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M. TULLI CICERONIS ORATIONES ET EPISTOLAE SELECTAE

SELECTED

ORATIONS AND LETTERS

OF

[CICERO

Harold W. Johnston
Editor

WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, AN OUTLINE OF THE ROMAN CON-
STITUTION, NOTES, EXCURSUSES, VOCABULARY, AND INDEX

BY

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CHICAGO

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO MY SUCCESSOR IN
WHIPPLE ACADEMY,

Principal Joseph R. Barker, A.M.,

WITHOUT WHOSE ENCOURAGEMENT IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN
BEGUN, AND TO WHOSE PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE
NEEDS OF SCHOOLS IT OWES WHATEVER MERIT
AS A SCHOOL BOOK IT MAY POSSESS.

PREFACE.

THIS edition of Cicero's Orations and Letters is intended for the use of secondary schools. It differs in several respects from those already in general use and, as these differences are the only apology for its publication, I desire to call attention to them at the outset.

I. The Selection of Orations is very different from the usual one, and the Letters have not before been published with the Orations. Twelve years' experience in reading Cicero with pupils of from thirteen to nineteen years of age has taught me that their chief difficulty in understanding the author lies on the historical side. To read understandingly the orations against Verres, for the Manilian Law, against Catiline, for Archias, Milo and Marcellus, and against Antony, even in chronological order, requires a more minute acquaintance with Roman history than the average schoolboy possesses, and the case is worse when these orations are read in order of "ease," "merit," or "interest." I have, therefore, tried to lessen a difficulty which I could not wholly remove, by limiting the field of historical study. I have taken the Conspiracy of Catiline as the main theme, following it up with Cicero's Exile and his Feud with Clodius. The period covered is only from one-third to one-half as long as the usual one, and is the most interesting in the life of Cicero. The orations given are arranged in chronological order: Against Catiline,

I., II., for Murena, against Catiline, III., IV., for Sulla, for Sestius, and for Milo. The period between the Sulla and Sestius is covered by a selection of twenty-three Letters, equivalent to three of the shorter orations usually given. The amount of text is greater than in any other school edition, and the student will find in the specious reasoning of the Sulla, the despairing weakness of the Letters, and the passionate self-justification of the Sestius, better material for an estimate of Cicero's character than in the Manilian Law, the Archias, the Marcellus, and the one or two Philippics which they have displaced. In the text edition, however, which accompanies this, I have included the Manilian Law and the Archias for the purpose of giving material for reading at sight and with dictated notes.

II. The Introductory Matter is much fuller than in similar books. It is divided into two parts: The first contains the life of Cicero and an estimate of his character, together with an unusually full account of the events which are treated of in the orations and letters following. The second part contains an outline of the Roman Constitution as it was in Cicero's time. It has seemed to me better to put this matter in a connected form, however imperfect it may be, than to scatter it through the book in the form of introductions and notes to the several orations. The matter is divided into sections, which are numbered, and to these sections reference is constantly made in the notes. The teacher should have the second part merely read over in the class-room, making such explanations and adding such illustrations as may be necessary. The first part should then be assigned for study in convenient lessons as far as § 50 before commencing to read the first oration; the rest may be taken in order as directed

in the notes on the title of each oration and letter. The constant references in the notes will help the student to retain what he has thus learned and recited.

III. The Text presents some peculiarities. I have adopted that of C. F. W. Müller for the Orations, and A. S. Wesenberg for the Letters, both contained in the former's complete edition of Cicero's works in Teubner's series. I believe that this approaches more closely than any other to what Cicero actually wrote. But as printed here, the following changes should be noticed: 1. Where the editors supplied words necessary to the sense but lacking in the MSS. they printed them in italics—I have left them undistinguished by the type. 2. Where the editors found in the MSS., words that they did not think Cicero's, they enclosed them in brackets—I have omitted both the brackets and the words. 3. Where the editors found passages defective, or senseless and defying reconstruction, they marked them by an asterisk or an obelisk—I have omitted all such passages entirely. With these three exceptions, the Teubner text is here given. I have made these changes in order to furnish a clear, straightforward, readable text, which would make unnecessary the suggestion or discussion of various readings.

IV. The Notes are placed upon the same page as the text, for the convenience of both teachers and students, but a separate text is furnished to prevent the improper use of the notes in the class-room. These notes are intended to assist the pupil in the harder places, and to call his attention to such matters as will help him to a knowledge of the Latin language and of the life and thought of the men who used it. It follows, therefore, that they are to be studied and recited, not merely consulted or neglected at the pleasure of the

student. Three principles have been carefully regarded in their preparation: 1st. They are brief and pointed, and their tone is positive. In the many places where scholars disagree, and certainty is impossible, I have given that explanation only which seems to me the best, without a hint of other possibilities. The discussion which is so stimulating and profitable in college classes, I believe to be out of place in the preparatory school. 2d. It is assumed that what is once learned will be retained, and no notes are intentionally repeated. When an illustration occurs of a usage that has already been explained the student is merely referred to one or more passages where his attention has been called to it, a key word (case, mood, tense, etc.) being always given to assist him in getting the point desired. The teacher should insist upon a full transcription of at least one of the passages cited, with an explanation of the principle involved. 3d. Great care has been taken in making references to other books to limit these to such books as each student must and does possess. I assume that he has a Latin Grammar (Allen & Greenough's, Gildersleeve's, Harkness', or Preble's revision of Andrews & Stoddard's), a school History of Rome (Allen's, Creighton's, Myers', or Pennell's) and an edition of Caesar's Gallic War, I.-IV. To these books I make frequent reference and to absolutely no others. I have also confined quotations from other Latin authors to the four books of Caesar, which are read before Cicero is begun, and to a few passages from Sallust which are printed *in extenso*, and are meant to be studied in connection with the Orations against Catiline. Even in case of references to other parts of this book the student is never referred to a passage in advance of the chapter on which the note is given — provided, of course, that

the orations and letters are taken as arranged in the book and the Introduction as suggested above. I am sure that these three principles are pedagogically sound, whether or not I have successfully applied them.

V. The Vocabulary is intended to contain all the words found in the text here given, and in addition all those in Verres I., Philippica XIV., Archias, Marcellus, Deiotarus, and the Manilian Law, editions of which I hope to furnish soon for supplementary reading. I shall be grateful to the student who will call my attention to words omitted.

VI. The Index will be found useful for purposes of reference and topical study.

VII. Passages for Retranslation have not been included in the book, as it seemed wisest to have them in a separate manual. An excellent little book of this kind has been prepared by Professor J. D. S. Riggs, of Granville Academy, whose *In Latinum* has already been introduced into many of our schools.

No claim is made for originality in the matter here given. I have drawn freely from all sources accessible to me, chiefly English and German. Besides the standard Histories of Rome and Latin Literature, and the Dictionaries of Antiquities, I have used for the Introduction the biography of Cicero by Trollope, Gow's Companion to School Classics, and the introductions to the editions mentioned below. For the Notes, I have used the editions of the several orations and letters by Halm & Laubmann, and Hofmann & Anderson in Weidmann's series, by Richter, Koch, Eberhard, Landgraf, and Frey in Teubner's series, by Hachtmann and Bouterwek in the Gotha series, by Reid, Heitland, and Purton in the Pitt Press series, by Wilkins and Holden in Macmillan's

series, by Upcott, Watson, and Pritchard & Bernard in the Clarendon Press series, and by Süpfle, Muirhead, and Long. I have not consulted any American editions while preparing my notes ; but I have used for twelve years with one or more classes daily the editions of Professors Harkness, Chase & Stuart, and Allen & Greenough, and it is impossible that I should not have reproduced in many places their thoughts, perhaps even their very words. In any event, my debt to them is very great.

Finally, I must acknowledge the great assistance given me in the correction of references and revision of the proofs by my former pupil, Mr. Frederick W. Sanford, B. S., of the Jacksonville High School.

OAKWOOD, Dec. 1st, 1891.

LIFE OF CICERO.

PLACE IN ROMAN HISTORY.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO (106–43*), is the most prominent figure in the history of the last years of the republic. Born in an obscure country town, his family of the middle class only, without the prestige of wealth or noble birth, brought into contact with some of the greatest men Rome ever produced, — Sulla, Caesar, Pompeius, Antonius, Octavianus, — aided only by his natural talent, high ambition, and tireless industry, he left a name remarkably free from moral reproach, prominent in politics, incomparable in literature, the second, if not the first, in oratory.

HIS PRIVATE LIFE. — Judged by the standard of to-day 2 — a standard by which Cicero alone of all the Romans is ever judged — his character was not spotless. He was intensely vain, hot tempered, not always considerate of his friends, vindictive toward his enemies, extravagant and selfish. On the other hand, his morals were conspicuously pure. In an age of corruption and social degeneracy he was always above all scandal and reproach. He was merciful and compassionate to his slaves; his dealings with the poor and helpless were just and humane. The lifelong 3 devotion of Atticus and Tiro testify to his amiable and affectionate nature; his defence of Roscius, Sestius, and Milo to his courage and loyalty. His tenderness to his daughter Tullia and his love for his brother Quintus touch us still. His wealth was acquired honorably, and, if spent.

* B. C. is to be understood with all dates in this book.

lavishly, was spent on books and villas and works of art, not on the gratification of the meaner passions. His domestic relations became unhappy. After thirty years of married life he divorced Terentia. He married a young heiress and divorced her too. The sufferings of Tullia caused him the keenest sorrow, and his only son was dissipated and incapable. He found distraction, however, in his studies, and consolation in philosophy.

4 **HIS POLITICAL CAREER.** — Cicero's political career began with his quaestorship in Sicily in 75. At the earliest legal age he became aedile and praetor. In 63 he was consul, and suppressed the conspiracy of Catilina. In 58 he was exiled, but was soon recalled. During the so-called first triumvirate he was kept in the background, neglected alike by friends and foes. During the civil war (49-45), after long and anxious hesitation, he espoused the cause of Pompeius against Caesar, but was finally reconciled to the latter, and lived on friendly terms with him until his assassination. He took no part in the plot against Caesar's life, but openly exulted in the deed of the conspirators. For a short time his early vigor reasserted itself, and he headed the patriotic party against the new triumvirate. When the cause of the republic was finally lost, he was among the first to fall a victim to the proscription. He was murdered in 43 at the age of 63.

5 Cicero was a patriot — as a politician he was a failure. He seemed unable to comprehend the tendencies of the times, the fickleness of the people, the rottenness of the aristocracy, the insufficiency of the old constitution. He was short-sighted, hesitating, by turns lenient to weakness, and harsh to cruelty. He was easily swayed by circumstances, and often the tool of unscrupulous men. He lacked the far-seeing statesmanship, self-control, and resolute determination that gave Caesar the victory, and the disinterestedness of purpose and stubbornness of will that made Cato great in defeat. But Augustus said of him, "He loved his

country." His motives were pure, his integrity unimpeached, and he laid down his life for the republic.

HIS POSITION IN LITERATURE. — To the pursuit of literature Cicero brought extraordinary intellectual capabilities, a strong imagination, refined and elevated tastes, and habits of application that excite our amazement. His learning was great, — Varro alone of his contemporaries surpassed him, — and to the end of his life he read and studied incessantly. His memory, like Macaulay's, was always in action, and he seems to have easily run over the immense accumulations of his intellect. He raised the Latin language to the highest plane of its development; Ciceronian Latin means all that is clear, direct, and forcible. It is doubtful whether any writer of any age has been more widely read; it is certain that none has exercised a more powerful influence upon the world. There is no style of literature that he did not attempt; but it is to rhetoric, philosophy, and his letters that he chiefly owes his fame. In the first two his services to the Roman world as the mediator of Greek culture are beyond estimation; he was the first apostle to the Romans. His letters are to us a still more priceless treasure. They are a complete history of the times, bringing before us most vividly the last days of the republic. They are more than eight hundred in number and of various styles, some mere records of the events of the day, a few carefully prepared for publication as political pamphlets, the larger number friendly communications on all sorts of subjects to all sorts of people, revealing the writer's most personal relations and thoughts with the most transparent and engaging candor. Many of the letters of his correspondents too are preserved among them, and add still more, if possible, to their value.

CICERO AS AN ORATOR. — Quintilian says of him: *Apud posteros id est consecutus, ut Cicero iam non hominis nomen sed eloquentiae habeatur.* In clearness, fulness, life, and energy of style, he has never been surpassed. He

made for every speech the most careful and conscientious preparation, and handled his subjects with the most consummate skill. He could confuse a thing when he chose, and weave a web of sophistry almost impossible to disentangle. What he wished to make clear he could put in the simplest, plainest, most forcible way, and he generally did it in the shortest sentences. He could be humorous, sarcastic, pathetic, ironical, satirical, and when he was malignant his mouth was most foul and his bite most venomous. His orations are distinguished by variety and rapid change of sentiment. His delivery was impassioned and fiery, his voice strong, full, and sweet, his figure tall, graceful, and impressive. He possessed a wonderful influence over the senses and feelings of his hearers, and when other counsel were associated with him it was usual for Cicero to be the last to address the jury. By universal consent he is placed side by side with Demosthenes, or at least close after him. He surpassed the great Attic orator in variety and brilliancy, but lacked his moral earnestness and consequent impressiveness. In all ages he has been the model and despair of the greatest orators. Petrarch and Erasmus, Chatham and Burke, Webster, Everett, and Choate, have all felt and owned the powerful influence of his example.

We know of over one hundred orations which he delivered; fifty-seven have been preserved entire, some twenty others in a fragmentary condition. We do not have them, however, in the precise form in which they were delivered, because it was his custom to prepare his speeches for publication by removing the parts of less permanent interest, and revising the rest.

TO THE CANVASS FOR THE CONSULSHIP.

- 11 HIS EARLY EDUCATION. — Cicero was born on the 3d of January, 106, at Arpinum, an old town in the land of the Volsci and the birthplace of Gaius Marius also. As a mere boy he attracted attention by his decided talent and resolu-

tion to excel, and he was early destined by his father's wish and his own choice to a public career. His family belonged to the equestrian order (p. 56, § 18) which had maintained since the time of the Gracchi the attitude of moderate opposition to the senatorial, or conservative party, and none of his ancestors had ever been a magistrate. Forced, therefore, to **12** rely upon his own merits to recommend him to the people, he devoted himself with all his might to the study of oratory, which was then, even more than law is now, the gateway to a political career. The best teachers of rhetoric — and they were chiefly Greeks — were his; but he visited the forum daily to listen to those orators of his own country whose eloquence was most admired, especially Lucius Crassus and Marcus Antonius. He was a diligent student of Roman law also, under the Scaevolae, and this knowledge was afterwards of great value to him. He read with unflagging **13** zeal the best Greek writers, especially the poets, and of these Homer above all others; and from them he derived a wealth of noble and exalted ideas, and the beauty of style which he conspicuously possessed. But to complete his ideal of a well-rounded orator and statesman he added philosophy and logic to his studies, having for his teachers representatives of the three chief schools, Phaedrus the Epicurean, Diodotus the Stoic, and Philo the Academic. To this list of his instructors must be added the famous rhetorician Molo, who had come to Rome as ambassador from Rhodes.

HIS FIRST CASES. — Thus prepared, Cicero in his twenty-**14** sixth year, in 81, commenced his career as an advocate. It was customary for young men to make their first bid for notoriety and public favor by bringing a criminal suit, on good grounds or none, against some prominent but unpopular man: so Caesar, in 77, unsuccessfully prosecuted Dolabella. Cicero, however, preferred the more honorable course of appearing for the defence, and in his first public case, in 80, he spoke in behalf of Sextius Roscius, charged with parri-

cide. This was the justest case that Cicero ever championed ; and the courage with which he opposed the favorite of the dictator Sulla, and exposed the corruption of the Sullan reign of terror, brought him into immediate prominence.

- 15 It may be that he feared the resentment of Sulla, for the next year (79), pleading ill health and the need of further study, he went to Athens and thence to Asia and Rhodes. In Athens he studied for six months under the most famous philosophers, and there formed his memorable friendship with Titus Pomponius Atticus. In Asia also he visited the most distinguished masters of eloquence ; but it was at Rhodes, and under the same Molo whose lectures he had heard at Rome, that he profited the most. Under the influence of his criticisms Cicero put aside "the juvenile superfluities and redundancies" that had marred his earlier style.

- 16 HIS QUAESTORSHIP. — Greatly improved, — *prope mutatus* he calls it, — he returned to Rome in 77 (Sulla had died in 78) and resumed his labors in the courts. His talent, skill, and unselfishness so recommended him to the people that when in 76 he offered himself for the quaestorship, an office (p. 56, § 14) carrying with it a seat in the senate, he was unanimously elected. As quaestor (75) he was sent to Sicily, at that time the chief source of the corn supply of Rome, and his honorable administration did much to reconcile the provincials to the burdensome exactions of the government. All his spare time was devoted to study, and at the expiration of his year of office he returned to Rome with the confidence and esteem of the whole province.

- 17 He soon found, however, that in his absence he had been forgotten : even his efforts to supply the city with food during the scarcity had been unnoticed or unappreciated. This fired him to still greater activity, and he formed the resolution to stay in the city as much as possible, and live and work under the eyes of the people. Consequently, while the slave war raged in Italy, while the pirates defied

the power of Rome upon the seas, while Lucullus fought against Mithradates and Tigranes in the east, Cicero was daily busy in the forum, always at the service of all who needed his assistance. None of the speeches, however, which he delivered in these years (75-72) have come down to us.

HIS AEDILESHIP. — Cicero's political attitude up to this 18 time is very uncertain. He seems to have acquiesced in the triumph of Sulla as an earnest of peace and order, but to have revolted at the tyranny and cruelty of the dictator. Neither are we thoroughly acquainted with his relations to Pompeius, the spoiled favorite of the senate, who had returned victorious from Spain in 71, had quarrelled immediately with his party, had nevertheless gained the consulship in 70, and had set about the undoing of Sulla's constitution. But we do know that Cicero, who in 70 was elected aedile (p. 66, § 64 f.) for 69, took advantage of the trial of Gaius Verres to pose as the zealous champion of the people's rights. Verres had been propraetor of Sicily for three 19 years, and had shamefully abused and plundered the province. On the expiration of his term of office the Sicilians brought suit against him for extortion, laying damages at \$2,000,000. Bound by a promise given during his quaestorship Cicero departed from his custom and undertook their case, thus appearing for the first time as prosecutor in a public cause. He made the case a political one by publishing through Rome his intention to proceed against Verres not as an individual but as a type. He promised to expose 20 in this trial the corruption of the senate's system of administering the provinces, which had made the title of governor a synonym for plunderer and extortioner. He also promised to uncover the rottenness of the senatorial courts which had regularly acquitted offenders notoriously as guilty as Verres, and had unblushingly divided with them the spoil. The case of Verres is closely connected with the proceedings of Pompeius* against the senate.

The culprit did not venture to stand his trial. He went into exile, the Sicilians were avenged if not recompensed, and Cicero was acknowledged the first advocate of Rome.

21 The next year (69) he was aedile. The aedileship was not a necessary step in a political career, but it carried with it the management of certain of the public games, and upon these the aediles were expected and accustomed to spend immense sums of their own money in the hope of gaining popular favor. Such an expenditure was entirely beyond Cicero's means; but the Sicilians had not forgotten his uprightness in his quaestorship and his eloquence in the prosecution of Verres. With their assistance he furnished corn at unusually low rates, and the grateful people received with favor the comparatively modest games he was able to give them, and his popularity was undiminished.

22 HIS PRAETORSHIP. — When the two years required by law had elapsed he became, in 67, a candidate for the praetorship (p. 65, § 59 f.). The election was several times interrupted and postponed, but on each occasion Cicero's name was at the top of the list of candidates in all the centuries. In his year of office he presided over one of the standing courts. Here his minute knowledge of the law (§ 12) was of great service to him, and his tribunal was thronged with young men listening to his decisions. The most important political event of the year was the proposal of the tribune, C. Manilius, to transfer the command against Mithradates
23 from Lucullus to Pompeius. The latter was to have unlimited funds, unlimited troops, unlimited authority over citizens and allies, in short such powers as not even the ancient kings had possessed. The measure was clearly unconstitutional, and as such was vigorously opposed by the conservatives. Besides, they hated Pompeius for his own sake, because to him they owed the loss of the courts and the re-establishment of the tribunate. The measure was supported by Caesar and Cicero, by the latter, perhaps, because he felt it his duty to take the side approved by the

party to which he owed the very position that gave weight to his opinion. He therefore delivered in support of the Manilian law the eloquent oration *De Imperio Cn. Pompei*, his first distinctively political address to the people from the rostra, though there had been no lack of politics in his speeches for Roscius and against Verres. The bill was **24** carried, and the successful termination of the war seemed to vindicate the policy of Cicero, who, notwithstanding many rebuffs and wrongs, continued the ardent supporter and eloquent apologist of Pompeius all his life. In spite of his exacting official duties Cicero remained true to his profession of advocate during his praetorship. At its end, remembering his experience in Sicily, he declined a province and remained at Rome, working with the greater energy to keep his hold upon the people and to gain the favor of influential men: all with a view to the great prize of his ambition, the consulship, for which he became a candidate in 64.

THE CANVASS OF 64.

CATILINA. — His most prominent and most dangerous **25** competitor was Lucius Sergius Catilina, of patrician family, born about 108. Endowed with unusual powers of mind and body, he had inherited from his father a noble name but not a patrimony sufficient to satisfy the excessive needs of a luxurious age. In his early youth Catilina flung himself into all possible excesses which, without undermining his gigantic strength, blunted his moral feeling and coupled with an inordinate ambition led him into a series of awful crimes almost beyond belief. He entered upon public life **26** just at the time of Sulla's reign of terror, during which, stained by the guilt of a brother's murder, he had the murdered man's name put upon the proscription list as if he had still been living. He is also accused by Cicero of the murder of his wife and son to clear the way for a second

marriage. As a zealous disciple of Sulla he sated his thirst for murder, for at the head of a band of Gallic horsemen he slew a number of Roman knights, among them his
27 brother-in-law, Caecilius, and tortured to death a relative of Cicero and Marius. He is supposed to have gone through the regular course of offices (p. 69, § 77) at the regular age for each. He was elected quaestor, and afterwards as legatus conducted the siege of an enemy's town, but the year and the war are unknown. In 73 he was accused of incest with a vestal virgin Fabia, the half sister of Cicero's wife, but was acquitted. By his mastery of the arts of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and by his rare gift of attaching people to him, he succeeded in spite of the stains upon his character, in obtaining the praetorship in 68.

