present time in the protasis and to past time in the apodosis. *If I judged (now), I would not have given*. The opposite use of tenses is illustrated in the sentence 31, 11. **factu**: A. 510; B. 340, 2; G. 436; H. 635, 1; (547, 1).

PAGE 61. 2. **Saturnini**, etc.: these genitives all modify **sanguine**. The characters here named are the same as those mentioned in Sec. 3 and 4. See notes and vocabulary.

3. **superiorum complurium**: of very many men of former times; again an exaggeration.

4. **contaminarunt, honestarunt**: for form see on **multarunt**, 60, 10, above. As a matter of fact, these violent breaches of law brought little credit to those making them, and usually entailed serious consequences.

5. **quid invidiæ**: part. gen. **parricida**: in killing the citizens he is destroying his country, and "*patria est communis parens omnium nostrum*" (54, 24.)

6. **si impenderet, fui**: a mixed condition, the protasis being contrary to fact present (*if it were to threaten*), and the apodosis simple past (*I have been*). **ea**: i.e. *invidia*.

8. **partam**: from *pario*.

9. Sec. 30. **Quamquam**: see 57, 4, and note. **qui . . . videant . . . dissimulent; qui . . . aluerunt**: the first of these **qui** clauses characterizes **non nulli**, and therefore uses subjunctive (see 49, 8, and note); the second **qui** is a connecting relative, equal to *hi autem*, and is therefore followed by the indicative.

11. **mollibus sententiis**: Cicero complains also in his oration *pro Murena* (Sec. 51) of the lack of decision on the part of the senators, saying that some were unwilling to adopt a vigorous course because they feared nothing, others because they feared everything.

13. **quorum auctoritate**: and through the influence of these. Another example of the connecting relative. A. 308, f; B. 251, 6; G. 610, R.; H. 510; (453).

14. **Si animadvertissem, dicerent**: bring out the force of the tenses in translation. See 31, 11, and note.

16. **si iste**, etc.: the next few lines are in indirect discourse after **intellego**. In the direct form we should have: *si iste, quo intendit, . . . pervenerit, nemo tam stultus erit qui non videat . . . nemo tam improbus qui non fateatur*. What changes

have the italicized words suffered? Account for the lack of change in the others.

20. **reprimi, comprimi**: the point lies in the difference in meaning of these two words. We may render, *repress, suppress*.

22. **eodem**: adv.

23. **adulta pestis, stirps, semen**: note the metaphor of a plant or tree.

25. Ch. XIII. Sec. 31. **iam diu in . . . versamur**: *for a long time we have been living in the midst of*. See on **iam dudum hortor**, 51, 14. That is, ever since 65 B.C., when Catiline made his first conspiracy.

27. **nescio quo pacto**: *somehow* (lit. *I know not in what way*). *nescio quis* is treated as a single word equal in sense to an indefinite pronoun, and has no effect on the following construction.

PAGE 62. 1. **maturitas, erupit in**: *ripeness, has burst out upon*. These words continue the metaphor of lines 23-25 of the preceding page. **nostris** is used for **mei**, like *nos* for *ego*, in speeches. Cf. the English 'editorial *we*.'

2. **latrocinio**: abstract for concrete, *band of robbers*.

5. **visceribus**: *vitals*.

6. **aestu febrique**: *in the burning heat of fever*, hendiadys. See on **vim et manus**, 56, 20.

7. **si biberunt, videntur**: a general condition, present time. In this form the perf. ind. in the protasis is translated like a present, *if they drink, whenever they drink*. A. 518, b; B. 302, 3; G. 567, II.; 594, n. 1; H. 578, 1; (508, 5, 1)).

9. **relevatus**: expresses condition, *si relevabitur*.

10. **reliquis vivis**: abl. abs. expressing condition, as if *si reliqui vivi erunt*. See on 4, 3.

11. Sec. 32. **Qua re**: see on 55, 12.

13. **insidiari**: referring to the attempt on his life the preceding night.

14. **circumstare tribunal**, etc.: to intimidate him, and obstruct justice. See (45), (59).

15. **curiam**: see (105, 2). **malleolos**: a firebrand shaped



like a hammer with a head of tar or pitch. It was used in sieges to throw upon the enemies' buildings.

18. **fore** = *futuram esse*.

22. **videatis**: with a strong future force, *you will see*.

23. Sec. 33. **Hicce ominibus**: *with these prospects*. The enclitic *-ce* is often added to demonstratives to produce emphasis.

24. **cum**: in our idiom *to*.

PAGE 63. l. **Tu, Iuppiter**, etc.: addressed to the great statue of Jupiter, standing in his temple.

2. **urbs**: sc. *constituta est*, historically incorrect, as the temple of Jupiter, though vowed by Romulus, was built much later, 294 B.C. **auspiciis**: see (70), (71), (74).

3. **Statorem**: here used in the sense of 'stayer of the state.' See on 50, 20.

5. **vita**: see on 51, 8.

6. **arcebis, mactabis**: future with the force of the imperative. A. 449, b; G. 243; II. 536, 2; 560, κ.; (470, 1; 487, 4).

*For Review Questions see page 380.*



## THE SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE PEOPLE, Nov. 9, 63 B.C.

At the close of Cicero's first speech, Catiline rose, and with humble mien and suppliant voice begged the senate not to believe everything said against him; that he, as a patrician of noble descent, had a sure public career without resorting to revolution, and that Cicero, a mere upstart, a *novus homo*, was simply posing for effect as the protector of the state. But the enraged senate would not hear him, and drove him out with cries of 'traitor' and 'assassin.'

After a hasty conference with his friends, Catiline, with a small band, left the city that same night for the camp of Manlius, promising to return soon at the head of an army. He set out toward the north by the coast road, the Aurelian Way, which gave color to the report, busily circulated by his friends, that he had gone to Massilia into voluntary exile, a victim of unjust persecution. He also on his journey wrote letters to prominent men in Rome to the same purport. His object was, of course, to arouse sympathy for himself, hatred toward Cicero and the senate, and to conceal his real designs.

The next day, Nov. 9, Cicero made an address to the assembled people (28), the Second Oration against Catiline, congratulating them on the departure of Catiline, and aiming to quiet the public excitement, and to deter the remaining conspirators from farther efforts.

The speech is of a descriptive and narrative, rather than of an argumentative, character, as is clear from the following analysis.

## ARGUMENT.

I. CH. I. **Exordium.** Congratulations on the departure of Catiline. — II. Chs. II.—XI. **Descriptio.** Chs. II.—VII. Why it was better to let Catiline go than to arrest him. He has not been sent into exile. Chs. VIII.—XI. Character of his adherents, and their weakness as compared with the resources of the state. — III. Chs. XII.—XIII. **Peroratio.** The conspirators in the city given a final warning. The consul does all, relying upon the gods, to whom the citizens should address their prayers.

## EXORDIUM. CH. I.

Citizens, we have driven Catiline out of the city and escaped a great peril. Now he must fight us openly. He grieves over our preservation, but we rejoice.

PAGE 64. 1. Ch. I. Sec. 1. **Tandem aliquando**: see 58, 23, and note. **aliquando** occurs alone in the same sense on 50, 13. **Quirites**: see on 1, 3.

3. **ferro flammaque**: *fire and sword*, but in Latin *sword and fire*. **minitantiem**: the verb *minari* or *minitari* takes a two-fold construction. We may say either, 'threaten something (acc.) to some one (dat),' or 'threaten some one (dat.) with something (abl.)' Here we have the latter. **vel elecimus vel emisimus**, etc.: *we have, if you choose, put him out or let him go, etc.* The conjunctions **vel . . . vel**, as distinguished from **aut . . . aut**, allow a choice of terms or an exclusion of both of them. With **aut . . . aut** we must take one or the other, and taking one excludes the other. Here Cicero uses **vel**, because, until he has learned the temper of the people, he is afraid to assume the responsibility for having driven Catiline out.

4. **ipsum** = *sua sponte*: *of his own accord*.

5. **verbis prosecuti sumus**: in the sense of 'to wish good speed;' of course ironical. Cicero may be thinking of the closing lines of Ch. VIII. in the first oration. **Abiit, excessit, evacit, erupit**: note the climax, each succeeding word

being stronger, the effect being strengthened by the absence of connectives (asyndeton).

7. **moenibus**: dat., translate *against the walls*.

9. **non iam**: *no longer*.

10. **sica illa versabitur**: *will that well-known dagger play about*. **ille** following its noun means *well-known, famous, etc.*  
**campo** (sc. *Martio*): see on 50, 26 ff. **Foro**: see (94)-(99).

11. **curia**: see (105, 2).

12. **Loco motus**: *forced from his position*, a term borrowed from the arena. Cf. 'lost his grip.' **cum est depulsus**: see on **cum . . . venissent**, 50, 9.

13. **hoste**: emphatic. This is what Cicero had been striving for — to make Catiline come out openly as the enemy of his country. **nullo impediēte**: *with no one to hinder*; **nullo** is regularly used for the abl. of *nemo*.

16. Sec. 2. **Quod . . . extulit**, etc.: a number of *quod* clauses of cause stated as facts on the speaker's authority, hence with the indie.

PAGE 65. 1. **vivis nobis**: abl. abs. See on **reliquis vivis**, 62, 10.

2. **ei e manibus**: see on **de manibus tibi**, 53, 20, and note.

3. **tandem**: see 43, 1, and note.

6. **retorquet oculos, faucibus**: note the metaphor of a wild beast driven from his prey.

8. **quae quidem**: *but this, quidem* having here an adversative force. **pestem evomuerit**, etc.: here the metaphor changes to that of a poison, of which the state has been relieved. Observe that the verbs **evomuerit** and **proiecerit** are subjv. in a **quod** clause of cause. Compare this sentence with the causal clauses above (lines 1-3), where the indie. was used. Here the subjv. is due to the fact that the reason is stated not as Cicero's, but as the city's.

#### DESCRIPTIO. CHS. II.-XI.

Chs. II.-VII. Some may criticise me for letting Catiline go, instead of arresting him. He deserved death. I let him go

because the only way to make you believe in his guilt was to show him to you in arms against his country. Now that he is outside, he and his forces are not to be feared. The conspirators of high rank who are still in the city are much more to be feared. If they would only follow him, it would be a happy day for the republic. Even his going is a great relief. He was not only very wicked himself, but was the center of evil influence, to which the wicked of all classes gathered, not only from Rome, but from all Italy. His adherents are so corrupt that they can no longer be endured. No danger from without threatens Rome; the danger is within. War must be waged with extravagance, folly, and crime; and for this war I proclaim myself general.

Some say that I have driven Catiline into exile. That is absurd. I simply exposed his plans to the senate, which was as hostile to him as I. Then I bade him go to Manlius, where he had long been planning to go. He never thought of going into exile. Yet, I presume, that if he should really do so, I should be called a tyrant, and he a martyr. I would be willing to bear that, however, if he would only go, but there is no hope of it. Those who say so, know better, and are in league with him.

10. Ch. II. Sec. 3. *oportebat*: *ought to be* (but are not). We have here the apodosis of a present condition contrary to fact, the protasis being understood (*si boni essent, si recte putarent, or something of the sort*). For mood and tense of *oportebat*, see 49, 11, and note.

11. *in hoc ipso*: *in this very matter*.

12. *quod non comprehenderim*: *because* (as they say) *I did not seize*, the subjv. of implied indirect discourse. Cf. *evomuerit* and *proiecerit*, above.

14. *Interfectum esse*: the present, *interfici*, would have been regular. See A. 486, a; B. 270, 2; G. 280, r. 2; H. 618, 2; (537, 1). In such cases the participle may be regarded as a pred. adjective. See on 46, 6.

15. *iam pridem oportebat*: see 44, 14, and note.

16. *huius imperi*: see 51, 10, and note. See also Syn. 26.

17. *res publica*: *the interests of the state*; for *res*, see note, 2, 7.

18. *qui . . . crederent*: characteristic; so below, *qui defenderent*. *quae ego deferrem*: *the facts that I reported*, the

subjv. of integral part or attraction. A. 593; B. 324; G. 629, H. 652, 1; (529, II. n. 1, 1).

22. **si iudicaret, sustulissem**: see 60, 26, and note.

PAGE 66. 1. Sec. 4. **cum viderem**: subjv., because the idea is causal rather than temporal. See **cum . . . venissent**, 50, 9, and note. **ne vobis quidem omnibus**: dat. after **re probata**, the emphatic word being **vobis**, as its position between **ne** and **quidem** shows; *the facts (re) being proved even then not even to all of YOU (to say nothing of others)*; or more freely: *since the facts of the conspiracy even at that time were not fully established to your complete satisfaction*.

3. **fore ut, etc.**: *the result would be that, etc.*, the obj. of **viderem**, and the apodosis of **si . . . multassem**. In the direct form the condition would be, *si multavero, potero*. *potero* becomes **fore ut possem** because **possum** has no future infinitive. A. 569, a; B. 270, 3; G. 248; H. 619, 2, 3; (537, 3, n. 1).

5. **videretis**: the **cum** clause takes its mood and tense from the result clause **ut . . . possetis**, with which it is closely connected. See on **quae ego deferrem**, 65, 18, above.

6. **Quem quidem hostem**: *and as for this enemy*, emphatic in position, and made more so by **quidem**. **Quem** is a connecting relative. See on 53, 23.

7. **foris**: on 65, 9, we had **foras**; the former, originally an abl., is used with verbs of rest; the latter, originally an acc., with verbs of motion. **licet intellegatis**: see **licet recognoscas**, 47, 17, and note.

8. **quod exierit**: *because (as I am told) he went forth*. Why subjv.? **comitatus**: see on **meditati**, 59, 8. Plutarch says there were 300, but may include in that number those that waited for Catiline at Forum Aurelium, and joined him there. See on 58, 3.

9. **Utinam duxisset**: see on **utinam duint**, 57, 6, and note the force of the tenses.

10. **Tongilium mihi eduxit**: *he did take Tongilius with him, I am happy to say*. **mihi** is an ethical dat. A. 380; B. 188, 2, b); G. 351; H. 432; (389). The three men mentioned are not

otherwise known. The orator mentions them in contrast with the conspirators of high rank that had remained in the city. **praetexta**: sc. *toga*; the toga with a red border, worn by free born Roman boys up to the age of manhood, and by the higher magistrates. The ordinary toga (*toga virilis*) was plain white. The phrase in **praetexta** means *in boyhood, or when quite young*. See also Syn. 57.

12. **nullum motum**: *no disaster*, i.e. their debts are too trifling.

15. Ch. III. Sec. 5. **prae**: *in comparison with*. The *Gallicanae legiones* formed the permanent garrison of Cisalpine Gaul. Besides these, Q. Metellus, the praetor (55, 23), was making a new levy for the defense of the state. The *Ager Gallicus* was the coast district of Umbria.

PAGE 67. 3. **desperatis**: not only *desperate*, but *despaired of*. Trans., *hopeless and ruined*. He has in mind the ruined veterans of Sulla. **agresti luxuria**: abstract for concrete, *boorish prodigals*. **ex rusticis decoctoribus**: *of bankrupts from the country*. **decoctoribus**: from *decoquo*, 'to boil down, simmer away,' hence, *to squander*.

4. **qui vadimonia deserere**: i.e. all these men were under indictment for debt, and had given bail (*vadimonium*) for their appearance at court when wanted. By joining Catiline's army they were forfeiting their bail.

5. **quibus**: connecting relative, *if I shall show* (lit. *shall have shown*) *these, not to say, etc.*

6. **edictum praetoris**: this would contain the penalties for debtors. **concidet**: lit. *fall in a heap*; freely, *be helpless*.

7. **Hos**: strongly contrasted with **illum exercitum** above. **volitare**: *flit about*, like birds of brilliant plumage.

8. **curiam**: see (105, 2). **unguentis, purpura**: marks of extravagance and foppery. By **purpura** he refers to the broad, purple stripe worn by senators on the front of the tunic (7). In the choice of this, the greatest luxury and refinement of taste was displayed by the elegant young nobles.

9. **malle**: *I would rather, I would prefer* (if I had my way).

The apodosis of a condition contrary to fact, present time.  
**suos milites**: in apposition with **hos**.

10. **eduxisset**: a subjv. without *ut*, see A. 565; B. 296. 1, a; G. 546, r. 2; H. 565, 2; (499, 2). **mementote**: the present imperative of *scio* and *memini* is lacking.

11. **esse**: *pertimescendum* understood.

12. **hoc magis**: *for this reason the more*. A. 414; B. 223; G. 403; H. 479; (423).

14. **neque tamen permoventur**: the boldness of the conspirators shows their strength.

Sec. 6. **Video**, etc.: see on 49, 5-12.

PAGE 68. 1. **superioris noctis**: *that former night*, i.e. the meeting at Laeca's house, the night of Nov. 6.

4. **Ne**: *surely*; here easily distinguishable from the conj. and adv. *ne* because followed by the indic. mood. It regularly stands first in a sentence, and is accompanied by a pronoun.

PAGE 69. 1. Ch. IV. **Quod expectavi**: (*sc. id*) *that which I have waited for*.

2. **aperte**, with **videretis**.

3. **nisi si** for *nisi*. **Catilinæ**: see **tui**, 47, 4, and note.

4. **similis**: acc. plur. agreeing with *eos* understood, subj. of **sentire**. **Non iam**: *no longer*.

5. **flagitat**: see Syn. 9.

6. **ne patiantur**: negative purpose, or possibly hortative.

7. **sui**: obj. gen. plural, *for themselves*. **miserum**, with adverbial force, *wretchedly*.

8. **Aurelia via**: the coast road to Massilia, and for that reason chosen by Catiline, to strengthen the belief that he had gone there. A more direct route to Manlius was the Via Cassia.

9. Sec. 7. **O fortunatam**, etc.: a lively way of saying *fortunata erit res publica*, the apodosis to **si quidem**, etc.

11. **mehercule**: see on 54, 13. **exhausto**: continues the metaphor of **sentinam**. See on **exhaurietur . . . sentina**, 51, 15.

14. **tota Italia**: for cons. see A. 429, 2; B. 228, 1, b); G. 388; H. 485, 2; (425, 2).



PAGE 70. 2. **sublector**: *forger, subicere* meaning to substitute one thing for another. **circumscriptor**: used especially of one who made his living by cheating inexperienced youths.

4. **quis corruptus, quis perditus**: these two general terms sum up the particular ones that precede.

6. **hosce**: see **hisce**, 62, 23, and note.

7. Sec. 8. **Iam vero**: a common form of transition; here to another phase of Catiline's character. Translate, *and again, furthermore*. Below, line 12, we have **Nunc vero** which is used in the same way.

8. **quae tanta, etc.**: *freely, was there ever such great attraction for youth in any man as in him?* See 52, 4.

11. **mortem parentum pollicebatur**: that the profligate sons might inherit the property. **impellendo, adiuvando**: A. 507; B. 338, 4, a); G. 431; H. 630; (542, IV.), translate as pres. participles.

14. **Nemo non modo, etc.**: **nemo** goes with both clauses; supply *fuit* in the first clause from the second. *There was no one not only at Rome but (there was no one) in, etc.*

17. **asciverit**: for subjv. cf. the construction after **Quid est quod**, and **Nemo est qui**, 51, 21-23. It is useful to remember that when a relative expresses characteristic it may be translated: *of such a kind that, of such a character that*.

18. Ch. V. Sec. 9. **ut . . . possitis**, the principal cl. upon which this final clause depends must be supplied, e.g. *let me tell you, listen to this*. **diversa studia in dissimili ratione**: *his various tastes in a different field*.

19. **ludo gladiatorio**: where the gladiators were trained for their combats. Gladiators were usually slaves and of the worst character.

20. **audacior**: *more daring* (than usual); cf. below, **levior**, and **nequior**. So frequently the comparative denotes an excess of a quality. **scena**: actors were generally slaves and freedmen, and the profession was despised as unworthy of a Roman. On the other hand, the writers of plays were held in high honor.

22. **Atque idem tamen**, etc.: *and yet this same man, trained by the practice of impurity and crime to endure cold, etc.* **frigore**, **fame**, etc.: abl. of specification. The gerundive **perferendis** agrees with the nearest noun, and is understood with the others.

PAGE 71. 2. **cum**: *though*. The thought of the passage is that though Catiline makes a boon companion of these bad characters, they all look up to him as a hero (**fortis**) because he excels them all in endurance and wickedness.

The above description of Catiline may be profitably compared with the one Cicero gives of him in his oration *pro Caelio*, Sec. 13:

"Illa vero, iudices, in illo homine (*Catilina*) mirabilia fuerunt: comprehendere multos amicitia, tueri obsequio, cum omnibus communicare quod habebat, servire temporibus suorum omnium pecunia, gratia, labore corporis, scelere etiam, si opus esset, et audacia; versare suam naturam et regere ad tempus atque huc et illuc torquere ac flectere; cum tristibus severe, cum remissis iuvennde, cum senibus graviter, cum iuventute comiter, cum facinorosis audacter, cum libidinosi luxuriose vivere."

4. Sec. 10. **Hunc vero**, etc.: continues the thought from 69, 12, interrupted by the description of Catiline.

5. **O nos beatos**, etc.: see on 69, 9, above. See also Syn. 49.

7. **non iam**: see on 69, 4.

8. **libidines**: abstract nouns have a plural to express *acts of*, *instances of*, the quality.

10. **res**, **fides**: *property*, *credit*.

13. **Quod si . . . quaerent, essent**: see on **si metuerent . . . putarem**, 54, 13, and note.

15. **possit**: subjv. in a rhetorical question. A. 444; B. 277, a; G. 259, 265; H. 557; (486, II.).

16. **homines, viris**: see Syn. 2.

18. **mih**i: another ethical dative (see on 66, 10). The exact force of an ethical dative is often hard to translate. The underlying thought is always that the person referred to is especially interested in the action, and views it with favor or disfavor.

In Sec. 4 it was the former, here the latter. **accubantes**: the Romans reclined on couches while eating. **complexi**: in company of.

20. **obliti**: from *oblino*; distinguish from *obluti*, from *obliviscor*. **eruciant**: *belch forth*, the verb is in keeping with the drunken debauch described.

21. **bonorum**: See on, 44, 1.

22. Sec. 11. **Quibus**: *over these*, connecting relative. **Quos** below is another. Such relatives regularly begin the sentence and often stand before the conjunction of the clause to which they belong (**quos si**, etc.). They are best translated by demonstratives or personals.

PAGE 72. 2. **astulerit**: not from *suffero*. **nescio quod**: indefinite adj. modifying **breve**; compare **nescio quo pacto**, 61, 27, and note.

3. **propagarit** = *propagaverit*: fut. perf. **Nulla . . . natio quam pertimescamus, nullus rex qui possit**: see **asciverit**, 70, 17, and note.

5. **unius**: i.e. Pompey, who had just conquered the pirates and Mithradates.

6. **Domesticum**: not *domestic*. See on **causa**, 2, 17.

11. **Quae**: sc. *ea*. **quacumque ratione**: sc. *potero*.

12. **resecanda erunt**: *must be cut away*, a figure taken from pruning a vine, or from surgery.

13. **aut . . . aut . . . aut**: *either . . . or . . . or*, observe how each one of these excludes the other two. They *must* do one of three things. Compare the use of **vel**, 64, 4, and see note.

14. **et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent**: with the first clause the verb is literal, with the second figurative. This is a very common form of expression in Latin, especially in poetry. In English translation it is better to change the verb. Not to do so produces a burlesque effect as, 'He caught a bad cold and no fish.'

16. Ch. VI. § 12. **At etiam**: *but still*, transition to his defense against the charge that he has acted tyrannically. On the use of **at**, see 60, 9.

17. **Quod si** = *si hoc*. See on **quibus**, 71, 22. **verbo**: *by a mere word* (as they claim I did in Catiline's case).

19. **videlicet**: *of course, to be sure, forsooth*, marking irony, as usual. See on 55, 25; 56, 23. **permodestus**: *very obedient, very docile*.

21. **Hesterno die**, etc.: up to this point Cicero was ironically quoting the words of his critics. Now his reply begins. The reference is, of course, to his attempted assassination early on the morning of Nov. 8.

PAGE 73. 2. **in aedem Iovis Statoris**: see on 44, 2.

4. **ita . . . ut**, correlatives. The Eng. idiom omits the first.

6. **Quin etiam**: *nay even*, admitting the truth of what precedes, but adding something much stronger. **principes**: see 54, 8 ff.

8. Sec. 13. **vehemens ille consul**, etc.: ironical. **quaesivi a Catilina**: cf. Ch. IV. of the preceding oration. *Quaero* is regularly followed by the abl. with a prep. of the person and the acc. of the thing asked. Here the place of the acc. is taken by the indirect question **in nocturno . . . necne**. In double questions the introductory word of the first half (*utrum, -ne*) is very often omitted, as here. For *or not* in the second half, we usually have *annon* in direct questions and *necne* in indirect.

11. **homo audacissimus**: in apposition with **ille** with concessive force, *through a very bold fellow*. See also Syn. 2.

13. **in proximam**: i.e. the assassination of Cicero.

14. **ei**: dat. of agent, see on **tibi**, 54, 9. **cum**: the verb is *scirem*.

PAGE 74. 2. **iam pridem pararet**: *had long been preparing*. The direct form would be *iam pridem paras*, see on **iam dudum hortor**, 51, 14.

3. **securis, fascis**: the axes were tied in the middle of the bundle of rods, making the *fascis* (see ill., p. 73). By assuming these, Catiline assumed the *imperium* which went with the consular power. See (43), (50).

4. **aquilam**, etc.: see 58, 8. **qui ille . . . fecerat**: observe that this clause is independent of the indirect discourse,

and therefore has its verb in the indic. A. 583; B. 314, 3; G. 655, R. 2; H. 643, 3; (524, 2, 1)).

6. **eiocibam**: was I trying to send. A. 471, c; B. 260, 3; G. 233; H. 530; (469, 1).

7. **credo**: strongly ironical, as usual when parenthetical. See 46, 18. **iste**: with a contemptuous force. A. 297, c; B. 246, 4; G. 306, n.; H. 507, 3; (450, 1, n.).