28 CATILINA'S FIRST ATTEMPT AT THE CONSULSHIP. — The following year he administered as propraetor the province of Africa, which he left in the summer of 66 to appear in Rome as a candidate for the consulship. But even before his departure from the province envoys from Africa had appeared before the senate to present complaints about the scandalous oppression of which he had been guilty; hence threatened with a prosecution for misgovernment he was obliged to retire from his candidature. The technical reason assigned was that he had failed to announce himself as a candidate seventeen days before the election as the law required.

29 From his family and former connection with Sulla's party it is probable that he expected to stand for the consulship as one of the conservative (senatorial) candidates. Upon the conservatives, therefore, he visited his disappointment, believing that had their support been earnest and sincere, the prosecution might have been evaded or at least postponed. He turned, therefore, to the democrats, the opposition, and secured their support for his next attempt by putting forward a program more radical than any that their own leaders dared propose. Attention, however, was called from his designs by more exciting proceedings in the state.

THE (so-called) FIRST CONSPIRACY. — The candidates 30 elected for 65 after Catilina's withdrawal were Publius Autronius Paetus and Publius Cornelius Sulla. The latter was a relative of the dictator, personally insignificant but brought into prominence by his influential connections and by the great wealth which he had accumulated during the proscriptions. The consuls-elect were immediately brought to trial on the charge of bribery, were convicted and deposed. In their places were elected the rival candidates, Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Manlius Torquatus. Autronius is said to have immediately conspired with Catilina and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a youth of good family but abandoned character, to murder the consuls at the very outset of their official career when they appeared in the Capitoline temple on the 1st of January to make the customary vows for the welfare of the state. Whether or not Sulla took part in 31 the plot cannot be determined with certainty; it is probable that he did, but so cautiously that strictly legal proofs could not be secured. Vargunteius and others were in the plot, which was to be executed by means of gladiators. Catilina and Autronius were to be proclaimed consuls, and Piso was to be furnished with an army to gain fame and fortune in Spain. Sallust declares that the plot was formed early in December, 66, but became known before the end of the month, and a body-guard was provided by the senate for the consuls-elect. The execution of the plot was therefore postponed until the 5th of February 65, and its scope was enlarged to include the murder of the leading senators. It was asserted that it failed only because on the appointed day Catilina gave the signal before a sufficient number of his followers appeared. The conspirators escaped without punishment: Piso even received from the senate the reward he was to get from the plotters. He was sent as quaestor to Spain, where he was soon opportunely murdered by the natives.

Although tradition has assigned to Catilina the leading 32

part in this plot, and although it is usually called his first conspiracy, it is very doubtful whether he was actively engaged in it. He probably sympathized at the time with Autronius and Sulla in their disappointment, and was afterwards made their scapegoat when their sins were discovered. In fact, it became quite the usual thing at Rome to ascribe to Catilina all unfathered crimes and outrages. It is at least significant that after the failure of the plot he went on with his plans to get place and power by the forms of law, even if his methods were violent and unscrupulous.

- 33** HIS SECOND ATTEMPT. — In the same year (65) Catilina was brought to trial by Publius Clodius Pulcher, afterwards the notorious enemy of Cicero, for his cruel oppression of his province. Catilina bribed his accuser to allow him to select most of the jury; but although several of the jury were also bribed, and the influence of many prominent men was exerted in his behalf, he narrowly escaped conviction. The intervention of the trial, for the case did not come on until the consular elections were over, prevented his standing for the consulship this year, but he caused it to be known that he would surely be a candidate in 64. In this his second canvass he was actively supported by the more radical democrats, the influence of Caesar and Crassus being secretly but
- 34** no less effectively exerted for him. In order to make his election more certain he looked for an associate among the other candidates with whom he might exchange votes and resort to the boldest and most violent measures. Besides Catilina and Cicero there were in 64 five candidates for the consulship of 63. Of these the most promising was Gaius Antonius Hybrida, who in character and antecedents strongly resembled Catilina. He was a son of the great orator Marcus Antonius and the uncle of the greater triumvir of the same name, the Mark Antony of Shakespeare. During Sulla's rule he had plundered Greece at the head of a band of cavalry and had taken part in the proscriptions. In 70 he had been removed from the senate,

but was afterwards restored. To him Catilina attached 35 himself, and both resolved to leave untried no means of canvassing, lawful or unlawful, to defeat Cicero — of the other candidates they had no fears. Catilina found friends to assist him with their money and credit in the purchase of votes, and at the expense of other friends shows of gladiators were promised the people in his name. Finally, in June Catilina called together his trusted adherents and laid before them his plans and the means of executing them. To the ambitious he promised high positions in the state, to the bankrupt complete or partial relief by legislation, to all alike the rich spoil of an unscrupulous administration and the plunder of the provinces. All was conditioned of course upon his success in the election of the following month; and so, after ratifying their engagements with the most fearful oaths (it is said that they pledged each other in wine mixed with human blood), they separated to work, each in his own way, for the election of Catilina and Antonius.

CICERO'S CHANCES. — While Catilina was indulging in 36 the most confident hopes, the prospects of Cicero were by no means bright. He could count certainly upon the support of the knights only — the order to which his own family belonged. For however great the reputation he had made as an orator, advocate, and administrator, however high he stood in the affections of the people, however pure his character was amidst the moral filth of the time, however persuasively he urged his own claims, and however eloquently he exposed the designs of his opponents, still the arts of his competitors were strong with the lower classes, and the nobility was solidly against him. The nobles despised him as a *homo novus* (p. 56, § 16), hated him for his attacks upon them in his speeches against Verres and for the Manilian law (§ 23), and feared that in the future he might work in the interests of the democrats, and further the ambitious designs of Pompeius.

37 THE RESULT. — A fortunate accident, providence he would have called it, turned the tide in his favor. Q. Curius, one of Catilina's penniless adventurers, began suddenly to set a day for the fulfilment of his long-standing promises to his mistress Fulvia: gold, jewels, everything should be hers — after the election. She told her friends of her expectations, of course with due exaggeration. The vaguest and most extravagant rumors spread through the city. The terrors of the Sullan revolution were revived in the minds of all who owned property, valued peace, and cared for their lives. The threatened danger broke the pride of the nobles, and they cast their votes for Cicero as the most conservative democrat among the candidates. He was elected at the head of the list with Antonius second and Catilina in the minority by a few centuries only. For the first and last time had a *homo novus* been elected consul at the earliest age permitted by the laws.

HIS CONSULSHIP.

38 HIS OFFICIAL DUTIES. — In another part of this book (p. 64, § 53) the duties of the consul are described. Mr. Trollope, however, has called attention to the little that we know of the administrative work done by the great Roman officers of state. "Though we can picture to ourselves a Cicero before the judges or addressing the people from the rostra, or uttering his opinions in the senate, we know nothing of him as he sat in his office and did his consular work. We cannot but suppose that there must have been an office and many clerks. There must have been heavy daily work. The whole operation of government was under the consul's charge, and to Cicero, with a Catilina on
39 his hands, this must have been unusually heavy." In spite of his official duties Cicero continued his practice in the courts. He has given us a list of twelve speeches, *consulares* he calls them, delivered this year, five of which are

contained in this volume. He entered upon office on the 1st of January, 63. The winter and spring were occupied with contentions about the agrarian law of Rullus, the trial of Rabirius for the death of Saturninus, the proposal to restore to their rights the children of those whom Sulla had proscribed, Caesar's intrigues to secure the office of *pontifex maximus* (p. 70, § 81), Cicero's law to check bribery, and above all the rivalry of the candidates for the consulship of 62. One of these candidates was Catilina.

CATILINA'S THIRD ATTEMPT. — Discouraged and dis-40 heartened as Catilina was by his second failure, he could not give up and turn back. He had staked his all and his friends' all upon the consulship: he would make one more effort to secure the prize — if that failed there was nothing left him but ruin or civil war. He had already exhausted all means countenanced or employed by the Romans in their party struggles. One last resort remained, and so without openly renouncing the support of the democrats he strove to attach to himself a personal following, not a "party," of the bankrupt and the ruined. There was no lack of material to work upon. There were the dissi-41 pated youth, those who had no possessions, the spendthrifts and criminals of all kinds, the veterans of Sulla who after quickly squandering their ill-gotten riches longed for new booty, the great mass of those who had been driven from house and home by the military colonies, and finally — the most dangerous element — the mob of the capital, always thirsting for pillage and blood. What hopes Catilina held up before these new supporters, cannot be definitely determined; the designs of anarchists are not usually very precise and well defined. He undoubtedly promised a cancellation of debts (*novae tabulae*), and the spoils of office with hints at the proscription of the rich — just as he had promised in 64, but on a larger scale. The threats of fire, pillage, outrage, and murder that we read of must have been the idle mouthings of his followers, or thrown

back upon this time from the events of the following summer and fall.

- 42** THE ELECTION OF 63. — Cicero, who had kept accurately informed of Catilina's designs, fully appreciated the critical condition of the state. As Catilina had turned from the democrats to the anarchists, so Cicero turned to the conservatives. He tried to win the confidence of the senators, to open their eyes to the threatened danger, to arouse their energies in behalf of the republic which he believed could be saved by the senate alone. To convince them of his disinterestedness he had declined a province in advance of the lots. The rich one, Macedonia, which afterwards fell to him, he turned over to his doubtful colleague Antonius as a bribe to win him from his connection with Catilina, or at least to secure his neutrality. The less desirable one he caused to be given to a staunch conservative, Quintus Metellus Celer. He bribed Fulvia, and through her Curius, to keep him informed of Catilina's plots. To counteract his election intrigues he proposed and carried through a law in reference to bribery, adding to the number of acts that were declared illegal, and increasing the severity of the penalties. He looked to his personal safety by forming a body-guard of friends and clients, who also served him as a secret police. Finally, in July, when news reached him of a secret meeting of a particularly atrocious character, he called the senate together the day before the election, and laid the danger before them. The senate determined to discuss the condition of the state the next day instead of holding the election. This was done, and when Cicero had acquainted them with all that he knew, he challenged Catilina to reply
- 44** to his charges. Nothing daunted, Catilina replied in an exultant and defiant speech, for which, says Cicero, he ought not to have been allowed to leave the house alive. The senate, however, took no decisive steps, the election was no longer deferred, and Catilina left the senate house

with an air of triumph. Fortunately the revelations of Cicero were noised about, and had more effect upon the better classes of citizens than upon the senate, and his conduct upon the day of the election increased their dread of violence. He appeared at the voting place wearing but half-concealed beneath his official toga a glittering cuirass, and surrounded by a numerous body-guard. The expected attack was not made, but the people, duly impressed with a sense of the consul's danger, rejected Catilina for the last time, and elected Lucius Licinius Murena and Decimus Junius Silanus.

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINA. — It is at this point **45** that what is known as the conspiracy of Catilina really begins. However radical, however revolutionary, his designs had been previous to this defeat, he had aimed at overthrowing the existing government only, not at subverting the very order of the state itself. Now, however, his plans were changed. In despair he set about the utter destruction of the republic which he could no longer hope to rule. He collected stores of arms in various convenient places in and out of Rome. He sent money, raised upon his own and his friends' credit, to his trusted lieutenant Gaius Manlius at Faesulae in Etruria. Three armies of **46** Sulla's veterans and other disaffected persons were to assemble in Etruria, Apulia, and Picenum. Outbreaks of slaves, mostly gladiators, were arranged for. He counted also upon the aid of Piso in Spain and Antonius in Rome, but both failed him for the reasons given in §§ 31 and 42. On the 27th of October Manlius was to raise the standard of rebellion at Faesulae; on the 28th Catilina himself was to put to the sword the leading men at Rome. But Cicero had contrived to keep informed of all these plans, and on the 21st of October he laid before the senate all the information he had gained. For the moment the senate awakened from its lethargy. It passed the resolution **47** always reserved for the gravest crises, *VIDEANT CONSULES*

NE QUID RES PUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPIAT, equivalent, says Caesar, to calling the Roman people to arms. A few days later came the news that Manlius had done his part — desperate men of all sorts were gathering around him ready for open war. The senate sent the proconsuls Q. Marcius Rex and Q. Metellus (Creticus) to Etruria and Apulia, and the praetors Q. Pomponius Rufus and Q. Metellus Celer (§ 42) to Capua and Picenum, with authority to raise troops as needed. Rewards were offered for information concerning the conspiracy. The bands of gladiators in Rome were hurried away to distant points, and to lessen the danger from incendiaries armed watchmen patrolled the streets under the direction of the inferior magistrates.

- 48 A week passed by. There was a report that an unsuccessful attempt had been made to surprise Praeneste, an important fortress east of Rome, but in the city itself nothing occurred to justify Cicero's extraordinary precautions. The senate began to believe that the upstart consul had been trifling with its fears, and Catilina assumed the air of injured innocence. In fact, when he was charged at last with treason, he offered, as if confiding in the purity of his motives, to surrender himself to the watch and ward of any good citizen (*custodia libera*). All this time, however, he was getting ready to leave Rome and join Manlius. He saw clearly enough that the only chance of success lay in a sudden attack upon the city before the senate's forces
- 49 were enrolled and equipped. For this reason, deceiving his guard or securing his connivance, he gathered together at the house of the senator, M. Porcius Laeca, on the night of November 6th, the leaders of the conspiracy. He informed them of his intended departure, assured them of his early return with an army, selected some to accompany him, despatched others to important points in Italy, and assigned to those who were to remain at Rome the duty of setting the city on fire in twelve places when his approach

was announced. He spoke bitterly of Cicero's unusual watchfulness, whereupon two knights volunteered to murder the consul at his house at daybreak. The night was so far spent, however, that the attempt was postponed for twenty-four hours. In the mean time Cicero was warned by Fulvia, and when early in the morning of the 8th, the assassins presented themselves at Cicero's door as if to make the usual morning call, they were refused admittance. Several prominent men, summoned by Cicero for the purpose, bore witness to the attempt, and helped to spread the news through the city.

THE FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINA. — On the 50 same day (November 8th) Cicero assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, on the northern slope of the Palatine hill and probably within the original fortifications of the ancient city. Here lived Cicero and Catilina, here lived the aristocracy, and hence is derived our word *palace*. The senators came in large numbers. The late hour of the day, the unusual place of meeting, and the supposed subject of deliberation, excited their liveliest anticipations. Among them came Catilina, undismayed by the watchmen already patrolling the streets, by the guards already posted, by the crowds of people anxiously running to and fro, by the band of knights who surrounded the senate fully armed and who regarded him with no friendly eyes. As he made his way toward his usual place, where as ex-praetor he sat near the ex-consuls, no one spoke to him, no one greeted him, and as he took his seat those near him rose from theirs and left him alone. Cicero, losing his self-control 51 at this exhibition of Catilina's effrontery, broke forth in a fiery speech, upbraided him with the events of the last two nights, and demanded that he quit the city. Even now Catilina attempted a defence. He begged the senators not to believe the charges too hastily: he was sprung from such a family, had so lived from his youth that he might hope for every success; they could not think that he, a

patrician, needed the overthrow of the republic when Cicero, an immigrant into Rome, put himself forward as its savior. He was going on with further insults when the senate interrupted him with cries of *hostis, parricida*. He rushed from the temple, and, after a last meeting with his accomplices, he left the city the same night to join Manlius. His friends spread the report that he was going into exile at Massilia, a report that Catilina craftily confirmed by letters written to prominent men at Rome.

52 THE SECOND ORATION. — The next day Cicero delivered an address to the people, corresponding to a proclamation of the president of the United States or an “inspired editorial” in a European court journal. He acquainted the citizens with the condition of affairs within and without the city, defended himself from a double charge, busily circulated by his enemies, that Catilina if guilty had been allowed to escape, if innocent had been driven into exile, encouraged those who were anxious over the result of the apprehended war, and finally tried to frighten from their purposes the conspirators that were in the city.

53 In a few days, as Cicero had predicted, came the news that Catilina, with the *fascēs* and other insignia of a consul, had entered the camp of Manlius. The senate immediately declared them both outlaws and traitors, promised amnesty to their followers who should lay down their arms by a fixed day, and commissioned the consuls to raise troops. Antonius was directed to take the field against Catilina, while Cicero took charge of the city. Days passed with no decisive action — outside the city both parties were gathering forces, inside they were watching and waiting.

54 CATILINA’S REPRESENTATIVES AT ROME. — Catilina had left the senators Lentulus, Cassius, and Cethegus to watch over his interests at Rome. P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura had been consul in 71, but had been removed from the senate on account of his immoral life, and, in order to regain his seat, had a second time stood for and obtained the

praetorship. He was slow of thought and action, and extremely superstitious—at this time the victim of pretended soothsayers, who assured him he was the third Cornelius whom fate had destined to rule at Rome. L. Cassius Longinus had been one of Cicero's competitors for the consulship; he was looked upon as indolent and stupid rather than wicked, and people could scarcely believe him in the plot. C. Cethegus was a young man of reckless life 55 who was said to have been concerned in the conspiracy of 65 (§ 30). Besides these, the knights P. Gabinius Capito, whom Cicero calls Cimber Gabinius, and L. Statilius, were especially active. Lentulus was the authorized leader, and he refused to resort to the torch and dagger until Catilina should move upon the city. At last his impatient and sanguine accomplices forced him to appoint the night of the 19th of December, the feast of Saturn, for the general rising. Cicero was convinced of their complicity in the plot, and was informed of their plans, but in the absence of legal proofs he could only wait for some overt act while providing for the safety of the city as best he could.

THE ORATION FOR MURENA. — In the mean time, one of 56 the consuls-elect, L. Licinius Murena, was impeached for bribery under the provisions of Cicero's own law (§ 43). Although the law was aimed particularly at Catilina, there was little doubt that all the candidates were guilty of illegal practices, and even before the election Cato had declared his purpose to bring to trial the successful men, whoever they might be. One of these, however, proved to be his brother-in-law Silanus, and him Cato permitted to go in peace. Associated with Cato for the prosecution were the great jurist Servius Sulpicius Rufus, who had himself been a candidate, and two unknown men of no importance. The trial took place toward the end of November, and Q. Hortensius, Cicero's only rival in the courts, and M. Licinius Crassus, assisted Cicero in the defence. Cicero 57 passes lightly over the legal points involved—probably

they would not bear much handling — and lays the greatest stress upon the retention of Murena in the consulship as a matter of state expediency: Murena was a brave, loyal, energetic man, such as the crisis required; the needs of the republic should outweigh the strict requirements of the law. In answering the opposing counsel, who were his close and valued friends, he adopts a tone of good-natured banter, which, though no less effective than abuse, could not offend them, and has made this speech admired in both ancient and modern times. Mr. Forsyth says: "It is a striking proof of the elastic energy of Cicero's mind that at the very moment of the explosion of the plot, in the midst of the most awful danger, he was able to deliver in defence of a friend a speech distinguished for light wit and good-humored raillery." Murena was acquitted, and Cicero turned his thoughts again to getting evidence against the conspirators in Rome.

- 58** THE ARREST AND THE THIRD ORATION. — There happened to be in Rome at this time envoys of the Allobroges, a Gallic people whose country lay between the Rhone and the Alps, trying to obtain from the senate some relief from the cruelty and avarice of the Roman governors. Their efforts had been fruitless, and in the worst of tempers they were preparing to return to their homes. With them Lentulus opened negotiations, using as go-betweens Cimber Gabinus (§ 55) and one P. Umbrenus, a freedman who had traded in Gaul and was personally known to the envoys. Lentulus promised the Gauls full relief under the new dispensation of Catilina, and asked in return that the warlike nation would assist Catilina in the field, especially with cavalry. The Allobroges hesitated for a while, and at length consulted their patronus, Q. Fabius Sanga. He revealed the plot to Cicero, and at the latter's suggestion directed the envoys to feign the most active interest in the conspiracy but to demand from the leaders in it written
- 59** pledges to show to their people at home. Lentulus, Stati-

lius, Gabinius, and Cethegus fell into the trap, but Cassius explained that he was soon going to Gaul in person, and immediately left the city. The envoys also secured letters from the conspirators to Catilina, by pretending that they meant to turn aside to see him on their journey. Finally, on the night of the 2d of December, they left Rome, having all these damaging documents in their possession, and accompanied by T. Volturcius, who was to guide them to Catilina. In accordance with a pre-arranged plan, they were arrested not far from the city gates, where the *via Flaminia* crosses the Tiber by the Mulvian bridge, and some show of violence was made to shield the Allobroges from suspicion of treachery. On the morning of the 3d of December the senate met in the temple of Concord. The meeting lasted all day, but in the evening Cicero gave to the expectant people a report of the proceedings in the
THIRD ORATION. The four leaders, Lentulus, Statilius, 60 Gabinius, and Cethegus had been confronted in the presence of the senate by the envoys and by T. Volturcius, who had been allowed to turn state's evidence. The letters written by their own hands and attested by their seals had been produced and read, and the culprits had confessed. The senate had ordered rewards to be given to the Allobroges, the four conspirators to be kept in custody, and others implicated to be arrested if possible. The effect of this speech upon the people was wonderful. Those who had been disposed to doubt could doubt no longer, and Sallust tells us that the lower classes, who had sympathized with Catilina more or less openly, now cursed him when they understood that their hereditary enemies, the Gauls, had been summoned to burn the city over their heads.

THE PUNISHMENT.—The fate of the conspirators was 61 now to be determined. Their guilt had been fully established. It was proved that they had formed a conspiracy against the government, that they had planned an uprising with torch and sword, that — a still more heinous offence

in Roman eyes—they had summoned a foreign people to arms against their country, and had contemplated calling up the hordes of slaves against their masters. In a well-ordered commonwealth this would have been enough—the punishment of high treason has always in all communities been death. The civil courts would have dealt with the leaders in the city, and the army with Catilina in the field.

- 62** But the state was utterly disorganized. In the first place, it was doubtful if the criminals could be held for trial. They had been put under the care of certain eminent men—Caesar and Crassus among them—who were responsible for their safe keeping (§ 48), but the freedmen of the prisoners were stirring, Rome was full of desperadoes, the government had no efficient police or military force at its disposal, and finally Catilina was close at hand. In the second place, even if brought to trial, it was doubtful if they could be convicted. The courts of Rome were notoriously corrupt; if it was difficult to get a verdict against an influential man in an ordinary criminal case, in a political one it would have been almost impossible. No one knew how far the conspiracy extended—Caesar and Crassus were suspected, though probably unjustly, of complicity in it—and the very jurors selected to try the
- 63** accused might have proved to be their accomplices. In the third place, granting that the prisoners could be held for trial, and that a fair trial was possible, their punishment was a still more puzzling question. Penal imprisonment had never been known at Rome, and the death penalty, originally imposed by the people in full assembly only, had ceased to be inflicted. In ordinary practice a criminal who looked upon his conviction as certain, was allowed to escape the theoretical punishment of death by going into exile (§ 20), but the courts no more imposed exile as a penalty than our courts now banish defaulters to Canada. The criminal, by a legal fiction, left his country of his own accord and was merely forbidden to return. In the case

of Lentulus and his associates, this voluntary exile would have been farcical — they would simply have joined Catilina to take up arms against the country. Such an act would have been a confession of weakness almost fatal to the government.

THE CONSULTUM ULTIMUM. — It was therefore suggested that the prisoners be put to death without a trial by the mere order of the consul. It has been said (§ 47) that on the 21st of October the senate had passed the *consultum ultimum*, *VIDEANT CONSULES NE QUID RES PUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPIAT*. Good constitutional lawyers, Cicero among them, had always maintained that by this decree the consuls were empowered to perform any act deemed necessary for the safety of the state, that the laws and constitution were temporarily suspended. On the other hand, authorities equally good maintained that by this decree the senate delegated its own powers only to the consuls, and that, as the senate had no judicial powers at all, it did not and could not give the consuls any authority over courts and processes of law. This is the great constitutional question that had so much to do with Cicero's career. It was undecided in his day, and we cannot decide it now. Cicero had always asserted the unlimited powers of the consuls by this decree, but when he became the consul upon whom rested the fearful responsibility he hesitated to act. Convinced, however, that the death of the ringleaders was necessary to the security of the state, he resolved to incur the responsibility, but he felt that the senate should at least declare in set terms that it counseled and approved their execution. He therefore summoned the senate on the 5th of December, the fateful *Nonae Decembres* of which he so often speaks, to pronounce upon the fate of the conspirators.

THE FOURTH ORATION. — The first to give his opinion was the consul-elect, D. Junius Silanus, who boldly declared for the death penalty. With him agreed the sen-

- ators one by one until it came Caesar's turn. He proposed imprisonment for life in the country towns with confiscation of property, and in an eloquent speech dwelt upon the unconstitutionality of putting the men to death untried, and upon the vengeance the people would surely exact from the consul who should thus disregard their ancient right to impose the sentence. His speech turned the tide. All who followed him, including Cicero's brother, voted with him, and many who had followed Silanus changed their votes. The consul's friends crowded around his chair imploring him to think of his own safety and lend
67 his eloquence to the support of the safer proposal. All eyes were turned upon him as he rose to speak, as the consul had a right to do at any point in the debate. Without giving his voice outright for either proposal, he declared his belief that the prisoners, by confessing themselves *hostes*, had lost their rights as *cives*, and urged the senators to take no thought of his safety, but consider the interests of the state only. Still the senate wavered, and the decision was about to be postponed, when Cato in a vigorous speech declared for death. The majority followed him, and that night the five ringleaders were strangled in the *Tullianum*, the dungeon beneath the prison.
- 68 THE END OF THE CONSPIRACY. — This bold and decisive act broke the backbone of the conspiracy. From this moment Catilina received no accessions of strength, and his followers even began to desert him. His attempted retreat with his army into Gaul was blocked by the praetor Metellus Celer (§ 47), while M. Petreius, the legatus of Antonius (§ 53), advanced against him from the south. Early in 62, when Cicero's year of office had expired, the opposing forces met near Pistoria in Etruria. Catilina and his followers, after fighting with the most desperate courage, were defeated and slain to a man. The body of their leader was found far in advance of his men covered by a heap of dead soldiers that he had killed with his own hand.

But before Cicero's term had ended he received an earnest of the reward he was to get for his boldness in behalf of the state. On the 31st of December, as he was about to lay down his office before the assembled people, and as he ascended the rostra to deliver the usual address, the newly elected tribune (p. 61, § 61), Q. Metellus Nepos, forbade him to speak: "A man who had put Roman citizens to death without a hearing did not himself deserve a hearing." He permitted the consul, however, to take the customary oath that he had observed the laws, and Cicero added in a loud voice that he had saved the country too. The people shouted their assent, hailed him as *pater patriae* and in crowds escorted him, now ex-consul, to his home.

HIS EXILE AND RETURN.

AGITATION OF NEPOS. — The political disputes between the conservatives and democrats, which had ceased during the common danger from the conspiracy, revived in the year 62. The above-mentioned tribune, Metellus Nepos, a friend of Pompeius and initiated into his plans while his legatus in Asia (§ 24), fiercely assailed Cicero and through him the whole senate. He denounced the execution of the conspirators as arbitrary and unconstitutional, and reproached the senate bitterly because of the continued prosecution of Catilina's associates. At last in connection with Caesar, who was now praetor and wished to lessen the power of the senate, he proposed a bill recalling Pompeius with his army to defend the state endangered by Cicero's misrule. But the conservatives had gained courage by their victory over the anarchists, and strength by the better feeling which Cicero had fostered between the senate and the equites. They met the proposal of Metellus with such determined bravery that he left the city and returned to Pompeius. For a time the democratic

opposition languished, and with the ascendancy of the conservatives Cicero was secure.

- 71** THE ORATION FOR SULLA. — Meanwhile in the early months of 62 the ordinary criminal law was set in motion against several of Catilina's party, whose guilt was for the most part clear. Among them were Autronius (§ 30) who vainly appealed to Cicero once his colleague in the quaestorship, Servius and Publius Sulla, nephews of the dictator, M. Porcius Laeca, at whose house (§ 49) the famous meeting was held, Lucius Vargunteius and Gaius Cornelius the would-be murderers of Cicero. Against all these Cicero gave evidence and none were acquitted. When four years later he was driven from Rome, Autronius was living in Epirus in exile. About the middle of the year, probably in July, occurred the trial of P. Cornelius Sulla on the charge of complicity in the First Conspiracy (§§ 30–32). Since his conviction for bribery he had been living in retirement, almost constantly at Naples, though an effort
- 72** had been made to remove his political disabilities. He was prosecuted by T. Manlius Torquatus, son of the consul who had been elected in his place, and by C. Cornelius, son of the conspirator of the same name, and known from Cicero's speech only. Cicero's reason for undertaking the defence does not appear upon the surface. He alleges his desire to aid a man whom he had good reasons for believing innocent, his anxiety to show that he could on due occasion be merciful as well as severe, a natural impulse to act with the most distinguished men of the day, who had turned their backs upon Vargunteius and the rest, but warmly supported Sulla. His real reason was that he was casting about for friends in the troubles plainly approaching. Sulla's wealth and influence were very considerable, and Cicero was anxious to lay him and his powerful friends under an obligation. With Cicero was associated Hortensius (§ 56). Sulla was acquitted, but we know little of his subsequent career.

THE AFFAIR OF CLODIUS. — But toward the close of the year 62 occurred a circumstance that excited party strife again, and exercised the most baneful influence over Cicero's later fortunes. P. Clodius Pulcher (§ 33), a young man of ancient and noble family, but guilty of all sorts of excesses, in prosecution of an intrigue with Caesar's wife, ventured to disguise himself as a dancing-girl, and steal into Caesar's official residence at the time when the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, at which the presence of men was strictly forbidden, were being celebrated there. Caesar was then *pontifex maximus* (§ 39), but absent as proprætor in Spain. Clodius was detected, but escaped. The high priests declared the act sacrilegious, and required the matrons and vestals to repeat the rites. Besides this the senate ordered a judicial inquiry, and for the purpose of securing greater rigor resolved that the jurors should be selected by the prætor, and not, as was usual, be drawn by lot. This required the assent of the people, and party feeling prolonged the discussion into the year 61 when the senate was defeated. The jurors were selected by lot, and the money of Crassus, who, in concert with Caesar, used every opportunity to humiliate the senate, secured the acquittal of Clodius by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-five. Cicero had from the beginning championed the cause of the senate, but without personal bitterness toward Clodius. Now, however, for reasons unknown to us, he suddenly became his most vindictive foe. He not only destroyed during the trial the attempted *alibi* by testifying that Clodius was at his house when he claimed to be miles from Rome, but after the verdict was rendered he let no opportunity pass to twit him with the crime and the trial. Clodius soon went to Sicily as quaestor, but he had resolved on revenge, and was merely biding his time.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE. — In 61 Pompeius returned victorious from Asia, but was coldly received by the conservatives. A triumph was granted him and celebrated

with great magnificence, but the arrangements made by him in the east and the rewards promised to his soldiers met with much opposition and delay. In 60 Caesar returned from Spain, and there was soon formed the so-called first triumvirate between Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar. Pompeius contributed his military reputation, Crassus his wealth, and Caesar his influence as a political manipulator. United they were irresistible — the only opposition they feared came from Cato and Cicero. They silenced Cato by sending him to Cyprus on government business. They made every effort to win Cicero's support, and, when this
76 had failed, to secure his silence and neutrality. They tried to induce him to accompany Caesar into Gaul as *legatus* on his staff, then to go abroad at public expense (*libera legatio*) as if on public business, and finally to preside over the board of twenty senators appointed to distribute lands in Campania — all with a view to getting him out of Italy, or at least out of Rome. Cicero declined all these offers. Even his unreasonable admiration for Pompeius (§ 24) could not reconcile him to the desertion of the conservatives, although he saw that that party was unable to defend him against the attacks of the Catilinarians or to maintain its temporary connection with the equites (§ 11), which had up to this time secured its position against the democrats (§ 70). His refusal to be silenced cost him dearly. Unable to cajole him, the regents resolved to coerce him, and employed as their tool for this purpose Clodius, who had now returned to Rome.

77 **CLODIUS' REVENGE.** — Eager to wreak his vengeance upon Cicero, Clodius had sought to arm himself with the formidable power of the tribunate. For this purpose it was necessary that he, patrician born, should be adopted into a plebeian family, a proceeding violently resisted by the conservatives, and accomplished only by Caesar's help. Clodius entered upon his new office on the 10th of December, 59, and proceeded, by various proposals, to attach to

himself men of all parties, especially Cicero's personal or political enemies. He won the favor of the poor by his corn-law, gratified many knights and even senators by limiting the power of the censors (p. 65, § 56), and paved the way for his favorite political tactics by abrogating the law which had put a check upon tumultuous assemblies of the people, and by restoring the suppressed ward clubs. **78** As soon as he had thus secured a following upon which he could rely, he came forward early in 58, in the consulship of L. Calpurnius Piso and Aulus Gabinius, with a bill providing that any person who had caused a Roman citizen to be put to death without a formal trial should be punished with banishment. Cicero's name was not mentioned, but it was easy to see that the law was aimed at the proceedings of the 5th of December, 63 (§§ 65-67). Cicero seemed at once to lose all his wonted resolution. Without awaiting the progress of events, while it was yet uncertain that the bill would pass, he put off his senatorial dress, assumed that of a knight, and, in deep mourning, went about appealing for sympathy and assistance as if already accused. There was no lack of sympathy: 20,000 citizens, knights, and senators put on mourning too, although the consuls by edict forced the senate to resume its usual dress. **79** L. Ninnius, a tribune, and L. Lamia, a knight, were especially active in Cicero's behalf, until Clodius prevented the former from addressing the people, and Gabinius banished the latter from the city. Cicero's friends were harassed also at all times by Clodius' hired bullies. Opinions differed as to what Cicero ought to do. Some advised him to remain until a direct attack was made upon him; L. Lucullus in particular was eager to resort to force in his behalf, knowing that the great mass of moderate and peaceful citizens, especially those in the country towns, were devoted to him. But others, among them many of his sincerest friends, counseled temporary submission, encouraging him to hope for an immediate recall. To these Cicero yielded,

and, accompanied by crowds of those who loved and honored him, he left the city about the end of March, 58; into exile itself he was afterwards followed by clients, freedmen, and slaves.

- 80** **CICERO'S BANISHMENT.** — No sooner had he gone than Clodius proposed his formal banishment, and the people voted it. He was forbidden the use of fire and water within 400 miles of Rome, all who sheltered him within these limits were threatened with punishment, and the senate and people were forbidden to agitate for his recall. Not a night was suffered to pass before his property was seized by his unrelenting enemies. His house on the Palatine (§ 50) was reduced to ashes, and on a part of its site a temple was consecrated by Clodius to the goddess *Libertas*. His villas at *Formiae* and *Tusculum* were pillaged and destroyed, and the consuls appropriated a good deal of the spoil. Nor was his family spared. Cicero tells us that his children were sought that they might be murdered. His wife, *Terentia*, fled to her half-sister *Fabia* (§ 27), a vestal, and was dragged from *Vesta's* temple to a bank to give security for paying over Cicero's ready money to his enemies. The news of these outrages reached him before he left Italy, and he already regretted not having
- 81** followed the advice of *Lucullus*. He had left Rome uncertain as to his destination. He repaired at first to *Vibo*, in *Bruttium*, where he had a friend named *Sicca*, and there he first heard of the enactment of the law and of the limits fixed in it. He was refused an asylum in Sicily by the praetor, *C. Vergilius*, who feared the dominant party in Rome, although Cicero's services to the Sicilians (§§ 16, 19) would have insured a kindly reception by the provincials. He went, therefore, to *Dyrrachium*, declining an invitation to the estate of *Atticus* (§ 15), and avoiding Greece for fear of meeting some *Catilinarians* who were living there (§ 71) in exile. In *Macedonia* he found a devoted friend in the quaestor, *Cn. Plancius*, who had hurried to meet him at

Dyrrachium and offered his hospitality. At his house, not far from Thessalonica, Cicero lived in security but in deep dejection. He apprehended that his brother Quintus, then returning from his administration of Asia, might be persecuted for his sake, suspected false dealings on the part of Hortensius and others, and was tormented by fears for his wife and children.

EFFORTS FOR HIS RECALL. — Meanwhile, his friends in **82** Rome had not been idle. The conservatives felt bound to secure the recall of the man through whose exile their weakness had been so exposed. As early as the 1st of June the tribune L. Ninnius had proposed his recall before the senate, and, while the measure did not pass, it at least nerved the senate from this time to devote all its energies to Cicero's cause. On the 27th of October all the tribunes except Clodius and Aelius Ligus repeated the proposition. So long, however, as Clodius was in office nothing could be accomplished; besides Caesar, who from Gaul exercised great influence on affairs at Rome, had not yet declared for Cicero, and Pompeius, to whom Cicero had written in May, also failed him. At last Clodius quarrelled with Pompeius, and the latter determined, out of spite, to recall the former's arch-enemy Cicero. On the 1st of January, 57, two new consuls entered office, P. Lentulus Spinther and Q. Metellus Nepos. Lentulus was a devoted friend of Cicero, and Metellus gave up his enmity (§§ 69, 70) at the instance of Pompeius. It was determined to recall Cicero, **83** not by a decree of the senate but by a vote of the tribes (p. 59, § 29), and the 25th of January was fixed for the attempt. Although Clodius was now out of office, he was still as active and unscrupulous as ever in his opposition, and sought to make up for his loss of power by the use of force and arms. With a band of gladiators he took possession of the forum early in the morning of the appointed day, drove away the friends of Cicero, and spread terror through the streets. The tribunes Sestius and Milo adopted

like tactics, and for weeks the city was the battle-ground of the two factions. Finally, as the tribes could not meet for the transaction of business, the senate determined to put an end to the struggle by a vote of the centuries (p. 59, § 30), and summoned to the city citizens from all parts of Italy. Pompeius visited in person the towns and colonies, and exerted all his influence for Cicero. So, on the 4th of August, the resolution for his recall was finally passed by an assembly that the Campus Martius could scarcely contain and Clodius could not daunt. The news filled the city with indescribable joy.

84 **CICERO'S RETURN.** — Cicero had not waited in Macedonia for the decree to pass. Having learned from his friends that his recall was merely a question of time, he had returned in November, 58, to Dyrrachium, where he waited and watched the progress of events. He sailed for Brundisium as it chanced on the very day that the people authorized his return, and reached Italy on the 5th of August, after an absence of about sixteen months. At Brundisium his daughter Tullia met him,—the 5th of August happened to be her birthday,—and here on the 8th he learned finally that his banishment was at an end. His return to Rome was a triumphal march. Crowds attended him; deputations from all over Italy met and welcomed him; no sign of joy or mark of honor was omitted on the way, and in the city itself the demonstrations were on the grandest scale.

85 **CICERO'S LETTERS.** — To this period of his banishment refer the Letters of Cicero that are contained in this book. They have been selected largely to show the deep dejection into which he was plunged by his removal from the capital. From these and other letters of the same period modern writers have chiefly derived the material for their unsparingly hostile criticism of his character. While these letters show little of ideal Roman fortitude, while they abound in expressions of doubt and regret and despair,

while they reveal his impatience to be recalled and his injustice to Atticus and other friends, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that Cicero's nature was keenly sensitive, and that his pride had been most cruelly wounded. All that he had was taken from him; all the cherished occupations of his life were over; and, so far as he could know at the time, his doubts and fears were justified. The expression of these doubts and fears may be open to criticism as a matter of taste, but the Roman feeling in regard to such matters differed widely from ours. They did not affect a fortitude they did not have; they did not, as we do, try to conceal their feelings. If Vergil makes his great hero Aeneas weep in storm and despair in battle, it is not worth while to make excuses for similar weakness on the part of Cicero.

His own justification for his conduct in retiring before **86** his foes without a show of resistance may be read in the two orations that complete this book. Even after his return the city continued to be disturbed by brawls and riots. The armed bands of Clodius on the one hand and of Sestius and Milo on the other struggled for the mastery of the streets while the triumvirate was engaged with the graver affairs of state. During the remainder of the year **57** Cicero was employed in recovering the remnants of his property and getting his affairs in order. The site of his town residence (§ 80) was restored to him, and damages paid for the destruction of his house and villas. In **56** he was busy as an advocate, taking but an insignificant part in affairs of state. The rival factions were employing the courts to annoy each other; suits and counter-suits were brought in rapid succession, and Cicero had ample opportunity to defend his friends and assail his enemies.

THE ORATION FOR SESTIUS. — On the 11th of February **87** two malicious charges were brought at the instigation of Clodius against Cicero's champion, P. Sestius. He was charged with bribery (*de ambitu*) by Cn. Nervius and on

the same day by one M. Tullius Albiovanus with a breach of the peace (*de vi*), because he had gone about as tribune with armed bands disturbing the public tranquillity. Of the former charge nothing further is known. Cicero is concerned with the latter only, and to this he pays little formal attention. His object is rather to give an outline of his client's life and character, and especially of his tribunate, in such a way as to bring before the court any circumstance that might favorably influence its decision. In this historical survey we have the fullest possible account of the disorders of the time, from the standpoint of the conservatives. The trial lasted with interruptions until the 14th of March, ending with the acquittal of Sestius.

- 88 THE DEATH OF CLODIUS. — The events of the next four years, 55–52, have little to do with the conspiracy of Catilina, however important their part in the history of Rome; among them may be mentioned Caesar's conquest of Gaul, the defeat and death of Crassus in the east, the death of Julia, the daughter of Caesar and wife of Pompeius, and the consequent estrangement of the two great rivals. During the absence of Caesar in Gaul and Crassus in the east, Pompeius was in Rome, and everything pointed to his supremacy. As proconsul of Spain and as commissioner of the corn supply he was invested with the highest military authority, and by remaining at Rome he made his influence promptly felt. An event now occurred that made his power still greater. The year 53 had passed in contention and disorder. Party dissensions had been so violent and unscrupulous that no magistrates had been elected for the
- 89 following year. On the 1st of January, 52, there were no consuls to be inaugurated. Milo was one of the candidates, but Clodius had found means to prevent his election. The wheels of government had therefore stopped, and according to constitutional usage a series of *interreges* had to be appointed by patrician senators to set them in motion again.

At this crisis it happened that Clodius and Milo met by accident upon the *via Appia* a few miles from the city, each attended by his gang of bullies and roughs. A quarrel began among their followers, and a free fight followed. Clodius was wounded and took refuge in a house near the road, from which by Milo's orders he was dragged and murdered. His body was carried to the city, and his funeral was made the occasion of a disorderly political demonstration. The corpse was burned in the senate house, and the building itself took fire and was consumed. Anarchy ran riot, and order was not restored until Pompeius, in defiance of constitution and laws, was made "sole consul" and put an end to the battle of bludgeons with the swords of his soldiers.

THE ORATION FOR MILO. — A special commission was 90 appointed to try all cases growing out of the disturbance on the Appian Way, and all the members of this commission or court were selected by Pompeius. At the same time all men capable of service in Italy were called to arms and made to take the oath of obedience to Pompeius. Troops were stationed at the Capitol, and the special court, sitting in the forum, was surrounded by soldiers. Before this court on the 10th of April Milo was arraigned on the charge of assault and homicide. Cicero undertook his defence for personal and political reasons. As he began his speech he was received with hoots and yells by the partisans of Clodius which the troops were unable to suppress. The consequence was that, for the first time in his long career, he lost his composure and broke down. Milo went into exile at Massilia, whither Cicero sent him a carefully polished (§ 10) copy of the speech which he had intended to deliver, and which we now possess. Milo is said to have replied on reading it that he was glad the speech had not been spoken, as in that case he should not have been enjoying the delicious mullets of Massilia. The oration in its revised form is regarded as perhaps the very best specimen of Cicero's eloquence.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B. C.	Aet. Cic.	
106	1	Coss., C. Atilius Serranus, Q. Servilius Caepio. Cicero born Jan. 3d. Pompeius born Sept. 30th.
105	2	Coss., P. Rutilius Rufus, Cn. Manlius.
104	3	Coss., C. Marius II., C. Flavius Fimbria.
103	4	Coss., C. Marius III., L. Aurelius Orestes.
102	5	Coss., C. Marius IV., Q. Lutatius Catulus. Marius defeats the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae. Birth of Q. Cicero.
101	6	Coss., C. Marius V., M' Aquilius. Marius defeats the Cimbri.
100	7	Coss., C. Marius VI., L. Valerius Flaccus. Saturninus and Glaucia put to death. Birth of Caesar.
99	8	Coss., M. Antonius, A. Postumius Albinus.
98	9	Coss., Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, T. Didius.
97	10	Coss., Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Licinius Crassus.
96	11	Coss., C. Cassius Longinus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
95	12	Coss., L. Licinius Crassus, Q. Mucius Scaevola.
94	13	Coss., C. Caecilius Caldus, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
93	14	Coss., C. Valerius Flaccus, M. Herennius.
92	15	Coss., C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perperna.
91	16	Coss., L. Marcius Philippus, Sex. Iulius Caesar. Cicero assumes the <i>toga virilis</i> . Drusus is killed in a riot.
90	17	Coss., L. Iulius Caesar, P. Rutilius Rufus. Social War.
89	18	Coss., Cn. Pompeius Strabo, L. Porcius Cato. Cicero serves his first and last campaign.
88	19	Coss., L. Cornelius Sulla, Q. Pompeius Rufus. Civil War. Marius is driven from Rome by Sulla.
87	20	Coss., Cn. Octavius, L. Cornelius Cinna. The consuls quarrel. Marius is recalled by Cinna. Reign of Terror.
86	21	Coss., L. Cornelius Cinna II., C. Marius VII. Death of Marius. Birth of Sallust.
85	22	Coss., L. Cornelius Cinna III., Cn. Papirius Carbo.
84	23	Coss., Cn. Papirius Carbo II., L. Cornelius Cinna IV. Cinna, about to make war upon Sulla in the east, is killed by his own soldiers.