11. **Massiliam**: Marseilles was a favorite place of exile for the Romans. It was a large wealthy city, and conveniently near Italy.

12. Ch. VII. **condicionem**: task.

13. **Nunc**: even now (after all we know about him).

14. **consiliis, laboribus, periculis**: a very common rhetorical device for securing emphasis is to omit connectives between words and phrases. This is called *asyndeton*. Note it not only in the words above, but also in the phrases that immediately follow.

18. **non ille**, with **dicetur**.

21. **vi et minis**: threats of violence, hendiadys. See on **vim et manus**, 56, 20.

24. Sec. 15. **Est mihi tanti**: it is well worth my while. See on 57, 11.

26. **dum modo depellatur**: see 50, 16, and note. Below we have **dum modo eat**.

PAGE 75. 1. **Dicatur**: notice that the verb in Latin is personal, *let him be said*, etc., not *let it be said*, etc., which would be expressed, *Dicatur eum eiectum esse*. The Latin prefers the personal construction, English the impersonal.

2. **non est iturus**: he does not intend to go. A. 194, a; B. 115; G. 247; H. 531; (466, n.).

6. **illud**: refers to what follows, **ne mihi sit**, etc.

7. **emiserim**: let him go. For the construction, compare a very similar sentence, 65, 12.

9. **quid dicerent**: what would they be saying now, contrary to fact, present. But note the tense of the protasis.

10. Sec. 16. **Quamquam**: see on 57, 4. **qui**: the antecede-

dent, **isti**, is definite, and needs no further characterization, consequently the rel. cl. takes the indic. But compare **nemo est qui**, etc., below.

11. **dictitant**: the frequentative or intensive form of *dico*, *keep saying*. A. 263, 2; B. 155, 2; G. 191, 1; H. 364; (336). **verentur**: they fear it because they are secret sympathizers with Catiline, and if he should really go to Massilia, it would be a sign that he had given up hope, and abandoned them.

15. **latrocinantem**: *in guerrilla warfare*.

16. **cum**: causal.

17. **vivis nobis**: abl. abs. *leaving me alive*. Notice the usual use of the plural (**nobis**) for the singular. **potius . . . quam queramur**; a hortative subjv. the same as **optemus**: *let us hope . . . rather than complain*. See also Syn. 15.

Chs. VIII.-XI. Now I will show you of what classes of men Catiline's forces are composed: (a) First are the dishonest rich, who are heavily in debt and hope for a revolution to set them free. Their best course is to pay their debts. (b) The second class is of the politically ambitious. They are also heavily in debt. They have a foolish idea that a revolution will bring them the offices they covet. (c) The third class is the bankrupt veterans of Sulla. Their only hope is in civil war and a redistribution of spoil. (d) The fourth class is one of miscellaneous ne'er-do-weals. They are more successful as debtors than as soldiers. (e) The fifth class is of criminals of every sort. (f) The last class is the lowest and worst, the intimates of Catiline. Against such forces as these our armies have nothing to fear. We have everything, they lack everything. Virtue is arrayed against vice. The gods will not allow vice to triumph.

22. Ch. VIII. Sec. 17. **quod**: sc. *id*, which is in apposition with **quia murus interest**.

24. **Quos**: connecting relative. How translated? See 71, 22, and note.

PAGE 76. 1. **sanare sibi ipsos**: *to restore to themselves*, i.e. to sound reason. We might expect *ipsis* here, but see **tu te ipse**, 55, 17, and note.

5. **consili atque orationis meae**: *of my words of advice*, hendiadys.

6. **si quam potero** = *si quam medicinam adferre potero*.

7. Sec. 18. **unum**: in enumerations often used for *primum*.  
**magno in aere alieno**: *though heavily in debt*.

9. **dissolvi**: purposely ambiguous; it may mean either 'set themselves free from their possessions' or 'set themselves free from debt.' Of course to do the second they would have to do the first.

10. **honestissima**: not *honest*. **voluntas et causa**: *purposes and principles*.

11. **Tu agris**, etc.: Cicero imagines one of the class before him. The ablatives express specification.

12. **argento**: beautiful chased silverware for the table.  
**familia**: not *family*.

13. **sis, et dubites**: see on **invitem**, 58, 1.

15. **omnium** = *omnium rerum*, a rare use, regularly *omnium* standing alone would mean *all men*. See A. 288, b; B. 236, 1, 2; G. 204, n. 1, (b), n. 4; H. 494, 1; (441, 1).

16. **An tabulas novas**: (*sc. expectas*), lit. 'clean tablets,' *new accounts*, by which debts would be reduced or, as Catiline promised, entirely cancelled. The Romans had no general bankrupt law, but periodically, to relieve the debtor class, would reduce all debts by legislative enactment to a fraction of the whole, at the expense of the creditors. The last time this had been done was in 86 B.C., when the Valerian law reduced all debts to one-fourth of the original sum, and creditors had to sacrifice three-fourths of their capital outstanding.

17. **tabulae novae**: the *new accounts* which Cicero proposes to give them are the lists posted up by the auctioneers; i.e. he will force them to sell enough of their property to pay their debts.

19. **Quod**: connecting relative, object of **facere**.

21. **certare cum usuris**, etc.: *to struggle against interest* (on what they had borrowed) *with the products of their farms*, the implication being that in this struggle 'interest' was sure to win.

22. **his uteremur**: *we should now find them*. **hosce**: see on 70, 6.

PAGE 77. 1. **magis vota facturi**: *more likely to make vows*.

4. Ch. IX. Sec. 19. **Alterum**: used in enumerations for *secundum*. See on **unum**, above, 76, 7.

6. **rerum**: for case see A. 357, a, 1; B. 212, 2; G. 407, n. 2, d; H. 458, 3; (410, V. 3). **honores**: *offices*. See (54).

7. **desperant**: a candidate to be successful must have money. These men were in debt and poor. **perturbata**: *sc. re publica*.

8. **Quibus hoc praecipendum**, etc.: *These I think (vide-tur) need the following (hoc) advice*. **scilicet**: *that is to say*.

9. **quod reliquis omnibus**: *sc. praecipendum videtur*. **ut desperent**. *purpose*.

10. **me ipsum vigilare**, etc.: the infin. clauses are in apposition with **hoc**.

12. **in bonis viris**: as usual, in a political sense. See on **bonorum**, 44, 1.

15. **praesentis**: with **deos**, *in person*.

16. **Quod si**: *but if* (lit. *as to which, if*), A. 397, a; B. 185, 2; G. 610, R. 2; H. 510, 9; (453, 6).

17. **num sperant**: *they don't imagine, do they?* See on 45, 22.

20. **Non** = *nonne*: often so in lively discourse. **id**: i.e. the overthrow of the government and their own elevation to high office. **quod**, obj. of **adepti sint** and subj. of **concedi adepti sint, sit**; the subjv. is due to the indirect disc. In the direct disc. we should have *adepti erunt, est* (A. 516, d; B. 302, 1; G. 595, n. 2; H. 574, 2; (508, 4)), a more vivid future condition. The thought of the passage is that the first leaders in a revolution are always obliged to yield the fruits of their victory to a supremacy of brute force (**fugitivo aut gladiatori**).

PAGE 78. 1. Sec. 20. **Tertium genus**: these were the veterans of Sulla, who, to the number of 120,000, were assigned allotments of land by him in various parts of Italy, but especially in Etruria. Faesulae was one of these military colonies. With their extravagant habits, the veterans soon wasted their properties, and now, after twenty years, were getting on in life (**aetate iam adfectum**), heavily in debt, and longing for the days of Sulla to return.



2. **Manlius**: of him the historian Dio Cassius says: "There was a certain C. Manlius, a man of great experience in war (for he had been among the centurions of Sulla), and very extravagant. Everything that he had gained then, much as this was, he had wasted shamefully, and now he was longing for similar deeds." xxxvii, 30.

6. **universas esse**: *in general consist of*.

9. **ei**: *they*, i.e. those I have in mind as distinguished from the colonists in general.

12. **sumptuosius**: *too extravagantly*.

14. **dum aedificant**: still a popular way with the newly rich to display their wealth. Of such Horace says:

"First you build, that is, you try  
To ape great men, yourself some two feet high."

Hor. Sat. II. 3, 308.

16. **familiis**: see on **familia**, 76, 12.

20. **salvi**: used of freedom from debt, the same as on 76, 19. **Sulla**, etc.: *Sulla will have to be raised from the dead*. **eis** is dat. of agent, but is scarcely needed in the English.

21. **qui**: connecting relative. So also **Quos**, 79, l. **agrestis homines**: especially the men dispossessed of their lands by Sulla's veterans.

PAGE 79. 2. **eos hoc moneo**: **moneo** takes two accusatives when one of them is the neuter of a pronoun.

4. **illorum temporum**: the terrible days of Marius, Cinna, and Sulla (87-80 B.C.).

5. **non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem**: see on **non modo**, 23, 21.

8. Ch. X. Sec. 21. **turbulentum**: *heterogeneous, motley*. **qui**: *made up of those who*. **premuntur**: sc. *aere alieno*. Note the metaphor in this verb and the next two. They are overwhelmed (**premuntur**), they cannot get their heads above water (**emergunt**), they cannot find solid ground (**vacillant**).

9. **qui partim**: *some of whom*.

10. **vetere**: *long standing*.

11. **vadimoniis, iudiciis, proscriptione bonorum**: the three steps in proceedings against debtors. First, giving bail for appearance at court; second, the trial and judgment; third, the advertisement of the debtor's property to be sold for the debt.

13. **acris, lentos**: direct opposites, *fast, slow*; or *forward, backward*.

15. **ita**: *in such a way*, sc. *conruant*.

16. **non modo, . . . sed ne . . . quidem**: compare 5, above.

17. **illud**: followed by two explanatory indirect questions; **quam ob rem . . . velint**, and **cur . . . arbitrentur**.

19. **quam si pereant**: A. 524; B. 307, 1; G. 602; H. 584; (513, II.).

22. Sec. 22. **Quos**: what use of the relative?

PAGE 80. 2. **sane**: *for all I care*. **carcer**: see (105, 44).

4. **Postremum autem genus, etc.**: *the last class, however, is lowest*.

5. **quod**: relative.

6. **de eius dilectu, etc.**: *of his choice, nay, verily of his heart and bosom*. These are referred to below, line 25, as his *cohors praetoria*. On the force of **immo vero**, see 44, 9, and note.

7. **pexo**: *elaborately combed*. **imberbis**: because they were mere boys, or as a mark of effeminacy. **bene barbatos**: the earlier Romans wore beards, but in the third century B.C., shaving was introduced and came into vogue, so that in Cicero's time it was the universal custom. Foppish youths who let the beard grow in part, and trimmed it into ornamental shapes, were called *bene barbati*.

8. **manicatis et talaribus tunicis**: the *tunica* was the undergarment of the Romans. Properly, it had no sleeves, or very short ones, and reached down to the knees. A tunic with long sleeves, and reaching down so as to show below the toga, was considered a mark of effeminacy, and very unbecoming. See also Syn. 57. **velis**: the toga properly was a somewhat scant but substantial garment of unbleached wool. These fops affected

wide flowing robes, which they aimed to drape about them with artistic skill.

9. **quorum . . . expromitur**: the sentence runs more smoothly in English as active, *who spend all the energy of their lives and wakeful nights* (lit. 'exertion of keeping awake') in banquets that last till morning.

13. Sec. 23. **saltare et cantare**: not considered respectable accomplishments.

15. **etiam si perierit**: see on **etiam si possit**, 55, 16. **scitote**: see **mementote**, 67, 10, and note.

16. **hoc**: for *hos*, referring back to **pueri**, but attracted to agree with the predicate noun **seminarium**. A. 296, a; B. 246, 5; G. 211, R. 5; H. 396, 2; (445, 4).

18. **mulierculas**: *their favorites*, the diminutive adds an idea of contempt. **sunt ducturi**: see on **est iturus**, 75, 2.

19. **illis**: see on **aspectu**, 54, 17.

21. **pruinæ ac nivis**: this oration was delivered, according to the calendar, on the 9th of November; but this was before Julius Caesar revised the calendar, and the year was in such a state of confusion that it is quite impossible to say just what the real date was. We know that it was considerably later than the date assigned. According to one authority the real date was Jan. 12.

25. Ch. XI. Sec. 24. **cohortem praetoriam**: this was a body of picked men that guarded the *Praetorium*, or general's headquarters in camp. The irony here is obvious.

PAGE 81. 2. **praesidia**: *garrisons*. See Syn. 13.

3. **gladiatori confecto et saucio**: a return to the metaphor of 65, 4. "Iacet illè nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se percussum atque abiectum esse sentit."

6. **Iam vero**: see on 70, 7. **urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum**: i.e. the walled towns of the colonies and municipia will be more than a match (**respondebunt**) for Catiline's rude fortifications among the hills of Faesulae. Catiline had no regular fortified military base. His attempt and failure to take Praeneste, which would have served admirably for such a pur-

pose, have been mentioned (see on 48, 9). On the colonies and municipia see (14), (15), (16). *ornamenta*: *military equipments*.

11. Sec. 25. *his rebus*: further explained by *senatu, equibus Romanis*, etc.

PAGE 82. 2. *si velimus, intellegere possumus*: a less vivid future condition, *intellegere possumus* having the modal force of *intellegamus*. A. 516, d; G. 596, R. 4; H. 580, 2; (509). *quam valde illi iaceant*: *how very weak they are*.

3. *Ex hac enim parte*, etc.: here follow seven pairs of antitheses. Use great care in choosing words that express exact opposites, and do not be misled by tempting English cognates, e.g. *petulantia* does not mean *petulance*, nor does *pietas* mean *piety*.

8. *aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia*: these are the four cardinal virtues of the Stoic philosophers, corresponding to the Greek *δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία, and σοφία*. Following this, we have the opposite vices. These four pairs of virtues and vices serve as a summing up of the preceding seven pairs, the summing up being indicated by *denique, in a word, in short*.

10. *opia cum egestate*, etc.: here follow three pairs of antitheses, again summed up by *denique*, etc. *bona ratio cum perdita*: *sound political judgment with nihilism*.

12. *cum omnium rerum desperatione*: *with complete despair*.

### PERORATIO. CHS. XII.—XIII.

In conclusion, fellow-citizens, I bid you guard your homes. I have taken all possible means to secure the public safety. I give the conspirators a final warning to leave the city before it is too late. I mean to crush this mighty conspiracy in such a way that no good citizen will suffer. In all this I acknowledge my dependence upon the immortal gods, whom you should implore to save this great and beautiful city.

16. Ch. XII. Sec. 26. *Quae cum ita sint*: see on *quam ob rem*, 55, 12.

17. *dixi*: some editors omit, because Cicero has *not men-*

tioned it before. It is probably a slip of the pen or of the memory. *vigiliis custodisque*: see Syn. 13.

18. *mihī*: dat. of agent. See *tibi*, 54, 9, and note. *ut urbi satis esset praesidi*: note the Latin idiom, 'that sufficient of garrison might be to the city'; trans. *that the city might have a sufficient garrison*.

22. *gladiatores, quam manum*: *the gladiators, the force which*. The antecedent of *quam* is *manum*, which is in apposition with *gladiatores*. When the antecedent of a relative is in apposition with something preceding, it is regularly incorporated in the relative clause.

24. *potestas*: see Syn. 26.

25. *Q. Metellus*: see 67, 1.

PAGE 83. 2. *quem vocari videtis*: the senate house (105, 2) was plainly visible from the rostra (see ill. and maps), and the messengers could be seen going about and summoning the senators to the meeting (36). On *vocari*, see Syn. 3.

3. Sec. 27. *Nunc illos*: *now as to those*. *illos* is the subject of *monitos (esse)*, but is put first for emphasis. *atque adeo*: see 46, 14, and note.

4. *vestrum*: the possessive *vestram* might have been used. See on 53, 5.

6. *monitos (sc. esse)*: we might have had *moneri*. See *interfectum esse*, 65, 14, and note.

7. *solutor*: for the force of the comparative, see on *sumptuosius*, 78, 11.

8. *Quod reliquum est*: *as for the future* (A. 572, a; B. 299, 2; G. 525, 2; H. 588, 3, n.; (516, 2, n.)) opposed to *adhuc*.

9. *horum, his*: referring to his audience, and probably accompanied by a gesture.

11. *portis, viae*: dat. of possessor. See on *urbi*, 82, 18.

12. *Qui . . . commoverit, cuius deprehendero*: conditional relative clauses. *qui* = *si quis*; *cuius* = *si cuius*. They are protases of general conditions referring to the future, the apodosis is *sentiet*. A. 518, 519; B. 312, 2; G. 593; H. 574, 4; (507, III. 2).

15. **sentiet**: *he will be made to feel*. See Syn. 41.

17. **nefariorum**: see Syn. 33.

20. Ch. XIN. Sec. 28. **minimo motu, nullo tumultu, me uno togato duce**: abl. abs. The *toga* was worn by civilians as opposed to the *sagum* of the soldier, and the *paludamentum* of the general. We may therefore translate **togato**, *clad in the garb of peace*.

22. **crudelissimum et maximum**: not that it actually was such, but might have been had the conspirators succeeded.

23. **sedetur, sufferat**: these verbs denote result, the first after **sic agentur**, the second after **sic administrabo**. The pres. subjv., denoting result after a future, is itself future in force, and is translated like a future indic.

25. **quisquam**: for use see A. 311; B. 252, 4; G. 317, 1; H. 513; (457).

PAGE 84. 2. **necessario**: adv. **illud**: explained by **ut neque**, etc.

4. **optandum**: see Syn. 47. **intereat, possitis**. See on **sedetur, sufferat**, above.

6. Sec. 29. **prudentia, consiliis, significationibus**: abl. after **fretus**. A. 431, a; B. 218, 3; G. 401, n. 6; H. 476, 1; (425, 1, 1), n.).

8. **multis et dubiis**: see 47, 6, and note.

9. **quibus ducibus**: compare **me duce**, 83, 19. **sententiam**: *purpose*.

13. **precari, venerari, implorare**: compare **Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit**, 64, 5, and note.

14. **quam urbem . . . hanc**: translate as if *hanc urbem quam*. When the relative clause precedes the main clause, as it often does for emphasis, the antecedent is placed with the relative in the relative clause.

15. **hostium, civium**: in emphatic contrast.

*For Review Questions see page 385.*

## THE THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE PEOPLE, DEC. 3, 63 B.C.

The hope which Cicero had expressed in the Second Oration, that the departure of Catiline would put an end to the conspiracy, was not realized. Within a few days news reached Rome that Catiline had entered the camp of Manlius with the *fasces* and other marks of official power. The senate in consequence declared both Catiline and Manlius outlaws, but offered pardon to all laying down their arms before a fixed date. There were no deserters; on the contrary, Catiline continued to receive large accessions to his forces from all parts of the country. Antonius was ordered to march against Catiline, while Cicero should preserve order in the city.

The conspirators at Rome, with Lentulus the praetor, a patrician of noble blood, and Cethegus at their head, continued their preparations. The general plan was that after Catiline began his advance from Faesulae there should be a massacre of distinguished men in the city and a general conflagration, that the younger conspirators, mostly sons of noble families, should kill their parents, and that during the resulting panic and confusion, they should fight their way out of the city and join Catiline. Cethegus, who was most impetuous by nature, wished to carry out the plan at once, and was with difficulty persuaded to wait until the Saturnalia, Dec. 19, which was the time preferred by Lentulus, and finally fixed upon.

Cicero was well aware of all these designs, but thought it best to take no action until he had overwhelming proofs. A fortunate chance brought these to his hand. Ambassadors from the Allobroges, a transalpine tribe of Gauls, had come to Rome

to seek protection against rapacious Roman magistrates and usurers that were fleecing their country. Lentulus, through a certain P. Umbrenus who knew these Gauls, approached them with offers of aid, if they, in turn, would assist the army of the conspirators with Gallic cavalry. The Gauls, after considering the matter, thought it best to consult their Roman patron, Q. Fabius Sanga. The latter at once laid the whole matter before Cicero. He instructed the ambassadors to pretend great enthusiasm for the conspiracy, but to demand written credentials from Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others, that they might have something definite to show to their countrymen.

Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius fell into the trap without suspicion. Cassius refused, saying that he expected to be in Gaul himself soon; and, in fact, he left the city before the ambassadors set out. The Allobroges took also a letter from Lentulus to Catiline, whom they expected to visit on their way home. They started on their journey on the night of Dec. 2, T. Volturcius acting as guide. The whole party was arrested while crossing the Mulvian bridge, which continues the Flaminian Way across the Tiber, and the letters and dispatches were brought to Cicero. Although it was still before daybreak, he summoned the chiefs of the conspiracy to appear before him. All came without suspicion excepting Ceparius, who had fled on the rumor of treachery. He was afterward captured, however, and executed.

A meeting of the senate was held that morning (Dec. 3) in the temple of Concord (105, 12), and the prisoners examined. They were convicted both on the testimony of the Allobroges and by their own confession, and remanded for safe keeping to various senators.

The meeting lasted until evening, but, late as it was, Cicero appeared before the eager and expectant people, and in what is known as the Third Oration against Catiline told them how the conspiracy was found out. The speech opens with an *Exordium* and closes with a *Peroratio*, but the body of the speech is narrative (*Narratio*).



## ARGUMENT.

I. Ch. i. **Exordium**. Congratulations on the salvation of the state.—II. Chs. II.—IX. **Narratio**. Chs. II., III. The consul's search for evidence. The plotting of Lentulus with the ambassadors of the Allobroges. The seizure of the letters and the arrest of the conspirators. Chs. IV.—VI. What was done in the senate. Ch. IV. The confession of Volturcius, and the testimony of the Gauls. Ch. V. The reading of the letters and the confession of the conspirators. Ch. VI. The senate votes thanks to the consuls and the praetors, places Lentulus and eight others under arrest, and decrees a thanksgiving in the name of Cicero. Ch. VII. The trapping of the conspirators was made easy by Catiline's absence. Chs. VIII., IX. It is also plain that the gods have been active.—III. Chs. X.—XII. **Peroratio**. The people are called upon to celebrate the thanksgiving with grateful hearts. The consul asks for no reward for his services except the grateful memory of the people. They should continue to watch and pray. The danger almost past.

## I. EXORDIUM. CH. I.

To-day, Quirites, you see the state preserved, and I, who have saved it, may claim equal honor with Romulus who founded it. I will give you a brief account of what has occurred.

PAGE 85. 1. Ch. I. Sec. 1. **Rem publicam . . . videtis**: a good example of a Latin period (A. 601; B. 351, 5; G. 684, 685; H. 685; (573)). Note how the sense is held in suspense until the last word. Read the sentence through several times, and let the thoughts come to you in the Latin order, just as they came to Cicero's hearers. **vitam**: what would *vitae* mean? See on 51, 8.

2. **bona, fortunas**: see Syn. 34.

3. **domicilium**: referring to the city.

8. Sec. 2. **lucundi**: see Syn. 21.

10. **laetitia, voluptate**: see Syn. 28. **nascendi condicio**: *the condition to which we are born.*

11. **sine sensu**: *without consciousness.* **cum voluptate**: *with a feeling of pleasure*

12. **illum**: Romulus, after his death, was deified under the name of Quirinus, the Sabine god of war, and the Quirinalia was celebrated yearly, on the 17th of February, in his honor. On one of the knolls of the Palatine stood the *Casa Romuli* which, many times reconstructed, remained as late as the fourth century A.D., and was considered one of the most sacred monuments in the city. In the Forum, in front of the Comitium, and not far from the present site of the Arch of Septimius Severus (106, 5), was his traditional grave, of which Varro speaks, and which, as is believed on good authority, has recently (1899) been laid bare, a most remarkable discovery.

13. **benevolentia fama**: *with feelings of affection and in glorious fame.*

14. **debebit**: as *ought* has no future we may translate, *will deserve to be.*

16. **urbi**, etc.: the dat. after **subiectos**. **templis, delubris**: see Syn. 6.

17. **idemque**: *and also*; A. 298, b; B. 248, 1; G. 310; H. 508, 3; (451, 3).

18. **rettudimus, deiecimus**: *beat back, struck down.*

19. **Sec. 3. Quae**: connecting relative. See on 71, 22.

21. **ut . . . scire possitis**: purpose.

PAGE 86. 1. **investigata et comprehensa**: lit. *tracked down and caught*; hunting terms.

## II. NARRATIO. CHS. II.—IX.

CHS. II., III. Ever since Catiline left the city I have been searching for convincing evidence against the leaders who were left in the city. When I found out that Lentulus had been tampering with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and that they were going back to their country with letters and were to deliver dispatches to Catiline *en route*, I saw my opportunity and arrested the whole party, including Volturcius who was acting as guide, on the Mulvian bridge. All the letters were seized and brought to me. I summoned the leaders of the conspiracy to appear before me, and called a meeting of the senate.

3. *ut = ex quo tempore, exr. since.* **paucis ante diebus:** really almost a month, but the orator naturally wishes to make the interval appear as short as possible. For cons. see A. 424, f; B. 357, 1; G. 403, n. 4 (a); H. 488, 1; (430).

7. Ch. II. **tum, cum eiciebam:** the indicative of pure time.

8. **non enim iam vereor, etc.:** see on 64, 4, and Chs. vi. and vii. of the previous oration. Cicero has now learned that the people are with him, and is glad to claim what before he was afraid to own.

9. *illa: sc. invidia.* **magis:** see Syn. 15. **quod exierit:** the thought being, *because* (as they will say) *he went forth;* therefore the subjv. is used.

10. **sed:** resumptive, *but as I was saying.*

15. Sec. 4. **in eo . . . ut:** *with this in view, that.* The next **ut** also expresses purpose.

17. **quoniam faceret:** the subjv. is due not only to the influence of the **ut** clause, but also because the thought is, *since* (I thought that) *my speech would win.* Cf. the construction of **quod exierit**, line 9 above.

19. **ut . . . provideretis:** result clause. **animis, oculis:** emphatic and strongly contrasted.