B. C. Aet. Cic.

- 83 24 Coss., L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, C. Iunius Norbanus Bulbus. Sulla returns and begins the civil war by defeating Norbanus.
- 82 25 Coss., C. Marius C. F., Cn. Papirius Carbo III. Sulla becomes Dictator for life. Proscriptions.
- 81 26 Coss., M. Tullius Decula, A. Cornelius Dolabella. Sulla's Reforms. Courts restored to the Senate.
- 80 27 Coss., L. Cornelius Sulla II., Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius. Cicero defends Roscius. Int. § 14.
- 79 28 Coss., P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, Appius Claudius Pulcher. Abdication of Sulla. Cicero studies in the east. Int. § 15.
- 78 29 Coss., M. Aemilius Lepidus, Q. Lutatius Catulus. Death of Sulla. Civil war between the consuls.
- 77 30 Coss., D. Iunius Brutus, Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus. Cicero returns to Rome and marries Terentia. Defeat of Lepidus. Pompeius takes command against Sertorius.
- 76 31 Coss., Cn. Octavius, C. Scribonius Curio. Cicero elected to the quaestorship *anno suo*. Birth of Tullia. Int. § 16.
- 75 32 Coss., C. Octavius, C. Aurelius Cotta. Cicero is Quaestor at Lilybaeum in Sicily. Int. § 16.
- 74 33 Coss., L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Aurelius Cotta. Cicero returns to Rome. Lucullus appointed to command against Mithradates in the east. Int. § 17.
- 73 34 Coss., M. Terentius Varro, C. Cassius Varus. Cicero labors in the forum. Spartacus heads the Servile War.
- 72 35 Coss., L. Gellius Poplicola, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.
- 71 36 Coss., Cn. Aufidius Orestes, P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura. Defeat of Spartacus. Conclusion of the war in Spain.
- 70 37 Coss., Cn. Pompeius Magnus, M. Licinius Crassus Dives. Cicero elected Aedile. Impeachment of Verres. Courts reformed by the *lex Aurelia*. Int. §§ 18-20.
- 69 38 Coss., Q. Hortensius, Q. Caecilius Metellus (Creticus). Cicero is Aedile. Lucullus defeats Tigranes. Int. § 21.
- 68 39 Coss., L. Caecilius Metellus, Q. Marcius Rex. Mithradates reconquers Armenia Minor.
- 67 40 Coss., C. Calpurnius Piso, M' Acilius Glabrio. Cicero is elected Praetor. Pompeius takes command against the Pirates. Mithradates resumes his throne.

B. C. Aet. Cic.

- 66 41 Coss., M' Aemilius Lepidus, L. Volcatius Tullus. Cicero is Praetor. Supports the bill of Manilius, transferring the command against Mithradates from Lucullus to Pompeius. Int. §§ 22, 23, 24.
- 65 42 Coss., L. Aurelius Cotta, L. Manlius Torquatus. Cicero begins his canvass for the consulship. Birth of his son Marcus. Pompeius retakes Pontus and reduces Tigranes to submission. "First Conspiracy." Int. §§ 30-32.
- 64 43 Coss., L. Iulius Caesar, C. Marcius Figulus. Cicero is elected Consul *anno suo*. Marriage of Tullia. Pompeius makes Syria a Roman Province. Int. §§ 33-37.
- 63 44 Coss., M. TULLIUS CICERO, C. Antonius Hybrida. Orations against Catilina and for Murena. Death of Mithradates. Pompeius enters Jerusalem. Birth of C. Octavius, afterwards Caesar Augustus. Int. §§ 38-69.
- 62 45 Coss., D. Iunius Silanus, L. Licinius Murena. Oration for Sulla. Clodius violates mysteries of Bona Dea. Int. § 73.
- 61 46 Coss., M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus, M. Valerius Messalla Niger. Pompeius triumphs. Trial of Clodius. Q. Cicero propraetor of Asia. Caesar propraetor of Spain. Int. § 74.
- 60 47 Coss., L. Afranius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer. Coalition between Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar. Int. §§ 75, 76.
- 59 48 Coss., C. Iulius Caesar, M. Calpurnius Bibulus. Clodius is adopted into a Plebeian family and becomes Tribune. Int. §§ 77, 78.
- 58 49 Coss., L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, A. Gabinius. Cicero goes into exile. Int. §§ 80, 81.
- 57 50 Coss., P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos. Cicero is recalled. Int. §§ 82-84.
- 56 51 Coss., Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius Philippus. Cicero defends Sestius. Int. §§ 86, 87.
- 55 52 Coss., Cn. Pompeius Magnus II., M. Licinius Crassus Dives II. Caesar invades Britain.
- 54 53 Coss., L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Appius Claudius Pulcher. Crassus is defeated by the Parthians.
- 53 54 Coss., Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messalla. Cicero is elected Augur in place of Crassus.
- 52 55 Coss., Cn. Pompeius Magnus III., sole Consul for seven months, then Cn. Pompeius Magnus III., Q. Metellus Scipio. Cicero defends Milo. Int. §§ 88-90.

THE ROMAN COMMONWEALTH.

[ABOUT THE TIME OF CICERO'S CONSULSHIP.]

It is assumed that the student has studied some manual of Roman history, and will understand in a general way the terms used without definition in the earlier sections.

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

I. CITIZENSHIP. — The official designation of the Roman 1 people was *POPULUS ROMANUS QUIRITES* or *QUIRITUM*, or simply *POPULUS ROMANUS*. All inhabitants of Italy, excluding women, children, and slaves, were now citizens (*cives*) of Rome, but their rights and privileges differed.

The full rights of citizenship, enjoyed by *cives optimo* 2 *iure* only, were as follows :

a. Private Rights (*privata iura*): 1. *Ius Commercii*, right of holding property. 2. *Ius Conubii*, right of contracting a legal marriage.

b. Public Rights (*publica iura*): 1. *Ius Suffragii*, right of voting. 2. *Ius Provocationis*, right of appeal to the whole people on a criminal charge. 3. *Ius Honorum*, right of holding office.

These *iura* had belonged at first to the Patricians exclu- 3 sively, and were obtained by the Plebs only after a long and bitter struggle, the details of which belong to Roman history. The *ius commercii* was the first to be granted them; the Servian classification, date uncertain, gave them the *suffragium*; the lex Valeria (509) gave them the *ius provocationis*; the lex Canuleia (445), the *ius conubii*; and the lex Licinia (367) gave them the right to hold the con-

sulship, and paved the way to unrestricted *ius honorum* by the year 300.

- 4 Below the *cives optimo iure* came a numerous body, who had either never enjoyed full citizenship, or had lost it in whole or in part. Of the former the most important class were the freed slaves (*Libertini*), who stood to their former masters much as in earlier times the clients had stood to the patricians. They were enrolled as *cives*, held property and voted, but were practically denied the *ius honorum* until the taint of their origin had been removed by several generations.
- 5 There were several ways in which a citizen might lose some or all of his *civitas*. Conviction for certain offences (*infamia*), or going into exile to avoid condemnation on a capital charge, involved the loss of certain *iura* for life; while the censure of the Censors (*ignominia*) took away certain rights during their term of office. Citizenship was altogether lost by the citizen's transferring his allegiance to another state, or by his being taken captive in war and sold by the enemy into slavery.
- 6 From the standpoint of a magistrate each citizen was a *caput*, a political unit, and the loss of citizenship to a less or greater extent was called *Deminutio Capitis*. Hence such expressions as *crimen capitale*, *iudicium capitis*, *poena capitis*, do not mean a charge, trial, or punishment in which the life of a citizen was at stake, but such a one as involved the whole or partial loss of his *civitas*. It is very important to remember this when reading of Roman courts.
- 7 Citizenship was acquired by birth in lawful wedlock of parents having the *ius conubii*, or was conferred by law, or was (rarely) given by some duly authorized magistrate. A citizen born was enrolled as such on reaching his 17th year, taking at once the class his father had, and thenceforth enjoyed all his rights. These rights were in force wherever in Roman territory he might take up his abode,
- 8 except that he must be in the city to vote. There were prac-

tically no burdens imposed by citizenship. The citizen was theoretically liable for military duty from his 17th to his 60th year, and to pay a tax if such was found necessary in time of war. Since the time of Marius, however, citizens no longer served in the army against their will, and the rich revenues from the provinces made taxation unnecessary even in time of war.

Entirely outside the pale of citizenship, and forming, of course, no part of the *Populus Romanus*, were two numerous elements in the population of the city, foreigners (*Peregrini*) and slaves (*Servi*). The persons and property of the former were secured by law, though they might at any time be removed from the city by vote of the people. Slaves were looked upon as mere property, and had no rights of any sort.

II. CLASS DISTINCTIONS. — Although the government of Rome is called republican, and although the old distinction between patricians and plebeians had long since ceased to be of political importance, still there were differences of position between even the *cives optimo iure* that are entirely foreign to our ideas of republican equality. The government was really aristocratic; and the preservation of its democratic features was due solely to the fact that there were two aristocracies, one of office-holders and the other of capitalists, which struggled most bitterly with each other during the last years of the Republic.

a. *The Nobles*. — The Roman nobility was now an hereditary rank, based not upon birth but upon the holding of office. Any man who held any curule office, i.e., any dictator, consul, censor, praetor, or curule aedile, secured to his descendants to the last generation the right (*ius imaginum*) to display in their halls and carry at funerals a wax mask representing his features. The possession of such a mask, or in other words descent from a curule magistrate, was the patent of nobility, and all descendants of curule magistrates were, therefore, nobles (*nobiles*).

The dignity of a noble depended upon the number of such masks that he could display.

- 14 *Ordo Senatorius*. — Sulla had increased the number of senators from 300 to 600 life-members, and had chosen the new members from ex-curule magistrates. He also provided that all holders of curule offices, or even of the quaestorship, should be *ipso facto* members of the senate.
- 15 Such proved to be the influence of the senate over the elections that it was able virtually to restrict the holding of office to persons of its own choice. The candidates supported by the senators were naturally members of their own families (therefore nobles), and so it came about that the Senatorial Order and the Nobility were one and the same thing.
- 16 Of course there might be exceptions. In the first place a man not a noble might be elected to office in spite of the senate. Such men (e.g., Cato the censor, Marius and Cicero) were contemptuously called *Homines Novi*, "Men without Ancestry," and although their descendants would
- 17 be *nobiles*, they were not so themselves. In the second place there were always nobles who had not been elected to office, and were not therefore of the senatorial order. But men of these two classes were comparatively so few in number that for practical purposes we may consider the *Nobilitas* and the *Ordo Senatorius* as identical. The senators wore as *insignia* the *tunica laticlavica* (with a broad purple stripe), and those who had also held curule magistracies wore the *mulleus*, a purple shoe.
- 18 b. *The Knights*. — There had grown up since the second Punic war a class of capitalists, bound loosely together by community of interests. These were men who preferred trade and speculation to politics, and had amassed large fortunes by their business ventures. Until the time of Gracchus their position had been ill defined though
- 19 their influence had been considerable. He won their support by securing the passage of a law by the people giving

the right of serving on juries, which had formerly belonged to the senatorial order exclusively, to those persons not senators who were worth not less than 400,000 sesterces (\$20,000). This gave the state a new order; and the nobles, prevented by law from engaging in trade, found themselves confronted by an aristocracy of wealth, which they in turn excluded from political preferment. To this second 20 order the name *Ordo Equestris* was given, not that it had anything to do with military service, but because its census (400,000 sesterces) was the same that had in early times entitled a citizen to serve in the cavalry. The *insignia* of the knights were a gold ring and the *tunica angusticlavia* (with two narrow purple stripes).

c. *The Commons*. — Below the Nobles and the Knights 21 came the great mass of the citizens, the Commons. They did not really form an order, had no *insignia*, and no distinctive name. They were called slightly the *Plebs*, and flatteringly the *Populus*; but there were powerful plebeian families among the knights and nobles, and both these classes were also covered by the name *Populus*. The 22 condition of the commons in Cicero's time was pitiable. The combinations of capital shut them out of commerce and manufacture, while the competition of slave labor almost closed agriculture and the trades against them. Some found employment in the colonies and provinces, some eked out a scanty living on their farms, some made war their trade; but the idle and degraded flocked into the capital to live on the cheap corn provided by the treasury, and to sell their votes to the highest bidder.

It must be remembered, however, that no citizen was 23 absolutely excluded from either of the *ordines*. The meanest citizen could become a Knight by amassing the required sum of 400,000 sesterces, and the poorest could make himself a senator and his descendants noble by beating the senatorial candidate for a quaestorship, and then gaining a curule office.

- 24 Nothing certain is known of the number of citizens at this time. The census of 241 showed 260,000 citizens of military age (§ 8). That of 70, when the franchise had been extended over all Italy, showed 450,000, but probably only those were counted who presented themselves at Rome for the purpose. These figures would give a total free population of about 780,000 and 1,350,000 respectively for the area covered by each census. The census of 28 gave 4,063,000 for all Italy; but it is a matter of dispute whether this was the sum of the whole population, or of those only of military age.

THE ASSEMBLIES.

- 25 For administrative purposes the citizens were divided into various groups, as are those of all civilized communities to-day.

During the regal period when the patricians were the only citizens, they were divided into thirty *curiae*, "wards." At a later (republican) period all the people of the city and adjacent territory were divided according to locality into *tribus*, "tribes," which in Cicero's time numbered thirty-five. At a still later date these tribes were subdivided on a basis of wealth and age into ten *centuriae*, "centuries," making of course three hundred and fifty *centuriae* for all the people possessing the minimum of property required.

- 26 Each citizen on being enrolled as such (§ 7) was assigned by the censors to his proper tribe and century, and it was only as a part of such tribe or century that he could exercise that most important of his *iura publica* (§ 2) the *ius suffragii*. That is, each ward, or tribe, or century, was counted as a whole, its vote being determined, as is the electoral vote of one of our states, by the majority of the individual votes of the citizens who composed it.
- 27 In accordance with this triple division of the citizens there were three great popular assemblies (*comitia*, from

cum and *eo*), known respectively as the *Comitia Curiata*, *Comitia Tributa*, and *Comitia Centuriata*. The word *comitia* is plural in Latin, but is used by English writers as a singular also, equivalent to assembly.

I. THE COMITIA CURIATA. — This ancient assembly of 28 the patricians had lost all political power, and was called together merely as a matter of form to confer the *imperium* upon the consuls, to authorize adoptions, etc. Its authority was so shadowy that the *curiae* were merely represented by a single delegate each.

II. THE COMITIA TRIBUTA. — This had once been an 29 assembly of plebeians only, but had grown in influence until in Cicero's time it was the most important of the *comitia*, and all legislation had practically passed into its hands. It could be summoned by a consul, praetor, or tribune. Its meetings were held in the forum. It elected tribunes, quaestors, aediles, and petty magistrates. Most of the laws that have come down to us were adopted in this assembly and were called *plebiscita*.

III. THE COMITIA CENTURIATA. — This was the first 30 assembly in which the old orders, patricians and plebeians, were associated together. Originally devised by Servius Tullius it had been reconstructed at about the time of the second Punic war. It was composed of the three hundred and fifty *centuriae* mentioned in § 25, formed by dividing each of the thirty-five tribes into five classes, according to wealth, and each of these classes into two *centuriae* according to age — one of *Seniores* (above 45), one of *Juniores*. To these were added eighteen *centuriae* of young nobles who had not been magistrates (§ 17), and five *centuriae* of smiths, trumpeters, and citizens (called *aerarii*) who lacked the property qualification for the regular classes, making a 31 total of three hundred and seventy-three *centuriae*. This assembly could be summoned by a dictator, consul, or praetor. It met on the Campus Martius. It elected consuls, praetors, and censors. It possessed full rights of

legislation, but almost never used them. It possessed judicial authority in criminal cases, but had delegated it to the standing courts. It had the power of declaring war, but had allowed the senate to usurp this function.

- 32 The same method of voting was used in all assemblies. In the *comitia tributa* the people arranged themselves by tribes in enclosures (*saepta*) marked off by ropes or other barriers. Each citizen was supplied with tickets marked "for" and "against" when a law was proposed, or with the names of the candidates when an election was in progress.
- 33 One tribe (*tribus praerogativa*) was selected by lot to vote first; and the members of that tribe passed out of the *saepta* one by one through a narrow opening (*pons*), each depositing his ticket in a box provided for the purpose.
- 34 The vote of this tribe was immediately announced to the remaining thirty-four, and (as the gods were supposed to direct the lot) it was usually confirmed by a majority of the others. The rest of the tribes then voted in the same manner as the first, but at the same time, and the matter was decided by a majority (eighteen) of the tribal votes.
- 35 The *comitia centuriata* went through similar formalities. The people were arranged, each century to itself, around the sides of the Campus Martius, a large space being left unoccupied in the centre. The seventy centuries of the first and wealthiest class cast lots to see which should vote first (*centuria praerogativa*), and the result of its vote was
- 36 announced. Then the remaining centuries of the first class (sixty-nine) and the eighteen centuries of nobles (§ 30) voted at the same time. The other classes followed in order of wealth; but with each of these four classes voted an extra century made up of citizens who had arrived too late to vote with their proper centuries, thus making a total of three hundred and seventy-seven votes, a majority of which decided the matter.
- 37 None of these assemblies were in any sense deliberative bodies. They could assemble only when called together

by the proper magistrate, and then only to vote "Yes" or "No," without the right to debate or amend, upon the question which he put before them, or to elect or reject some candidate whom he nominated to them. They were 38 dissolved at any moment when it was his pleasure to stop their proceedings, and if he saw fit he could annul the election of a successful candidate by simply refusing to officially proclaim the result.

Nor were the assemblies at the mercy of the presiding 39 magistrate only. After notice had been given of the meeting of the *comitia*, it could be countermanded by any magistrate equal or superior in authority to the one appointing it. Even after the voting had begun, it had to be suspended if lightning was seen, or if a storm arose, or if any one present had an epileptic fit, or if a tribune of the people interposed, or if night came on before the business was completed. After any such interruption the pro- 40 ceedings had to be repeated from the very beginning—they could not be resumed at the point where they were discontinued. Thus if at an election of the eight praetors an interruption took place after six had been chosen, their election was null and void; they had to take their chances again with the other two whenever the balloting was renewed. The time required for holding an election was therefore very uncertain, as, by one pretext or another, it might be postponed for weeks and months.

As a citizen could vote at the elections only as a mere 41 fraction of a tribe, or ward, or century, and at the cost of a journey to Rome if he lived elsewhere, and at the risk of loss of time by interruptions and postponements, the *comitia* were, except in times of great excitement, very scantily attended. Sometimes out of an entire century only five citizens would be present, and at all times the assembly was at the mercy of the demoralized rabble of the city (§ 22).

CONTIONES. — In the *comitia* the people met to elect 42 magistrates and enact laws, but in another class of assem-

blies (*contiones*, from *cum* and *venio*) their part was a purely passive one. Any magistrate had a right to get the people together at any convenient time and place for the purpose of informing them about matters in which he or they **43** might be interested. He could address them himself or give any one else the right to speak. These assemblies had no powers of any kind, no resolutions were adopted, no voting was done, no debate was allowed; but they were the one means of acquainting the public, citizens and slaves and foreigners, with public events before the days of Court Journals, Congressional Records, or enterprising newspapers.

THE MAGISTRATES.

44 The principal magistrates, with the dates on which their offices were created and thrown open to the plebeians, are shown in the following table: —

OFFICE.	CREATED.	OPEN TO PLEBEIANS.
Consul	509	367
Dictator	509	356
Censor	443	351
Praetor	366	337
Curule Aedile	365	364
Quaestor	509	421
Tribune of the Plebs	494	Confined to the Plebs.
Plebeian Aedile	494	

45 These offices are classified in several ways by writers upon Roman history and antiquities.

I. (a) Extraordinary: Dictator, with his Master of the Horse.

(b) Ordinary: Consul, censor, praetor, tribune, aedile, quaestor.

II. (a) With *imperium* (military power): Dictator, consul, praetor.

(b) Without *imperium*: Censor, tribune, aedile, quaestor.

III. (a) Major (having the right to take the auspices (§ 87) anywhere): Dictator, consul, censor, prætor.

(b) Minor (having the right to take the auspices at Rome only): Tribune, ædile, quaestor.

IV. (a) Curule (having an ivory chair): Dictator, consul, censor, prætor, curule ædile.

(b) Non-curule: Tribune, plebeian ædile, quaestor.

The duties of these magistrates, none of whom received salary, are given below in the order of I. (a) and (b):

(a) The EXTRAORDINARY MAGISTRATES. — In times of 46 danger without or of anarchy within the state, the senate might call upon one of the consuls to appoint for six months only an officer called Dictator, who had supreme and absolute authority in all matters concerning the state. The dictator appointed an assistant or vice-dictator, who ranked next to himself in authority and was called *magister equitum*. After 202 the only dictators were Sulla and 47 Caesar, who entirely changed the character of the office by holding it for life (*perpetuus*), and doing away with the *magister equitum*.

The word *dictator* was also applied in a very different sense to a very insignificant person, the chief magistrate of a free town.

(b) The ORDINARY MAGISTRATES. — These (excepting 48 the censor, § 56) were elected for a term of one year, the consuls, censors, and prætors by the *comitia centuriata* (§ 31), the others by the *comitia tributa* (§ 29). All except the tribunes and quaestors entered upon office on the first of January; the official year of the quaestors began December 5th, that of the tribunes December 10th. All 49 were elected in "colleges" or "boards" of two or more — all members of a college having equal authority, and each having the right to veto the official acts of his colleagues. All had civil authority (*potestas*), sufficient for their several duties, conferred upon them by the *comitia* at

- 50 their election. This *potestas* varied in extent with the different offices, but always included the right to make rules for the procedure of the office during the year, the right to punish those who violated these rules, and the right to hold *contiones* (§ 42). The consuls and praetors had, besides the *potestas*, *imperium*, "military authority," which was conferred upon them subsequent to their inauguration
- 51 by the *comitia curiata* (§ 28). The consuls, censors, and curule aediles wore on ordinary occasions the official *toga praetexta*, a white toga with purple border; and at public festivities a toga wholly of purple; they also sat upon an official chair made of ivory and called the *sella curulis* (representing the ancient throne of the kings, whose authority had been divided among these magistrates), and were hence called curule magistrates (*magistratus curules*). The tribunes, quaestors, and plebeian aediles
- 52 had no *insignia*. Magistrates could not be dismissed during their year of office, and were not amenable to the courts while in office, though they were liable to prosecution for bribery at their election before their term began, and for misbehavior in office as soon as their terms expired. Hence no magistrate could be elected to successive terms of the same office.
- 53 (1) The *Consules*. — The consulship was the goal of every Roman's ambition, the highest magistracy. The consuls were two in number, and were elected several months before their term began, usually in July, but the precise date was fixed by the senate. They were the ordinary presiding officers of the senate, directed its deliberations, and executed its orders. They took precedence over all other magistrates in summoning the senate and *comitia centuriata*,
- 54 and presided over the latter body at the election of all curule magistrates. They usually took turns in acting as head of the administration, each taking precedence for a month, beginning with the elder. During his month each consul was always attended in public by twelve *Lictores*, who

marched before him in single file, each carrying upon his shoulder the *fasces*, a bundle of rods typifying the consul's right to scourge. Originally an axe had been bound up 55 with the rods, but this was not carried in the city after the granting of the *ius provocationis* (§ 3). The consuls retained as ex-consuls (*consulares*) much of their dignity, took precedence of other senators in debate, were alone eligible to certain positions of honor, and gave their names to their year of office.

(2) The *Censores*. — The censors were two in number, 56 elected from the *consulares* (§ 55), originally at the minimum interval of four years, afterwards once in five years — the period called a *lustrum* — and holding office for eighteen months. Their duties were of three kinds: (a) they took the *census*, which was a register of the citizens with their families and the amount of their property, fixed, in accordance with this census, the position of each citizen in his tribe, class, and century, and filled vacancies in the senate. (b) They had a general oversight of public morals, 57 and could punish any citizen for scandalous conduct by removing him, if a senator or knight, from his *ordo* (§§ 14, 20), or if a commoner, to a lower class in his tribe, or even into the ranks of the *aerarii* (§ 30). (c) They had general oversight of the public finances, collected the revenues 58 by "farming" them to the highest bidders, let out contracts for public works, and superintended their construction. During the interval between the abdication of one board of censors and the election of their successors these last duties were delegated by the senate to the consuls, praetors, aediles, or other magistrates.

(3) The *Praetores*. — The praetors were eight in number, 59 and corresponded to our higher judges, being assigned by lot to the several courts. The one to whom fell jurisdiction in civil cases between Roman citizens was called *praetor urbanus*; the one having civil jurisdiction between citizens and foreigners (§ 9) was called *praetor peregrinus*;

the others had jurisdiction in criminal cases, presiding over six of the *quaestiones perpetuae*, "standing courts."

- 60 The *praetor urbanus* was at the head of the Roman judicial system, and while possessing no more real power than his colleagues was looked upon as of superior dignity. During the absence of both consuls from the city he presided over the senate. All the praetors had the right to summon the senate and *comitia*, and each was attended in the city by two lictors, without the city by six.
- 61 (4) The *Tribuni*. — The tribunes of the plebs were ten in number, elected from the plebeians only (but these now practically included the whole *populus*), by the *comitia tributa* presided over by an actual tribune. They were the most powerful officers of the state, though their power was of a negative kind, and they had no duties whatever. Their authority was confined to the city itself, and their persons were sacred, i.e., it was death to offer violence to a
- 62 tribune in the exercise of his authority. They could summon, preside over, and bring business before the senate, and in the right to summon the *comitia tributa* they took precedence over all other magistrates. But the real source of the tremendous power of the tribunes lay in their unrestricted *ius intercedendi*, "veto power." They could veto any decree of the senate, any law of the *comitia*,
- 63 and in general any public act of any magistrate. They could thus at any time bring about a "deadlock," completely stopping the wheels of government. The only constitutional checks upon the power of a tribune were the veto of his colleagues and the shortness of his term. They had no *insignia*, but each was attended in public by a single *Viator* (§ 71).
- 64 (5) The *Aediles*. — The aediles were four in number, two curule and two plebeian. Notwithstanding this distinction they were all elected in the *comitia tributa* and were practically of the same rank, differing but little in their duties. (a) They were the superintendents of the markets, and had

tribunals in the forum from which they decided petty disputes between buyers and sellers. (b) They superintended the distribution of the grain furnished by the state at a low cost to the needy commons. (c) They had general 65 police duties, including oversight of public order, the water supply, streets and squares, and precautions against fire. (d) They had the management of certain public games. This last function made the office eagerly sought, for the commons took great delight in the shows, and the aedile who gratified them with expensive games would reap his reward when he ran for another office.

(6.) The *Quaestores*. — The quaestors were twenty in 66 number, and had duties connected more or less closely with the treasury. On the first day of their term (§ 48) they determined their respective places by lot. Two, called *quaestores urbani*, remained in the city, having charge of the treasury (*aerarium*), and of the laws, decrees of the senate, and other archives which were deposited there for safe keeping. They kept the state accounts, received the taxes, and paid out moneys to the proper officers on order of the senate. Four others were assigned 67 to points in Italy where the public revenues required the presence of state agents. Others accompanied the generals in the field as pay- and quarter-masters, and the rest were sent to the provinces, where their duties resembled those of the city quaestors to whom they rendered their accounts.

PETTY MAGISTRATES. — Besides these important magis- 68 trates there were several boards of inferior magistrates charged with less extensive duties and elected in the *comitia tributa*. There was a Board of Ten, plebeian lawyers who advised the tribunes; a Board of Three, who looked after prisons and executions; another Board of Three, who superintended the coinage; a Board of Four, who, under the censors and aediles, cared for the streets of the city; and a Board of Two, who looked after the roads 69 outside of the city. There were also four *Praefecti*, "circuit

judges," who represented the praetor in Campania. These petty magistrates are often grouped together under the title *Vigintisexviri*, "Board of Twenty-six."

- 70** THE CIVIL SERVICE. — For the discharge of public business an army of clerks and other attendants of the magistrates was maintained at public expense. Chief among these were the *Scribae*, "clerks," whole bureaus of which were kept employed by the senate and all the higher magistrates. They were so numerous and important that they
- 71** were called collectively the *Ordo Scribarum*. The *Lictores* were the attendants of the dictators, consuls, and praetors, executed their orders when force was required, cleared a way for them through the streets, and dispersed disorderly crowds that impeded public business. The *Viatores* had similar duties and were the attendants especially of the tribunes. *Praecones*, "criers," were employed on all occasions when it was necessary to make public proclamation by word of mouth. All these officers received pay for their services, and held their places during good behavior.
- 72** RELATIVE RANK OF THE MAGISTRATES. — It has been said (§ 49) that a magistrate had the right to veto the official acts of a colleague. Besides this a superior magistrate could thus annul any proceedings which had been directed by an inferior magistrate. For the exercise of this veto power the Extraordinary Magistrates were superior to all others. Of the Ordinary Magistrates the tribunes were supreme (§ 62); the consuls were superior to the censors and praetors, but the lower stages are uncertain.
- 73** PROMAGISTRATES. — The consuls and praetors began their duties with *auctoritas* only (§ 50), but in case of sudden danger requiring their services in the field they were at once invested with the *imperium* (§ 28). Otherwise they did not receive it, after Sulla's time, until their year of civil authority had expired, i.e., on Jan. 1st, the day of the inauguration of their successors. They were then sent, under the titles of *Pro consule* and *Pro praetore* respect-

ively, to govern the various provinces, and thus their term of office was extended for a year and might be further prolonged. As governors of provinces there was no distinction 74 between the proconsuls and proprætors, but the more lucrative provinces were usually assigned to the former. In his province the governor was supreme, at once commander of the army, chief executive, and judge in both civil and criminal cases. In such a position there was abundant opportunity for gaining immense wealth. In times of peace 75 there were a thousand methods of extortion, and the average governor left none untried; in time of war there were cities to be plundered and captives to be sold as slaves. A provincial governorship was looked upon by Roman nobles as a gold mine from which to pay their debts and buy new pleasures and honors. It was under these promagistrates that the provincial quaestors (§ 67) served, and the relations between them were naturally close and confidential.

Under certain circumstances the senate might have the 76 *imperium* conferred upon inferior magistrates or even private citizens, and send them to the provinces as promagistrates, though they had not filled the magistracies themselves.

No person having the *imperium* was allowed to enter Rome, and promagistrates were not permitted to return from their provinces *cum imperio* until relieved by their successors.

THE CURSUS HONORUM. — The road to the gold mine of 77 the provinces was not, however, a short and easy one. The laws fixed the age at which each magistracy could be held, and provided that they should be taken in regular order. This fixed order was called the *cursus honorum*; the first step was the quaestorship, legal age thirty; then the prætorship, legal age forty; then the consulship, legal age forty-three. 78 Two years had to elapse after one curule office had been held before the next higher could be taken, no matter what was the age of the candidate. A man standing for (or elected

to) an office at the earliest date permitted by these rules was said to have stood (or been elected) *suo anno*. An aspirant for political honors liked to hold the aedileship (see § 65 (d)) or the tribuneship between the quaestorship and consulship, but was not required to do so.

MINISTERS OF RELIGION.

- 79** The Roman commonwealth was conceived of as founded by the gods, and continuously and directly dependent upon them. The national religion was a stately ceremonial having little to do with the lives and morals of the citizens, but maintained upon a lavish scale for the purpose of securing the favor of the gods, and with it the perpetuity of the state.
- 80** These ceremonies were directed by various priests, or colleges of priests, religious guilds and societies. The priests, however, had none of the characteristics which we are accustomed to associate with the word. They did not form an exclusive class or caste, nor did they require preliminary training or education. They were not excluded from other offices; on the contrary, the more important priesthoods were filled by the greatest statesmen and generals — Julius Caesar was Pontifex Maximus while he was fighting in Gaul.
- 81** THE PONTIFICES. — The most important of the priestly colleges was that of the *pontifices*, who had the supervision of the whole state religion, including general oversight of all the other ministers of religion, thus exerting a vast political influence. The president of the college was called Pontifex Maximus, and the position was upon the whole the first in dignity and importance in Rome. He was
- 82** originally chosen by his colleagues, who had formed a self-perpetuating body, but in Cicero's time all were appointed by the vote of seventeen tribes selected by lot from the thirty-five. He held office for life, lived in the ancient palace of

the kings, the *Regia*, appointed the fifteen *flamines* (priests of particular gods), selected the Vestal Virgins, superintended religious marriages, and other important family ceremonies, and with the aid of his colleagues regulated and published the calendar.

THE AUGURES. — Next in dignity came the college of 83 augurs, also fifteen in number, and elected in the same way as the pontifices. They were charged with the interpretation of the auspices (*auspicia*), which played a very important part in political affairs. The auspices were entirely distinct from omens (*omina*), being simply answers "Yes" or "No" to questions put to the gods in regard to the propriety of some contemplated act which was distinctly specified. Custom required that the gods should 84 thus be consulted on all important public occasions. Favorable auspices, i. e., the permission of the gods, were required before the *comitia* could be held, the senate convened, magistrates inaugurated, battles fought, or any act affecting the commonwealth performed. These questions the gods would only answer when put to them by a duly authorized person, and the answers were given by the peculiar chirp or flight of birds. The right to put the 85 questions for the state (*auspicia publica*) was invested in each of the higher magistrates, who was said *habere auspicia*; the interpretation was a science (*ius augurium*), the special study and care of the augurs. Magistrates and augurs were therefore dependent upon each other, neither alone could get the information desired.

For taking the auspices an open space was marked out 86 by the augurs called *templum*, the original sense of the word not implying at all a sacred building. The proper *templum* for *auspicia publica* was the *auguraculum* upon the Capitol, but for convenience other places, e.g., the *Rostra* in the forum, the *hortus Scipionis* in the campus Martius, and the buildings erected as homes of the gods (*templa*, in our sense), were "inaugurated," but only by

direct permission of the auspices taken in the *auguraculum*.

87 Similarly, generals before going on a campaign took the auspices on the Capitol, and were said to "carry their auspices" with them; if they were unsuccessful, they were thought to have "lost their auspices," and had in early days to return to Rome for new ones (*auspicia repetere*). The inconvenience of this rule led to the invention of a new method of taking auspices, by watching the feeding of sacred chickens which the general took along with him wherever he went. Hence the classification of magistrates in § 45, III.

88 To both the augur and the magistrate the auspices were a source of great political power. So minute and intricate were the rules and regulations of augury, that a zealous augur could pick a flaw in almost any auspices, and thus effectually prevent action on the part of magistrate, senate, and people. And besides, it was a principle of augural law, confirmed by statute law, that no action could be taken by a magistrate if he was notified that another was engaged in taking auspices. This was because it was thought

89 that the will of the gods was not yet fully ascertained. If therefore a magistrate gave notice that on a certain day, or series of days, he intended to "watch the heavens" (*servare de caelo*), none of the acts requiring auspices (§ 84) could be performed on that day or that series of days. This notice was called *obnuntiatio*, and was frequently employed against an obstinate tribune by magistrates who had other-

90 wise no power over him (§ 72), as well as by the other magistrates against each other. From this it will be seen that a position in the college of augurs was one to be coveted by men of the greatest dignity and highest rank — Cicero himself became a member of the college ten years after his consulship. The insignia of the office were the *toga praetexta*, the purple striped tunic (*trabea*), and a curved staff (*lituus*).

91 OTHER BOARDS. — Below the augurs were numerous

other boards and guilds. The *Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis* had charge of the prophetic books (*libri Sibyllini*) which the Cumaean Sibyl sold to Tarquinius Superbus. They contained oracles relating to the state, and could be consulted and interpreted by the board only by direct command of the senate. The *Haruspices* were an unofficial 92 guild, though they were sometimes consulted by the senate when unusual omens or portents were announced. They foretold the future by lightning and the entrails of victims slain in sacrifice, and thus claimed to do much more than the augurs, who could at best only get responses to such questions as could be answered "Yes" or "No." On the other hand, the augurs ridiculed the pretensions of the *haruspices*, and asserted that they merely worked upon the superstitious fears of the ignorant.

THE SENATE.

The senate was originally the body of old men (*senatus*, 93 cf. *senex*) called upon by the King to advise him when in doubt. It had never acquired any additional rights by law, in fact it had no constitutional powers at all, but it had come to dominate all departments of state, to be in itself the government with the magistrates as its servants.

One source of its power was its membership, the *ordo* 94 *senatorius* described in § 14. All the higher magistrates became members of the senate for life as soon as their term of office ended, and all but the quaestors were senators before their term began. The senate thus contained by indirect election all the picked men of the state. Its leaders were men trained from boyhood in the principles of government, with all the advantages of experience. All great generals, all the men who had acquaintance with foreign countries from having lived in them as governors or ambassadors, all distinguished jurists and economists, all the higher priests even were in the senate. The influence 95

of such a body was irresistible. It is true that it could not enforce its recommendations, but we can easily see that its advice would not be lightly disregarded, or its good opinion forfeited, by magistrates who for one year only, and with little previous experience, were charged with the enormous responsibility of government.

- 96 The senate took cognizance of all affairs of administration, but it concerned itself chiefly with foreign affairs, finance, and religion. In these its second source of influence was felt, — its permanence. It was the only organized body in the state that possessed a continuous knowledge
- 97 of public affairs. To it therefore the foreign nations sent embassies; with it they made treaties. Appointing as it did all promagistrates with *imperium* (§ 73), it virtually directed war and concluded peace, although constitutionally
- 98 this was the right of the *comitia centuriata* (§ 31). Its control over the finances was due to the interval between the abdication of one board of censors (§ 56) and the election of their successors. In this period of from two and one half to three and one half years there was at all times money to receive and to pay out on orders and contracts, with which the magistrates for the time had had nothing to do. To the senate, therefore, as the one continuous body, fell the right to direct financial matters during this period (§ 58); and to it the next board would naturally look for advice in all questions of taxation and expenditure.
- 99 In religious matters its influence was due to the fact that the priests (§ 80), as such, had no magisterial powers, and had to act through the regular magistrates. The influence of the senate over them has been explained
- 100 in § 95. In all these matters, and in the countless others on which the senate acted, it must be remembered that it ruled wholly by moral influence. At any time a magistrate might become recalcitrant, and carry a question, in spite of the senate, to the only constitutionally authoritative bodies, — the *comitia*. In such a case the senate

could only oppose its influence to his, and, if the people were on his side, either give way, or try to tire out the opposition by the many means of delay that could be practised in the *comitia* (§§ 39, 89).

MEETINGS OF THE SENATE. — The senate came together 101 at the call of any qualified magistrate (consul, praetor, tribune), who, by virtue of having summoned it, was its president for the time. It was the only deliberative assembly in Rome, i.e., the only one in which debate was allowed. Of course it could discuss only such questions 102 as the president laid before it; but among the twenty magistrates who possessed the right, it could always find one who would ask its advice about the business it wished to discuss. The time and place for meeting were always 103 named in the call, which was made either through the *praecones* (§ 71), or by a written notice posted in the forum. The senate had no fixed hour or place for meeting, although the time was usually early in the day, because sunset put an end to all deliberations, and the place had to be a *templum* (§ 86). The auspices were always taken before the meeting began (§ 84).

The president laid (*referre*) the matters about which he 104 desired "advice" (§ 102), before the senate in general terms, and in such order as he pleased. No one could make a motion without his permission, and no one could give an opinion unless called upon by him. He might at once demand a vote; but if debate was allowed he called upon the members to express their views in a regular order, sanctioned by ancient custom, giving his own opinion at any point he pleased. The first to be called upon 105 was the *Princeps Senatus*, an honorary title given by the censors to the senator (generally a patrician) whom they deemed most worthy. After him came the *consulares*, *praetorii*, and *aedilicii*, i.e., such members as sat in the senate by virtue of having held these offices. If, how- 106 ever, the debate occurred between the time of the annual

- elections and the inauguration of the successful candidates, these magistrates-elect (*designati*) took precedence over ex-magistrates of the same rank. It is a matter of dispute whether or not the *pediarii* (those who had held no curule (§ 45, iv. b) office) had the *ius sententiae*, "right
 107 of debate." The president might, however, vary the regular order, and thus honor or slight any senator by calling him out of turn, or by passing him over altogether. As each senator was called upon he could give his opinion in full (*sententiam dicere*), or simply express his agreement with a previous speaker (*verbo assentiri*). He might also include in his remarks any other matters that he pleased, and this made it easier than now to prevent action by talking against time (*diem dicendo consumere*) until sunset
 108 (§ 103). The final vote was taken by division (*discessio*). If several conflicting *sententiae* had been expressed, the magistrate presiding put such as he pleased to the house, and they were voted upon singly until one received a majority of the members present. All present; except actual magistrates, were obliged to vote, but there was no
 109 rule as to a quorum. When a *sententia* had been adopted, it was written out, after the adjournment of the senate, by the *scribae* (§ 70), in the presence of the president and of its principal supporters, who attested its genuineness by their signatures. There are frequent complaints of forged *sententiae*.
- 110 DECREE OF THE SENATE. — The senate had no power to pass laws: it could merely express its opinion in the form of advice to the magistrate who convoked it. This advice might be rejected by that magistrate, or, even if he adopted it, it might be vetoed by any magistrate equal or superior to him (§ 72). If it successfully ran the gantlet of these vetoes, it was taken for granted that it would find no sufficient opposition in the *comitia* (where only laws could be passed), and was promulgated as a *senatus consultum*,
 111 "ordinance of the senate." If vetoed by a superior magis-

trate, it was put forth as *auctoritas senatus*, "the deliberate utterance of the senate," having all the moral weight attaching to such a body as that described in § 94, but no binding force with either magistrates or people. If its friends 112 looked upon the opposition to it as capricious or weak, proceeding, e. g., from the personal feeling of the individual who vetoed it, they brought to bear upon him every possible influence and argument to induce him to withdraw his opposition. If he remained firm they might still get a superior magistrate, if there was such, to bring it before the *comitia*, with the hope of getting it passed by the people as a regular and authoritative law.

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

THE abbreviations are for the most part those with which the student has become familiar in his Caesar. The following may require explanation; **Caes.** = Caesar de Bello Gallico, cited by book, chapter, and smaller section; **Sall. Cat.** = Sallusti (86-35) Bellum Catilinae, cited by chapter and smaller section; **P.** = Preble's revision of the grammar of Andrews and Stoddard; **Ep.** = epistle, letter; **Exc.** = excursus; **Int.** = introduction or introductory; **Sal.** = salutation; **O. O.** = *oratio obliqua*, indirect discourse; **O. R.** = *oratio recta*, direct discourse.

REFERENCES.

References to the **Grammars** ask attention to such parts only of the main article as are followed by a mark of punctuation. E.g., "A. 331, e;" means — read all of article 331 and section e under it; while "A. 331 e;" means — read section e under article 331, but not article 331 itself.

References to the **Introductory Matter** give the sections to be read (marked §) and the page (p.), on which the section begins. References to the **Excursuses** give the number of the Excursus and the paragraph (§) to be read. The page may be found from the Table of Contents.

References to the **Orations** give the Title of the oration, the smaller section, and the number of the line of the larger section in which the word in question is found. The title is always abbreviated, **I., II., III., IV.**, meaning the first, second, etc., oration against Catilina, **Mur., Sull., Sest., Mil.**, the orations for Murena, Sulla, Sestius, or Milo. E.g., in the note on page 119, line 1 "I. 16. 38" means — line 38 in paragraph 16 of the first oration against Catilina. In references to words in other chapters of the same oration, the Title is omitted and the sign § is put before the number of the paragraph. E.g., in the note on page 82, line 5 "§ 3. 24" means — the 24th line in paragraph 3 of *this oration*. In references to words in the same chapter (not necessarily in the same paragraph) the Title and paragraph are omitted, and the abbreviation **l.** is placed before the number of the line. E.g., in the note on page 80, line 6 "see on l. 4" means — read the note on line 4 of *this chapter*.