21. **ut comperi:** compare **ut vidi**, 13, and **ut erupit**, 3 above. In this use **ut** is always followed by the indicative. Cicero got his information from Q. Fabius Sanga, the Roman *patronus* of the Allobroges. It was customary for both foreign nations and individuals to have a prominent Roman as *patronus*, or protector, who would represent their interests in the capital. It was the ancient substitute for the modern consular service.

22. **Lentulo:** see Vocab. **belli, tumultus:** see Syn. 32.

PAGE 87. 2. **cum litteris mandatisque:** we hear nothing further about the Gauls having letters for Catiline, and for that reason many editors omit these words.

7. **ut:** simply repeats the preceding **ut** for the sake of clearness.

PAGE 88. 2. Sec. 5. **praetores:** these men were selected

because, as praetors, they possessed the *imperium* and could command troops (45). **amantissimos rei publicae**: *patriotic*.

4. **qui omnia**, etc.: a rel. clause of cause, **qui** = *cum ei*, since their political sentiments were none but the best and noblest.

5. **ulla**: see on **quisquam**, 83, 25. Cf. also **cuiusquam**, below.

7. **ad pontem Mulvium**: on the Flaminian Way about two miles north of the city, the modern Ponte Molle.

8. **villis**: not *villas* in our sense of the word, but farmhouses.

9. **Eodem**: adverb. **et ipsi**: *themselves also*.

10. **praefectura**: see (17).

10. **Reatina**: Cicero was *patronus* (see on 86, 21) of Reate, a little town among the Sabine hills, which accounts for his having a body of youths from there. The Sabines were famous for their sturdy virtue, and Cicero felt that he could rely on them in this crisis.

12. **opera**: abl. with **utor**. See on 43, 1.

13. Sec. 6. **tertia fere vigilia exacta**: about 3 A.M. The night from sunset to sunrise was divided into four equal watches (*vigiliae*).

14. **magno comitatu**: with the abl. of accompaniment the preposition *cum* is often omitted when the abl. is modified by an adjective.

17. **ignorabatur a ceteris**: Sallust says that the Allobroges quickly saw what the attack meant and surrendered, but that Volturcius made a desperate defense. Seeing, however, that he had been betrayed, he began to beg for his life, and surrendered to the praetors. Translate the parallel selection.

PAGE 89. 2. Ch. III. **quae erat commissa**: *which had already begun*. **Litterae**: for ordinary purposes people used wooden tablets with a raised rim, the inside of which was spread with a thin layer of wax. Two were usually hinged together, looking much like a pair of school slates. The writing was scratched on the wax with the point of a metal or ivory instrument called a *stilus*. Erasures were made by smoothing the wax down with the blunt end of the *stilus*. When the letter was

done, the tablets were shut and tied with a strong string (*linum*). Then sealing wax was poured over the knot and stamped with the seal (*signum*) of the sender. Letters were usually carried by private messengers, as there was no general postal service. The word *litterae* may mean either one letter or several. See ill. on page 89.

4. **dilucesceret**: this and **advesperasceret** (88, 6) are good examples of inceptive verbs. A. 263, 1; B. 155, 1; G. 133, v.; 191, 2; H. 277; (337).

PAGE 90. 1. **machinatorem**: Cicero calls him so because Lentulus had used Gabinius and the freedman P. Umbrenus as his agents in treating with the Allobroges.

4. **credo**: ironical, as usual. The indolence of Lentulus was notorious. The sarcasm of Cicero's remark becomes clearer when we find in Sec. 12 that the letter which kept Lentulus up later than usual is only five lines long.

WRITING TABLET (TABELLA) AND STILUS.\*

6. Sec. 7. **viris**: dat. after **placeret**. **prius . . . quam deferri**: we should expect the subjv. here (A. 550, 551; B. 292; G. 577; H. 605; (520)), but an infinitive construction before *quam* may be continued after it. A. 583, c; G. 644, r. 3, (a), (b); H. 643, 2; (524, 1, 2)).

8. **si nihil esset inventum**: implied indirect discourse for *si nihil erit inventum*.

10. **negavi me esse facturum ut non deferrem**: a common circumlocution for *negavi me non delaturum esse*; for if one says that he will not so act as *not* to do something, it is the same as saying that he will do something. We may translate, *I said that I could not but lay the matter*.

12. **si ea reperta non essent, tamen**: the **tamen** shows that the preceding clause must be concessive, **si** = *even if*. See on 8, 18.

15. **coegi**: in the temple of Concord. See (105, 12).

17. Sec. 8. **missi, qui, etc.**: his own words would be: '*Effere ex aedibus Cethegi, si quid telorum est.*' After **missi**, which involves an idea of commanding, the main clause becomes a rel. cl. of purpose, and **si quid telorum est** becomes a subordinate clause in implied ind. disc. after a secondary tense. A. 592, 1; B. 314, 2; G. 508, 1, 2, 3; H. 652; (524).

Chs. IV.-V. Volturcius made a confession before the senate. Then the Gauls gave their testimony. Then the letters were produced and read. Their testimony corroborated that of the Gauls; and Cethegus, Statilius, and Lentulus were compelled to acknowledge their own seals and handwriting. Lentulus attempted to cross-examine the Gauls, but broke down and confessed like the rest. Next the letter which Lentulus had written to Catiline was read. There was no signature, but Lentulus acknowledged it as his. Finally, Gabinius was brought in. He was impudent at first, but at last owned his guilt.

20. Ch. IV. **fidem publicam**: assurance of safety in the name of the state, i.e. in return for his information, if he would turn state's evidence.

21. **hortatus sum ut, etc.**: compare **missi qui**, above, 17.

PAGE 91. 3. **litteras**: a letter. **ut . . . uteretur, ut . . . accederet**: these purpose clauses depend upon the idea of ordering in **mandata et litteras**. A. 563; B. 295, 1; G. 516; H. 565; (498, I.). **servorum praesidio**: Catiline refused the assistance of slaves. See on 60, 4.

4. **id**: in apposition with the preceding clause. Freely, *that he should do this*.

6. **quem ad modum discriptum distributumque erat**: see 50, 1.

7. **caedem infinitam**: according to Plutarch, the plan was to kill all the senate and as many of the remaining citizens as possible.

9. Sec. 9. **autem**: transitional to the testimony of the Gauls. See on 1, 2.

10. **litteras**: letters. See on 3, above, where the same word means one letter.

11. **data**: for agreement, see A. 287, 3; B. 235, v. 2, b),  $\beta$ ); G. 286, 1; H. 395, 2; (439, 2).

12. **L. Cassio**: he is mentioned separately because the Gauls had no letter from him. He refused to give them one, saying that he would soon be in Gaul himself. **equitatum**: the cavalry in the Roman army usually came from the allies.

13. **sibi**: i.e. the conspirators. **defuturas** (*esse*) depends on the idea of saying in **esse praescriptum**, above.

14. **Lentulum**, etc.: ind. disc. depending on **dixerunt**, as is also the following sentence, **Eundemque dixisse**, etc. **ex fati Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis**: see (78), (79).

16. **Cornellum**: his full name being P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.

17. **Cinnam et Sullam**: see *Vocab.*

19. **qui esset**: causal, since it was. This must refer to some prophecy of which we have no further knowledge.

20. **virginum**: the Vestal Virgins, the very sacred priestesses of Vesta. They were six in number, and of the noblest birth. Their term of service was thirty years, beginning in early childhood. At the end of that time they might return to the world, but very few cared to avail themselves of the privilege and give up the high honor and distinction which the position afforded. For a Vestal to break her vow of chastity was considered a most terrible offense. She was buried alive, and her sin expiated by great public sacrifices. See also (105, 6), (105, 7), and ill. page 108. Of the incident here referred to, nothing is known. **Capitoli**: see (108), (109). The burning of the Capitol in 83 B.C. was of unknown origin.

21. *Sec. 10. Cethego fuisse*: *Cethegus had*, dat. of possessor. The impetuous character of Cethegus is plain here. Note Salust's description of him, footnote, page 97.

22. **Saturnalibus**: abl. of time. This harvest festival was celebrated Dec. 19, and was a time of general feasting and freedom from restraint. On this day slaves were permitted to eat at their master's table, and the doors of the houses were left unguarded. No better time for a general massacre could have been chosen.

25. Ch. V. **Ac ne longum sit**: see **ut . . . possitis**, 70, 18, and note. Trans. *And not to be long.* **tabellas**: see on **litterae**, 89, 2.

27. **signum**: the seal was of most importance in establishing the identity of a letter, as it was often written from dictation by a slave, and lacked a signature.

PAGE 92. 1. **quae eorum legatis**, etc.: ind. disc. depending upon the idea of saying implied in **erat scriptum**. The direct form would be: *facium quae vestris legatis confirmavi; oro ut item vos faciatis quae sibi vestri legati receperunt*. Note the changes that have been made in the italicized words:

3. **qui . . . respondisset dixissetque**: the subjv. is due to the concessive force of **qui** = *cum is*. A. 535, e; B. 309, 3; G. 634; H. 593, 2; (515, III.).

4. **tamen**: i.e. in spite of the discovery of weapons at his house. **quae**: for agreement see on **data**, 91, 11. **apud ipsum**: see on **apud Laecam**, 49, 13.

12. **inquam**: see Syn. 1. **avi tui**: P. Cornelius Lentulus, consul 162 B.C., and at one time *princeps senatus*. See (36) last part.

14. **revocare debuit**: we say *ought to have recalled*; notice that the Latin tenses are the exact opposite.

15. Sec. 11. **eadem ratione**: abl. of manner or description modifying **litterae**. Above, line 9, the same idea is expressed by **in eandem fere sententiam**.

16. **litterae**: a letter. **si . . . vellet, feci potestatem**. Cicero's words were *si . . . vis, facio potestatem*. As told, **feci potestatem** implies a verb of saying, and **si . . . vellet** becomes a subordinate clause in implied ind. disc. See on 90, 17, and note.

18. **exposito atque edito**: *put into shape and written down*, i.e. by the clerks of the senate. The taking down of the testimony must have taken considerable time, as the Romans at this time were not accustomed to employ and did not possess what are known as short-hand writers.

19. **quid sibi esset cum eis**: *what he had to do with them*.



PAGE 93. 1. **Qui**: connecting relative. **per quem**: referring to Umbrenus and Gabinius. See on **machinatores**, 90, 1.

4. **esset**: *is*; the imperf. is caused by the sequence after **ostendit**.

7. **dicendi exercitatio**: *readiness in speaking*. In the **Brutus**, Cicero speaks of Lentulus's grace as a speaker, and the sweetness and strength of his voice.

15. Sec. 12. **Quis sim**, etc.: it is interesting to compare the version of this letter as given by Sallust. The general sense is the same, but the verbal differences are too great to make it possible that both are genuine. The abrupt style of the version here, betraying great haste, and, perhaps, perturbation of spirit, together with the fact that Cicero had undoubtedly seen the original, makes it probable that this is the exact transcript.

16. **vir**: see Syn. 2. **quem in locum**, i.e. too far to retreat.

17. **Vide equid tibi iam sit necesse**: much stronger than Sallust's *consideres quid tuae rationes postulent*.

18. **infimorum**: i.e. the slaves.

21. Sec. 13. **cum illa certissima**: followed by **tum multo certiora illa**; the comparative here denotes a higher degree than the superlative, and the translation should indicate this.

PAGE 94. 3. **obstupuerant**, . . . **intuebantur**, . . . **aspiciebant**: the perfect is the tense used to give the different steps in a narrative; the imperfect to describe scenes or events in these steps. (**Obstupuerant** coming from an inceptive verb has the force of an imperfect of an ordinary verb.) Looking back over the pages just read, note how the perfect and its equivalent, the historical present, predominate as the different steps of the trial are told. Here, at the end, Cicero stops to describe the culprits, and at once drops into the imperfect.

4. **non iam**: see 69, 4, and note.

5. **se ipsi**: cf. **tu te ipse**, etc., 55, 17, and note.

Ch. VI. Then the senate voted thanks to me, to the praetors, and to my colleague. Then they voted that Lentulus, after he had resigned his praetorship, and eight others should be placed under arrest; and a thanksgiving to the immortal gods was

decreed in my name, an honor never before bestowed upon a civil magistrate.

6. Ch. VI. **Indiciis expositis atque editis** : see 92, 18, and note. **senatum consului**, etc. : see (36).

7. **de summa re publica** : a common formula for *the supreme welfare or the best interests of the state*.

8. **a principibus** : i.e. especially the *consules designati* and the *virī consulares*.

10. **est perscriptum** : see (39).

14. Sec. 14. **sit liberata** : subjv. because quoted from the decree, and not stated on his own authority.

15. **praetores** : see on 88, 2. **usus essem**, . . . **laudantur** : the latter verb being historical present has the effect of a secondary tense on **usus essem**.

16. **viro forti**, etc. : the thanks to Antonius was doubtless a formality which the senate felt it necessary to go through with. He was probably not at Rome, but, much against his will, marching against Catiline. See *Introd.*, p. 265.

19. **cum se praetura abdicasset** : specially mentioned because no criminal proceeding could be begun against a magistrate while in office (51).

20. **in custodiam** : see on 55, 17.

23. **Cassium**, etc. : Cassius, Furius, Chilo, and Umbrenus were warned of the danger in time to make good their escape. Ceparius also attempted flight, but was arrested and brought back.

25. **pastores Apuliam** : Apulia then as now was a wild and sparsely settled region given up mostly to grazing. The roving shepherds were notorious brigands, and the country generally unsafe.

26. **colonis**, etc. : see on **Tertium genus**, 78, 1.

PAGE 95. 6. **novem hominum . . . poena** : only five were actually punished, four escaped.

8. Sec. 15. **supplicatio** : originally a day of fasting and prayer in times of great calamity. The images of the gods were placed on couches (*pulvinaria*) before their temples, and before

these the people prostrated themselves, offering incense and wine. Later, the days of thanksgiving after great victories were celebrated in a similar manner. Originally the thanksgiving lasted but one day, but after Pompey's victory over Mithradates, one of ten days was decreed. Caesar had one of fifteen for his conquest of the Belgæ (B.G. II. 35), and one of twenty for his defeat of Vercingetorix (B.G. VII. 90). The occasion and consequent character of a *supplicatio* must, in each case, be determined by the context.

9. **meo nomine**: i.e. in my honor.

10. **mihi . . . togato**: see 83, 22, and note. **primum**: for the first time. **post hanc urbem conditam**: for cons. compare **ereptam vitam**, 6, 23.

11. **quod . . . liberassem**: see on 94, 14, and note.

12. **Quae supplicatio, si = si haec supplicatio**, the connecting relative and noun being put first for emphasis. The condition **si . . . conferatur, interest**, it will be noticed, is not quite regular. The indic. in the apodosis is used to state the difference as a *fact*, whether the comparison be made or not.

14. **ceterae**: sc. *supplicationes*.

15. **quod faciendum fuit**: which was the thing to be done.

17. **patefactis indiciis**: see on **post hanc urbem conditam**, 10 above.

19. **se abdicavit**: was permitted to resign. This was done as is explained in the next sentence, that they might be free from the religious scruple (**religio**), which made it a sacrilege to injure the sacred body of a magistrate; though he reminds them that this did not prevent Marius from punishing Glaucia, the praetor. The case of Marius and Glaucia was, however, a poor precedent. See on **Saturninum**, 45, 23. **ut . . . liberaremur**: purpose. **quae religio**: the rel. clause standing before the antecedent clause, as usual contains the antecedent noun. As the sentence is a long one, it is repeated again below (**ea religione**). **Mario**: dat. of possessor with **fuerat**.

PAGE 96. 1. **quo minus . . . occideret**: lit. by which the less he killed, translate, to prevent his killing, the idea of hindrance

being implied in *religio* upon which the clause depends. A. 558, b; B. 295, 3; G. 549; H. 568, 8; (497, II. 2).

2. *nominatim*: i.e. Marius acted simply under the general orders of the senate to protect the city.

Ch. VII. We may now, Quirites, consider the conspiracy crushed; but if Catiline had remained in the city, the struggle would have been very much harder.

4. Ch. VII. Sec. 16. *Nunc*: transitional. See 83, 3.

PAGE 97. 3. *Lentuli somnum*: see on 90, 4.

4. *furiosam temeritatem*: see Sallust, Sec. 43, footnote, page 97.

5. *sed tam diu*: *but only so long (timendus)*.

6. *continebatur*: after *dum* the present indic. would be more regular.

7. *norat* = *noverat*. *omnium*: see on 76, 15. *aditus*: *the means of access*. *appellare*: see Syn. 3. He knew just what particular honorary name or title each man liked best to hear.

8. *consilium*: *a wisdom, a genius*.

10. *Iam*: transitional, like *Nunc*, 96, 4, *again, further*. *certas, certos*: *definite, particular*.

11. *delectos ac descriptos*: compare the use of *captos* and *comprehensos*: 96, 5, 6, and see note on *conlocatas habent*, 11, 1. *cum mandaratum putabat*: *whenever he had ordered, he thought*, a general condition in past time. Cf. the general condition present time, *si biberunt, videntur*, 62, 7. The use and force of the tenses should be carefully noted and memorized. A. 518, b; B. 302, 3; G. 567; 594, n. 1; H. 578, 1; (471, 5; 472, 2; 508, 5).

12. *quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret*: *quod* can be construed only with *obiret*, since *occurreret* requires a dat. as object and the last two verbs an ablative with *pro* or *de*. This use of a word with several others, to only one of which it is strictly applicable, is called *zeugma*.

13. *frigus, sitim, famem*: notice the emphasis produced by

the omission of the connectives in this and the preceding series of words. What is this called? See on 74, 14.

17. Sec. 17. *nisi . . . compulsiſsem*: this contrary-to-fact protasis is followed by four apodoses, *depulsiſsem*, *constituiſſet*, *denuntiaviſſet*, *commiſiſſet*.

20. *Saturnalia*: i.e. he would have acted more quickly, before the plot could be discovered.

PAGE 98. 1. *rei publicae*: dat. with *denuntiaviſſet*.

4. *nullum in privata domo furtum*: balanced and contrasted with *haec tanta in re publica coniuratio*.

6. *Quod si*: see 77, 16, and note.

8. *ut levissime dicam*: *to say the least*. See on *ne longum sit*, 91, 25.

9. *dimicandum . . . fuisset*: the past indic. would have been more common. A. 517, c; B. 304, 3, b; G. 597, r. 3, a; H. 582; (511, 2).

10. *hostis*: appositive, *as an enemy*.

Chs. VIII., IX. The gods have given us many visible signs of their presence during these days. To say nothing of the natural phenomena of the past year, you all recall that two years ago the Capitol was struck by lightning. We were then directed by the Etruscan soothsayers to make a new statue of Jupiter, and by a very extraordinary coincidence this statue was not put in place till to-day. The gods also appear to have moved the Gallic ambassadors in our favor, and to have taken the wits away from the conspirators.

13. Ch. VIII. Sec. 18. *Quamquam*: see on 57, 4.

14. *nutu*: this word and also *numen* are connected with the verb *nuo*, *to nod*. The sovereign commands of the immortal gods are expressed by a mere nod, thus the words come to mean *divine will*, *divine power*.

15. *Idque cum*, etc.: *and not only can we arrive at this conclusion by conjecture*, for the reason which follows, *but in truth (tum vero)*.

16. *humani consilii*: pred. gen. after *esse*, which itself completes the predicate of *potuisse*.

20. *ut illa omittam*: see on *ut levissime dicam*, 8, above.

Two more similar clauses follow. For the rhetorical figure see note 15, 10. We are not to suppose that Cicero believed in these signs and omens, but he knew that the people did, and wished them to believe that the gods were with him and his party.

24. **canere**: *to prophecy*, a meaning derived from the original one *to sing*, from the fact that the ancient oracles used to give their responses in verse.

25. **praetermittendum, relinquendum**: see Syn. 4.

PAGE 99. 1. Sec. 19. **Cotta et Torquato consulibus**: what year? See list of consuls, p. 216.

2. **Capitolio**: see (108), (109).

3. **simulacra, statuæ**: see Syn. 5.

4. **legum aera**: laws were engraved on plates of bronze, and these were preserved for the most part in the temple of Saturn (105, 10), partly also in other temples.

7. **fulsse**: *to have stood*. This famous statue, one of the oldest specimens of Roman or Etruscan art, is perhaps the one still preserved in the Capitoline museum. See ill., p. 99. One of the hind legs bears marks which may have been caused by lightning.

8. **haruspices**: see (79).

12. **numine**: see on 98, 14.

13. **flexissent**: for the fut. perf. of direct discourse. The verb in the apodosis **appropinquare** has the force of a future in its very meaning (*to be approaching*, hence, *to be about to come*), and therefore does not need to be put into a future tense. A. 516, d; B. 302, 1; G. 595; H. 574, 2; (508, 4).

PAGE 100. 1. Sec. 20. **ludi**: public games were originally religious ceremonies and were held at stated times. They could also be held at special times of danger and distress to appease the gods.

2. **ulla**: A. 311; B. 252, 4; G. 317; H. 513; (457).

3. **Idemque**: see on 85, 17. The *haruspices* are meant.

4. **contra atque**: *contrary to what*. A. 324, a, b; B. 341, 1, c; G. 643; H. 516, 3; (459, 2).

5. **ad orientem**: as the Capitol stood above the southwest end of the Forum, a statue placed there and facing east would naturally overlook all the west end of the Forum, and would be in plain sight of Cicero's audience. **se sperare**, etc.: the direct form would be: *nos speramus si illud signum solis ortum et Forum curiamque conspiciat, fore ut ea consilia quae clam sint inita contra salutem . . . inlustrentur, ut . . . perspici possint*. Note the changes in the italicized words. **quod videtis** is not part of the ind. disc. but is put in by Cicero, as is shown by its mood.

10. **conlocandum locaverunt**: *gave the contract*, the regular Latin idiom. A. 500, 4; B. 337, 7, b), 2); G. 430; H. 622; (544, 2, n. 2). **consules**: the consuls often gave the contracts for public works when there were no censors. See (44).

11. **superioribus consulibus**: i.e. for 64 B.C.

12. **nobis**: sc. *consulibus*.

18. Ch. IX. Sec. 21. **ita responsum**: i.e. by the *haruspices*.

19. **et ea**: *and that too*.

22. **Illud**: *the following*, i.e. **ut . . . signum statueretur**. **praesens**: i.e. *manifesto divinitus factum, plainly an act of providence*.

23. **nutu**: see on 98, 14.

24. **per Forum**: in going from Cicero's house on the Palatine to the temple of Concord, the Forum would have to be crossed. See map.

25. **in aedem Concordiae**: see (105, 12).

26. **Quo conlocato**: *after this was set up*.

PAGE 101. 3. Sec. 22. **Quo**: *for this reason*, abl. of degree of difference having nearly the force of an abl. of cause.

5. **templis atque delubris**: see Syn. 6.

6. **ego**: always emphatic or used for contrast.

8. **Ille, ille Iuppiter**: emphatic anaphora, and with a gesture. **haec templa**: what temples stood near?

13. **Iam vero**: transition to the case of the Allobroges. See on 70, 7, and note.

14. **et ignotis et barbaris**, *to men both strangers and barba-*

*rians*, dat. after *creditae*. A *barbarus* is any one not a Greek or a Roman.

15. *numquam*: modifying both *creditae* and *commissae*.

16. *audaciae*: A. 381; B. 188, 2, d; G. 345, r. 1; H. 427; 429, 2; (386, 2). Cf. the well-known saying, "Stultos facit fortuna quos volt perdere."

17. *Quid vero*: transitional, and furthermore in truth. *Ut homines Galli . . . neglegerent . . . anteponerent* in apposition with *id*, 22. *male = non satis*: a revolt of the Allobroges had been put down only three years before. In 61 there was again an uprising.

18. *quae gens una = una gens quae*: see on 82, 22, and note. *gens*: refers to the Gauls in general, not to the Allobroges in particular. The Gauls were a constant source of trouble and danger until their subjugation by Julius Caesar, 58-51 B.C.

20. *rerum*: *advantages*. See on 2, 7. *ultra*: with *oblatam*. *patriciis*: Catiline, Lentulus, and Cethegus were patricians.

22. *qui . . . potuerint*: rel. clause of cause, *qui = cum ei*.

23. *tacendo*: i.e. if they had not told their *patronus*, Fabius Sanga, what was going on.

### III. PERORATIO. CHS. X.-XIII.

Ch. X. You should therefore celebrate this thanksgiving with grateful hearts, for you have been saved from destruction without strife or bloodshed. The civil dissensions of other years offer a striking contrast.

24. Ch. X. Sec. 23. *Quam ob rem*: see on 55, 12. *ad omnia pulvinaria*: means simply to all the gods. See on *supplicatio*, 95, 8.

PAGE 102. 4. *togati . . . togato*: see 83, 22, and note.

6. Sec. 24. *dissensiones*: A. 350, d; G. 376, r. 2; H. 455; (407, n. 1).

8. *vosmet*: A. 143, d, and n.; B. 84, 2; G. 102, n. 2; H. 175, 4; (184, 3). *meministis atque vidistis*: *remember and have seen*, because all the civil commotions to which he is about to allude



occurred within the lifetime of his hearers. They may be briefly summarized as follows:

In the year 88 B.C. P. Sulpicius was tribune of the people. He proposed a law, which was bitterly opposed by the senatorial party, enlarging the franchise privileges of the Italians. Sulla, the leader and defender of the Optimates, was about starting against Mithradates with a large army. Fearing his vengeance, Sulpicius at the same time proposed a law transferring the command against Mithradates from Sulla to Marius. Sulla at once marched to Rome at the head of his troops, took the city, and proscribed twelve leaders of the opposite party, among them Marius and Sulpicius. The former escaped to Africa, but the latter was killed.

In 87 the consuls were Lucius Cornelius Cinna, an adherent of Marius, and Cnaeus Octavius, a partisan of Sulla, whom the latter had left in charge of his party interests after his departure against Mithradates. Sulla was no sooner gone than Cinna began an agitation in favor of the Marian leaders proscribed by Sulla, and again proposed the franchise bill which had cost Sulpicius his life. A dreadful battle occurred between the opposing factions in the Forum, which was filled with the dead and wounded. Octavius was victorious, and Cinna was obliged to flee from Rome for his life. The towns of Italy naturally sided with Cinna in his efforts to secure them greater privileges, and he soon found himself at the head of a large army. Marius was recalled from exile, and marched with Cinna against Rome. The city was stormed and most bloody vengeance taken on the opposing faction, of whom thousands were butchered. Marius died seventeen days after his victory and Cinna remained ruler of Rome for three years.

Sulla, having finished the war with Mithradates, now prepared to return home and restore his party to power. Cinna resolved to anticipate this by marching against him, but was killed in a mutiny of his troops. When Sulla reached Rome, he excelled even Marius in the ferocity of his proscriptions. He killed so many thousand citizens that one of his friends suggested that he ought to leave a few, over whom he might rule. Sulla remained virtual master of Rome until his death, in 78.

In 78 the consul, M. Aemilius Lepidus, attempted to revive the Marian party and overthrow the constitution of Sulla. He was driven out of the city by his colleague, Catulus, and having vainly attempted to return by force retired to Sardinia, where he died.

9. **custodem**: because he saved Rome from the Cimbri and Teutons (101-102 B.C.).

12. **acervis . . . et . . . sanguine redundavit**: a good case of zeugma. See on 97, 12, and note.

16. **lumina**: referring especially to the consul, Cn. Octavius, Q. Catulus, the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and M. Antonius the great orator (85).

26. **rei publicae**: dat. after **attulit**.

PAGE 103. 2. Sec. 25. **ea**: sc. *re publica*.

6. **diudicatae sint**: A. 485, c; B. 268, 6; G. 513; H. 550; (495, VI.).

7. **uno**: strengthens the superlatives **maximo crudelissimoque**: *the very greatest, etc.*

8. **quale bellum**: *such a war as*.

11. **salva urbe**: *while the city was safe*. Abl. abs. Those whose solvency depended upon the safety of the city would of course be all those owning property. Observe that Cicero plays on the two meanings of *salvus*, *safe* from danger and *safe* from debt.

11. **in hostium numero ducerentur**: a euphemism for *interficerentur*.

15. **tantum**: *only so many*.

16. **incolumis**: see Syn. 7.

Ch. XI. In return for these great services I ask for nothing but your grateful remembrance. I will try to continue worthy of it. Do you, Quirites, make your prayers to Jupiter, and guard your dwellings.

24. Ch. XI. Sec. 26. **mutum, tacitum**: see Syn. 8.

25. **minus digni**: even actors and gladiators were sometimes honored by statues, and triumphal processions and titles went by favor quite as often as by merit.

26. **alentur**: *will be kept fresh*.

27. **litterarum monumentis**: *the records of literature*, meaning history. **inveterascent**: what kind of a verb? See **dilucesceret**, 89, 4, and note.

PAGE 104. 1. **diem**: note that the word is fem. here, as it regularly is when meaning *time*. **intellego**: *I am convinced, I have the joyous consciousness*, and governs both **propagatam esse** and **existisse**.

4. **duos civis**: Cicero and Pompey. Pompey was now, by his victories over the pirates and over Mithradates, at the height of his fame and the foremost man in the Roman world.

5. **non terrae sed caeli regionibus**: a rhetorical exaggeration. The meaning is made clearer by Varro's words: "As the whole universe is divided into the heavens and the earth, so the earth is divided by the boundaries (*regionibus*) of the heavens into Asia and Europe. For Asia lies to the south and west, Europe to the north and east."

8. Ch. XII. Sec. 27. **eadem . . . quae**: *the same . . . as*. A. 308, h; G. 310, r. 2; 642, 1; H. 508, 5; (451, 5).

PAGE 105. 1. **vestrum est**: *it is your duty*. A. 343, a, b; B. 198, 3; G. 362, r. 1; 366; H. 439, 4; (401, n. 2, n. 3).

2. **sua**: refers to **ceteris**, which, while not the grammatical, is the real subject of discourse. A. 301, b; B. 244, 4; G. 309, 2; H. 503, 4; (449, 4).

4. **Vobis . . . mihi**: contrasted. Both dat. after the verb of injuring.

5. **Quamquam**: transitional. See on 98, 13.

6. **mihi . . . nihil . . . noceri potest**: lit. it is able to be injured to me in nothing, i.e. *I cannot be injured*. Observe that the Latin construction is made necessary by the fact that *nocere* is intransitive and hence has no personal passive. Verbs taking the dat. in the active are used impersonally in the passive, retaining the dat. *He injures me = Nocet mihi; I am injured by him = mihi ab eo nocetur*.

10. **quam qui neglegunt**: a conditional relative sentence = *si qui eam neglegunt*. See 83, 12, and note.

13. Sec. 28. **Quod si**: see 77, 16, and note. The banishment of Cicero in 58, on the charge made by Clodius, 'that he had put citizens to death without a trial,' proves that his fears here expressed were not groundless.

14. **domesticorum hostium**: these men were *hostes* (regular word for a foreign enemy) and yet citizens (*domestici*). Such a contradiction of terms is called oxymoron. A. 386; B. 375, 2; G. 694; H. 752, 12; (637, XI. 6). Cf. in English 'an audible silence,' 'a successful failure,' etc., and **cum tacent, clamant**, 56, 22.

16. **qui . . . obtulerint**: subjv. of integral part or attraction.

18. **quid est quod**, etc.: see on 47, 11.

19. **in honore vestro**: *in your gifts of office*. Cicero having been consul had nothing higher to strive for.

20. **in gloria virtutis**: *in renown for merit*.

21. Sec. 23. **Illud**: explained by the two following *ut* clauses. Translate the subjvs. like futures.

23. **ornem**: *make more glorious*.

25. **meminerim**: A. 205, b. See **meministis**, 102, 8.

PAGE 106. 1. **Iovem illum**: see 64, 10, and note.

2. **vestrum**: a rare use of the gen. plur. of *tu*.

4. **aeque ac**: A. 324, a, b; B. 341, 1, c); G. 643; H. 657, 1, n.; (554, l. 2, n.). **custodiis vigiliisque**: see Syn. 13.

5. **diutius**: see Syn. 11.

*For Review Questions see page 390.*

## THE FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE, DEC. 5, 63 B.C.

The plot was exposed, and five of the leading conspirators under arrest, but it still remained to be decided what should be done with them. The need of settling this question quickly became the more apparent, when it became known the next day that adherents of Lentulus and Cethegus were trying to stir up the lower orders of the people to attempt a rescue.

Cicero set a strong guard on the Capitol, the *clivus Capitolinus* (105, 11), and in the Forum, to overawe the elements of disorder, and on the following day, Dec. 5, called a meeting of the senate (30-39) in the temple of Concord to determine the fate of the prisoners.

D. Junius Silanus, as consul-elect, was asked his opinion first (36), and declared in favor of the death penalty. All the others agreed as called on until it came to Caesar, who was then praetor-elect. He made a powerful speech, in which he set forth the danger involved in putting citizens to death without a trial or appeal to the people (62). As a substitute he proposed imprisonment for life in various Italian cities and a confiscation of goods. The effect of his speech was such that the senators began to waver, even Q. Cicero, brother of the consul, voting with Caesar.

It was then that Cicero, the presiding consul, entered the debate, and pronounced the Fourth Oration against Catiline. In it he reviewed the speeches of Silanus and Caesar, and, without speaking decisively for either proposal, made it very clear

that he agreed with Silanus, urging all to do their duty by the country without considering his personal safety. The speech as we have it is probably much amplified.

After Cicero had spoken, the senate still inclined toward the opinion of Caesar, mainly, perhaps, from anxiety for the life of the consul, and were about to adopt the proposal of Tiberius Nero to adjourn the decision, when the young tribune-elect, M. Porcius Cato, arose to speak. He demanded the death of the conspirators, and painted in such colors the dangers of the state, and so praised the courage of the consul, that his eloquence carried away all opposition. The death penalty was carried out at once without an appeal to the people, Cethegus, Lentulus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Caeparius being strangled in the Tullianum (105, 14). When Cicero announced the execution to the people, he was hailed by all as the savior of his country, and escorted to his house on the Palatine by an immense throng.

This decisive action was a death blow to the conspiracy. Catiline tried to escape with his forces to Cisalpine Gaul, but the passes were closed, and he had to fight. The battle occurred in Northern Etruria at the beginning of the year 62. Catiline and his army were annihilated, fighting with a courage worthy of a better cause.\*

#### ARGUMENT.

I. Sec. 1-3. **Exordium.** Senators, I see that you are all concerned for my safety. I am not ungrateful nor unconscious of your solicitude, but I beg you not to think of me, but to consult only for the welfare of the state.

II. Sec. 4-10. **Narratio.** The crime of those under arrest is enormous, and their guilt has been clearly shown. You must take action to-day. We have two propositions before us: one of Silanus, who advocates the death penalty; the other of Caesar, who favors imprisonment for life and the confiscation of property. To follow Caesar's opinion would make me popular with

\* *Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, pulcherrima morte, si pro patria sic concidisset.* Florus, II. 12, 12.

the people. Caesar admits that we have jurisdiction over this case, but fears to do anything unconstitutional.

III. Sec. 11. **Propositio.** The penalty cannot be too severe.

IV. Sec. 11-19. **Confirmatio.** The conspirators' plans were so atrocious that true mercy for our country requires us to be severe. L. Caesar has set us a good example, and the grandfather of this Lentulus, too. You need not fear to adopt severe measures. All classes are with you as never before. All are looking to you to save the state, and I, as consul, will not fail you.

V. Sec. 20-24. **Peroratio.** Whatever happen to me, I shall never regret my action, and I hope to find a place among the country's heroes. I rely upon the protection of loyal citizens and the recollection of my deeds for safety. Therefore, for the sake of all you hold dear, vote fearlessly. I will carry out your decrees.

#### I. EXORDIUM. SEC. 1-3.

Senators, I see that you are anxious about my welfare. I am not ungrateful for this; but this is no time to think about me, but only about the safety of the state.

PAGE 107. I. Ch. I. Sec. 1. **patres conscripti**: see (31). **omnium vestrum**: the possessive gen. of personal pronouns is rare excepting with **omnium**; usually the corresponding possessive pronoun is used, e.g., *my horse* = *equus meus*, not *equus mei*.

3. **vestro**: sc. *periculo*. **depulsum sit**: implied ind. disc. for *depulsum erit*.

4. **iucunda, grata**: see Syn. 21.

6. **obliti**: how different from **obliti**, 71, 20.

7. **Mihi si haec**, etc.: *if the consulship was given me on this condition*.

10. **dum modo . . . pariat**: see on 50, 16, and 74, 26.

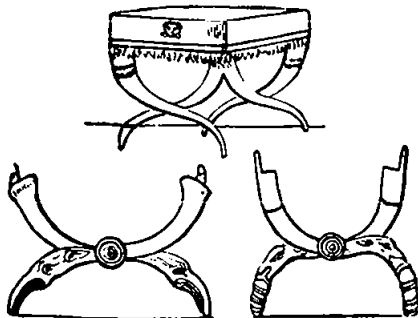
12. Sec. 2. **in quo omnia aequitas continetur**: the praetors' courts were held in and about the Forum. See (45), (63).

13. **campus**: the Campus Martius where the consular elections were held. See (24), (71). For the facts referred to, see 50, 24 ff.

14. **curia** (see 105, 2). It is called the **summum auxilium**

**omnium gentium**, because foreign affairs were mainly controlled by the senate (see 38).

16. **lectus**: see 50, 5. **haec sedes honoris**: *this official chair*, i.e. the *sella curulis*, see ill., and (41, iv.). The *sella curulis* could be folded up and carried about like a modern camp chair. Cf. English *chairman*.



THE CURULE CHAIR (SELLA CURULIS).

PAGE 108. 1. **multa tacui**: Cicero may be hinting at the possible connection of Caesar and Crassus with the conspiracy. See Sallust, *Cat.*, chs. 48, 49.

2. **meo quodam dolore in vestro timore**: i.e. theirs was the danger and fear, his the pain and responsibility.

3. **si . . . voluerunt, . . . subeatur**: a simple condition.

4. **ut . . . eriperem**: result clause in apposition with **exitum**.

5. **virgines Vestalis**: see on 91, 20.

6. **templa atque delubra**: see Syn. 6.

7. **omnium nostrum**: cf. **omnium vestrum**, 107, 1, and note.

11. **fatale**: see on 91, 14 ff.

12. **cur ego non laeter**: compare **quid ego te invitem**, 58, 1.

13. **prope**: the word here has almost the force of *as it were*, and is used to soften **fatalem**, which generally has a bad sense.



PAGE 100. 1. Ch. II. Sec 3. **consultite vobis**: *consult for your best interests*. Cf. the meaning of *consulo*, and the construction following it, in **si me consulis**, 51, 20.

6. **pro eo mihi ac mereor**: *in proportion to my deserts*, lit. *in proportion to that as I deserve*. For **ac** used for **ut** in comparisons, see 106, 4, and note.

9. **immatura consulari**: because no higher office remained to be won. **nec misera sapienti**: according to the teachings of ancient philosophy, death meant either annihilation or a transfer to a better life; in either case, therefore, it was not to be feared. See Plato's *Apology* and Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations I*.

10. **qui . . . non movear**: characteristic clause. Observe that **qui** takes its agreement from **ego** and not from **ille**. **fratris**: Quintus Cicero, at this time praetor-elect. He afterward served with distinction under Caesar in Gaul (see Caesar B.G. V. xxxix-lii), and also had considerable literary gifts.

12. **laorimis**: both Greeks and Romans used to give way to their feelings in a manner quite inconsistent with our ideas of manly dignity. **Neque . . . non**: the two negatives make an affirmative.

14. **uxor**: Terentia. **filia**: Tullia. **filius**: Marcus, at this time a child of two. On these characters see introductory life of Cicero, pages xv, xxiv, xxxiv.

17. **gener**: C. Calpurnius Piso. He was not yet quaestor, so had no seat in the senate (5), but stood outside watching the course of events. He was Tullia's first husband, and died in 57, before Cicero returned from exile. **sed in eam partem**: *but only in that direction (as to wish)*.

18. **etiam si . . . oppresserit**: see on 80, 15.

19. **potius**: see Syn. 15.

## II. NARRATIO. SEC. 4-10.

Sec. 4-6. The crime which then was attempted is the greatest of which we have knowledge. You have shown that you believe them guilty by your previous action, but I will put the case

before you anew. The extent to which this conspiracy has spread is surprising, but, great as it is, it must be suppressed at once.

21. Sec. 4. **incumbite . . . circumspicite procellas**: a metaphor from sailing; lit., *bend to the oars, look out for squalls*.

23. **Non . . . non**, etc.: connect the negatives closely with the proper names to preserve the emphasis; *It is not Ti. Gracchus, etc.* On the characters mentioned see the First Oration against Catiline, sec. 3, 4, and notes. **iterum**: to hold the office of tribune two years in succession was illegal, but Ti. Gracchus attempted it because he knew that he needed the protection of office to preserve his life.

PAGE 110. 2. **ad vestram omnium caedem**: what might we have had? See 107, 1, and 83, 4, and notes.

5. **servitia**: *banis of slaves*, the abstract for the concrete. Compare **luxuria**, 67, 3.

6. **ut . . . nemo**: purpose, for the more usual **ne quis**. A. 319, d, R.

9. Ch. III. Sec. 5. **rei**: from *reus*.

10. **iudiciis**: he proceeds to name the *official measures* by which they had affirmed their belief in the conspirator's guilt.

14. **se abdicare**: see (51).

15. **in custodiam**: see 55, 17, and note.

17. **qui honos**: see 82, 22, and note, for similar construction.

18. **praemia**: we do not know what these were.

23. Sec. 6. **de facto**, etc., **de poena**, etc.: objects of **referre**.

24. **praedicam**: distinguish between *praedico* and *praedico*.

26. **malis**: subj. of **misceri et concitari**. **iam pridem videbam**: see 58, 23, and note.

PAGE 111. 3. **ante noctem**: a decree of the senate to be valid must be made before sunset.

4. **facinus**: see Syn. 16.

6. **opinione**: see on **luce**, 47, 16. The word here is equivalent to a clause, *than you think*. See Syn. 63. **manavit**: *worked its way*, lit. *trickled*, the metaphor being of the hidden and treacherous percolation of water through a dike.

8. **multas provincias**: some rhetorical exaggeration, but Catiline hoped for aid from both Spain and Africa.

Sec. 7, 8. We have two motions before us: that of Silanus, who proposes the death penalty; the other of Caesar, who is in favor of imprisonment for life. Caesar's plan presents some practical difficulties, and the penalty is perhaps more severe than death itself.

12. Ch. IV. Sec. 7. **sententias**: *motions*, the technical word.

13. **haec**: *these things we see*, probably with a sweeping gesture. *Hic* is always used of something near in thought or space, *ille* of something remote; *is* has no strong local coloring, and may be used of either.

14. **Caesaris**: Caesar's speech as given by Sallust should be read. The footnote, page 111, gives only his motion.

16. **Uterque**: see Syn. 17.

PAGE 112. 2. **delere . . . extinguere**: depending on **conati sunt**.

3. **vita . . . spiritu**: see **illis rebus**, 10, 6, and note. *spiritus* is the air we breathe. Compare 53, 8.

6. **recordatur**: *recalls to mind*. Notice that Cicero does not say that Silanus actually mentioned such cases. He would have found it hard to do so, as Cicero himself did. See note on 60, 9.

7. **mortem**, etc.: this view of death is that taught by the Epicureans, the school to which Caesar belonged.

8. **aut necessitatem . . . aut . . . quietem**: the former when caused by old age, the latter when taken by one's own hand. Suicide was held to be not only permissible, but even a duty under certain circumstances.

9. **Itaque eam**, etc., **Vincula vero**, etc.: in sense dependent on **intellegit**, as giving Caesar's opinion, though grammatically independent.

10. **sapientes**: *philosophers*, the regular word; see on **sapienti**, 109, 9.

11. **et ea**: see on 100, 19.

13. **Municipiis**: see (14), (15), (16). **ista res**, *that pro-*

*posal of yours*, i.e. Caesar's. **iniquitatem, difficultatem**: i.e. it would be an injustice to impose this burden on certain towns rather than on others, and a difficulty would arise if they were asked and refused to assume it.

It is well to bear in mind that Cicero's summary execution of the conspirators was due quite as much to necessity as to choice. Imprisonment was not legally recognized as a penalty, and there were no prisons where such a sentence could be carried out. If Cicero had allowed the case to go to the courts, a conviction would have been quite improbable, owing to the prevailing corruption of justice. An appeal to the people would have led to nothing, as the infliction of the death penalty by popular vote was practically without precedent. If they had been allowed to go into exile, which was the regular procedure when there was no chance of acquittal, they would simply have joined Catiline and found some favorable spot where they could recruit their forces against the government. The only course remaining was the one adopted.

15. **Sec. 8. suscipiam**: *sc. rem.*

16. **reperiam**: *sc. eos.*

17. **statueritis**: subjv. of integral part or attraction. **non putent**, etc.: *will not think it consistent with their high position*, etc. **suae dignitatis** is pred. gen. after **esse**. See on **humani consilii**, 98, 16.

18. **Adiungit**: *sc. Caesar.*

19. **ruperit**: A. 592, 2; B. 323; G. 508, 3; 603, 2 (b); H. 649, 1; (528, 1). Cf. also 90, 17; 92, 16, and notes, where a similar principle is involved. **custodias**: *measures of safety.*

20. **scelere**: abl. with **dignas**.

21. **per senatum aut per populum**: i.e. by a decree of the senate or by a *lex* of the Comitia.

24. **quam**: connecting relative.

26. **ut . . . esset posita**: giving the purpose of **voluerunt**.

27. **formido**: see Syn. 18.

28. **illi antiqui voluerunt**: *those well-known writers of ancient times would have us believe.*

29. **his remotis**: abl. abs. expressing condition, *if these should be removed*.

The thought is that the myths of the lower world and its penalties were invented to create a wholesome fear of death among mortals and to keep them from seeking it voluntarily. Caesar's proposal is therefore more cruel than Silanus's. It is interesting to observe that Cicero's religious beliefs vary with the character of his audience. The senators were as skeptical as himself; but compare his language to the people in the latter part of the preceding oration; sec. 18, etc. See introductory life of Cicero, page xxxii.

Sec. 9, 10. Personal interest would lead me to follow Caesar's opinion. Caesar has shown his true loyalty by the character of his motion. Some of his party have absented themselves to avoid giving an opinion. Caesar admits our jurisdiction in the case, but fears to do anything unconstitutional. He sees, however, that the Sempronian law was made to protect citizens, not enemies, and so does not hesitate to advocate vigorous measures.

PAGE 113. 1. Ch. V. Sec. 9. **Nunc**: transitional use. See on 59, 19. **mea**: A. 355, a; B. 211, 1, a; G. 381; H. 449, 1; (408, 1. 2).

4. **popularis**: Caesar was at this time one of the most prominent leaders of the Populares, or popular — i.e. democratic — party (12). In general reputation as soldier and statesman he was still far below Pompey.

6. **erunt**: with **pertimescendi**. **hoc auctore**, etc.: abl. abs. expressing condition.

9. **illam alteram**: i.e. the opinion of Silanus.

10. **nescio an**: lit., *I do not know whether = possibly, I am inclined to think*, followed by the subjv. in an indirect question.

11. **rationes**: *considerations*.

12. **enim**: *then*; returning to the consideration of Caesar's proposal.

13. **maiorum amplitudo**: Caesar traced his ancestry back to the very beginning of the Roman nation.

14. **obside**, etc.: the consul was the more pleased to have

such a proposal from Caesar because he was suspected of complicity in the plot. Furthermore Caesar by his action had admitted that the senate had jurisdiction in the case.

16. **saluti consulentem**: see 109, 1, and note.

18. Sec. 10. **non neminem**: *many a one*. **de capite**: legally the senate had no judicial rights, and questions affecting the life or civil rights of a citizen must be referred to the people (62). Cicero claimed that by passing the *consultum ultimum* (34) supreme power had been placed in his hands and the laws superseded and suspended. On the question whether the *consultum ultimum* really did place so much power in the consul's hands, the Romans themselves were not agreed. Of course on this point hangs the whole question of the legality or illegality of the execution of the conspirators.

19. **ferat**: the verb is singular, though referring back to **non neminem**, which has the force of a plural. Translate, *they*.

22. **hoc**: explained by **quid iudicarit**. **qui**: refers to the subj. of **iudicarit**. The sense is that those absenting themselves have not escaped responsibility, for their previous votes have committed them.

23. **re et causa**: *fact and question at issue*; i.e. the fact of the conspiracy, and the question whether the senate was acting legally.

25. **At vero**: transitional. See on 46, 2. **intellegit**: observe that the verb is not *dicit*. Caesar may have had this opinion, but he did not say so. **legem Semproniam**: one of the laws passed to secure to Roman citizens the right of appeal. See on 60, 11, and (62). Cicero mentions this law in particular because he is about to use the fate of its author, C. Sempronius Gracchus, to support his argument.

26. **de civibus Romanis**: emphatic. **qui**: the antecedent is **eum**. The ind. disc. continues, dependent on **intellegit**. **rei publicae sit hostis**: the argument that the Sempronian law was for the protection of citizens only, and that the conspirators, being enemies of the country, had ceased to be citizens, has no legal value, because the guilt of the conspirators had not been

judicially proved. The investigation in the senate had raised a strong presumption of their guilt, but they had not been tried before any regular court, and until so tried had a right to be held innocent.

28. **latorem**: i.e. C. Gracchus. **iniussu populi**: Gracchus was killed by the agents of the consul Opimius, who relied upon the authority of a *consultum ultimum* previously passed by the senate. See on 45, 16. The precedent suits the present case, but the people never admitted its legality, and Opimius was later tried for his action and died in exile.

29. **largitorem et prodigum**: *however lavish and prodigal*; characteristic of those courting the favor of the people.

PAGE 114. 3. **etiam**: *still*; with temporal force. See on 43, 2.

6. **se iactare**: *to show off*; for popular effect. **in pernicie**: *at the peril of*.

### III. PROPOSITIO. SEC. 11.

In any case the penalty should be severe, and I am ready to accept either proposal.

11. Ch. VI. Sec. 11. **sive . . . sive**: conditional particles admitting a choice and implying that either alternative will be acceptable.

12. **comitem ad contionem**: after the meeting Cicero would be expected to address a *contio* (see 28) and tell the people of the senate's decision. It was customary for the one that made the motion which carried to appear on the Rostra with the consul; in this case Caesar, if his motion prevailed. Though a *contio* had no voting power, its opinion was a power in Roman politics. (See Mommsen, *History of Rome*, III. 99.)

14. **populo Romano**: in the eyes of the Roman people. *purgabo*, as indicated by the *itulus*, is a conjectural reading. The Mss. make no sense.

15. **eam**: i.e. the motion of Silanus.

## IV. CONFIRMATIO. SEC. 11-19.

Sec. 11-13. 15. When I think of what these men aimed to do, I feel that true mercy to our fatherland requires us to be severe with them. L. Caesar has set us a good example, who does not wish to spare Lentulus, his own brother-in-law. In former days the grandfather of Lentulus took up arms against Gracchus. Beware lest mercy to the conspirators make us cruel to the fatherland.

16. Sec. 11. **Quamquam**: transitional; see 75, 10, 57, 4.

18. **Nam ita mihi**, etc.: *For so may I be allowed to enjoy with you the state preserved, as (it is true that) I am moved, etc.* A form of emphatic asseveration something like our "So help me God" at the end of an oath.

19. **vehementior**: see **audacior**, 70, 20, and note.

21. **quadam**: this word is often used to show that the term employed does not exactly suit the case, = *a sort of, a kind of*.

22. **lucem**: see **lumen** as applied to Corinth, 6, 19.

23. **uno**: = *communi*.

24. **animo**: *in my mind's eye*. Really, abl. of means.

26. **aspectus**: *ferocious appearance*. Cf. Sallust's description of him, footnote, page 97.

27. **bacchantis**: sc. *eius*. See 59, 6, and note.