References to the **Letters** are made in the same way, except that the lines of each letter are numbered throughout. The Letters are distinguished from the Orations by the abbreviation **Ep.**, and each letter is denoted by its number in this collection, printed in Roman capitals. The shorter letters are not divided into paragraphs, and in such cases, instead of a paragraph number, the abbreviation **l.** is placed before the number of the line.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

ORATIO IN CATILINAM PRIMA

IN SENATU HABITA.

I. Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palati, nihil urbis vigiliae,

TITLE. — **M. Tulli Ciceronis.** On the three names cf. A. 80 a; H. 649; P. 666; on the gen. -i for -ii. A. 40 b; G. 29 R. 1; H. 51 5; P. 97 (4); **Cicero** is said to be derived from **cicer**, 'a small pea.' Decline the three names side by side. **Oratio**: nom., used absolutely in the title of books, etc. **in Catilinam**, 'against Catilina.' **prima**: there are four orations commonly called 'against Catilina.' **in senatu**, see p. 31, § 50, and explain the circumstances under which this oration was delivered.

§ 1. 1. 1. **tandem**, 'I pray,' in interrogative and imperative sentences is the sign of intense feeling. **abutēre**, 'use up,' 'exhaust' (not 'abuse,' 'misuse'); observe

the quantity of penult and thus determine tense.

2. **etiam**, 'still,' in temporal meaning.

3. **Nihilne**, an emphatic *nonne*. Note the repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses instead of a connective: it is called *anaphora*.

4. **Palati**, *mons Palatinus*. This hill was the original seat of Rome, and remained a point of great strategic importance, always promptly garrisoned when danger within the city was apprehended. On the brow of the hill toward the *Via Sacra* stood the temple of Jupiter Stator, where the senate was now assembled. Point out these objects on Plan A. Cicero had increased the guards for political effect.

- 5 nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium,
 nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil
 horum ora voltusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia
 non sentis, constrictam iam horum omnium scientia
 teneri coniurationem tuam non vides? Quid proxima,
 10 quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convoca-
 veris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare
 2 arbitraris? O tempora, o mores! Senatus haec in-
 tellegit, consul videt; hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo
 vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii parti-
 15 ceps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quem-
 que nostrum. Nos autem fortes viri satis facere rei

5. **bonorum**, 'loyal men,' the political sense of the word, including all persons in the speaker's party, and excluding all others; opposed to it are the words *improbi*, *perditi*.

6. **locus**, see on l. 4. Where were the meetings of the senate commonly held? See Int., p. 75, § 103.

7. **ora voltusque**, 'expression on the faces.' The expression of an idea by two connected nouns instead of by a single modified noun is called *hendiadys*; quote an example from Caesar I. 3, *ad fin, inter . . . dant*.

8, 9. **constrictam teneri**, how different in meaning from *constrictam esse*? A. 292 c; G. 230; H. 388 1 note; P. 547 c. *Habeo* is more common than *teneo* in this use: quote example from Caesar I. 15, *quem . . . habebat*. **scientia**; i.e., is powerless, because every one knows of it.

The strength of a conspiracy lies in secrecy.

9-11. Read p. 30, § 49, and tell what places, times, and measures are meant. Some of the men called together are named in Salust's account of the Conspiracy. Among them were ten senators, four knights, and many from places in Italy outside of Rome.

12. **arbitraris**. In the present indicative of deponent verbs, Cicero writes *-ris* not *-re*. What does he write in the future tense? cf. l. 1.

§ 2. 13, 14. **immo vero** is used to correct a previous statement as either too weak or too strong: which here? Trans. "Lives, did I say? nay, he even, etc." **publici consilii**, 'a council of the state,' here the senate. The word *consilium* is used of any organized body taking common action.

16. **viri fortes**, nom. case, ironical.

publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri pestem, quam tu in nos 19 machinaris. An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, 3 pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus interfecit; Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Mae- 25 lium novis rebus studentem manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam

17. istius = *Catilinae*. This is the demonstrative used most frequently of one's opponent in court, debate, etc., and thus it often has a certain contemptuous force.

§ 3. **20. An** really introduces the second part of a double direct question, of which in excited speech the first part is often omitted, as here. In translation the omitted part may be supplied from the context: "[Am I wrong], or did, etc.," or the *an* may be faintly represented by 'then.' **an vero**, the words go with both *interfecit* and *perferemus*.

21. P. Scipio Nasica was at the head of the optimates who (133) killed Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. Creighton, p. 57; Allen, p. 156; Myers, p. 80; Pennell, p. 96; **pontifex maximus**, p. 70, §§ 81, 82.

22. privatus. Nasica held no office at the time of the death of Gracchus. *Privatus* is opposed in meaning to *Magistratus*. For list of magistrates, see p. 62, § 45.

23. orbem terrae, 'the circle of land,' around the Mediterranean, 'the whole earth.'

24. illa, 'the following precedents,' explained by the clause *quod . . . occidit*. A. 333; G. 525; H. 540, IV.; P. 540 (4). The plural is used either to imply that more precedents might be given, or with deliberate exaggeration.

25. Sp. Maelium. Maelius was a rich plebeian who sold corn to the poor at low rates during the famine of 439. He was accused of court- ing the favor of the people, with a view to making himself king, and was summoned before the dictator Cincinnatus to answer to the charge. On his hesitating to obey, he was killed by Ahala, the *magister equitum*, p. 63, § 46.

27. ista, 'such,' not used of an opponent here, and so not contemptuous. Note the strict use of the 'demonstrative of the second person': bravery on the part of such men as *you* (senators), in earlier times.

acerbissimum hostem coërcerent. Habemus senatus
 30 consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave, non
 deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius
 ordinis; nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.
 4 II. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul
 videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet; nox
 nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam
 seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre,
 5 avo, maioribus, occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius
 consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L.

30. consultum, 'decree.' For the formalities attending the passage of a 'consultum,' and the distinction between a *consultum* and *auctoritas*, see p. 76, §§ 110, 111. For the decree referred to here, see p. 29, § 47; for its scope, Sallust Cat. 29 says: *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 fas est.*

31. consilium, 'wisdom,' 'advice,' 'statesmanship.' In how many meanings is *consilium* used in this chapter?

Explain the case of **patientia** 1, **nihil** 4, **senatus** 6, **nocte** 10, **consilii**, **quem** 11, **tempora** 12, **consilii** 14, **viri** 16, **consules** 24; and the mood of **ceperis** 11.

§ 4. **1-10.** Two precedents less remote than that of Ahala.

1. quondam. In 121, Gaius Gracchus, tribune 123-122, had

carried a series of measures tending to overthrow the power of the senate. The senate took advantage of a riot to pass the *consultum ultimum*, arming L. Opimius, the one consul then at Rome, against the revolutionists. Gracchus himself, his chief supporter M. Fulvius Flaccus, with the latter's young son and three thousand of their followers were killed. Creighton, p. 59 f.; Allen, p. 164; Myers, p. 81; Pennell, p. 97.

4. clarissimo patre, abl. of quality. The construction is slightly irregular. Such an abl., or equivalent gen., or adj., usually modifies a generic noun (*homo*, *vir*), in apposition with the proper name; but the generic noun is often omitted as here. Quote examples from Caesar I. 10, *ad fin.*, and I. 18, 3, *ad init.*, and tell whether they illustrate the regular or exceptional construction.

5. liberis. Really but one son was killed in the riot, and the plural is used by rhetorical exaggeration, as *illa*, § 3, 24.

6, 7. C. Mario. What does C.

Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica; num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum pl. et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At nos vicesimum iam diem patimur 10 hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim huiusce modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim te interfectum esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, 15 sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres con-

stand for? Write the full name.

Mario et Valerio. During their consulship (100) revolutionary measures were proposed by L. Saturninus and C. Glaucia. In fear of violence, the senate passed the *consultum ultimum*; and, in the conflict that followed, Saturninus and his followers were stoned to death in the senate house. Creighton, p. 63; Allen, p. 172; Pennell, p. 105.

9. mors ac rei p. poena, 'the death penalty fixed by the State.' Name the grammatical figure, and quote an illustration from § 1. **rei publicae**, subjective gen.; the Romans looked upon all punishments (originally fines) as belonging to the injured party, to whom the fines were in early times given as recompense or damages.

9, 10. remorata est, 'caused to wait.' The criminal is represented as always expecting punishment, and waiting for it to overtake him. **vicesimum** in round numbers. Find the exact number, reading p. 29, § 47, and remembering that the Romans counted in the starting-point.

12, 13. huiusce modi, A. 215, a; G. 364; H. 396, V.; P. 356. **inclusum in tabulis.** What is the decree compared to? *tabulae* are here the blocks of stone or metal on which the laws were inscribed. They were hung up in public for seventeen days, and then deposited in the *aerarium*, the public treasury, in the temple of Saturnus, in care of the Quaestors, p. 67, § 66.

14, 15. interfectum esse ... convenit. Give the tense and subject of *convēnit*. What tense might have been expected for *interfectum esse*? A. 288, a; G. 246, Rem. i. (with exs.); H. 537 1; P. 539. Sometimes with such verbs as *convenit, oportuit, potui*, etc., an apparent perf. passive (not active) infin. is found. In such cases the participle is to be regarded as a predicate adj. (cf. *Gallia est omnis divisa*), and not as forming a true perfect. A. 288 d; G. 275, 1 *ad fin* and 2; H. 537 2; P. 539 a. Quote an example from § 2, and tell which use it illustrates.

16. patres conscripti. The original members of the senate

scripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed iam me
 5 ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. Castra sunt in
 20 Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus conlocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus; eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videmus intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si
 25 te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut fa-
 30 ciam. Tum denique interficere, cum iam nemo tam

were all patricians, and were called *patres*; but, after the expulsion of the kings (509), some of the leading plebeians were admitted to the republican senate under the title of '*conscripti*,' 'added to the roll.' The term *patres conscripti* is therefore shortened from *patres et conscripti*; but so thoroughly was the origin of the phrase forgotten, that Cicero calls a single senator *pater conscriptus*.

18. *dissolutum*, 'radical.'

19. *inertiae*, case? A. 220; G. 377; H. 409, II.; P. 367.

§ 5. 23. *atque adeo* either corrects a previous statement 'or rather,' or adds to and intensifies it 'and actually'. Which here? What similar phrase in § 2?

25. *comprehendi*, same mood as *interfici*. *si* what other conjunction might have been used? See on § 1, 3, and quote a parallel from Caes. I. 14, *ad fin.* *iussero*,

translate a Latin future perfect after *si*, *cum*, *ubi*, by an English present. For the form of the condition, A. 307, 1, *a* and *c*; G. 597, 236 2 H. 508, 2; P. 476 (1).

26-28. *erit verendum . . . dicat*. *credo* is parenthetical and ironical. Cicero might fear two opposite criticisms upon his conduct:

(a) *ne omnes boni serius factum esse dicant*.

(b) *ne quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat*. He really fears (a), so when speaking ironically he reverses the case and says: "I shall have to fear, I suppose, not rather (a) than (b)." Trans. the whole: "I shall have to fear, I suppose, not that all loyal men will call my action tardy, but that some one will call it excessively cruel."

29. *certa de causa*, explained by the rest of the chapter.

inprobus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non iure factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu 6 quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives, et vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum 35 te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coeptus nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis tuae potest, si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede, oblivisci 5 scere caedis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia; quae iam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine me ante diem 7

31. tui similis. In Cicero *similis* nearly always takes the gen. of nouns and pronouns denoting persons; and with nouns denoting things the gen. is rather more common than the dative.

Explain the case of **detrimenti** 2, **Mario** 6, **diem** 10, **aciem** 11, **rei publicae** 24, **mihi** 26, **me** 27; mood of **fateatur** 32, **audeat** 33, **possis** 35. Give princ. parts of **decrevit** 1, **cupio** 16, **crescit** 21, **audeat** 33.

§ 6. **1. Etenim quid est, etc.,** gives the reason for *vives, et vives*, etc., l. 33 above, and prepares the way for the general theme 'Leave the city!'

2. coeptus, a very rare noun; the usual word is *conatus*.

3. parietibus. Synonyms: *murus*, wall in general, *paries*, wall

of a house, *moenia* (cf. *munire*), walls of a city for defence.

5. mihi crede, 'follow my advice.' A. 227; G. 345; H. 384, I.; P. 375, 376.

8. licet recognoscas. A. 331 i. note 3; H. 501, I. 1, and 502 1; P. 494, *a*, and 531 *a*. What other mood might have been used for *recognoscas*? **Meministine** = *nonne meministi*; *-ne* is often used for *nonne*, especially in questions of a rhetorical nature and in colloquial language. It is probable that it had originally a negative force. **ante diem xii. Kal. Nov.** A. 376, *a, b, c, d*, and 259 *e*; G. p. 387; H. 642, in full, and esp. III. 3; P. 660 (4); cf also Caesar I. 6 *ad fin* and the note. **ante diem** is here the idiomatic form for *die* (abl. of time) *ante*; what should we expect for the same words in ll. 10 and 16?

xii Kalendas Novembris dicere in senatu fore in ar-
 10 mis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem vi
 Kal. Novembris, C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque
 administrum tuae? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non
 modo res tanta, tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum,
 id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi
 15 ego idem in senatu caedem te optumatum contulisse
 in ante diem v Kalendas Novembris, tum cum multi
 principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi
 quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa pro-
 fugerunt. Num infitiri potes te illo ipso die meis
 20 praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere te
 contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu discessu
 ceterorum nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, caede te
 8 contentum esse dicebas? Quid? cum te Praeneste
 Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno

§ 7. 9. xii. here, vi. l. 10 and v. l. 16, stand for what kind of a numeral? Give each in full. **dicere** represents the imperfect indicative in O. R. A. 336 A. note 1; G. 277, R; H. 537, 1; P. 538 a. What tense should we expect?

11. **C. Manlium**, p. 29, §§45, 46.

12. **fefellit**, from *fallo*. Its subjects are *res* and *dies*, but the sentence should be recast in English, 'I was not deceived in, etc.'

13 **res**. Think what 'the thing' meant really is, and translate accordingly, never using the vague 'event,' 'fact,' etc., where definiteness is possible.

15. **idem**, nom. case; for meaning see A. 195 e; G. 296; H. 451 3.

16. **in ante diem** the prep. *in* governs the date as if the latter were one word.

17. **sui conservandi**, A. 298 a; G. 429 Rem. i; H. 542 I note 1; P. 550 c. Gender, number and case of **sui**? Is **conservandi** gerund or gerundive? Quote examples from Caes. III., 6, 1, and IV. 13.5. The sentence is bitterly ironical, a withering rebuke to the cowardice of the senate.

22. **nostra . . . qui**. The possessive pronoun *nostra* (agreeing with *caede*) is equivalent to the gen. pl. of *ego*, and from this gen. pl. as its true antecedent *qui* takes its gender and number. A. 99 a, 199 b, note; H. 396, II., note; G. 360, R. 1; P. 358 (2) and 348, (3).

§ 8. 23. **Quid**. This little anticipatory question draws attention to what follows; its full meaning is 'What do you think of what

impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo 25
iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam?
Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego
non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.
IV. Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superi-
orem; iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salu-
tem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore
nocte venisse inter falcarios (non agam obscure) in
M. Laecae domum; convenisse eodem complures eius- 5
dem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes?
quid taces? Convincam, si negas. Video enim esse
hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. O 9
di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in qua urbe
vivimus? quam rem publicam habemus? Hic, hic sunt 10
in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae
sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro om-

I am going to say?' **Præneste**, twenty miles south-east of Rome in the Hernican mountains. It had been the last stronghold of the younger Marius in 82, and on its capitulation Sulla had put most of its citizens to death. He subsequently established one of his colonies on its site, and Catilina hoped to use it as a fortified post.

26. praesidiis. Synonyms: *praesidia* a 'garrison,' on the walls, *custodiae* the 'sentinels,' at the gates, *vigiliae* the 'night watch.'

Explain case of **caedis** 6, **luce** 7, **te** 19, **impetu** 25, **quod** 27; mood of **expectes** 2, **obliviscere** 5, **futurus esset** 10, **remansissemus** 22, **audiam** 28.

1. tandem, see on § 1. 1. **supe-**

riorem noctem = *priore nocte*, l. 3, what night?

4, 5. inter falcarios, 'into the street of the scythemakers.' Several streets of Rome were called after the tradesmen who lived upon them. For the prepositional phrase as a name cf. the famous avenue of Berlin 'Unter den Linden.' in **M. Laecae domum**. When accompanied by a possessive pronoun or a genitive *domum* (whither) may or may not have a preposition.

§ 9. **9. ubinam gentium**, 'where in the world.' Case of *gentium* A. 216, a 4; G. 366, 371 4; H. 397 4; P. 354, 355 (3).

12. nostro omnium. The adjective agrees with the gen. pl. of the personal pronoun implied in the possessive *nostro*; see § 7, 22,

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

and cf. A. 197 *e*; G. 363 *ad fin*; H. 398 3; P. 347, (2).

13. atque adeo, see on § 5, 23.

15. trucidari, regular or irregular tense? See on § 4, 14.

16. igitur, 'well then.' In this its so-called 'resumptive' use *igitur* is often employed to pick up the broken thread of a sentence or train of thought. Here it recalls attention to the unanswered challenge *num audes* § 8, 6, the thought having been interrupted by the digression on the senators.

18. quo, interrogative adverb. Give its correlatives, A. 106; G. 107, 1; H. 305 II; P. 187.

23. equites, p. 56 §§ 18-20. The two men were C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius. The latter is called a senator by Sallust, Cat. 28, but it is supposed that he had

lost his seat by some judicial proceedings.

24, 25. lectulo. For the termination A. 164, *a*; G. 785, 7 *d*; H. 321; P. 259 (4), **interfecturos pollicerentur**, 'promised to kill.' For the future inf. with subj. acc. where the English idiom has a present complementary see A. 330 *f*; G. 424 R. 3; H. 535, I, 2; P. 533 (5). Could the English idiom have been used? cf. Caesar IV. 21, 5: *qui . . . obtemperare* and note.

§ 10. **28. ad me** depends on *miseras*. **salutatum**, 'to pay their respects,' supine; A. 302; H. 546, 1; G. 436, R. 1; P. 554, (2), *b*. It was the custom at Rome for prominent men to hold levees in the early morning. Hence the coming of the assassins at that time would excite no suspicion.

venissent, quos ego iam multis ac summis viris ad me
id temporis venturos esse praedixeram.

30

v. Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge, quo coepisti,
egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae; profici-
scere. Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana
castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si
minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me 5
metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus
intersit. Nobiscum versari iam diutius non potes; non
feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna dis inmortalibus
habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, anti-
quissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam 10
taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae
pestem totiens iam effugimus. Non est saepius in

30. id temporis, 'at that hour.' For case of *id* cf. *nihil* § 1, 3; for that of *temporis* cf. *gentium* § 9, 9; the phrase = *eo tempore*.

Explain case of **multo** 2, **sententiam** 15, **Romae** 19, **tibi** 21, **morae** 22, **cura** 23, **coetu** 26; mood of **cogitent** 14, **placeret** 18, **viverem** 22, **pollicerentur** 25, **venturos esse** 30. What part of speech is **eodem** 5, **una** 8?

1. quo = (*ad eum locum*) *ad quem*. See *ire*. How does this *quo* differ from the one in § 9, 18?

3. Manliana = *Manli*, cf. *Caes.* I. 13. 2: *bello Cassiano*, and explain the adj.

4, 5. Educ. What verbs lose the final -e in this form? **si minus**, i.e., *si minus* (= *non*) *omnes educere poteris, quam plurimos educ.*

7, 8. non feram, patiar, sinam. This is not an example of climax,

but a device, very common in Latin, for emphasizing an idea by an accumulation of synonymous words. Trans. "I may not, cannot, will not endure it."

§ 11. **9. dis . . . atque . . . Iovi**, 'to (all) the gods, but especially to, etc.' **huic**. Why is the demonstrative of the first person used? See on § 1, 4. **Statori** '(flight) stayer.' Tradition said that a temple was dedicated to Jupiter under this name by Romulus for having stopped the flight of the Romans during the decisive battle in the war with the Sabines. Hence *antiquissimo custodi* below. Decline **Iovi Statori**, A. 60, b; H. 66 3; P. 111 (3).

10, 11. hanc tam taetram. The *tam* is not to be translated. When a demonstrative and a positive adjective of quality modify a noun the Latin idiom inserts a *tam*: so *hic tantus* (= *tam mag-*

uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae. Quamdiu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus
 15 es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique,
 20 quotienscumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate
 12 rei publicae esse coniunctam. Nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis, templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam totam ad
 25 exitium et vastitatem vocas. Quare, quoniam id, quod est primum, et quod huius imperii disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salu-

nus) vir, haec tot (= tam multa) pericula, etc.

13. uno homine = Catilina. **summa salus rei p.**, 'the best interests of the nation,' a very common phrase for which *summa res p.* is often used with no difference in meaning.

14. consuli designato. A man was *consul designatus*, 'consul elect,' from his election in July to his inauguration, Jan. 1st; *consul* during his year of office, and *consularis*, 'ex-consul,' during the rest of his life: when was Cicero *c. designatus*?

16. proximis comitiis, 'at the last election.' P. 28, §§ 42-44. Who presided at this election? Who were the successful *competitores*? In what comitia were the consuls elected? P. 64, §§ 53-55.

17. campo, sc. *Martio*. P. 60, § 35. Point it out on Plan A.

19. nullo tumultu publice concitato, 'without an official summons to arms.' *publice* is never to be translated by 'publicly.'

§ 12. **26. est primum**, 'would be obvious.' The English idiom would suggest the subjunctive, but in certain short phrases with adjectives, the indicative is always used in Latin. A. 264 b; H. 476, 5; G. 246 R. 1. **imperii**, case? A. 234, d; G. 356, R. 1; H. 391, II. 4; **imperium** here means the special powers conferred by the *consultum ultimum*, see on § 3, 30.