Sec. 12. **Cum vero**: introducing a climax, as often.

28. **ex fati**: see on 91, 14.

PAGE 115. 1. **purpuratum**: lit., *purple wearer*, the royal color of eastern courts and potentates; it may be translated *prime minister, grand vizier*.

2. **familias**: for form see A. 43, b; B. 21, 2, a; G. 29, R. 1; H. 79, 2; (49, 1).

3. **virginum Vestalium**: see 91, 20, and note.

7. **si quis pater familias**: *if any father, quis* having adjective force. A. 148, b, N.; 150; B. 90, 2, c; G. 106, R.; H. 511, 1; (454, 1).

11. **Mihi vero**, etc.: note the difference between Roman and Christian ethics.



14. **trucidare, necatum esse**: (line 27): see Syn. 20.

15. **nostrum**: the regular form for the partitive and possessive genitive; for the objective genitive *nostri* is used, so also *vestrum* and *vestri*.

17. **ut . . . conlocarent**: a substantive clause of result in apposition with *id*.

19. **remissiores**: compare force of **vehementior**, 114, 19.

21. **subeunda est**: as this form has future force of itself, it does not need to be put into a future tense to correspond with the protasis. A. 516, d; B. 115; 302, 1; G. 251, 1; 595; H. 525, 1; 574, 2; (476, 4; 508, 4).

22. Sec. 13. **Nisi vero**: introducing an ironical statement, as usual. **L. Caesar**: not to be confused with Caius Julius Caesar. He was consul in 64, and his sister was the wife of the conspirator Lentulus.

24. **praesentem et audientem**: translate by a rel. cl. A. 496; B. 337, 2; G. 668; H. 637; (549, 4).

25. **avum**: M. Fulvius Flaccus, consul 125 B.C., the friend and supporter of C. Gracchus, whose fate he shared. See note on C. Gracchus, 45, 19.

26. **consulis**: L. Opimius, consul 121 B.C., at whose command arms were taken up against C. Gracchus. **filium eius impuberem**: the son of Fulvius Flaccus, a youth of eighteen, who was sent by his father to offer Opimius terms of reconciliation. He was seized and killed in the Tullianum. These acts of severity were mentioned by L. Caesar as justification for stern measures against the conspirators, though his brother-in-law, Lentulus, was among them.

27. **missum**: cf. translation of participles above, line 24.

PAGE 116. 1. **Quorum**: what use of the relative? **factum**: a noun, sc. *erat*. **simile**: i.e. like the present conspiracy.

2. **Largitionis**: referring to the schemes of Gracchus to alleviate the condition of the poor.

4. **avus**: P. Cornelius Lentulus, consul 162 B.C., and a violent partisan against the Gracchi. See on 92, 12, and vocab.

5. **Ille**: in emphatic contrast to **hic** in line 7. See on **haec**, 111, 13.

8. **attribuit nos trucidandos**, etc.: a very important construction to master. See **signum conlocandum locaverunt**, 100, 10, and note.

11. **Vereamini censeo**: lit., *I think that you should fear, you had better fear, I think*, the subjv. after **censeo** with *ut* omitted. The advice is ironical; his serious opinion follows below, **multo magis**, etc.

13. **ne**: sc. **fuisse videamur**, from the second clause.

Sec. 14-19. You need not fear that I lack the power to carry out your decrees. All men of all classes are supporting us. It is true that adherents of Lentulus have been trying to stir up the shopkeepers, but they have not succeeded. Do not fail, then, in your duty to the country. You have a consul who will not hesitate to carry out your decrees.

17. Ch. VII. Sec. 14. **exaudio**: used especially of indistinct sounds coming from afar, whispers, reports, rumors, etc. See on 56, 27.

19. **vereri . . . ut**: distinguish carefully from *vereri ne*. See 11, above. A. 501; B. 296, 2; G. 550, 1, 2; H. 567, 1; (198, III. n. 1).

22. **cum . . . tum**: correlatives. **summa . . . multo maiore**: the comparative here is stronger than the superlative. See 93, 21, and note.

26. **generum, omnium**: why printed in *italics*? See *purgabo*, 114, 14, and note.

28. **huius templi ac loci**: the temple of Concord (105, 12). Try to bring the scene before you by the help of the plans and illustrations. **post urbem conditam**: on this use of the participle compare **ereptam vitam**, 6, 23. The traditional date of the founding of Rome is 753 B.C. As many other events are reckoned from this date, it should be remembered.

PAGE 117. 9. Sec. 15. **Quid . . . commemorem**: compare the cons. of **possit**, 71, 15. **equites**: see (8)-(11). At this time they were guarding the Capitol under arms.

10. **ita . . . ut**: restrictive in force, *only so far . . . that, only to*. **summam ordinis consilique**: *the precedence in rank and counsel*. See (5).

11. **ex multorum**, etc.: *after a quarrel of many years with this body*. The quarrel was about the right to sit on the juries of the *questiones perpetuae*. See (60), (61). The law of C. Gracchus (122 B.C.) had transferred the right from the senators to the knights. Sulla restored the right to the senators. And in 70 B.C. the *lex Aurelia* divided the privilege between the senators, the knights, and the *tribuni aerarii*, an order of revenue officers. The underlying difficulty was that both senators and knights were found to be too venal for jury duty. Justice was bought and sold, and the courts were hopelessly corrupt.

12. **ad societatem concordiamque**: *to a harmonious brotherhood*. Hendiadys, see on **ora voltusque**, 44, 2, and note.

14. **Quam**: see on **Quorum**, 116, 1. **coniunctionem**: the harmony of the two orders, brought about by the present crisis, was of short duration.

16. **confirmo**: *I assure*.

19. **tribunos aerarios**: some think that these were the presidents of the respective tribes (25). As their duties were largely financial, they were called *tribuni aerarii*, *tribunes of the treasury*. Since the *lex Aurelia* (70 B.C.), they had formed an *ordo* by themselves. **scribas**: the government clerks, of whom those attached to the quaestors were the most important (48). On the 5th of December, the date of this speech, the several quaestors were assigned to their provinces, and the clerks drew lots to see which quaestor they were to serve. This was done at the treasury, the temple of Saturn (105, 10), in close proximity to the temple of Concord, where the senate happened to be meeting on that very day. See plan, photographs, and reconstruction of the Forum.

20. **cum**: conj. with **frequentasset**.

23. Sec. 16. **ingenuorum**: the *free born*, to be distinguished from the *libertini*, who were not born free, though they had civic rights.

24. **cui . . . sit**: characteristic clause.

26. **cum . . . tum vero**: correlatives, throwing special emphasis on the second phrase.

PAGE 118. 2. Ch. VIII. **libertinorum**: see (13). **sua virtute**: their freedom was due to their merit.

4. **summo nati loco**: meaning especially the patrician members of the conspiracy. For **loco** without a preposition, A. 258, f, 1; B. 228, l, b; G. 385, n. 1; H. 485, 2; (425, II. 2).

6. **quid . . . commemoro**: see on **quid . . . commemorem**, 117, 9. The former is a simple direct question, *Why do I mention?* hence in the indic. The latter, a deliberative question, *Why need I mention? Why should I mention?* hence in the subjv.

9. **nemo**: often used for *nullus* with words of person. The phrase **Servus est nemo** is followed by a number of subjv. clauses of characteristic, the first of which has a restrictive force, *such at least as, if only, provided only*. A. 535, d; B. 283, 5; G. 627, r. 1; H. 591, 3; (503, I. n. 1).

PAGE 119. 1. **haec**: see on 111, 13.

2. **quantum**: sc. *tantum voluntatis*. For the correlatives *tantum . . . quantum*, see vocabulary. **potest**: sc. *conferre*.

3. **voluntatis**: part. gen. with **quantum**. Sec. 17. **quem vestrum**: see on **nostrum**, 115, 15.

4. **quod**: a relative. **lenonem**: used for *administer* to show the character of the men that Lentulus made use of.

5. **tabernas**. In Cicero's time the north and south sides of the Forum were lined with shops (see plan, and (98), (99)). The early Roman shops were long, low booths entirely open in front, with the exception of a low wall forming the counter. Sometimes the lower story of a large building was fitted up and rented to shopkeepers. In that case there was usually no communication between the shop and the remainder of the building. There are many interesting remains of shops at Pompei. See ill. p. 118. **pretio**: *for money*, abl. of means.

6. **sperare**: coördinate with **concurrere**, and both serving to explain **hoc**.

9. **illum ipsum locum**: i.e. the Forum.

10. **oubile ac lectulum**: these words mean about the same thing, and merely indicate a very humble style of living. We might translate, *their little all*.

13. **immo vero**: see 44, 9, and note.

16. **quorum**: i.e. the shopkeepers and artisans, referring back to **eorum**, 12. **occlusis tabernis**: translate by a temporal clause.

17. **quid tandem**, etc.: *what pray would have been the result had they been burned*. With **incensis**, sc. *tabernis*. The abl. abs. is equivalent to the protasis of a past contrary to fact condition, *si tabernae incensae essent*. For **futurum fuit** in the apodosis, see A. 517, d; B. 304, 3, b); G. 597, r. 3; H. 582; (511, 2).

21. Ch. IX. Sec. 18. **atque**: *and what is more*, as usual throwing emphasis on what follows, while *et* simply unites coordinate words with no additional thought; *-que* denotes a very close and intimate relation, the second word often supplementing the first.

PAGE 120. 5. **se, vitam, arcem**, etc.. objects of **comendat**.

6. **arcem et Capitolium**: see (108), (109), (110). **aras Penatum**: the temple of the Penates [(65), (66)] was on the Velia, the low ridge connecting the Palatine and the Esquiline.

7. **illum ignem Vestae sempiternum**: *yonder everlasting fire of Vestae*; note that the temple of Vesta was visible from the temple of Concord. See Restoration of the Forum, and (105, 6).

9. **vita**: see on 51, 8.

12. Sec. 19. **vestri, sui**: objective gen. Distinguish between the use of **vestrum** and **vestri**. See on **nostrum**, 115, 15.

13. **quae facultas**: see 82, 22, and note.

14. **universum**: see Syn. 22.

15. **in civili causa**: *in a question of politics*.

16. **Cogitate quantis laboribus**, etc.: this participial construction cannot be literally rendered in English. Translate the participles as verbs: *Cogitate quantis laboribus imperium*

*fundatum sit*, etc.; and the last clause as a relative: *quae una nox paene delerit*. By *una nox* he probably refers to the meeting at Laeca's house (*In Cat.*, I., Ch. iv.), though he may have in mind the night of the arrest of the Allobroges.

19. **Id**: subj. of **possit**; the clause **ne . . . possit** is the subj. of **providendum est**. **non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem**: see on 23, 21, and note.

24. **officio**: for case, see on **vita**, 112, 3.

## V. PERORATIO. SEC. 20-24.

Whatever happens to me, I shall never regret my action, and I hope to find a place among the country's heroes. I trust, however, in the protection of loyal citizens and in the memory of my services. Therefore, for the sake of all you hold most dear, vote fearlessly.

25. Ch. X. Sec. 20. **Nunc**: transitional. **ante quam redeo**: the indic. after *antequam* is usual when the reference is to present or future time. This is because these tenses generally express time pure and simple. When an additional thought of cause or circumstance creeps in, the subjv. must be used. In a word, the rule is the same as for **cum**. See notes on 1, 7, and 2, 1. **ad sententiam**, sc. *rogandam*, i.e. *to the voting*. See (36).

26. **quanta manus . . . tantam multitudinem**: correlatives.

PAGE 121. 1. **Quod si**: see on 77, 16, and note. Were the fears which Cicero expresses here realized?

2. **ista**: conveying an idea of hostility and contempt from its use in referring to one's opponent in court. A. 297, c; B. 246, 4; G. 306, n.; H. 507, 3; (450, 1, n.).

3. **me . . . factorum atque consiliorum**: A. 354; B. 209; G. 377; H. 457; (409, III.).

5. **mors**, etc.: cf. the sentiment, 109, 7-9.

7. **quanta**: sc. *laude*.

8. **bene gesta**: sc. *re publica*.

10. **Sec. 21. Scipio:** the great Africanus Major, who, by invading Africa, compelled Hannibal to leave Italy, where he had held out against the force of Rome for sixteen years, and defeated him at Zama, 202 B.C.

12. **alter Africanus:** Scipio Africanus Minor, the son of Aemilius Paulus, but adopted by Publius Scipio, son of the conqueror of Hannibal. He was the great hero of the Third Punic War, and destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C. Afterward he won almost equal renown in Spain by the destruction of Numantia, 133 B.C. He was the greatest Roman of his generation.

14. **Paulus:** Aemilius Paulus, father of the younger Scipio, who defeated and captured Perseus, the king of Macedonia, at Pydna, 168 B.C. He was, like his son, the most eminent man of his time. **ille:** see on 64, 10, and note.

15. **currum:** in the triumphal procession, distinguished captives walked before the victor's chariot. **quondam:** modifies the adjectives.

16. **bis liberavit:** by defeating the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae, 102 B.C., and the Cimbri near Vercellae in 101.

CAIUS MARIUS.

PAGE 122. 1. **Pompeius:** see 104, 4, and note. It is evident both from these passages and others that Cicero was doing all he could to attach Pompey to himself and the senatorial party. When Pompey finally did return, however, he turned his back on the senate and threw in his fortunes with Caesar and Crassus in forming the First Triumvirate, a step which eventually led to his own downfall.

3. **loci:** part. gen. A. 346, 3; B. 201, 2; G. 369; H. 441; (397, 3).

4. **nostrae:** see on 62, 1.

5. **quo**: rel. adv. = *ut ibi*. So also in the next line.
7. Sec. 22. **Quamquam**: how used here? With this passage, compare sec. 27, 28, *In Cat.* III.
12. **cum . . . reppuleris, . . . possis**: a general condition, **cum** having the force of *whenever, if at any time*. See 97, 11, and note. The subject is the indefinite *you = anybody*, which is common with the subjv. in this form of condition. A. 518, a; B. 302, 2; 356, 3; G. 567; H. 578, 2; (508, 5, 2). In the conclusion we have a potential subjv., **possis**. A. 445, 446; B. 280, 2; G. 257; H. 552; (485).
13. **mihī**: see **tibi**, 54, 9, and note.
14. **Id**: subj. of **posse propulsari**, depending on **confido**.
16. **quae**: the antecedent is **memoria**. For the thought, compare sec. 26 *In Cat.* III.
18. **a**: *from*.
20. **coniunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum**: see 117, 11-14. In less than two years the senators and knights were as hostile to each other as ever.
21. **conspirationem**: here used in a good sense.
23. Ch. XI. Sec. 23. **Quae cum ita sint**: see on **quam ob rem**, 57, 17. **pro imperio**: in the place of military command. Cicero had given up the governorship of a province, and with it a military command and a possible triumph. Macedonia had fallen to him by lot, but he let his colleague Antonius have it, in order to secure his help against Catiline. The other proconsular province (49) for the year 62 was Cisalpine Gaul; but this also Cicero renounced. He wanted to be in Rome where he could better safeguard his country's interests and his own.
26. **pro clientelis hospitisque**: in the place of *clientships and ties of guest friendship*. By **clientelis** is meant the relation of *cliens* to *patronus*, involving the idea of dependence and protection respectively; e.g. Fabius Sanga was the *patronus* of the Allobroges, and they were his *clientes* (see on 86, 21). Guest friendship (*hospitium*), on the other hand, was a mutual relation of helpfulness between citizens of the same rank in different



states. Naturally a provincial governor had extraordinary opportunities for forming both kinds of relationships, which added greatly to his power and reputation. Foreign states, as well as individuals, found it advantageous to have *hospitia* with prominent Romans, and were able in turn to bring them profit in various ways. Cicero already had a number of *hospitia* and a large number of clients, and says that, though obliged to remain at Rome, he will do his best to increase the number.

27. **urbanis opibus**: *by my influence in the city.*

PAGE 123. 1. **igitur**: resumes the enumeration; see on 49, 13, and note.

2. **pro**: *in return for*, the preposition having a somewhat different force than before.

5. **dum**: the following indic. shows that **dum** must be translated *while* or *as long as*. With the subjv. the word means *provided that* or *until*.

8. **parvum meum filium**: see 109, 14, and note.

10. **solius**: agreeing with the genitive understood in **suo**. See on **omnium**, 49, 9. A. 302, e; B. 243, 3, a; G. 321, r. 2; H. 446, 3; (398, 3).

PAGE 124. 3. **ut instituitis**: i.e. before they stopped voting to listen to Cicero's speech.

4. **eum consulem qui**: *a consul who*, followed by a clause of characteristic.

5. **ea . . . per se ipsum praestare**: *to become personally responsible for them.*

The end of the conspirators is described by Sallust (Ch. 55) in the following words:

"When the senate had gone over to the opinion of Cato, as I have stated, the consul, thinking it best to anticipate the night which was approaching, lest something new should be attempted during that interval, commanded the prison officials to prepare for the execution. He himself having posted guards conducts Lentulus to the prison; the same office is performed for the others by the praetors. . . . After Lentulus had been let down into that place (i.e. *the Tullianum*), the executioners who had it in charge strangled him with a noose. Thus that patrician

of the illustrious family of the Cornelli, who had filled the office of consul at Rome, met an end suited to his character and conduct. On Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Caeparius a similar punishment was inflicted."

The final battle between Catiline's army and the forces of the government commanded by Marcus Petreius, is thus described by Sallust (Chs. 60, 61):

"But when Petreius, after making a careful survey of everything, had given the signal with the trumpet, he commanded the cohorts to advance slowly. The army of the enemy did the same. And when they were so near each other that the battle could be begun by the light-armed soldiers, both sides, with a great shout, rushed at each other in a furious charge. They throw down their *pila* and fight with their swords. The veterans, mindful of their former deeds of valor, engage fiercely in hand-to-hand combat, their opponents make a brave resistance, the battle rages with the greatest fury. Catiline meanwhile, with his light-armed troops, was busy at the front, supporting those who were hard pressed, substituting fresh men for such as were wounded, attending to everything, himself fighting valiantly and wounding many an enemy. He performed at the same time the duties of an active soldier and of a good general. When Petreius found Catiline attacking him with such fierceness, contrary to what he had expected, he led his praetorian cohort against the center of the enemy, and, throwing them into great confusion, killed great numbers of them offering only a disorganized resistance. At the same time he attacked the others on both flanks. Manlius and the Faesulan fall fighting among the first. Catiline, when he sees his forces scattered and himself left with only a few, remembering his noble ancestry and former rank, rushes into the thickest of the foe, and there is slain, fighting to the last.

"But when the battle was over, then truly you could clearly see what boldness and what energy of spirit had prevailed in Catiline's army. For, in general, every soldier covered with his dead body the spot which he had occupied in the fight while living. A few, indeed, whom, occupying the center, the praetorian cohort had scattered, had fallen a little differently, but all with wounds in front. Catiline himself was found, among the corpses of the enemy, far in advance of his men, still breathing a little and still expressing in his features the fierceness of spirit which had characterized him in life."

*For Review Questions see page 395.*

## THE CITIZENSHIP OF THE POET ARCHIAS.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE PRAETOR, Q. CICERO,  
62 B.C.

### INTRODUCTION.

Archias was born, about 120 B.C., in Antioch of Syria, a city which in former years had ranked with Alexandria as a center of wealth and culture. His poetic talent, of which he early gave evidence, was fostered by a good education, especially in the poets, and he soon made quite a local reputation by his ability in composing extemporaneous verse, an art then very popular in the East.

In the second century B.C. Antioch had declined greatly through external wars and internal discord, and was no longer a favorable spot for the pursuits of culture. Archias, therefore, when still a mere boy of about seventeen, went forth to seek his fortune, and joined the army of wandering poets who were to be found in all the cities and islands of Greece and Asia, living by the favor of cities and noble patrons, whose praises they sang in return for their support.

In some such way as this Archias traveled through Asia Minor and Greece, and was everywhere very favorably received. Moved by the love of travel, or the hope of greater gain, Archias crossed over to Magna Graecia, where the traditions of the glorious past and the love of the Muses still lingered. In Tarentum, Locri, Rhegium, and Naples Greek customs and institutions were still tenaciously retained together with the

language, and the young poet was given an enthusiastic welcome. He departed for Rome in 102, laden with gifts and favors.

Archias reached Rome at a favorable time. The great impulse given to the pursuit of Greek culture by the literary circle of which the younger Scipio had been the center, had by no means died away. Greek studies of all kinds had become fashionable with all classes, and Greek men of letters were flocking to Rome in great numbers. Furthermore, the interval of peace between the Gracchan disturbances and the social war (121-90 B.C.) had done much to foster the love of learning. The consuls in 102 were Marius and Catulus, the former of whom had just won immortal fame by saving his country from the Cimbri and Teutones; the latter was himself a distinguished man of letters and a friend of Antipater of Sidon, whom Archias had had for a master.

For every reason, therefore, Archias was welcomed at Rome. He was probably the first Greek poet to choose Rome for his residence, and was at once received into the best society. A common literary interest made Catulus his friend. Marius, though an unlettered soldier, Archias knew how to win by promising him an epic on his Cimbrian victory. But of all the famous Romans the Luculli were and remained his most intimate friends. The head of the house, L. Lucullus, had served as praetor in Sicily in 103, and may have met Archias in that vicinity even before the latter went to Rome. There were two sons, Lucius and Marcus, somewhat younger than Archias, who made him their constant companion. Their subsequent well-known enthusiasm for Greek letters may be due to this intimacy.

Some years later M. Lucullus made a journey to Sicily and took Archias with him. The exact time and purpose of this journey are unknown. The purpose was probably to collect evidence in favor of L. Lucullus the father, who had been convicted of maladministration in Sicily, and was then living in exile. On their return journey they stopped at Heraclea, a

Greek city in southern Lucania near the Gulf of Tarentum. As this was not on the direct route, it is quite possible that the elder Lucullus had chosen this city for his exile, and that the Heracleans were clients of the Luculli. While there the Heracleans, to show the powerful Luculli a favor, enrolled Archias as a citizen. Heraclea had been a *civitas foederata* with Rome ever since 279 B.C., when, as a reward for its loyalty in the war with Pyrrhus, the Romans had given it exceptionally favorable treaty privileges.

In 91 the Social War broke out, and in 90 and 89 the *lex Iulia* and the *lex Plautia*, respectively, bestowed citizenship on all Italians asking for it. Archias applied for citizenship under the *lex Plautia*, which required the fulfillment of three conditions: 1st, enrollment in a *civitas foederata*; 2d, a residence in Italy; 3d, public declaration before a praetor. Archias had been enrolled as a Heraclean; he had a residence at Rome; he made a declaration before the praetor Q. Metellus Pius. Through some mischance the censors for 89 did not enroll Archias on the list of citizens, but from that date he considered himself a citizen, and took the Roman name Aulus Licinius Archias. Why he chose the name Aulus is unknown, but Licinius was the name of the gens to which his patrons, the Luculli, belonged.

In 88 L. Lucullus accompanied Sulla as quaestor in the First Mithradatic War, and took Archias with him. They returned in 80. In 73, when Lucullus was given the command against Mithradates (see *Introd. to the Manilian Law*, p. 163), Archias and a number of other literary men accompanied him. In the years of struggle that followed, Archias remained by the side of his patron and collected materials for his *Mithradaticum*, an epic on the exploits of Lucullus. After the command of the war was transferred to Pompey by the Manilian Law, Lucullus returned to Rome. In 63 he had his triumph, and in the same year, probably, Archias published his heroic poem, the *Mithradaticum*, which at the time attracted some attention and is worthy of mention as being the first poem in Greek written by a Greek in praise of a Roman.

Archias, surrounded by friends and fortune, seemed sure of a peaceful and prosperous old age, when, in 62, a charge was brought against him, by a certain Grattius, on the ground that he was not properly a citizen. The charge was brought under the Papiian Law, a sort of Alien Act, which provided that all foreigners in Rome who were not citizens should be ejected from the city. There seems little question that the blow was aimed at Lucullus, rather than at Archias, by some of the former's political enemies. A favorite way of annoying a prominent man was to persecute his friends.

The charge was cleverly made. Archias had almost no documentary evidence to support his case. The records of Heraclea had been burned in the Social War. His name was not on the census rolls. All the record he could show was the roll of Metellus the praetor, and the reliability of this whole registration had been called into question. To be sure, he had the Heracleans and Lucullus as witnesses, but their testimony could not be considered unprejudiced. Archias therefore felt the need of a good advocate, and fortunately secured the services of Cicero, then at the height of his fame and popular with all classes for so bravely suppressing Catiline's conspiracy. Cicero took the case mainly because Archias cleverly promised him that he would immortalize his consulship in an epic poem. This, it is safe to say, had far more weight with Cicero than his alleged gratitude to Archias for youthful instruction and guidance. Cicero nowhere else speaks of Archias in this relation, and Archias had been away from Rome too much to make an intimacy between them very probable. Further, Cicero was not sorry to do a favor to Lucullus, who had befriended him with help and advice during his consulship.

The trial was before a jury and was presided over by Q. Cicero, the praetor, the brother of the orator. This was favorable to Archias, for Q. Cicero was a great lover of learning, and was himself a poet of no ordinary ability. The case was hotly contested before a large concourse of Optimates and literary men. Cicero talked but briefly on the law and the facts, for

here his case was none too strong. By far the greater portion of his speech is devoted to a eulogy of poetry in general and of Archias in particular, and his services to the state.

By this speech Archias was not so much acquitted of the charge as added to the Roman state. Of his subsequent life we know but little. It does not appear that he finished the poem he had promised his defender. Cicero complains in his letters of his delay. His enthusiasm for the subject seems to have cooled after he was out of danger. No fragments of the poems of Archias have come down to us, if we except a few rather inferior epigrams that may be his. In spite of Cicero's praise he can scarcely have been more than a second-rate poet, a wordy Greek, quick of wit, a clever imitator, but of little original genius. Extempore composition, in which he excelled, cannot stand the test of severe criticism. He owes his immortality not to his poetry, but to his struggle for citizenship, which secured him Cicero as defender.