28. ad severitatem, 'if you look at severity.' There is no point to the phrase in itself, but it is inserted to balance *ad commu-*

tem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus; sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et pernicioosa sentina rei publicae. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id me imperante facere, quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me, num in exilium; non iubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo. VI. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te iam in hac urbe delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam coniurationem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat, nemo, qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non

nem salutem which is necessary to define *utilius*.

31. iam dudum moves a present back in time to a perfect, and an imperfect to a pluperf. So also *iam diu*, *iam pridem*. A. 276 a; G. 221; H. 467, III., 1 & 2; P. 467.

32. sentina rei pub., 'dregs of the state,' forms a single expression upon which depends the explanatory genitive **tuorum comitum**, 'consisting of your companions.' Notice that the word *comitum* denotes the same objects as *sentina*, but does not agree in case. This use of the genitive (*genitivus epexegeticus*) in place of an appositive receives little attention in our grammars. A. 214 f; G. 359; H. 396, VI.; P. 326, 351 note. Good examples in Caes. III. (8. 2, and) 10, 2: *in- iuriarum . . . Romanorum*.

§ 13. **34. faciebas**, force of imperfect? A. 277 c; G. 224; H. 469, II. 1; P. 464.

35. num in exilium, sc. *te ire*

iubeam. For num cf. A. 210 f R. *ad fin.*; G. 462, 1; H. 529 II. 1 N. 3; P. 576, 579; how does it differ from *num* in l. 33?

36. si me consulis, 'if you ask my advice.' **suadeo**. What must be supplied to complete the sentence?

Explain case of **metu** 6, **dis** 8, **praesidio** 15, **comitiis** 16, **tumultu** 19, **tibi** 20, **me** 33. Give principal parts of **perge** 1, **sinam** 8, **compressi** 18, **petisti** 20, **suadeo** 36.

4, 5. perditorum, for meaning see on § 1, 5. **hominum**, when the word 'man' is accompanied by an adjective implying reproach *homo* must be used, by one implying a compliment either *homo* or (more commonly) *vir*. Quote an example of the latter from § 3. **oderit**, though a different tense, denotes the same time as *metuat*. A. 279, e; G. 190, 5, 228, R. 1; H. 297, I. 2; P. 249, 1. **nota**, an expression borrowed from slave-

inusta vitae tuae est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? quae lubido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore afuit? cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum
 10 inlecebris inretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad
 14 lubidinem facem praetulisti? Quid vero? nuper cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto et facile patior sileri,
 15 ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris inmanitas aut extitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnis inpendere tibi proxumis Idibus senties; ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam

life; branding was the regular punishment for heinous offences. **domesticae turp.**, 'infamy in your home.'

6. privatarum rerum, 'private life,' a wider reference than in *domesticae turp.* above, as it includes his relations with persons outside of his own family.

7. haeret in fama, 'is not attached to your reputation.' For case of *fama*, A. 227 e 3, note; G. 346, R. 2.

9, 10. quem . . . inretisses, 'whom you had ensnared by the allurements of your corrupting arts.' Catilina is said to have had a wonderful influence over all with whom he came into intimate relations, and especially over the young. **inretisses**, subj. of characteristic. In what does the characteristic lie?

§ 14. **11, 12. facem**, to guide him to places of dissipation which would naturally be visited at night.

Quid vero, see on *quid*, § 8, 23. **morte superioris uxoris**, p. 21, § 26. The second wife was Aurelia Orestilla, a woman of great beauty, but infamous life. **morte** is intentionally ambiguous; it might be ablative of time, but Cicero means it to be taken as means (= *nece*, *caede*).

13. incredibili scelere, the murder of his son. Orestilla objected to marrying a man with children.

14. praetermitto, etc., a common rhetorical trick (*praeteritio*, *occultatio*), by which the speaker, affecting forbearance, carefully says what he pretends to leave unsaid. Give example from § 3.

17, 18. prox. Idibus, what day of the month? Now that Catilina's hopes were blighted, his creditors would not be likely to show further forbearance, and the Ides and Kalends were the regular days for the settlement of accounts.

ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem 20 publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent. Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius 15 caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum scias esse horum neminem, qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo, manum 25 consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse, scelerei ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac iam illa omitto (neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa commissae postea); quotiens tu me designa- 30 tum, quotiens consulem interficere conatus es! quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! Nihil adsequeris neque tamen conari

20, 21. difficultatem, 'embarrassment,' i.e., in money matters; see preceding note. **summam rem. p.**, what is the fuller expression? See on § 11, 13. **nostrum**, gen. pl. of *ego*, denoting possession. What is the regular construction? See on § 7, 22. This use of the genitive is allowable only when the pronoun is accompanied by *omnium*, and even then the regular construction is as common. See on § 9, 12.

§ 15. **23, 24. cum**, causal, but to be trans. 'when.' **pridie Kalendas**, A. 207 b; G. p. 387; H. 437, 1; P. 660 b note 1. **Lepido**, etc., cf. p. 23, § 31. Cicero puts the time one day earlier than other authorities.

25. in comitio. In the singular the word denotes a part of the

forum where meetings of the people were held, see Plan B. **cum telo** (= *telo armatum*), a legal term implying criminal intent. **manum**, 'a band,' i.e., of desperate men.

29. omitto. Name the rhetorical figure, § 14, 14. **neque enim sunt**, etc. = *nam et nota sunt et multa (alia) postea a te commissae*.

32-34. petitiones, the technical term for the thrusts of a gladiator. **ut . . . viderentur**, 'that it did not seem possible to avoid them.' The English idiom requires the impersonal form, though the Latin prefers the personal. A. 330 b 1; G. 528; H. 534, 1; P. 534. **declinatione et corpore**. See on § 1, 7, and quote two examples. **ut aiunt**, frequently used

16 ac velle desistis. Quotiens tibi iam extorta est ista sica
 36 de manibus, quotiens excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est!
 quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit,
 nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore
 defigere. VII. Nunc vero quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim
 iam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar,
 quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur.
 Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta
 5 frequentia, totque tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit?
 Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis
 expectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo iudicio taci-
 turnitatis oppressus? Quid, quod adventu tuo ista

to introduce a proverbial or technical expression, as *corpore* borrowed from the prize ring.

§ 16. 35, 36. *tibi de manibus*, 'from [you, from] your hands.' A. 229, *b*; G. 344, 2, 388; H. 385, II. 2, 413; P 380, *a*, 413.

37. *initiata*, etc. The weapons with which some successful deed had been accomplished were often dedicated to some deity or other.

38, 39. *quod*, there is a slight ellipsis, as *quod* gives the reason not for the consecration of the weapon, but for Cicero's assertion that it had been consecrated: '(I say you have consecrated it) for you think, etc.' in *corpore*. Why not accusative after *defigere* = 'plunge into'? A. 260, *a*; G. 384, R. 1; H. 380, note; P. 431, *c*.

Explain the case of *nuptiis* 12, *Idibus* 18, *Lepido* 24, *consulibus* 25, *consulum*, *civitatis* 26, *furori* 27, *casu* 36; mood of *possit* 3, *vacuefecisses* 12, *videatur* 16, *viderentur* 33, *velle*

35, *devota sit* 37, *esse* 38, *defigere* 39.

3. *quae nulla*, besides the adjs. of quantity, *multi*, *pauci*, etc., *nullus* is put in agreement with relatives and demonstratives where the whole and not a part only is meant. *Nullus* is then equivalent to an emphatic *non*. What other word may be used for *non*? Cf. § 1.

4. *hac tanta*, 'this great,' not 'so great.' See on § 11. 10.

6, 7. *contigit*, generally used of good fortune, unless accompanied by a negative, as *nemini* here; for bad fortune *accidit* is the usual word. *cum*, see on § 15. 23, and point out another example in this chapter. Read p. 31, § 50.

8. *Quid, quod*, etc., 'what do you think of this, that, etc.?' For *quid*, see on § 8. 23; for *quod*, on § 3. 24. Note that in this use *quid* is often followed by a second question, here *quo tandem animo*, etc., l. 12. *ista*, see on § 3. 27, and explain here.

subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque 10 adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo tibi ferundum putas? Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metue- 17 rent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem; tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et, si 15 me meis civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallet; tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sen- 20

9. subsellia, the senators sat on benches without backs, probably in the order of their rank, the *consulares* together and near them the *praetorii*, the class to which Catilina belonged. What sort of a seat had the consul? P. 64, § 51.

10. tibi, agent. What would be the regular construction? The dative of the agent is used by Cicero with the gerundive regularly and the perfect participle frequently, but with no other parts of the verb. A. 232, *a*; G. 206; H. 388 1; P. 383, *b*. Point out examples of the regular use of this dative in this chapter. **constituti fuerunt**, not a mere variation for *constituti sunt*, though the distinction cannot be concisely expressed in English: with *fuerunt* the meaning is 'have been (but are no longer) doomed;' with *sunt* the words in parenthesis would not necessarily be implied. A. 291 *b*, Rem.; G. 242, Rem.; H. 471 note 1; P. 229 (3), *a*.

11. adsedisti, 'had taken your seat;' for the tense, A. 324; G. 563; H. 471 II. 1 (4); P. 506.

§ 17. **13. mehercule**, 'by heavens,' the full form, *me Hercules juvet*, meant 'so help me Hercules,' but the idea of invocation shrank with the words to the meaning and form here used. **si**, notice how far it is crowded from its proper place (where?) to make *servi* emphatic. **pacto** = *modo*. **metuerent**, what time and thought does the imperfect subj. express in conditional sentences? A. 308; G. 599; H. 510, note 1; P. 476 (2), *b*.

14. ut, with ind. 'as' or 'when;' which here? So in lines 23 and 35 below.

16. iniuria, 'without cause,' an abl. of manner; cf. Caes. I. 36.

5. tam graviter, there is often a slight ellipse with *tam*, *tot*, and *tantus*, here, *quam tu*.

20. dubitas. Where *dubitare* means 'to hesitate' (about a course of action), and the sentence is

susque volneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes. Nunc te patria, quae com-
 25 munis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare; huius tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec iudicium
 18 sequere nec vim pertimesces? Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: 'Nullum iam
 30 aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad neglegendas leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Supe-
 35 riora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli; nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quicquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum

negative (or interrogative assuming a negative answer, as here), an infinitive regularly follows, as *vitare*, line 21.

24. *aliquo*, see on *quo* § 10. 1. **Nunc**, 'now, as it is,' not a mere temporal idea, but serving to introduce an actual fact in contrast to the supposition *si . . . concederes*.

25. *nostrum*, see on § 14. 21. **odit ac metuit**, tenses? See on § 13. 5.

26. *parricidio*, instead of *caede*, because the country is our *communis parens*.

27. *verebere*, in the ind. of dep. verbs how are the endings *-ris* and *-re* used by Cicero?

§ 18. 29. *quodam modo*, used to soften an unusually free or

bold use of language, here *tacita loquitur*. **tacita loquitur**, the rhetorical figure called oxymoron, the use of contradictory words in the same phrase. A. 386; H. 637, XI., 6; P. 659 (22).

31. *vexatio*, etc. P. 22. § 28.

32. **fuit**, for number cf. Caes. I. 1, 2, *avidit*.

37, 38. *quicquid increpuerit*, 'at the slightest sound,' literally? **quicquid** = *si quid*, A. 309, *d*, 310, *a*; G. 594 1; H. 507 III. 2; P. 477 *e*. **increpuerit**, A. 342; G. 509 4; H. 529, II.; P. 523. **videri . . . consilium . . . posse** = *nullum consilium* ('plan,' 'design') *videri posse iniri* ('formed'), *contra me*. For English idiom, see on § 15. 32-33.

39. **abhorreat**, 'is inconsistent

videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne oppri-

mar, sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.'
 VIII. Haec si tecum, ita ut dixi, patria loquatur, 19
 nonne impetrare debeat, etiamsi vim adhibere non possit? Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti, quod vitandae suspicionis causa ad M'. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? A quo non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es atque, ut domi meae te adservarem, rogasti. Cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse isdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in

with,' subj. of charact. or by attraction.

Supply the ellipses with **quo debeo, ut misericordia** 3, **urbem** 15, **ne opprimar** 40. Explain the ablatives **misericordia** 3, **paulo** 4, **amicis** 5, **iudicio** 7, **adventu** 8, **animo** 12, **pacto** 13, **aspectu** 17, **conscientia** 18, **ratione** 23, **te** 30, **annis** 30; the infinitives **cogitare** 26, **esse** 36, **videri**, **posse** 38, **timere** 41.

§ 19. 1, 2. **loquatur**, what time and thought does the present subj. épress in conditional sentences? A. 307. 2, *b*; G. 598; H. 509, note 1; P. 476 (2), *a*. **impetrare**, 'obtain her wish,' often thus used absolutely, cf. Caes. I. 35. 4.

3. **Quid, quod**, see on § 16. 8. **tu te ipse**, the Latin idiom connects the intensive pronoun with the subject rather than the object, even when the latter seems to us to, be the emphatic word. **in custodiam**. A citizen was not ordinarily imprisoned pend-

ing his trial. He usually gave bail for his appearance, though sometimes he was put under the charge of some man of reputation who became responsible for his safe keeping; this was called *in custodiam liberam dari*. See also p. 30, § 48.

4. **ad M'. Lepidum**, 'at the house of Manius Lepidus,' in this sense of *ad* the prep. *apud* is more common. Lepidus was consul in 66, cf. § 15. 24. What do *M.*, *M'*, and *Mam.* stand for?

6. **domi meae**, for case of each word, A. 258 *d* and *e*; G. 412 R. 1 and 3; H. 426, 2; P. 426 (2) *a*. What other common nouns have a locative case?

8. **parietibus**, for meaning, see on § 6. 3; for case, A. 258 *c*. 1. G. 384; H. 425, I.; P. 425; for omission of preposition *in*, A. 258 *f* 2; G. 386, 387; H. 425. 2; P. 426 *c*. **tuto esse**, 'be safe.' Adverbs are thus used in pred. with *esse*, when (a) *esse* has the idea of 'living,' 'existing,' 'stay-

periculo essem, quod isdem moenibus contineremur, ad
 10 Q. Metellum praetorem venisti. A quo repudiatus ad
 sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum, demi-
 grasti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum diligen-
 tissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindi-
 candum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe
 15 videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui
 20 se ipse iam dignum custodia iudicavit! Quae cum ita
 sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo animo non potes,
 abire in aliquas terras et vitam istam multis suppliciis
 iustis debitisque ereptam fugae solitudinique mandare?
 20 'Refer,' inquis, 'ad senatum'; id enim postulas
 et, si hic ordo placere decreverit te ire in exilium,
 optemperatum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod
 abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam, ut intel-
 legas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe,
 25 Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exilium, si

ing,' etc., or (b) when the adverbs indicate (1) general relations of space, e.g., *prope*, *procul*; or (2) general relations of quality, e.g., *ut*, *sic*, *ita*, *aliter*, *contra*; or (3) a certain state of mind or body, e.g., *bene*, *male*, *commode*, *recte*, *tuto*.

11. **virum optimum**, how used? Cf. *virī fortes*, § 2. 16; **M. Metellum**, nothing more is known of him than can be gathered from this passage. What?

12. **videlicet**, compounded of *videre* + *licet* 'one may see,' 'evidently.' The sentence is ironical.

15. **carcere**. The Romans did not use the prison as a place of penal confinement, but for merely temporary detention, or as a place of execution.

§ 20. 16. **Quae cum ita sint**, cf. § 10. 1, 'under these circumstances,' a favorite formula of Cicero. Explain the mood of *sint* and use of the relative. For *ita* cf. *tuto*, § 19. 8, b. (2).

17, 18. **emori**, by the hand of an executioner or a suicide. **abire**, for the mood, see on § 17. 20.

21. **hic ordo**, 'this body,' i. e., the senate. **placere**, 'that its pleasure is' the subject is *te . . . ire*. **decreverit** (*decerno*), what mood and tense in O. R.? How is that tense to be translated? See on § 5. 25.

22. **Non referam**, his real reason was that the senate, not being a judicial body, had no power to impose a sentence upon any one;

hanc vocem expectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? 29 At si hoc idem huic adulescenti optimo, P. Sestio, si 21 fortissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem, iam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo iure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant, neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est 35 videlicet cara, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego 40 vix abs te iam diu manus ac tela contineo, eos-

a fact that Cicero ignored to his cost a little later.

26. **hanc vocem**, 'this word,' i. e., *exilium*. After **proficiscere**, Cicero pauses for a moment; as no one gives any sign of disapproval he proceeds *Quid est* etc.

27. **ecquid** case? cf. *id.* § 10. 30; *nihil*, § 1. 3.

28. **auctoritatem loquentium** cf. *vocis contumeliam* §16. 7.

§ 21. 30. **optimo**, how different in sense from *optimum*, l. 11? Show the same variation in the force of an adj. in ch. I. **P. Sestio**, the friend for whom Cicero a few years later delivered the oration *pro Sestio*, contained in this book.

31. **fortissimo viro**: could he have used *homini*? See on § 13.

4. **M. Marcello**, probably the

consul of 51, a bitter foe of Caesar, but pardoned by him after the civil war. **dixissem**: what time and thought does the p. perf. subj. express in a conditional sentence? A. 308; G. 599; H. 510, note 1; P. 476 (2) b.

32-34. **vim et manus**, 'violent hands,' what figure of speech? **quiescunt, probant**, etc., oxy-moron. See on § 18. 29.

35. **hi**, here, **equites**, in 36 and **cives**, in 38, make the three orders of the Roman state, see p. 55, §§12, 18, 21. **auctoritas**, see on § 3. 30.

36. **videlicet**, as in l. 12. **cara**, explained ll. 21, 22. **vilissima**, explained by § 16. 10, and p. 23. § 31.

40. **exaudire**, 'have heard:' the word means to hear with difficulty, whether owing to distance, noise, or the low tones of the speaker.

dem facile adducam, ut te haec, quae vastare iam pridem studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

- 22 IX. Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat, tu ut umquam te corrigas, tu ut ullam fugam meditare, tu ut ullum exilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem di immortales duint! tametsi video, si mea
5 voce perterritus ire in exilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti, dum modo

Is the tense regular or irregular? See on § 4. 14.

42. *haec*, 'these things' = 'this city'; it is object of *relinquentem*.

43. *studes*, for tense, see on § 12. 31. *usque ad*, 'all the way to,' *prosequantur*, a distinguished man leaving the city was often attended by crowds of citizens to indicate their esteem for him. Cicero speaks ironically here, for Catilina's escort would be of a different character.

Explain case of *causa* 4, *te* 6, *moenibus* 9, *Metellum* 11, *custodia* 16, *animo* 17, *metu* 25, *mihi* 31, *quorum* 38, *te* 42; mood of *adservarem* 6, *essem* 9, *debere* 15, *iudicarit* 16, *optemperatum esse* 22, *faciam*, *intellegas* 23, *sentiant*, *Egredere* 24, *prosequantur* 43.

After urging Catilina to leave the city because his life in it could not be pleasant (§ 13), and because the country wished him gone (§ 17), Cicero now suggests that by going Catilina would bring unpopularity upon him, the consul, and thus gratify his animosity.

§ 22. 1. *Quamquam*, and *tametsi*, l. 4, at the beginning of a sentence have a 'corrective' force and mean 'and yet.' *ut... frangat*, 'anything break you down?' an 'exclamatory question' (A. 332 c; G. 560; H. 486, II., note) with the conscious or unconscious ellipse of *fierine potest* or something of the sort.

3, 4. *Utinam... duint*: On the form of the verb A. 128 e; G. 191 3; H. 240, 3; P. 241 c; for the mood A. 267; G. 253; H. 484, 1; P. 473, a.

5. *animum induxeris* 'make up your mind,' 'determine.'

6. *nobis*, number? A. 98 1 b; G. 195 R. 7; H. 446, note 2; P. 443. Note the collocation of the singular possessive *mea*, l. 4, with this plural personal referring to the same person; *nostra* or *mihi* would have been better. *si minus*, 'if not,' from this use of *minus* (= *non*) is derived the English mis-. *in praesens tempus*, 'for the present.'

7, 8. *in posteritatem*, the words were prophetic, p. 39, § 69 f. *tanti*, 'it is worth the cost.' A.

ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicae periculis seiungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut 10 legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicae cedas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocarit. Quam ob 23 rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exilium; vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris, vix molem istius invidiae, si in exilium iussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum inopportuna sceleratorum manu, confer te ad Manlium, concita perditos cives, secerne te a bonis, infer patriae bellum, exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. Quamquam quid 24 ego te invitem, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos, qui 25

252 a; G. 380; H. 404; P. 371, 372.

10. **commoveare**, in the pres. subj. of deponent and passive verbs, Cicero usually writes *-re*, very rarely *-ris*; what in the pres. and fut. ind?

11. **temporibus**, 'necessities,' 'perils,' a very common meaning in Cicero, in the singular as well as plural.

12. **is** = *talis* 'such', when followed by *ut* and subj.

§ 23. 16. **ut**, see on § 17. 14. **recta**, 'straightway' (*recte* = 'correctly'), for the form A. 148, e; G. 90, 3; H. 304, II., 2. Point out another adverb formed in the same way in § 8 ad fin.

17. **perge**, cf. § 10. 1. Princi-

pal parts? For this form of a conditional sentence and especially for the imperative in the apodosis (conclusion) see A. 306, a; G. 597; H. 508, 4; P. 477 f. **sermones**, 'reproaches.'

18. **istius invidiae**, 'that [caused by you] unpopularity.' So *ista* in l. 9, see on § 3. 27. **iussu** found in abl. only.

23. **impio latrocinio**, 'treasonable brigandage,' case? A. 245, a 2; G. 407; H. 416; P. 404. **Impius** is applied to any crime against the gods, the country, or the family. **non** with *eiectus*.

§ 24. 24. **isse**, principal parts? **Quamquam**, see on l. 1.

25. **invitem**, what kind of a question? A. 268; G. 468; H.

tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati, cui iam sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem, a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam
 30 futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas, a cuius altaribus saepe istam impiam dex-
 25 teram ad necem civium transtulisti? x. Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te iam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat; neque enim tibi haec res adfert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem.
 5 Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exer-

484, V.; P. 475. **a quo** = *cum a te*. A. 320 e, note 1; G. 636; H. 517; P. 500 (2) (b). For case of **quo**, A. 246; G. 403; H. 388 2; P. 406. **qui** = *ut ii*. A. 317; G. 545 1; H. 497, 1; P. 482, 2.