The unique charm of this oration lies in its eulogy of learning. This is really off the question and would not be admitted in a modern court of justice, but a Roman pleader could urge anything that would affect the case. While not connected in any way with the great historic events of the period, we get from this oration an altogether charming picture of the orator's intellectual life and ideals, his belief in the power of the good, the true, and the beautiful, and his enthusiasm for all that makes for culture.

#### ARGUMENT.

I. Sec. 1-3. **Exordium.** Cicero states his reason for defending Archias, and justifies his employing an unusual form of argument.

II. Sec. 4-7. **Narratio.** The early fame of Archias. The circumstances of his coming to Rome and obtaining the citizenship.

III. **Propositio.** Archias is a Roman citizen.

IV. Sec. 8-30. **Confirmatio.**

A. Sec. 8-11. Argument *intra causam*.

Archias is a Roman citizen, for he fulfilled the legal requirements and has practically lived and acted as a citizen.

B. Sec. 12-30. Argument *extra causam*.

Archias would deserve citizenship if he were not already a citizen. a. Sec. 12-19, line 14. Because he is a poet. b. (Sec. 19, line 15, to Sec. 30.) Because he has used his talent to glorify the Roman people.

V. Sec. 31-32. **Peroratio**. Summary of the case and a plea for a favorable verdict.

## I. EXORDIUM. SEC. 1-3.

I am moved to defend Archias by gratitude, for in my youth his instruction did much to make me an orator. He is a poet and I am an orator, but all liberal arts are linked together. With a poet for my client, I beg permission, Gentlemen of the Jury, to use a somewhat unusual style of pleading.

PAGE 125. 1. Ch. I. Sec. 1. **Si quid . . . ingeni**, etc.: this modest introduction was popular among ancient pleaders and was designed to conciliate the jury. By **ingenium**, **exercitatio**, and **ratio** (*talent, practice, and theoretical knowledge*) are named the three qualifications for an orator. **iudices**: the case may have been tried before one of the *quaestiones perpetuae* (60) or before a special jury to try cases under the Papian Law. The jury at this time was composed of senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii* (Sec (61), and notes, 117, 11 and 19). **quod sentio**, etc.: lit. *which I know how little it is*. Put into good English.

2. **qua**: the usual form for *quae* after *si*. **exercitatio**: not only practice, but also the skill and readiness which comes from practice.

3. **hufusce rei**: i.e. *dicendi*.

4. **optimarum artium**: by *optimae* or *liberales artes* are meant the pursuits that lead to culture — in those days, especially poetry, philosophy, rhetoric, and grammar — as distinguished



from the pursuits that lead to practical ends. Only the former were considered worthy of a free man, the latter were relegated to slaves and aliens. **profecta**: from *proficiscor*.

5. **abhorruiſſe**: = *have I been averse*.

6. **A. Licinius**: see *Introd.*, p. 311. Cicero cunningly uses his Roman name, which assumed that he was a citizen.

7. **fructum**: the *fruit* of what Archias had sowed would of course be Cicero's present oratorical ability. **quoad longisſime**: *as far as ever*.

9. **inde uſque**: *even from that point*.

10. **mihi principem . . . exſtituiſſe**: *gave me the first impulse*. **mihi**: an ethical dat.; see 71, 18, and note.

12. **Quod ſi**: see on 77, 16. **hortatu praeceptiſque**: looking back reſpectively to *ad ſuſcipiendam et ad ingrediendam*.

13. **a quo**: the antecedent is **huic**, the ind. obj. of **ferre**.

14. **id . . . quo**: *that by which*, referring to his oratorical ability. **ceteris**: all others, not including Archias. **alios**: others besides Archias, i.e. he gave help to all citizens in general; he ſaved ſome that were in trouble like Archias. **ceteris opitulari** correſponds to **opem ferre**, and **alios ſervare** to **ſalutem ferre**.

16. *Sec. 2.* **Ac**: transitional, beginning a new point. **ne . . . miretur**: the purpose clause depends on a clause to be ſupplied before **ne nos quidem**, like *I will ſay this*. See 70, 18, and note.

18. **facultas ingeni**: *natural ability*. See *Syn.* 26. **ratio aut diſciplina**: *theory or art*.

19. **ne nos quidem**, etc.: Cicero is here thinking of his own poetic efforts, which no one praiſed but himſelf.

21. **quasi . . . quadam**: words uſed, as often, to ſoften the metaphor.

PAGE 126. 1. *Ch. II. Sec. 3.* **ne . . . videatur**: depends on **quaeso**, line 7. **vestrum**: see **nostrum**, 44, 11, and note. **me**: subj. of **uti**. **in quaestione legitima**: *in a court established by law*. The next phrase, **in iudicio publico**, *in a state*

*trial*, means about the same thing, and is opposed to **iudicium privatum**, a *civil court*, which tried civil suits between individuals.

3. **praetorem**: Q. Cicero, brother of the orator.

4. **tanto conventu . . . frequentia**: abl. abs. expressing attendant circumstance.

8. **veniam**: a noun.

9. **ut me . . . patiamini . . . loqui . . . et . . . uti**: substantive clause in apposition with **veniam**.

10. **hoc concursu . . . hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique praetore exercente**: abl. abs. expressing attendant circumstance. See on 4, above. Trans. **hac vestra humanitate**, *before men of your culture*.

13. **liberius**: see **audacior**, 70, 20, and note. **in eius modi persona**: *in the case of such a man*, as Archias. **persona** is a word borrowed from the stage, where each actor wore a distinguishing *mask*. Cf. *dramatis personae*, for the characters in a play.

14. **otium ac studium, iudiciis periculisque**: *quiet devotion to study, the perils of the law*; hendiadys; see 44, 2, and note.

16. Sec. 4. **Quod**: subj. of **tribui concedique**.

18. **segregendum**: sc. *esse*.

19. **asciscendum fuisse**: what would this be in the direct form? See 29, 19, and note.

## II. NARRATIO. SEC. 4-7.

Archias was born at Antioch, where he became famous while yet a boy. Afterward he traveled in Asia Minor, Greece, and Magna Graecia, and was everywhere favorably received. Finally he settled in Rome, and became the intimate friend of the Luculli. Making a journey with M. Lucullus, he stopped at Heraclea, and was enrolled as a citizen there. This, by the Plantian law, made him eligible to Roman citizenship, and he took advantage of its provisions.

21. Ch. III. **Nam**: *now*, introductory and transitional. **Archias**: Cicero always uses the Greek name in speaking of

events before Archias became a citizen, and usually the Roman one after that event.

24. **celebri**: *populous, not celebrated.*

25. **urbe**: observe that an appositive to a locative is put in the ablative. Here there is no preposition, but **in** might have been used.

27. **gloria**: *reputation.* This is a very common word in Cicero. By it he means little more than what people say of one. **Post**: *adv., afterward.*

127. 1. **adventus**: plural because referring to his successive arrivals in different cities. **celebrabantur** . . . **Erat**: note the imperfects of description, while the narrative is carried further by perfects. See 94, 3, and note.

2. **ut famam**, etc.: *that anticipation in regard to the man exceeded the report of his talent, and his actual appearance and the wonder he excited surpassed the anticipation, i.e. before people had seen him, his popularity was greater than the report of his talent merited, but after he had been seen and heard, his popularity became even greater.*

4. Sec. 5. **Italia**: contrasted with **Latia** below, and referring especially to Magna Graecia. **artium ac disciplinarum**: *arts and sciences.*

5. **Latia**: not used in a geographical sense, but meaning the towns where Latin was spoken, as opposed to the Greek towns of southern Italy.

7. **tranquillitatem**: the interval of peace between the death of Caius Gracchus, 121 B.C., and the Social War, 90 B.C.

8. **et**: correlative with **et** before **omnes**. **Tarentini**, etc.: Tarentum (now Taranto), Rhegium (now Reggio), are now places of little importance. Of Locri there are only some ruins. Naples is the only city here mentioned that has kept a measure of its ancient greatness.

9. **civitate donarunt**: this was probably not an actual entry on the list of citizens, but a complimentary bestowal of the freedom of the city, or something of that sort. If they actually did make him a citizen, it is inexplicable why Archias did not use

that evidence to establish his Roman citizenship, instead of making everything depend upon his enrollment at Heraclea.

10. **de ingenis**: about 'brains.'

12. **absentibus**: sc. *eis*, those far away.

13. **Mario consule et Catulo**: 102 B.C. See Introd., p. 310, and Vocab.

14. **res . . . maximas**: his defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones.

15. **studium atque auris**: appreciation and a critical ear.

16. **praetextatus**: probably not to be taken literally; translate, quite young. Of course Archias, as a Greek, would not wear the *praetexta*, and he was probably somewhat older than a Roman *praetextatus*. See on *praetexta*, 66, 10.

18. **Et erat hoc**, etc.: and this was (a proof) not only of his talent, etc. The genitives are in the predicate after *erat*.

19. **ut . . . esset**: an appositive clause of result explaining **hoc**. **adulescentiae**: dat. with **favit**.

21. Sec. 6. **Metello, Pio**, etc.: for all these consult the vocabulary. They were the leaders of Greek culture during that period.

22. **vivebat cum**: he was intimate with, he paid visits to.

28. **simulabant**: i.e. not to be thought ignorant or out of fashion, still a common source of intellectual dishonesty.

PAGE 128. 1. Ch. IV. **cum esset**, etc.: on the time and cause of this journey, see Introd. p. 310.

3. **Heracliam**: this important Greek city was situated in southern Lucania, not far from the gulf of Tarentum, between the Siris and Asiris rivers. At present the region is almost deserted, and is well-nigh uninhabitable because of malaria. A desolate though fertile

#### A COIN OF HERACLEA.

plain, so low as to be swampy in spots, stretches from the sea to the southern Apennines. On this, at some distance from

the coast, stood the ancient city, of which scarcely a vestige remains. The rivers, often changed to wild torrents by the mountain floods, have destroyed and buried everything. The peasants tilling the fields, shown in the illustration (p. 128), not infrequently find coins that remind us of the ancient past. It would be hard to find a more striking example of the changes wrought by the destructive hand of time.

4. **aequissimo iure ac foedere**: a treaty was called *aequum* when both parties received equal benefits from it. The treaty which the Hieracleans enjoyed was so favorable to them that they were quite reluctant to change their independence for full Roman citizenship. See (14), (16).

5. **cum . . . tum**: *although . . . yet especially*.

7. Sec. 7. **Silvani et Carbonis**: Marcus Plautius Silvanus, Caius Papirius Carbo. A law usually takes its name from the gentile name of the man proposing it; so this law is usually known as the *lex Plautia-Papiria*, or simply the *lex Plautia*. See *Intro.*, p. 311.

8. **si qui**, etc.: the law, excepting the phrase **cum lex feretur**, is given in *ind. disc.*, which accounts for the subjunctives.

9. **domicilium**: i.e. a *permanent residence*.

### III. PROPOSITIO.

Archias is a Roman citizen.

### IV. CONFIRMATIO. SEC. 8-30.

#### A.

Argument *intra causam*, Sec. 8-11. Archias is a Roman citizen, for he fulfilled the legal requirements, as he has proved by unimpeachable witnesses. The fact that his name does not appear on the census rolls can be easily explained. During all these years he has lived and acted as a citizen.

PAGE 129. 3. Sec. 8. **dicimus** = *dicturi sumus*.

5. **Gratti**: the man who brought the complaint. He is

otherwise unknown, and was no doubt 'used' for this purpose by the real actors who were behind the scenes. **Heracliae**: locative.

7. **opinari**: see Syn. 41.

12. **Italico bello**: the Social War, 90 B.C. We know nothing further as to the part played by Heraclea in the Social War.

16. **ad**: with reference to.

19. **quae**: sc. *ea*, as antecedent of **quae** and object of **quaerere**.

21. **hominum memoria, litterarum memoriam**: verbal evidence as opposed to documentary evidence. **tacere, flagitare**: see Syn. 37, 9.

23. **municipi**: i.e. Heraclea, which since the Social War had become a *municipium* instead of a *civitas foederata*. See (14).

24. **idem** = *you also, you yourself*. Grattius impugns the value of documentary evidence when he attacks the list of Metellus Pius, where Archias was enrolled.

26. Sec. 9. **An**: see on **An vero**, 26, 12. **tot annis**: Archias came to Rome in 102, and the citizenship was not given until 89.

27. **ante civitatem datam**: for cons. see **post urbem conditam**, 95, 10, and note on **ereptam vitam**, 6, 23.

28. **Immo vero**: see 44, 9, and note. **tabulis**: means in Latin rather than *place*.

PAGE 130. 3. Ch. V. **Appi**: this was Appius Claudius, one of the praetors in 89 with Metellus, the father of the infamous Clodius, Cicero's enemy. He was a man of indifferent character, and was expelled from the senate in 86, possibly in consequence of his carelessness with the records.

4. **Gabini**: Publius Gabinius Capito, another of the praetors of 89. He had lost standing by being convicted of extortion in his province Achaia. That is what Cicero has in mind by **post damnationem calamitas**.

6. **resignasset**: lit. *break the seal*, and so destroy the credit of a document. **sanctissimus modestissimusque**: *most conscientious and scrupulous*.

8. **Lentulum praetorem**: this praetor, of whom nothing further is known, and his panel of jurors (**iudices**) were probably a special court to try cases involving citizenship. **venerit . . . dixerit**: for the tense, see A. 485, c; B. 268, 6; G. 513; H. 550; (495, VI.), and 103, 6.

9. **litura**: i.e. Metellus found that some one had been tampering with his list and was much disturbed about it.

11. Sec. 10. **Quae cum ita sint**: marking the transition to the second point, viz. that he was enrolled at Heraclea. **civitate**: i.e. at Heraclea.

12. **aliis quoque in civitatibus**: see on 127, 9.

13. **multis et . . . praeditis**: dat. after **impertiebant**. With **praeditis**: sc. *eis*.

15. in **Graecia**: sc. *Magna*. **credo**, when ironical, as here, is almost invariably used parenthetically without influence on the following construction. See on 46, 18; 74, 7. **impertiebant**: imperfect of repeated action; so also **solebant** below.

16. **quod**: the antecedent is **id**, which is the object of **largiri** understood. **scenicis artificibus**: e.g. we hear of a flute player who was made a citizen of Thebes, Athens, Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamus, and Antioch respectively.

18. **gloria**: see on 126, 27. **Quid?** see 48, 9, and note. **post civitatem datam**, etc.: i.e., not only after the *lex Plautia-Papiria* of 89, but also after the *lex Papia* of 65. On these laws, see *Intro.*, pp. 311, 312.

PAGE 131. 2. **illis**: i.e. the tablets of Rhegium, Locri, Naples, and Tarentum. Whether Archias was really enrolled as a citizen in these cities may well be doubted. Such evidence, which would have been of great value to him at this crisis, Cicero nowhere produces.

4. Sec. 11. **Census**: Grattius had evidently called attention to each census taken since Archias became a citizen, and shown that his name was lacking.

The case of the various *census* was as follows:

89 B.C. Censors: P. Licinius Crassus, L. Julius Caesar. Their record was left incomplete.

86 B.C. Censors: L. Marcius Philippus, M. Perperna. Archias absent with Lucullus.

70 B.C. Censors: L. Gellius Publicola, Cn. Lentulus Clodianus. Archias again absent with Lucullus.

The censors of 65 and 64 are not mentioned, because they resigned without taking the census. On the duties of the censors, see (44).

**scilicet**: marking what follows as ironical. See on **videlicet**, 56, 23.

6. **apud exercitum**: not *in exercitu*, for Archias did not serve in the army.

7. **quaestore**: see (48.) **primis**: i.e. the first after the passage of the Plautian law.

9. **ac**: *but rather*.

10. **eis temporibus**: belongs to main clause, **Sed . . . eis temporibus . . . et . . . fecit, . . . et adiit, . . . et . . . delatus est**.

11. **quem . . . versatum esse**: obj. of *criminarius*.

12. **testamentum . . . fecit**, etc.: none of these acts could be legally performed by any but citizens.

13. **hereditates**: the Romans left small gifts to friends by will much more generally than is now customary.

14. **beneficiis**: a provincial governor on his return to Rome handed in to the treasury a list of persons to whom he wished a special reward for services to be given.

15. Ch. VI. **si quae potes**: sc. *quaerere*.

16. **numquam . . . neque . . . neque**: a general negative is not destroyed, but only distributed by *neque . . . neque*. In Eng. the idiom is different, and we have to use *either . . . or*.

The argument *intra causam* closes at this point. What follows is a eulogy of poetry and literature, but is still skillfully connected with the case. It may be called the argument *extra causam*.



## B.

Argument *extra causam*, Sec. 12-30. Archias would deserve to be made a citizen if he were not already one.

## a. BECAUSE HE IS A POET.

Sec. 12-19, line 14. Sec. 12-13. The employments of literature, of which Archias is a representative, afford us necessary relaxation of mind, and supply us with intellectual nourishment.

19. Sec. 12. *ubi* = *id quo*: *the means by which*, and followed by the subjv. of purpose. A. 317, 2; B. 282, 2; G. 611, R. 1; 630; H. 589, II.; (497, I.).

20. *convicio*: the wrangling of the courts.

21. *aut*: correlative with *aut* in 23. *suppeterere*: sc. *id* as subj., the omitted antecedent of *quod*, lit. *that this is able to be supplied to us*, freely, *that we should be able to have on hand that*.

24. *contentionem, relaxemus*: note the metaphor of a straining rope or bow.

PAGE 132. 1. *Ego*: emphatic, *I, for my part*. Conservative Romans still regarded the new culture introduced from Greece with dislike and suspicion, and of no practical value in life as compared with politics and war. *studiis*: i.e. the *studiis optimarum artium*; see 125, 4, and note.

2. *litteris*: abl. of means. We should expect *in litteris* or *in litteras*. *nihil . . . neque . . . neque . . .*: see 131, 16, and note.

4. *me autem quid pudeat*: *but why should I be ashamed*; a deliberative subjv.

5. *vivo*: for tense see *iamdudum hortor*, 51, 14, and note. *nullius*: regularly used for the gen. of *nemo*, as *nullo* is for the abl. *tempore* = *periculo*, i.e. of a client in a criminal court, while *commodo* refers to a client's advantage in a civil court. The point to the whole passage is that Cicero has never allowed his taste for literature to interfere with his duties.

6. *otium, hours of ease*. Observe that the three verbs *abstraxerit, avocarit, and retardarit* fit the respective subjects with great aptness.

8. **Sec. 13. reprehendat . . . suscenseat**: see on **pudeat**, l. 4, above.

9. **si**: with **sumpsero**, l. 1, of the following page. **quantum**: with **temporum**, line 12, correlative with **tantum**, l. 13. **ceteris**: *all others*; to be distinguished from **alii**, *some*, l. 12. See Syn. 38. The occupations mentioned first are those common to all people; those that follow are pleasures and dissipations in which only some indulge.

10. **festos dies**: the Romans had forty-five fixed holidays, to say nothing of a large number of movable and occasional ones.

12. **quantum**: *sc. temporum*. **tempestivis conviviis**: i.e. feasts beginning before 4 or 5 P.M. The earlier hours of the day belonged to business, and to begin a feast then was a mark of dissipation.

13. **alveolo**: gambling was forbidden by law as now, and flourished equally. **pilae**: ball-playing is mentioned here with gambling, not because it was objectionable, but simply as another way of spending time in pleasure. Both the Greeks and Romans were very fond of ball. They had a variety of games, none of them at all resembling our baseball or football, but, probably, just as good sport. **tantum**: *sc. temporum*.

PAGE 133. 1. **egomet**: in emphatic contrast to **ceteris** and **alii** above. The meaning, in short, is that the time other people spend in relaxations of various sorts, he spends in study.

2. **eo . . . magis**: see on **hoc magis**, 67, 12.

3. **oratio et facultas**: hendiadys, *power of eloquence*.

5. **Quae**: i.e. his oratorical ability. **illa quae summa**: i.e. the highest truths, which he could draw especially from the study of history and philosophy.

Sec. 14. The highest moral truths may be learned from the lives of the great men of the past, and these literature has preserved for us.

7. **Sec. 14. multis litteris**: *wide reading*.

9. **laudem atque honestatem**: more commonly *laus et virtus*

(see on 134, 5), is Cicero's expression for the highest good. *laudem* = *merit*, rather than *praise*.

11. *mortis atque exsili*: *death and even exile*; a Roman feared exile, which meant political death and loss of civil rights, more than he did physical death. *parvi*: see *tanti*, 57, 11, and note.

13. *cotidianos impetus*: the attacks arising from the suppression of the conspiracy of Catiline.

14. *pleni*: *full of them*, i.e. of those high moral truths referred to above, l. 5, *illa quae summa sunt*. *libri*: the general term *books* is subdivided into the philosophical, *voces sapientium*, and the historical, *vetustas*.

15. *exemplorum*: i.e. of examples of eminent men who have lived out these great truths. The moral training of the Roman youth consisted largely in the study of the great men of the past.

16. *accederet*: *were thrown upon them*.

17. *imagines*, . . . *expressas*: the metaphor is of a statue or bust (*imago*) shaped (*expressa*) by the sculptor's chisel. We may translate *characters sharply drawn*.

20. *proponens*: as Longfellow sings:

"Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And departing, leave behind us  
Footprints on the sands of time."

*animus et mentem*: see Syn. 24.

Sec. 15, 16. To be sure, many of the great men of old were unacquainted with literature. They had great natural gifts. But to produce the greatest characters we must have a union of natural ability and culture. But even apart from its practical value, culture is a glorious possession.

PAGE 134. 1. Ch. VII. Sec. 15. *est certum*: *it is clear (to me)*.

5. *laudem atque virtutem*: see 133, 9, and note.

7. *Atque idem hoc contendo*: *at the same time, however, I also claim this*.

8. **ratio quaedam conformatioque**: *what may be called (quaedam), the regular training and molding influence.* *quidam* is often used to soften an expression, or to show that the writer or speaker is at a loss for an exact term to express his meaning.

9. **nescio quid**: see on **nescio quo facto**, 61, 27, and note.

10. Sec. 16. **esse**: the construction of the previous sentence continues. **hunc**: this demonstrative is used because the younger Scipio is referred to, who is the *nearer* in time. See on 111, 13.

12. **Africanum**: Scipio Africanus Minor, C. Laelius, surnamed the wise, and L. Furius were leaders in the introduction of Greek culture in their day. Scipio, a man of the finest character, was probably the first Roman that combined statesmanship of the first order with a deep love of culture. **ex hoc**: *sc. numero*.

14. **illis temporibus**: Cato flourished in the generation preceding that of the men just mentioned. He was a most inveterate hater of everything Greek, and a most conspicuous example of the conservative Roman. At the same time he was of very great ability as a statesman, orator, and writer, and was the father of Latin prose writing, as Ennius was of poetry. See also Vocab. **illum**: see on **ille**, 64, 10.

21. **ceterae**: *sc. animi remissiones*.

24. **adversis**: *sc. rebus*. These famous lines (21-26) are well worth committing to memory.

Sec. 17-19, line 14. All artists deserve admiration and especially poets, who have rightly been called sacred.

PAGE 135. 3. Sec. 17. **videremus**: follows the mood and tense of **deberemus** as integral part.

4. Ch. VIII. **Rosci**: the most famous actor of his times. Though born a slave, he reached such perfection in his art that he enjoyed the friendship of Cicero and other famous men and became immensely wealthy. He was chiefly celebrated for the grace and beauty of movement and gesture. He died in 62, hence **nuper**.

7. **corporis**: emphatic position, opposed to **animorum**. In

the form of drama most popular at Rome the movements and gestures were much more important than the words.

PAGE 136. 4. Sec. 18. **ex tempore**: to compose extempore verse was an art that flourished during the rise and decline of Greek literature, but not during its best period. The Italians had a natural fondness and aptitude for improvisation and encouraged it, so that men were not wanting there, even in the golden age of letters, who excelled in it. The best of them, like Antipater of Sidon among the Greeks, and Publilius Syrus among the Romans, showed astonishing powers, and could pour out verses on any subject and in any meter at a moment's notice. But their poems were clever imitations and adaptations from the works of others rather than original productions, and showed quickness of intellect and strength of memory rather than genius. The fact that the extempore works of no poet have survived is evidence that they did not deserve to live. **revocatum**: when recalled, as we say, when given an *encore*.

6. **Quae . . . scripsisset**: i.e. his longer compositions.

7. **ad veterum scriptorum laudem**: the praise is of course extravagant. By *veteres scriptores* he means the masters of Greek literature whom Archias, no doubt, imitated, to use no stronger word.

8. **diligam, admirer, putem**: see on **pudeat**, 132, 4.

PAGE 137. 3. **Ennius**: called **noster** because not a Greek. He was born at Rudiae in Calabria 239 B.C., and was the first great Roman poet. His greatest work was the *Annales*, a history of Rome in hexameter verse, of which fragments are still extant. His place in Latin literature is like that of Homer in Greek, and he is often called the father of Latin poetry. See also **Vocab.**

4. **dono atque munere**: see **Syn.** 40.

6. Sec. 19. **poetae**: appositional genitive. See 51, 15, and note.

7. **Saxa et solitudines**, etc.: Cicero is thinking of the well-known myths of Amphion and Orpheus, the former of whom is said to have built the walls of Thebes with the power of his

lyre, and the latter to have been followed about by listening trees and animals, and finally to have descended to the lower world and conquered its dread powers. See Gayley, *Classic Myths*, pp. 185-188; Bulfinch, *Age of Fable*, p. 227; Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome*, pp. 75, 387.

10. **Homerum** :

“Seven were the towns that laid claim to the gifted root of  
Homerus ;  
Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodes, Argos, and Athens.”

The *Salamis* here named is the Salamis of Cyprus, not the island near Athens.

11. **dicunt, repetunt, confirmant** : note the climax.

b. BECAUSE HE HAS USED HIS TALENT TO GLORIFY THE  
GREAT DEEDS OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

Sec. 19, line 14, Sec. 30. Hope for eternal fame is the strongest spur to honorable ambition, and for that reason all great men have honored poets. I, too, share in this feeling.

15. Ch. IX. **Ergo . . . repudiabimus** : this closes the thought of the preceding argument, the new one being introduced by **praesertim cum**, etc.

16. **etiam** : *still*.

20. **et** : this should be followed by another **et** introducing **Mithradaticum bellum**, 138, 3, but the construction is interrupted by **neque enim**, etc., and resumed by **vero**. To avoid a similar irregularity in Eng., the **et** may be omitted in translation. **Cimbricas res** : the victory of Marius over the Cimbri and Teutones (102-101 B.C.). The poem seems never to have been finished.

21. **durior** : Marius was a man without culture. Sallust represents him as boasting that his school had been the camp and battlefield.

24. Sec. 20. **Themistoclem illum** : *that famous Themistocles*. See Vocab.

26. **acroama**: the word includes any kind of artistic entertainment: singing, reciting, dancing, etc., and also the person performing.

PAGE 138. 2. **Plotium**: this Plotius, besides being a poet, was a popular teacher of Latin rhetoric at Rome during Cicero's youth. Cicero wanted to take lessons of him, but was not allowed to do so, as Greek was considered superior to Latin for his mental training.

5. Sec. 21. **totum ab hoc expressum est**: Archias did not treat the whole war, but all that part of it during which Lucullus was in command, and successful (73-69 B.C.). What followed later was probably omitted as being unfavorable to Lucullus. It will be noted that the events of the war that are mentioned are not given in their chronological order. The Introduction to the Manilian Law (p. 163) should be consulted.

6. **libri**: the poem had probably four books.

10. **natura et regione**: hendiadys, compare 133, 3. Pontus is very mountainous and difficult of access, and Mithradates had fortified all the mountain passes.

11. **non maxima manu**: the battle of Tigranocerta (69 B.C.). According to Plutarch, Lucullus had ten thousand men, the enemy two hundred thousand.

12. **urbem . . . Cyzicenorum**: see on 12, 8.

PAGE 139. 3. **nostra**: *as ours*, predicate after **feretur et praedicabitur**, the subject of which is **pugna**.

5. **pugna illa navalis**: 73 B.C., see on 12, 13. **Tenedum**: the battle was really off the coast of a small desert island near Lemnos, but is usually known as the battle of Tenedos.

7. **Quae**: *these things*, connecting relative, subj. of **efferuntur**. **ab eis**: referring to **quorum**.

8. Sec. 22. **Africano superiori**: the older Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. See Vocab.

9. **Ennius**: see on 137, 3, and Vocab. **sepulcro Scipionum**: this famous tomb on the Appian Way (see map of Rome) was discovered and opened in 1780. In it were found a number of stone sarcophagi with inscriptions, which are now

in the Vatican museum. Two heads of busts were found, but neither can be certainly identified as Ennius.

12. **hulius**: M. Porcius Cato, who seems to have been present. He was only less famous than his great-grandfather Cato the censor. It was he that made the speech in the senate which settled the fate of the Catilinarian conspirators.

14. **Maximi**, etc.: see Vocab.

16. Ch. X. **haec**: sc. *carmina*. **Rudinum hominem**: i.e. Ennius. He received the citizenship through M. Fulvius Nobilior, consul 189 B.C., whom he accompanied to Aetolia.

17. **Heracliensem**: contrasted with **Rudinum**, for Heraclea was a much larger city.

18. **civitatibus**: for cons. see 54, 9, and note.

22. Sec. 23. **Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus**: the conquests of Alexander the Great and his followers, and the presence of Greek colonies in different countries had spread a knowledge of Greek over a large part of the world. It was also the universal language of culture.

23. **Latina suis finibus exiguis sane continentur**: at this time, the conquered peoples of Italy were still in great part speaking their own languages, and Latin was nearly restricted to Latium and the Roman colonies.

25. **quo . . . eodem**: *whither . . . to the same place*.

27. **cum . . . tum**: correlatives. **haec ampla sunt**: *do these* (i.e. poems, etc.), *bring fame*.

PAGE 140. 2. **hoc**: i.e. the hope of being immortalized by a great writer.

4. Sec. 24. **scriptores rerum**: the names of more than half a dozen have come down to us, but none of their works — probably no great loss.

10. **qui . . . inveneris**: see 55, 22, and note.

11. **Homerum**: Alexander was a great admirer of Homer, and is said to have carried with him, in a jeweled casket, a famous edition, which Aristotle had presented to him.

16. **noster hic Magnus**: Pompey the Great in contrast to **magnus ille Alexander**.



22. **quadam**: for force compare 134, 8, and note.

24. Sec. 25. **credo**: see 130, 15, and note. **si . . . esset, potuit**: for form of condition compare 29, 19, and note.

25. **ab aliquo imperatore**: strictly speaking, the citizenship could be given only by a vote of the people, but generals not infrequently assumed the right.

#### ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

27. **donaret**: sc. *civitate*. **petentem** = *si petisset*, which forms the protasis of **repudiasset**. **quem**: referring to Sulla and subj. of **iubere**, 141, 4.

PAGE 141. 1. **de populo**: *of the common people*.

2. **subiecisset**: *had handed up from below* to Sulla, who was sitting in the Forum on his tribunal, selling at auction the confiscated goods of proscribed citizens. **quod epigramma, etc.**: *an epigram which he had made on him, whose only merit was that it was written in elegiac verse* (lit. *merely the alternate verses being a little longer*, i.e. in elegiac meter, consisting of alternating lines of six and five feet). For the position of **epigramma**, which is in apposition with **libellum** see 82, 22, and note.

3. **statim**: modifying **tribui**, pass. inf.
9. **praemio**: for cons. see on 56, 3.
14. Sec. 26. **qui civitate multos donavit**: during his proconsulship in Spain (76-71 B.C.).
15. **per Lucullos**: the Luculli would have special influence with Metellus, because they were related. **qui praesertim**: especially since he.
16. **scribi**: used impersonally like **scribitur**, 139, 27.
17. **pingue**, **peregrinum**: cognate acc. A. 390, a; B. 176, 2, b); G. 333, 2, R. 6; H. 409, 2; (371, II. N.). Naturally the Latin verse of these foreigners was not above criticism.
20. Ch. XI. **sed prae nobis ferendum**: but should be proudly acknowledged.
21. **gloria**: *love of fame*.
24. **in eo ipso**: *in the very act*.
25. **praedicari de se ac nominari**: impersonal, but in our idiom translate as if **se** were the subject.
- PAGE 142. 1. Sec. 27. **Iam vero**: transitional. Compare 70, 7, and note. **Ennio**: see on 137, 3, and Vocab.
2. **Fulvius**: Fulvius built a temple to Hercules and the Muses from the spoils of war.
8. Sec. 28. **quodam**: used to soften the expression **amore gloriae**. See on 134, 8.
10. **quas res**, etc.: for the order compare in **qua urbe**, l. 3, above, and see 84, 14.
12. **attigit hic versibus atque incohavit**: *he has chosen as a subject for a poem and actually begun upon*. It is very doubtful whether Archias ever finished this poem. See Introd., p. 313.
13. **quibus auditis** = *cum de his versibus audissem*. *Audire* may mean not only *to hear*, but also *to hear about*. Cicero was so anxious that the memory of his consulship should live that he treated the subject no less than four times himself.
16. **qua quidem detracta**: conditional in force. **exiguo**, **brevi**: see Syn. 42.
18. **nos**: obj. of **exerceamus**.

19. Sec. 29. **si . . . praesentiret . . . , et si . . . terminaret . . . ; nec . . . frangeret neque . . . angeretur nec . . . dimicaret**: present contrary to fact.

23. **Nunc**: the real as opposed to the false.

24. **virtus**: a worthy impulse.

27. **sed cum omni posteritate adaequandam**: but must be made to endure to all future generations.

PAGE 143. 1. Ch. XII. Sec. 30. **An vero**: see on 26, 12. **parvi**: because only large minds can grasp the thought of everlasting fame. **videamur**: shall we allow ourselves to appear, deliberative subjv.

2. **in re publica**: in public life.

6. **statuas, imagines, simulacra, effigiem**: see Syn. 5. By **imagines**, Cicero is doubtless thinking of the *imagines maiorum*, which the Roman nobles kept in the atrium of their houses. Sec (5).

9. **expressam et politam**: see 133, 17, where the same figure is employed. **expressam** refers to the truthfulness of the likeness, **politam** to its beauty of finish.

10. **quae gerebam**: i.e. during his consulship. **omnia**: obj. of **spargere ac disseminare**. What is the metaphor?

13. **sapientissimi homines**: the great Greek philosophers, like Socrates, Plato, and Pythagoras, all of whom taught that the soul is immortal.

## V. PERORATIO. SEC. 31, 32.

In view of the character of Archias, Gentlemen of the Jury, and the arguments which I have adduced, you should protect him and acquit him. I beg for a favorable consideration of my speech.

17. Sec. 31. **puđore . . . ingenio . . . causa**: abl. of characteristic or description.

19. **vetustate**: i.e. the length of his friendships, as with the Luculli. See 127, 16-20. **id**: subj. of **existimari**, which depends on **convenit**.

21. **beneficio legis**, etc.: see Sec. 7, 8, 9.

24. **qua**: see 125, 2, and note.

25. **divina**: because poets are *sancti*. See 136, 10 ff.

PAGE 144. 1. **ut**: with **accipiatis** (line 7), of which **eum** is the obj.

4. **periculis**: i.e. of the conspiracy of Catiline.

9. Sec. 32. **de causa**: the argument *intra causam*.

11. **a forensi aliena**, etc.: the argument *extra causam*.

14. **ab eo qui iudicium exercet**: Q. Cicero, the praetor.

*For Review Questions see page 339.*

## THE PARDON OF MARCELLUS.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE, 46 B.C.

### INTRODUCTION.

Marcus Claudius Marcellus, a prominent Roman noble, and a life-long friend of Cicero, made himself very conspicuous during his consulship, in 51 B.C., by his bitter enmity to Caesar. Caesar at this time, in order to prolong his power, was trying to stand for the consulship in his absence, and Marcellus was the man that introduced in the senate the bills designed to strip Caesar of his authority, supplant him in Gaul, and deprive him of the fruits of his victories. To show his contempt for Caesar and his authority, he is said to have publicly scourged a citizen of a Gallic colony to which Caesar had lately given citizenship, to teach him that he was not a Roman citizen. In short, Marcellus was a leader in the movement which finally forced Caesar into open hostilities.

He was not so rash, however, as to wish to force an open conflict with Caesar without proper preparation, and, while there was yet peace, vainly urged the necessity of raising an army to meet the coming storm. He seems to have had little confidence in the Pompeian party, and was Caesar's enemy rather than Pompey's friend. However, when the latter fled from Italy to Macedonia, Marcellus accompanied him, and was present at the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.), which left Caesar master of the world.

Marcellus at once realized the futility of continuing the struggle and withdrew to Mitylene on the island of Lesbos, where he gave himself up to rhetorical and philosophical studies. He was himself an orator of no inconsiderable ability.

When Caesar not only did not proscribe his enemies, as many had expected, but even forgave many of them and set them in places of honor and trust, the friends of Marcellus began to urge him to sue for pardon. Cicero wrote him a number of letters, as some think with Caesar's approval, trying to persuade him to this course. But Marcellus had too much pride and was too honest a partisan to do this, and continued on at Mitylene, evidently preferring voluntary exile to Rome under Caesar.

Caesar, who was anxious to gather about him and attach to himself all the nobility he could, — an element which was sadly lacking in his party, — was piqued by the obstinacy of Marcellus, and probably knew about, if he did not plan, the demonstration in favor of Marcellus which led to the oration before us. At a full meeting of the senate Caius Marcellus, the brother, or, according to some, the cousin of Marcus, threw himself at Caesar's feet and begged him to pardon his kinsman. At the same time all the senators rose and came forward as suppliants. Caesar, after complaining of Marcellus's long and bitter enmity, granted full forgiveness. Thereupon Cicero, to whom the occasion seemed an unusually happy one and to promise better things for his country, and even the restoration of the republic, which had become the dream of his life, broke the silence of many months and expressed his thanks in the speech which is somewhat inaptly called the *Pro Marcello*. This speech he afterward wrote out and published. It is especially remarkable and interesting in view of Cicero's language two years later when he openly rejoiced at the Dictator's death.

After the public demand for his return, Marcellus could but obey. He set out from Mitylene, but stopped en route at Athens and was assassinated at the Piraeus by P. Magius Chilo, one of his most intimate friends, who immediately afterward killed himself. What Chilo's motive was is not surely known, some say that he was angry with Marcellus for refusing to help him out of his financial straits, others that he killed Marcellus out of jealousy. Marcellus, who had the respect and esteem of the Athenians, was buried in the Academy.

**Suggested Reading on the Pardon of Marcellus.**

Forsyth, *Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (2 vols. in one), Vol. II., pp. 78, 80, 144.

Merivale, *History of the Romans*, Vol. II., pp. 51, 60, 61, 343, 344.

Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (3 vols.), Vol. II., p. 932 (No. 11 under Marcellus).

Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*, pp. 358-360.

**ARGUMENT.**

This oration not being of the argumentative type does not show the usual subdivisions (92). It belongs to the eulogistic or demonstrative class (93).

I. Ch. I. **Exordium.** The pardon of Marcellus has caused Cicero to break his long silence. The magnanimity of Caesar is an earnest of his good will toward the republic as well as very complimentary to Marcellus.

II. Chs. II.-X. **Demonstratio.** Part I., Chs. II.-VI. Caesar's deeds of arms compared with his nobility of character. Caesar has won glorious fame in war, but more glorious still is his magnanimity; for he must share his military fame with his army and with fortune, but his magnanimity is all his own. Part II., Chs. VII.-X. Caesar need have no fears for his life. Plots against his life are incredible, for his enemies are either dead or converted to friends. But it is well for him and the state to be watchful, for his life is precious to all. He, alone, knows how to heal the wounds of the Civil War. All is now disorder and confusion. He may not care to prolong his life for his own sake, but he owes it to the state. As yet he has hardly begun to carry out his great reforms. The immortality which he craves can be secured only by reconstructing the state. An auspicious beginning has been made, and the citizens will all unite in guarding his safety.

III. Ch. XI. **Peroratio.** All gratefully return thanks to Caesar for the pardon of Marcellus and the renewed hope for the restoration of the republic. The orator feels especially grateful because of his intimate friendship with Marcellus.

## I. EXORDIUM. CH. I.

The pardon of Marcellus, Conscript Fathers, has caused me to break my long silence; for your magnanimity, Caesar, is an earnest of your good will toward the republic as well as highly complimentary to Marcellus.

PAGE 145. 1. Ch. I. Sec. 1. **Diuturni silenti**: Cicero followed the fortunes of Pompey during the Civil War, and after his return to Italy and his pardon by Caesar, had kept aloof from public affairs until the present. See introductory life of Cicero, p. xxiv. **eram usus**: equal to *sum usus*.

2. **timore, verecundia**: see Syn. 18.

3. **idemque**: *and also*.

4. **quae**: *sc. ea*, the subjvs. **vellem** and **sentirem** are due to the influence of **dicendi**.

5. **mansuetudinem . . . clementiam**: in striking contrast with the frightful proscriptions of previous conquerors. Cf. *In. Cat.*, III. § 24.

6. **in summa potestate rerum omnium**: *when possessing supreme authority over everything*. After the battle of Thapsus, early in 46, when Caesar finally defeated the Pompeian army in Africa, the senate added to his former honors by making him Dictator for ten years.

13. Sec. 2. **in eadem causa**: *i.e. on Pompey's side in the struggle against Caesar*.

14. **in eadem . . . fortuna**: *enjoying the same good fortune of Caesar's pardon and favor*.

16. **nostro**: for *meo*, as often in speeches. **illo aemulo**, etc.: *abl. abs. with distracto*. Marcellus was both a fine orator and an assiduous student of philosophy, pursuits in which Cicero found him a congenial companion.

17. **quasi quodam**: for force of **quodam**, compare 137, 2, and see note on **quaedam**, 134, 8. Trans. *I might almost call him, I might almost say*.

PAGE 146. 1. **quasi**: to soften the metaphor of **signum**



tollere borrowed from the military camp, in which the raising of a flag was the signal for action.

2. Sec. 3. *mihi*: dat. of apparent agent; as also *omnibus*, below. *in multis et maxime in me ipso*: in the case of many (others), and especially in my own case.

3. *paulo ante omnibus*: just now by all; as opposed to *mihi quidem*.

5. *te . . . anteferre*: depending on *intellectum est*.

6. *vel . . . vel*: here almost equal to *et . . . et*. See note on 64, 3.

7. *suspicionibus*: of plots against his life. *Ille*: Marcellus.

8. *cum . . . tum*: correlatives, as usual throwing emphasis on the second clause. See 3, 21, and note.

9. *maximo*: very significant.

10. *in dato beneficio*: in giving a favor; see *ereptam vitam*, 6, 23, and note.

12. *minor*: with *laetitia*.

13. *ventura sit*: i.e. when the news of his pardon reaches him. As a fact, Marcellus received the news very coolly, and made no haste to return.

14. *illo*: abl. after *praestantior*. See on *luce*, 47, 16.

16. *ullo laudis genere*: any other praiseworthy quality.

## II. - DEMONSTRATIO. CHS. II.-X.

### PART I. CHS. II.-VI. Caesar's prowess in war compared with his nobility of heart.

Caesar has won glorious fame in war, but more glorious still is his magnanimity; for military fame he must share with his army and with fortune, but his magnanimity is all his own.

17. Ch. II. *Nullius*: regularly used as the genitive of *nemo*; not to be taken as adj. with *ingeni*.

19. *exornare, sed enarrare*: to relate elegantly, but merely to tell in full.

25. Sec. 5. *tuis*: sc. *rebus gestis*.

26. **numero proeliorum**: Caesar is said to have fought in fifty battles, more than any other Roman.

27. **varietate regionum**: Caesar's campaigns took him not only through all parts of the Roman world, but into many new and unexplored regions. He was the first to lead an army across the Rhine, and the first to invade Britain. **celeritate**: students of Caesar will remember how he constantly surprised and paralyzed the enemy by the astounding swiftness of his marches. His *veni, vidi, vici* is famous.

PAGE 147. 1. **bellorum**: *the conduct of the wars*. The plural of a concrete noun is often used with abstract force. **nec vero disiunctissimas terras**, etc.: referring to Caesar's victorious progress through the various provinces during the Civil War (49-46 B.C.).

8. Sec. 6. **ducibus**: dat. See **audaciae**, 101, 16, and note.

10. **Et certe in armis**: Caesar not infrequently acknowledges his indebtedness to the valor of his soldiers and to the favor of Fortune. Cf. "*Hic quantum in bello Fortuna possit et quantos adferat casus cognosci potuit*" (*Bell. Gall.*, VI. 35), and "*Sed Fortuna, quae plurimum potest in reliquis rebus tum praecipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit.*" *Bell. Civ.*, III. 68.

15. Sec. 7. **At vero**: introducing an emphatic opposition to what precedes. Compare the transitional use of **at vero**, 113, 25.

PAGE 148. 1. **Nihil, . . . nihil**, etc.: see anaphora of **nihil**, *In Cat.*, I. § 1. **ista laude**: see translation of **ista**, in the note on **ista res**, 112, 13.

2. **quin etiam**: see 73, 6, and note.

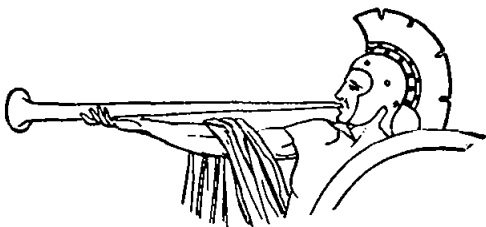
4. **tuam esse**: sc. *istam gloriam* as subj.

8. Ch. III. Sec. 8. **copiarum**: here rather *resources* than *forces*.

13. **victoriae**: dat. with **temperare**.

15. **haec**: in apposition with the preceding infin. clauses. The construction is somewhat loose.

16. **deo**: the gen. might have been expected. See *similis tui*, 47, 4, and note.



TRUMPET (TUBA).

23. Sec. 9. **At vero**: see above, 147, 15.

PAGE 149. 4. **diligamus**: see Syn. 39.

5. Sec. 10. **os**: *the countenance*, as showing forth the intentions of the mind, the present intentions being explained by *ut . . . velis*.

6. **reliquum . . . fecerit** = *reliquerit*.

9. **me dius fidius**: an abridged form for *ita me dius Fidius iunct*; translate freely, *on my word*. Cf. the common use of *hercle*, *mehercule*, etc., with much the same force. Such expressions were harmless colloquialisms, and no more profane than their modern equivalents. **huius curiae**: see (105, 2).

11. **illa auctoritas** = *vir illa auctoritate praeditus*, the quality being put for the man himself.

12. Ch. IV. **C. Marcelli**: the brother or perhaps cousin of Marcus. See Introd.

13. **pietate**: not *piety*. The word means the fulfillment of duty toward the gods, the country, and one's relatives. Here, in the last sense.

PAGE 150. 1. **Marcellorum**: the Marcelli were an old and illustrious family. One of its most famous members was M. Claudius Marcellus, who captured Syracuse in the Second Punic War (212 B.C.).

3. **ad paucos redactam**: at this time we know of but three Marcelli,—Marcus and his brother Caius and a cousin Caius.

6. Sec. 11. **gratulationibus**: *days of thanksgiving*. The first thanksgiving decreed by the senate in Caesar's honor was one of fifteen days, after his successful campaign against the Belgians, 57 B.C. "*Ob easque res ex litteris Caesaris quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.*" — *Bell. Gall.*, II. 35. In 55 and in 52 thanksgivings of twenty days were decreed, and finally in 46, after the Civil War in Africa, one of forty days.

7. **gestae**: *sc. sunt*.

8. **comitatu**: *abl. of accomp. with cum omitted, or abl. abs. expressing an attendant circumstance.*

10. **tanta est**, etc.: the result clause depending on **tanta est** is not **ut . . . adlatura sit**, which has a concessive force introductory to the result, but lies in **at . . . florescit**, etc., which logically should be **ut . . . florescat**. The construction has been changed, however, and we have a new independent sentence instead of the dependent result clause. Such irregularity of construction is called *anacoluthon*, and is especially common in careless or extemporaneous composition. We may translate without *anacoluthon*, *which truly is so great that though time, etc., . . . still this justice of yours and mildness of heart will become more famous day by day.*

**MILITARY TROPHY (TROPÆUM)**. 10. **tropæis**: monuments of victory, composed of or representing the arms captured from the enemy. See *ill.*

15. Sec. 12. **laudibus**: *i.e. for justice and mercy.*

17. **vicerat**: cf. the bloody proscriptions of Sulla, Cinna, and Marius. Cicero himself long regarded Caesar's mildness with suspicion, and after each victory feared a reign of terror.

18. **Vereor ut**: see on 116, 19. **perinde . . . atque**: *exactly as*.

19. **auditum**: *when heard*.

20. **cum ea**, etc.: i.e. he did not exact from them what the rights and often the necessities of war demand.

22. **occidissemus**: *had forfeited our lives*.

24. **victoriae condicio visque**: what Cicero means by this he makes clear in one of his letters, where he says: "*Omnia sunt misera in bellis civilibus, sed miserius nihil quam ipsa victoria; quae etiamsi ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos ferociores impotentioresque reddit, ut, etiamsi natura tales non sint, necessitate esse cogantur.*" — *Ad Fam.*, IV. 9.

PAGE 151. 3. Ch. V. Sec. 13. **fato . . . nescio quo**: see 61, 27; 72, 2, and notes.

4. **aliqua**: weakens and extenuates **culpa**.

5. **scelere**: i.e. the crime of being enemies.

7. **mihi**: referring to his home and his private life, as **rei publicae** does to his public career.

10. **non ille hostis induxit in curiam**: i.e. by restoring them to their former rights as senators, he has absolved them from the charge of being enemies and traitors.

11. **ignoratione . . . atque . . . metu**: ignorance of the questions at stake and fear of Caesar.

Sec. 14. At this point Cicero takes occasion to explain publicly his own lack of zeal for Pompey's cause, and his speedy withdrawal from it. It appears from his letters that he was much criticised for his lukewariness.

13. Sec. 14. **de pace audiendum**: *freely, that proposals for peace should be listened to*.

15. **civium**: among them especially himself, as is shown by what follows, and by his letters. To Pompey himself in the spring of 49 B.C., he wrote, *primum de pace vel iniqua condicione retinenda meminisse te arbitror*. After the battle of Pharsalus, in

which he took no part, he gave up all hope of Pompey's success, and again counseled peace, though at the risk of his life, for the impetuous son of Pompey would have stabbed him to the ground as a traitor, had Cato not held him back.

16. **ulla**: referring to the civil strife between Marius and Sulla, and their factions.

17. **-que**: when a negative sentence is followed by a positive in which the same thought is continued or completed, the Latin uses a copulative conjunction (*et, -que, atque*) where our idiom uses an adversative (*but*).

18. **Hominem sum secutus**, etc.: i.e. he followed Pompey, the man, out of gratitude, not his public policy. Pompey had often been neglectful of Cicero, but he had also shown him many favors, especially in the matter of assisting his recall from exile.

23. Sec. 15. **integra re**: *when nothing had been done*, i.e. before the war began.

24. **cum capitis mei periculo**: see note above, l. 15.

PAGE 152. 3. **statim censuerit**: Caesar was ready from the first to make peace with all who would lay down their arms. Cicero was pardoned in 47, but the irreconcilables in Africa and Spain continued the struggle two years longer. **ceteris**: dat. after **irator**. A. 383; B. 192, 1; G. 359; H. 434; (391).

8. Ch. VI. Sec. 16. **Marcello**: Marcellus can hardly be called an advocate of peace. He had no great confidence in Pompey and the forces at hand, and his reluctance to begin hostilities was more due to a desire to go into the conflict better prepared, than to a wish for peace.

11. **certorum hominum**: *well-known men*, whom he does not choose to name. The confidence of the senatorial leaders who followed Pompey was so great that they had divided the offices for the next year and the property of the enemy among themselves before the decisive battle. Pompey, too, counted on victory, and expressed himself as anxious to emulate the cruelty of Sulla.

22. Sec. 17. **ut . . . debeat**, result.

23. **ab inferis excitaret**: for a similar expression, see on 78.  
 20. Caesar is said to have turned away in horror and sorrow when the head of Pompey was brought to him, and when the suicide of Cato was reported, he expressed regret because he had lost the glory of pardoning him.

25. **amplius**: see Syn. 15.

PAGE 153. 3. Sec. 18. **ubi fuisset**: i.e. with Caesar or with Pompey. The Pompeians regarded all as enemies who had remained in Italy and not followed Pompey to Greece.

10. Sec. 19. **bono**: *possession, i.e. clementia et sapientia*. **fortuna**: for cons. cf. **illis rebus**, 10, 6, and **vita, spiritu**, 112, 3.

12. **ex quo**: neuter sing. as agreeing with the general idea of character in **natura et moribus**.

18. **summa bona**: referring to the doctrine of the Stoics that virtue is the highest good.

19. **in laude vera**: *in real merit*.

21. **a Virtute, a Fortuna**: personified as agents, as is evident from the preposition.

22. Sec. 20. **Noli . . . defetigari**: Cicero wishes to encourage Caesar in his merciful policy, for many men of note were still in exile waiting for forgiveness, and he did not declare a general amnesty until near the close of his life. **praesertim . . . lapsis**: *especially such as have fallen*.

25. **specie quadam rei publicae**: lit. *by a kind of semblance of government*, i.e. many were led to follow Pompey because he had the senate with him, which seemed to them to represent the established government.

27. **quod . . . senserunt**: *because they have found by experience that there was nothing at all to fear*.

## PART II. CHS. VII.-X. Caesar need have no fears for his life.

It is incredible that there are plots against his life, for his enemies are either dead or converted to friends. But it is well for him and the state to be on the watch, for his life is precious to all. He is the only man that can restore the state from the

ravages of war, all is now disorder and confusion. He may not care to prolong his life for his own sake, but he owes it to the state. He has scarcely begun to carry out his great plans. The immortality of fame which he craves can be gained only by restoring the state. An auspicious beginning has been made, and the citizens will all unite in guarding his safety.

**PAGE 154.** 2. Ch. VII. Sec. 21. **quae . . . providenda est:** (*the realization of*) *which should be guarded against.*

3. **cum . . . tum maxime:** *not to say . . . but in particular.*

5. **Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est:** Cicero is speaking more ominous words than he knows, for, as the historian Drumann truly says, if Caesar had not been murdered in 44, Cicero would, as far as man can judge, not have been killed in 43.

10. **qui una tecum fuerunt:** meaning those who fought on the same side, while **de tuis**, above, refers to his more intimate associates.

11. **ullo:** here used as a substantive for *quoquam*, which is a rare form.

13. **ne quid inimici:** *sc. cogitent.*

14. **sua pertinacia:** by continuing the war in Africa. The final struggle of the Pompeian party in Spain, ending in the defeat at Munda (45 B.C.), had not yet begun.

19. Sec. 22. **omnium:** with **quis.**

20. **tam nihil . . . cogitans:** *so thoughtless.*

23. **omnium:** *sc. vitam.* **Equidem:** *I, for my part,* always used by Cicero with the first person, as if from *ego + quidem.*

24. **incertos eventus valetudinis:** according to Suetonius, Caesar's health had begun to show signs of failing.

**PAGE 155.** 6. Ch. VIII. Sec. 23. **quod necesse fuit:** *as was inevitable.*

7. **constituenda iudicia,** etc.: these reforms were really begun and carried through by Caesar, so far as the short time of life remaining to him permitted.

8. **Ibidines:** *extravagance;* from the time of Cato the Elder, the Romans passed many ineffective laws (*leges sumptuariae*) designed to restore the frugal and virtuous life of the early



republic. **propaganda suboles**: constant civil wars had greatly reduced the population of the better classes of citizens. Caesar therefore passed laws to encourage marriage and the rearing of large families.

9. **dilapsa, diffluxerunt, vincienda**: note the metaphor.

11. Sec. 24. **quin . . . res publica . . . perderet, . . . dux faceret**: substantive clauses of result, the logical subject of **non fuit recusandum**.

12. **fuisset**: subjv. of integral part or attraction. **multa**: with **ornamenta . . . et praesidia**. The words refer especially to the public revenues. Cf. the Manilian Law, 4, 3, for a similar expression.

14. **quae idem togatus fieri prohibuisset** = *quae idem, si togatus fuisset, fieri prohibuisset*.

19. Sec. 25. **Satis diu**, etc.: so Suetonius quotes Caesar as saying that he has long been sated with power and fame (*se iam pridem potentiae gloriaeque abunde adeptum*, Suet. Caes. 86). **Satis . . . naturae**: Caesar was now 53 years old.

22. **doctorum hominum**: i.e. the philosophers, especially the Stoics.

25. **Credo**: sc. *te ita sentire*.

PAGE 156. 1. **audirem**: *I would be willing to hear*.

4. **ut fundamenta**, etc.: to be understood figuratively of all of Caesar's plans, and not merely of the public buildings which he projected. Of the latter, one of the most important was the Forum Julium, north of the Forum Romanum and at the foot of the Capitoline and Quirinal (see map of Rome). In the center of this stood the splendid temple of Venus Genetrix which he had vowed at the battle of Pharsalus and which was dedicated this very year (46). The works interrupted by the Dictator's sudden death were continued by Augustus.

5. **Hic**: *in view of this*.

7. **istud**: *that sentiment of yours*, referring back to **satis diu**, etc., 155, 19.

10. Sec. 26. **Immo vero**: see 44, 9, and note. Trans. *Nay, truly, great enough for others however many*.

12. **aliquid amplius**: that *something greater* being, of course, the reconstruction of the state.

13. **futurus fuit**: *was to be*.

15. **admirationis plus . . . quam gloriae**: *more of wonder than of glory*, i.e. men would wonder at Caesar's exploits but would not praise him for his services.

16. **si quidem gloria**, etc.: *since, in fact, glory is the distinguished and widespread reputation for great services, be it to one's citizens, to one's fatherland, or to the whole human race*.

19. Ch. IX. Sec. 27. **pars, actus**: the common comparison of life to a play. The metaphor is continued in **elaborandum est**, a word used for literary composition.

22. **tum te**: **tum** with **dicito**, **te** subj. of **vixisse**.

24. **dicito**: fut. imperative instead of present because referring to the time indicated by **tum**. A. 449, 1; B. 281, 1, a; G. 268, 2; H. 590, 4; (487, 2, 1)).

25. **diu**: used as a noun. A. 33; G. 20, III.

26. **praeterita, futura**: used as adjectives with **voluptas**. Probably Cicero is here expressing Caesar's belief rather than his own. Caesar as an Epicurean did not believe in a future life. So Sallust in his *Catiline* (Ch. 51) makes Caesar say that '*mortem cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse.*'

PAGE 157. 1. **Quamquam**: see 61, 9; 75, 10, and notes. This sentence and the following may be profitably compared with the similar sentiments in the *Pro Archia*, § 29.

3. **amore**: *a longing for*. § 28. **neq. vero haec tua vita ducenda est**, and *in fact this is not to be regarded as your life*.

5. **illa, illa vita est tua**: see on the similar anaphora of **ille** in *Ille, ille Iuppiter restitit*, 101, 8.

7. **huic**: i.e. the immortal fame just described. **inservias, ostentes**: *sc. ut*. A. 565; B. 295, 6, 8; G. 553, r. 1; H. 564, II. 1; (502, 1).

8. **quae miretur, quae laudet**: *rel. cl. of purpose*.

10. **imperia, provincias**, etc.: objects of **audientes et legentes**.

12. *munera*: gifts to the people, especially of corn and public games.

18. Sec. 29. *aliquid requirent*: will find something lacking.

20. *illud . . . hoc*: the former (i.e. *belli civilis incendium*), the latter (i.e. *salute patriae*). A. 297, a, b; B. 246, 1; G. 307, r. 1; H. 506, 1; (450, 2). *fati* and *consilli* are pred. gen. after *fuisse*, see on *humani consilli*, 98, 16.

21. *Servi igitur eis etiam iudicibus*: have regard then also for those critics.

24. Sec. 30. *Id autem*, etc.: cf. the sentiment on 143, 10-16.

Ch. X. After a glance at the unhappy conditions prevailing during the Civil War, the orator returns to the thought with which he began (§ 21) this part of the oration; Caesar has no reason to fear for his life, for all recognize that he alone can rescue the state.

PAGE 158. 5. Ch. X. *obscuritas*: uncertainty, as to which side was in the right.

9. Sec. 31. *bello*: for cons. see A. 410; B. 218, 1; G. 407; H. 477, 1; (421, I.).

10. *qui non fortuna inflammaret odium suum*: who did not permit his good fortune to arouse his hatred.

11. *omnis . . . eosdem*: all alike, all equally.

12. *Arma ab aliis*, etc.: many laid down their arms after the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.), others were made to do so by the battle of Thapsus in Africa (46 B.C.).

13. *Ingratus est iniustusque civis*, etc.: i.e. the man who bears secret malice in his heart after being pardoned is worse than he who has fallen in battle for a mistaken cause.

20. Sec. 32. *sanitatis*: good sense. *Nisi te . . . manente*: the abl. abs. used as a protasis for *nisi tu . . . manes*. *vel*: to strengthen *maxime*.

23. *haec*: with a gesture to indicate the city.

25. *tibi*: indirect obj. of *pollicemur*. *ut loquar*: compare *ut levissime dicam*, 98, 8; *ne longum sit*, 91, 25.

27. *excubias et custodias*: see Syn. 13. In the following year the senate decreed a body-guard for Caesar, but with his usual indifference to danger he refused to accept it.

## III. PERORATIO. CH. XI.

All gratefully return thanks to Caesar for the pardon of Marcellus, and the renewed hope for the restoration of the state. The orator feels especially grateful because of his intimate friendship with Marcellus.

PAGE 159. 1. Ch. XI. Sec. 83. *in eodem*: lit., in the same place; freely, with the same thought.

2. *agimus, . . . habemus*: we express, . . . we feel.

5. *stantibus . . . dicere*: to stand and speak.

6. *cui necesse est*: because of his friendship with Marcellus, and his prominence as a leader in the senate.

7. *Marcello . . . reddito*: abl. abs., now that Marcellus, etc.

10. Sec. 34. *Quod autem summae benevolentiae est*: looking forward both to *cum id . . . praestiterim* and (1d) *praestare debeo*. A smooth translation will be facilitated by beginning with the clause *cum . . . dubitatum*, then translate the clause *Quod . . . nemini*, and finally the principal clause, *certe . . . debeo*, to which all that precedes is preparatory.

PAGE 160. 1. *mea*: on my part.

2. *ut vix C. Marcello, etc.*: so that I scarcely yielded to C. Marcellus, his most excellent and affectionate brother, and truly to no one besides him. In one of his letters to Marcellus, Cicero says, "*Mihi salus tua tantae curae est ut Marcello fratri tuo aut par aut certe proximus sim.*" — *Ad Fam. IV. 9.*

7. *omnibus . . . rebus*: abl. of spec.

9. *quod . . . arbitrabar*: a thing which I deemed no longer possible.

*For Review Questions see page 403.*

## SYNONYMS AND CONTRASTED WORDS.

In this table only such broad distinctions of meaning have been noted as seemed most essential and most likely to be useful to young students.

1. **dico ; inquam ; aio ; loquor.**

**dico**, *say, tell, speak*, the usual word, commonly followed by the indirect discourse. Cf. Cat. I. 8; Arch. 8.

**inquam**, *say I*, usually after one or more words of a direct quotation. Cf. Cat. III. 10.

**aio**, *say, assert*, with both direct and indirect discourse. Common in quoting a proverbial or technical phrase. Cf. Cat. I. 15; II. 14.

**loquor**, *talk, say*, in ordinary conversation, without formality. Cf. Leg. Man. 13; Cat. I. 16; I. 18.

2. **homo ; vir.**

**homo**, *a human being*, either *m.* or *f.*, as distinguished from a brute. Cf. Cat. II. 10.

**vir**, *a man*, in the best sense, endowed with noble qualities, strength, courage, etc. Cf. Cat. III. 12.

3. **appellare ; nominare ; vocare.**

**appellare**, *call, address*, by the right name or title. Cf. Cat. III. 16.

**nominare**, *give a name, call by name, name*. Cf. Cat. I. 27; Arch. 26.

**vocare**, *call, summon*. Cf. Cat. III. 5, 6; IV. 18.

4. **praetermittere ; relinquere ; omittere.**

**praetermittere**, *omit intentionally*. Cf. Cat. I. 14.

**relinquere**, *leave behind, let remain, leave unsaid*. Cf. Cat. I. 9; II. 27; III. 18.

**omittere**, *allow to pass, not mention*. Cf. Cat. I. 15.

5. **imago ; effigies ; simulacrum ; statua.**

*imago*, *imitation, copy, likeness*, of any sort. Cf. Cat. III. 10 Arch. 14.

*effigies*, *an artistic copy, likeness, portrait*. Cf. Arch. 30.

*simulacrum*, *images formed by art*, especially *statues of the gods*. Cf. Cat. III. 19.

*statua*, *a statue*, used only of human figures. Cf. Arch. 30.

6. **templum ; delubrum ; fanum ; aedes.**

*templum*, *a consecrated spot, a sanctuary ; a temple*. Cf. Cat. III. 2, 22.

*delubrum*, *a place for expiation ; a shrine*. Cf. Cat. IV. 2.

*fanum*, *a place consecrated for a temple, shrine*. Cf. Cat. IV. 24.

*aedes*, *a dwelling place of the gods*, usually a simpler, smaller building than a *templum*. Cf. Cat. II. 12.

7. **tutus ; salvus ; incolumis ; integer.**

*tutus*, *safe, secure from attack or harm*. Cf. Leg. Man. 3.

*salvus*, *saved, after danger, preserved*. Cf. Cat. III. 3 ; Marcell. 32.

*incolumis*, *entirely unhurt, free from injury*. Cf. Leg. Man. 25 ; Cat. III. 25.

*integer*, *untouched, uncorrupted*. Cf. Cat. IV. 6 ; III. 25 Arch. 8.

8. **mutus ; tacitus.**

*mutus*, *not able to speak*. Cf. Cat. III. 26.

*tacitus*, *silent, not speaking*. Cf. Cat. III. 26.

9. **petere ; postulare ; flagitare.**

*petere*, *seek, strive to reach, ask*. Cf. Arch. 25, 31 ; Cat. I. 11.

*postulare*, *demand with reasons of right, lay claim to*. Cf. Cat. III. 26 ; IV. 23.

*flagitare*, *demand urgently, impetuously, with importunity*. Cf. Arch. 8 ; Cat. II. 6.

10. **alter, alteri ; alius, alii.**

*alter*, *one of two, another*. *alteri*, *one of two parties*. Cf. Cat. III. 26 ; IV. 7 ; Leg. Man. 10.

*alius*, *one of a number, another*. *alii*, *some, others*. Cf. Arch. 13.

11. **diu ; longe.**  
*diu, long*, in time. Cf. Cat. III. 29.  
*longe, long*, in space. Cf. Cat. I. 19.
12. **domus ; domicilium ; tectum ; sedes ; aedificium.**  
*domus, family dwelling, house, home.* Cf. Cat. IV. 2 ; Arch. 5.  
*domicilium, the place where we dwell, domicile.* Cf. Cat. III. 26.  
*tectum, a roof ; hence, a house.* Cf. Cat. I. 29 ; IV. 18.  
*sedes, the place where we settle down, abiding place.* Cf. Arch. 9 ; Marcell. 29 ; Cat. III. 26.  
*aedificium, a building of any kind, even when not suitable for a habitation.* Cf. Cat. II. 18.
13. **custodiae ; vigiliae ; excubiae ; praesidia.**  
*custodiae, watch, guards, in general.* Cf. Cat. III. 29 ; I. 8.  
*vigiliae, nightwatch.* Cf. Cat. III. 29.  
*excubiae, watchmen stationed without, sentinels, usually in the night.* Cf. Marcell. 32.  
*praesidia, guard or garrison of a post or fort, also escort, convoy.* Cf. Cat. I. 8 ; II. 24.
14. **perpetuus ; sempiternus ; aeternus.**  
*perpetuus, continuing without interruption.* Cf. Cat. III. 29.  
*sempiternus, continuing ever the same, everlasting.* Cf. Cat. IV. 18.  
*aeternus, eternal, of endless duration.* Cf. Cat. IV. 10, 22 ; Arch. 20.
15. **potius ; magis ; plus ; amplius.**  
*potius, more, rather, of preference, one thing instead of another.* Cf. Arch. 31 ; Cat. I. 27 ; IV. 3, 14.  
*magis, more, to a higher degree.* Cf. Cat. I. 7.  
*plus, more, in quantity.* Cf. Marcell. 26.  
*amplius, more, in space or time.* Cf. Cat. I. 6 ; Marcell. 17.
16. **facinus ; flagitium ; scelus.**  
*facinus, a great and weighty deed, usually of a bad character.* Cf. Cat. IV. 6.  
*flagitium, a scandalous, disgraceful act.* Cf. Cat. I. 13.  
*scelus, a malicious and wicked deed, a crime.* Cf. Cat. II. 1, 25.

17. **uter, uterque ; quis, quisque.**  
*uter, which of two. uterque, each of two. Cf. Cat. IV. 7.*  
*quis, who, of any number. quisque, each, of any number.*  
*Cf. Marcell. 18 ; Cat. I. 2.*
18. **formido ; timor ; metus ; verecundia.**  
*formido, overwhelming fear, horror. Cf. Cat. IV. 8.*  
*timor, baseless fear, timidity, of those lacking courage. Cf.*  
*Cat. I. 1 ; Marcell. 1 ; Leg. Man. 23.*  
*metus, well-grounded fear, apprehension, of the cautious and*  
*calculating. Cf. Leg. Man. 23 ; Cat. I. 10.*  
*verecundia, fear of wrong-doing, awe, respect, reverence. Cf.*  
*Marcell. 1.*  
 So, too, the corresponding verbs *formidare, timere* (cf. *Cat. I.*  
*17, 18), metuere* (cf. *Cat. I. 17), vereri* (cf. *Cat. I. 17*).
19. **invenire ; reperire ; deprehendere.**  
*invenire, to find by chance ; to find by search and inquiry. Cf.*  
*Cat. IV. 14 ; III. 17.*  
*reperire, find out, discover by seeking. Cf. Cat. IV. 22.*  
*deprehendere, catch on the spot, discover in the act. Cf. Cat.*  
*III. 17.*
20. **interficere ; occidere ; necare ; trucidare.**  
*interficere, kill, in any manner whatever, the generic word.*  
*Cf. Man. Leg. 35 ; Cat. I. 3 ; II. 12.*  
*occidere, kill by blows, cut down, especially in war. Cf.*  
*Cat. I. 3 ; IV. 4, 12.*  
*necare, kill cruelly and heartlessly, murder. Cf. Man. Leg. 11 ;*  
*Cat. IV. 13.*  
*trucidare, cut to pieces, butcher. Cf. Man. Leg. 7 ; Cat. I. 9 ;*  
*IV. 12.*
21. **lucundus ; gratus ; amoenus.**  
*lucundus, pleasing in itself, delightful. Cf. Arch. 28 ; Man.*  
*Leg. 1 ; Cat. III. 2.*  
*gratus, pleasing because of its value, welcome. Cf. Marcell.*  
*14 ; Cat. IV. 1.*  
*amoenus, fine, pleasing, especially of scenery. Cf. Man. Leg.*  
*40 (amoenitas).*



22. **omnis ; totus ; cunctus ; universus.**  
*omnis*, in the singular *every one* (opposed to *nemo*), in the plural *omnes*, *all*, regarded as a collection of units. Cf. Arch. 9 ; Cat. IV. 19.  
*totus*, *all*, *entire*, *complete*, opposed to separate parts, nothing being missing. Cf. Cat. IV. 23.  
*cunctus*, *all* united in one body. Cf. Man. Leg. 2 ; Marcell. 25.  
*universus*, *all* turned to one, *all* sharing alike. Cf. Cat. IV. 19, 24.
23. **inimicus ; hostis ; adversarius.**  
*inimicus*, *a personal enemy*. Cf. Cat. IV. 20 ; Man. Leg. 28 ; Marcell. 21.  
*hostis*, *a public enemy, enemy in war*. Cf. Cat. I. 18 ; Man. Leg. 28.  
*adversarius*, *an opponent*, either private or public. Marcell. 8.
24. **ingenium ; mens ; animus ; anima.**  
*ingenium*, *inborn talent, creative power, genius*. Cf. Arch. 1, 17 ; Man. Leg. 1.  
*mens*, *mind, intellect, understanding*. Cf. Arch. 14 ; Cat. I. 27.  
*animus*, *the soul, the heart*, as the seat of emotion. Cf. Arch. 14 ; Cat. I. 27.  
*anima*, *the breath* ; hence, *the life, the vivifying soul*. Cf. Marcell. 22.
25. **lex ; ius ; fas.**  
*lex*, *statute law, written law*, as opposed to *mos*, the law of custom. Cf. Cat. I. 28.  
*ius*, *right, that which is based on justice, the aggregate of law founded on nature and custom, the common law*. Cf. Cat. I. 28 ; Arch. 6.  
*fas*, *divine law, that which is right before God*. Cf. Marcell. 2.
26. **imperium ; potestas ; facultas.**  
*imperium*, *supreme civil and military authority, the government*. Cf. Leg. Man. 35 ; Cat. IV. 14, 21.  
*potestas*, *the civil authority of the state or of a magistrate*. Cf. Man. Leg. 35 ; Cat. II. 26.  
*facultas*, *the power or ability to do a thing*. Cf. Arch. I. 18 ; Cat. III. 4.

27. **qualis ; quantus ; talis ; tantus.**  
*qualis*, of what kind. Cf. Cat. II. 3 ; Man. Leg. 36.  
*quantus*, of what size. Cf. Marcell. 16 ; Cat. I. 26.  
*talis*, of such a kind. Cf. Cat. II. 3 ; Marcell. 20.  
*tantus*, of such a size. Cf. Arch. 12 ; Cat. II. 19.
28. **gaudium ; laetitia ; voluptas.**  
*gaudium*, inner joy, the emotion itself. Cf. Cat. I. 26.  
*laetitia*, happiness, the outward expression of *gaudium*, the state of joy. Cf. Cat. I. 26 ; III. 2.  
*voluptas*, pleasure, delight, usually coming through the senses. Cf. Man. Leg. 40 ; Cat. III. 2 ; Marcell. 27.
29. **augere ; crescere.**  
*augere*, increase (transitive), make larger. Cf. Cat. IV. 19 ; Marcell. 22.  
*crescere*, increase (intransitive), grow. Cf. Man. Leg. 45 ; Cat. I. 5.
30. **imperator ; dux.**  
*imperator*, commander-in-chief. Cf. Cat. I. 5.  
*dux*, leader. Cf. Cat. I. 5.  
 An *imperator* is a *dux*, but a *dux* is not always an *imperator*.
31. **ferre ; pati ; sinere ; permittere.**  
*ferre*, bear a burden, literal or figurative. Cf. Cat. I. 10.  
*pati*, bear with resignation, suffer. Cf. Cat. I. 10.  
*sinere*, allow to happen, permit. Cf. Cat. I. 10.  
*permittere*, allow to run, not to hinder, though having the power to do so. Cf. Man. Leg. 39, 61 ; Cat. I. 4.
32. **bellum ; tumultus ; latrocinium.**  
*bellum*, war in general. Cf. Cat. I. 25.  
*tumultus*, war or rebellion in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul. The same disturbance elsewhere would be called *bellum*. Cf. Cat. III. 4.  
*latrocinium*, highway robbery ; guerilla warfare. Cf. Cat. II. 22.
33. **nefarius ; impius.**  
*nefarius*, against the laws of God and nature. Cf. Cat. I. 25 ; II. 27.

- impius**, irreverent or undutiful toward parents, gods, or country. Cf. Cat. I. 24; IV. 18.
34. **bona**; **fortunae**; **opes**; **divitiae**.  
**bona**, *goods, possessions*. Cf. Cat. III. 1.  
**fortunae**, *goods, blessings* from fortune, as honor, property, etc. Cf. Cat. III. 1.  
**opes**, *resources* of every sort, *power, riches*. Cf. Cat. III. 16; Man. Leg. 45.  
**divitiae**, *riches, wealth*. Cf. Man. Leg. 55.
35. **oppidum**; **urbs**.  
**oppidum**, *town*, generally with a wall. Cf. Man. Leg. 21.  
**urbs**, *city*, surrounded by a wall, and larger than an **oppidum**.  
 When used without further modifier, it refers to Rome, the city *per se*. Cf. Cat. II. 29; III. 22.
36. **gladius**; **sica**; **mucro**.  
**gladius**, *sword*, the usual word. Cf. Cat. III. 6, 2.  
**sica**, *a short dagger*, used by cutthroats and bandits. Cf. Cat. I. 16; II. 1.  
**mucro**, the *point* or *edge* of a sword. Cf. Cat. II. 2; III. 2.
37. **tacere**; **silere**.  
**tacere**, *be silent*, when we might speak. Cf. Arch. 8.  
**silere**, *keep silence, be still*. Cf. Cat. I. 14.
38. **alii**; **ceteri**; **reliqui**.  
**alii**, *others*, different from those before mentioned. Cf. Cat. II. 8.  
**ceteri**, *the others*, of the same class. Cf. Arch. 13; Man. Leg. 21.  
**reliqui**, *the rest, the remaining ones*. Cf. Cat. I. 31; II. 19.
39. **diligere**; **amare**.  
**diligere**, *to love*, from esteem and choice. Cf. Arch. 18, 20; Marcell. 9.  
**amare**, *to love*, with passion, from the heart. Cf. Cat. II. 23; III. 10.
40. **donum**; **munus**; **praemium**.  
**donum**, *gift*, freely given. Cf. Arch. 18.