26. Forum Aurelium, an unimportant village about fifty miles from Rome on the Aurelian Way. **cui** = *cum tibi*; for case see on § 16. 10; for mood after it, on *quo* above.

27. pactam, from *paciscor*, what might it come from?

28. a quo, as in l. 25, governing the subj. in l. 31. **aquilam**, cf. Caesar IV. 25. 4. C. Marius introduced the emblem, and Sallust, Cap. 59, says of the one mentioned here: *quam [aquilam] bello Cimbrico [104-101] C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur*.

30. cui, ind. obj. **domi tuae**, cases? See on § 19. 6. **sacrarium**, 'a sanctuary.' The eagles of the legion when in camp were kept

in a sacred place; see introduction to your Caesar.

31. praemissam agrees with what? **ut . . . possis**, see on § 22.

1. **illa**, cf. *aspectu*, § 17. 17.

33. altaribus, 'altar,' more common in the plural than in the singular.

Explain the subjunctives **impendeat** 8, **sit** 9, **commoveare** 10, **revocarit** 14, **videaris** 24; the datives **tibi** 3, **nobis** 6, **temporibus** 11, **inimico** 15, **laudi** 20. Point out four kinds of questions and explain the use of the mood in each.

§ 25. **1-3. tandem aliquando**, 'sometime at length' = an impatient 'at last.' So *aliquando* alone is sometimes used, cf. § 10. 2. **quo** = *eo quo*, cf. § 9, 18 and see on § 10. 1. **iam pridem . . . rapiebat**, cf. *studes*, § 21. 43. **haec res**, 'civil war,' see on § 7. 13.

cuit, fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflata inproborum 9 manum. Hic tu qua laetitia perfruere, quibus gau- 26 diis exultabis, quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis! Ad huius vitae studium meditati illi sunt, qui feruntur, labores tui, iacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad 15 facinus obeundum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes,

6. Numquam . . . non modo, etc. In Latin as in English two negatives are usually equivalent to an affirmative, but a general negative (here *numquam*) is not destroyed by a following *non modo*, 'not only,' or *ne . . . quidem*, 'not even.' Notice that the verb *concupisti* goes with both *otium* and *bellum*. Trans.: 'Not only have you never desired peace, but you have not even desired any war except one which was infamous.'

8. ab . . . fortuna. The prep. *ab* (*a*) with a passive verb ordinarily distinguishes the agent (a person) from the means or instrument (a thing). When, as here, the prep. accompanies a common noun it shows that the thing is personified, a rhetorical figure which is sometimes marked in English by a capital 'by Fortune and by Hope.'

§ 26. **10.** Explain the ablatives in this line and the next.

13, 14. huius vitae, i.e., in a bandit's camp. meditati. How

is the deponent used here? cf. *depopulatis agris*, Caes. I. 11.

4. What part of a deponent is always passive in meaning? What part is sometimes (frequently) passive? **qui feruntur**, 'boasted,' lit. 'which are talked about.' A. 201 b; G. 626; H. 453 7; P. 452. Catilina's physical powers were extraordinary, and his followers boasted of his ability to endure hunger, cold, fatigue, and loss of sleep. Cicero, however, insists that these qualities are virtues only when used for good purposes. **iacere** and **vigilare** (l. 16) in apposition to *labores*. **humi**, case? See on § 19. 6.

15, 16. obsidendum stuprum, 'watch for an intrigue.' **facinus obeundum**, 'commit a crime,' i.e., theft, robbery, etc. **insidiantem** agrees with *te* to be supplied with *iacere* and *vigilare*.

17. somno maritorum balances and explains *stuprum* above, as **bonis otiosorum** corresponds to *facinus*.

ubi ostentes tuam illam praeclaram patientiam famis,
 19 frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tem-
 27 pore confectum esse senties. Tantum profeci tum, cum
 te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius temptare quam
 consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod
 esset a te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam
 bellum nominaretur.

XI. Nunc, ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam
 prope iustam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecet,
 percipite, quaeso, diligenter, quae dicam, et ea penitus
 animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum
 5 patria, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta
 Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur: 'M. Tulli, quid
 agis? Tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem
 ducem belli futurum vides, quem expectari impera-
 torem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, prin-

18. *ubi ostentes*, 'an opportunity to display.' *ubi* is here a relative (not interrogative) adverb, and *ostentes* is therefore subjunctive not of indirect question but of characteristic.

19. *quibus*, the antecedent is not *rerum*.

§ 27. 20-22. *Tantum profeci . . . ut, etc.* 'This much I accomplished, viz., that,' etc. *tum, cum . . . reppuli*, 'at the time when I kept you from.' He means by his influence in the election of 63. See P. 28, § 42. *temptare*, 'annoy.' *vexare*, 'harm,' 'ruin.'

Point out the correlatives in this chapter. Give the principal parts of *rapiebat* 3, *peperit* 5, *concupisti*, *Nactus es* (*nancis-*

cor) 7, *perditis* 8, *confectum esse* 20, *reppuli* 21.

Read P. 16, § 10, *ad fin.* It is probable that Cicero inserted §§ 27-30, or parts of them, containing an elaborate explanation of his course, at the time he revised the orations for publication, when he felt bitterly the consequences of the illegal punishment of the conspirators.

2. *detester ac deprecet*, 'avert by entreaty and prayer.'

3-6. *quae dicam*. *quae* is a relative, not interrogative: will this fact fix the mood of *dicam*? *ea penitus . . . mandate*, 'let these words sink deep into.' *si . . . loquatur*. The apodosis ought to appear in the present

cipem coniurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium 10
 perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex
 urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne
 hunc in vincla duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo
 supplicio mactari imperabis? Quid tandem te impedit? 28
 mosne maiorum? At persaepe etiam privati in hac 15
 re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An
 leges, quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae
 sunt? At numquam in hac urbe, qui a re publica
 defecerunt, civium iura tenuerunt. An invidiam po-
 steritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo Romano 20

subj., but owing to the long quotation Cicero abandons the logical form and leaves the condition incomplete.

10. evocatorem servorum. P. 29, § 46. After the war with Spartacus (Creighton, p. 70; Allen, p. 193; Myers, p. 93; Pennell, p. 117), the Romans feared an insurrection of their slaves as they feared no other danger from within or without. The conspirators laid great stress upon the aid they would get from this numerous, strong, and daring class of men.

11, 12. abs. This form of the preposition *ab* is found almost exclusively in the phrase *abs te. non emissus . . . sed immissus*, 'not sent out of . . . but let loose against.' Note the play on words, so in *exsul* and *consul* above, l. 21.

13, 14. hunc . . . duci . . . imperabis. What is the construction of phrases following *iubeo* and *impero*? Cicero and Caesar use only the passive infinitive with the latter verb. Quote an example from *Caes. V. 1. 3.*

§ 28. **15. mos maiorum**, 'the custom of your ancestors,' the unwritten constitution, to which the Romans paid as much deference as to the written laws (*leges* l. 17). Supply the ellipses with *mos* here, and *leges* below. **persaepe**, an exaggeration; Cicero gives but the one instance of Nasica and Gracchus, § 3. 20 and 21.

16. multarunt: 1. 'fined'; 2. 'punished.' Trace the connection, comparing note on § 4. 9.

17. leges, i.e., the laws forbidding magistrates to kill or scourge a citizen before he had been tried and condemned by the people (P. 53, § 2 (b) 2). The earliest were the *leges Valeriae* (509, 449, 300), then the *leges Porciae*, then the *lex Sempronia*. Owing to the custom of permitting the accused to anticipate conviction by going into exile the infliction of capital punishment was almost unknown. **rogatae**, properly meaning 'proposed,' rarely as here means 'passed.'

20, 21. Praeclaram refers gra-

refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione maiorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnis honorum gradus extulit, si propter
 24 invidiam aut alicuius periculi metum salutem civium
 29 tuorum neglegis. Sed, si quis est invidiae metus, non est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda. An, cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existumas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?' XII. His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego si hoc optimum factu iudicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram
 5 horae gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et

tiam, 'You make a fine return.' On the adjective cf. *fortes*, § 2. 16, and *optimum*, § 19. 11.

22, 23. *tam mature*. See p. 14, § 4, *ad init.* *summum imperium* = *consulatum*. *omnis h. gradus*, how many and what? P. 69, §§ 77, 78.

§ 29. 26. *sev. ac fort. invidia*, 'the unpopularity arising from severity and rigor.' What is understood after *quam*?

27-29. *An . . . non existumas*. See on § 3. 20.

Explain case of *vita*, multo 5, *Tulli* 6, *eum* 7, *te* 11, *supplicio* 14, *iura* 19, *commendatione* 22, *invidiae* 25, *nequitiae* 27; mood of *detester* 2, *esse* 7, *videatur* 12, *vastabitur* 28.

1-3. *His . . . respondebo*. These words ought to be the apodo-

sis to *si . . . loquatur*, § 27. 4-6; but, by a change in construction (anacoluthon), they are put in the form of an independent sentence.

2. *pauca*, 'briefly.' He spares Catilina's life (1) in order to furnish to doubters the clearest proofs of his treasonable designs, (2) in order to get rid of all his followers with him.

3-5. *hoc optimum factu . . . multari*. Quote a parallel from *Caes. I.*, 3.6. *iudicarem . . . dedissem*: for mood, see on § 21. 31; for tense of *iudicarem*, A. 308 a; G. 599 R. 1; H. 510 n. 2 P. 476 (b). What tense should we expect? *gladiatori*, 'bully,' a mere term of abuse.

6, 7. *summi viri et cl. cives*. By *viri* he means *magistratus*, by *cives*, *privati*: for the plural, cf. §§ 28. 15; 4. 5; 3. 24, and quote

Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiae in posteritatem 10 redundaret. Quodsi ea mihi maxime inpenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam non 30 nulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quae imminet, non videant aut ea, quae vident, dissimulent; qui spem 15 Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt; quorum auctoritate multi non solum improbi, verum etiam inperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intellego, si iste, quo in- 20

examples. **Sat., Gracch., Flacci**, see on §§ 4. 6; 3. 21; 4. 1. Give the full names of these men.

9, 10. mihi, agent with *verendum erat*, must be supplied as ind. obj. with *redundaret* 11. **quid** governs the part. gen. *invidiae*, l. 10. **hoc parricida interfecto** = *si hunc parricidam interfecissem*; for **parricida**, see on § 17. 26.

11. redundaret, metaphor from the overflowing of a stream, 'that any flood of unpopularity would for the future overwhelm me.' **Quodsi**, in connection with *si*, the adverbial accusative *quod* has become a mere connective 'but.' **maxime** 'ever so much' intensifies the *si*. **inpenderet**, subj. of concession, as *tamen* in the next line shows, not of condition, though this does not affect the mood. A. 313; G. 605; H. 515, II.; P. 478. What mood ought the verb in the principal clause have?

12. fui. There is really a slight ellipsis: *tamen hoc animo* [*essem atque*] *semper fui, ut, etc.* As the indicative clause expresses a fact that is true independently of the concession, it alone is retained. **partam** (*pario*), 'acquired.'

§ 30. **13, 14. Quamquam**. What is this use of the word called? See on § 22. 1. **non nulli**, 'some,' entirely indefinite, perhaps few, perhaps many.

15. Note that **qui** in line 14 has the subj., while **qui** in line 15 has the indic. The former expresses a characteristic (what is it?); the latter is a mere connection = *ii autem*. **dissimulent**, sc. *se videre*.

18, 19. improbi corresponds to *qui dissimulent* above; **inperiti**, to *qui non videant*.

20. Nunc, see on § 17. 24. **quo** (cf. § 10. 1) = *in quae*: what is its antecedent? **iste**, see on § 2. 17.

- tendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat coniurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulis-
- 25 per reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quodsi se eiecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos adgregarit, extinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.
- 31 XIII. Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit.
- 5 Quodsi ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati, periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi cum
- 10 aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehe-

25. Note the repetition of the letter p in these lines, **reprimi** . . . **comprimi**. See on § 27. 11. Cicero is very fond of playing on words (1) of the same stem, but compounded with different prepositions, or (2) of different stems to which the same preposition is prefixed.

Explain the case of **hominum** 2, **morte** 4, **mihi** 11, **quae** 14, **quae** 15, **neminem** 23, **pestem** 24, **semen** 29; mood of **multari** 4, **putarem** 13, **animadvertissem** 19, **pervenerit** 21, **fateatur** 23, **eiecerit** 26.

§ 31. 1. **iam diu**, has what effect

upon a tense? **patres conscripti**: explain the origin of the phrase.

2, 3. **nescio quo pacto**, 'somehow or other.' For **pacto**, see on § 17. 13. **Nescio quis** is sometimes a mere indefinite pronoun without influence upon the rest of the sentence (A. 202 a; G. 469 Rem. 2; H. 191 note; P. 518 a); sometimes the **nescio** retains its verbal force, and is followed by the subj. of ind. question; which here? Which in § 16. 37-38?

5. Compare this whole sentence carefully with § 12. 29, f. **Quodsi**, see on § 29. 11. **latrocinio**, 'band

mentiusque adfluctantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet. Quare secedant inprobi, secernant 32 se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, quod saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cuiusque, quid 20 de re publica sentiat. Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta, 25 inlustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae 33 salute, cum tua peste ac perniciē cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere paricidioque iun-

of brigands;’ the abstract noun is here used in a collective sense: find examples in § 6.

§ 32. 17, 18. *tribunal praetoris urbani*, see p. 66, § 60. The city praetor seems to have had a fixed place for his judgment-seat in the forum, while the other praetors set up their tribunals wherever it was convenient. *cum gladiis* = ? See on § 15. 25. Notice in these lines the reference to the three departments of government, — executive, judicial, legislative.

19. *malleolos*, hammers, the hollow heads of which were filled with tow and pitch. They were thrown upon the roofs while the *faces* were applied below.

24. *bonis*, see on § 1. 5. Observe how the different orders of the state are mentioned.

25. *profectione*, case? Cf. *Caes. II., 7. 2: quorum adventu. patefacta*, etc. The four participles are to be taken in two groups of two each, a very common arrangement in Cicero. This may be brought out in English by inserting ‘not only’ before *patefacta* and ‘but also’ before *oppressa*.

§ 33. 27. *Hisce*, form? A. 100 foot note; G. 102 Rem. 1; H. 186 VI. 1; P. 180 c. *ominibus*, explained by the three *cum* clauses that follow.

29. *omni*, ‘every sort of,’ a very

30 xerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium.
 Tu, Iuppiter, qui isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a
 Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem huius urbis
 atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et huius socios
 a tuis ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a
 35 vita fortunisque civium arcebis et homines bonorum
 inimicos, hostis patriae, latrones Italiae scelerum foe-
 dere inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos aeternis
 suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

common meaning in both singular and plural.

31. Tu, subject of *arcebis*, l. 35, and *mactabis*, l. 38. *Iuppiter*. He turns to the statue near him. **isdem . . . auspiciis**, for the auspices, see p. 71, § 84. Things done 'under the same auspices' must be done at the same time; and the words, therefore, are equivalent to *eodem tempore*. This is, of course, an exaggeration, as the temple was not vowed, much

less built, for years after the founding of the city. See on § 11. 9.

32. Statorem, 'stay, support,' in a slightly different sense from its original one; see on § 11. 9.

Explain the case of **patres** 1, **periculis** 2, **pacto** 3, **tempus** 4, **reliquis** 13, **domi**, **consuli** 17, **consulibus** 22, **homines** 35, **suppliciis** 38; mood of **secedant** 14, **insidiari** 17, **videatis** 26, **proficiscere** 30.

M. TULLI CICERONIS
ORATIO IN CATILINAM SECUNDA
AD POPULUM.

I. Tandem aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam furem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefariè molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel

TITLE. Read the notes on I. *Title.* **Ad populum.** A speech delivered *ad populum*, 'before the people' was called a *contio*; and a gathering of the people (see p. 61, § 42) to hear the speech was called by the same name. For the circumstances under which this *contio* was delivered, see p. 32, §. 52.

Congratulations over Catilina's departure (§§ 1, 2).

§ 1. **1. Tandem aliquando**, see on I. 25. 1: which word might be omitted? **Quirites**, the formal title of the Roman people when assembled in their civil capacity and addressed by a Roman. The derivation and meaning of the word are uncertain. What is the formal title of the senators as a body?

3. vobis and **urbi** are indirect objects, **ferro** and **flamma** are ablatives of instrument; instead of the ablatives, accusatives might have been used: we can say *minitari alicui aliqua re* or *minitari alicui aliquid*.

4. vel . . . vel . . . vel, imply liberty of choice, 'either . . . or . . . or, as you please.' In this passage each *vel* substitutes a milder form of expression for the preceding, because Cicero does not yet feel quite sure of the attitude of the people. He speaks more boldly in the third oration. The sentence may be trans. 'We have driven him out, — let him go if you will, — at least bidden him good speed on his voluntary departure.'

- 5 ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla iam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim
 10 iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur, non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nullo inpediente bellum iustum geremus. Sine dubio
 15 perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus.
 2 Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem

5, 6. *ipsum* = *sua sponte, ultro*, as sometimes in colloquial English. *verbis prosecuti sumus*, ironical; quote a similar ironical expression from I., 21. 43. What are the *verba* he speaks of? *Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*, the four words are to be taken in two pairs, i.e., with a slight pause after *excessit*; see on I., 10. 8, and quote a parallel from I., 32. 26. There is no climax. *Nulla iam*, 'no longer,' a little more emphatic than *non iam*, I. 9; cf. I., 16. 3.

9. *domestici*, 'civil.' Do not translate the word by 'domestic.' *sine controversia* = *sine dubio*, 'without doubt,' 'undoubtedly,' 'beyond question.'

10, 11. *sica illa*, 'that famous,' a common meaning of *ille*; for *sica*, cf. I., 16. 35. *versabitur*,

'be busy.' *in campo*, what occasion is meant? See on I., 11. 16 f. *in curia*, the *Curia Hostilia*, the original senate house; see Plan B. It was built by Tullus Hostilius.

12. *domesticos parietes*, 'the walls of our own houses.' Explain the difference in meaning between *parietes* and *moenibus*, I. 7. *Loco motus est*, 'he was forced from position (vantage ground)', a phrase borrowed from the gladiators' vocabulary; give two other words from the same source, I., 15. 32-34.

14. *bellum iustum*, 'regular war,' i.e., against an open and declared enemy, opposed to '*tumultus*' and '*latrocinium*.' *Sine dubio* = what phrase above?

§ 2. 18. *nobis*, abl. abs. *ei . . . e manibus*, cases? See on I., 16. 35.

urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse 20
 afflictum et profligatum putatis? Iacet ille nunc
 prostratus, Quirites, et se perculsum atque abiectum
 esse sentit et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc
 urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget; quae
 quidem mihi laetari videtur, quod tantam pestem evo- 25
 muerit forasque proiecerit.

II. Ac si quis est talis, quales esse omnes oportebat, 3
 qui in hoc ipso, in quo exultat et triumphat oratio
 mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitale
 hostem non comprehenderim potius quam emisero,
 non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Inter- 5

20. **quanto tandem**, for position of interrogative clause cf. I., 16. 8f., for *tandem* I., 1. 1.

23. **retorquet oculos**, as a wild beast driven from its prey. The metaphor is continued in the next line.

24-26. **quam** = *et eam*. **quae quidem**, 'but it, on the contrary;' *quidem* is used in its so-called 'adversative' sense. **quod . . . proiecerit**, cf. *quod . . . extulit*, I. 17. Notice that the two clauses are precisely parallel, each depending upon a word of emotion' or 'feeling' (*laetari*, I. 25, and *maerore*, I. 20), and explain the difference in the moods. A. 321; G. 540, 541; H. 516, I. and II; P. 519. **foras**. This so-called adverb and the related form *foris*, are really plural cases of the obsolete *forae*, -*arum*, meaning probably 'openings;' *foras* (acc.), therefore answers the question 'whither?' and *foris* (loc.) the question 'where?'

Explain case of **Catilinam** 1, **verbis** 5, **monstro** 6, **moenibus** 7, **nullo** 14, **maerore** 20, **quam** 24, **mihi** 25. Give the principal parts of **erupit** 6, **vicinus** 9, **pertimescemus**, **motus est** 12, **depulsus est** 13, **geremus** 14, **perdidimus** 15, **extulit** 17, **extorsimus** 19, **perculsum** 22.

First Part: Explanation of his conduct in permitting Catilina to escape, §§ 3-16.

§ 3. 2. **in hoc ipso**, 'in this very point.' Explained by the clause *quod . . . comprehenderim* I. 3, 4.

4. **comprehenderim**. What mood should we expect? See on I., 3. 24; why the subj? See on § 2. 25. **potius quam emisero**; the subj. is due not to the *quod* but to *potius quam*, which in Cicero is always followed by the subj. of the act to be avoided, with or (usually) without *ut*; see A. 332, b; G. 647, R. 4; H. 502 2; P. 498.

5, 6. **non est ista**, slightly ellip-

fectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperii severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, qui, quae
 10 ego deferrem, non crederent, quam multos, qui etiam defenderent! Ac, si illo sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum iudicarem, iam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae periculo
 4 sustulissem. Sed cum viderem, ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, fore ut eius socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem

tical; the real apodosis should be 'I reply that;' for a similar ellipsis see on I., 16. 38. **Interfectum esse**, regular or irregular tense? See on I., 4. 14. **et**, 'that is,' the so-called 'explanatory' use of *et* to define a word or phrase by a more exact term. Here we would otherwise have an extreme instance of *hysteron proteron*, a reversal of the natural order of ideas.

7-9. **mos maiorum**, see on I., 28. 15. **huius imperii**: for case see on I., 12. 26. **res publica**, 'the public interests.' This phrase, as all containing *res*, must always be translated according to the context. It seldom means 'republic,' usually 'nation,' 'constitution,' 'politics,' 'public life,' etc. **postulabat**, why singular?

10. **quae deferrem**, 'the facts which I laid before them;' *deferrem* is subj. by attraction; what attracts it?

11. **defenderent**, 'tried to jus-

tify,' sc. *ea quae deferrem*, not *Catilinam*.

12. **iudicarem . . . sustulissem** (l. 14): for tenses, see on I., 29. 3.

13. **invidiae . . . vitae periculo**, 'at the risk of unpopularity . . . at the peril of my life.' There is a slight change of standpoint; what should we expect for *vitae*?

§ 4. 14. **vobis** is contrasted with *multos*, l. 9 and 10, and is dat. of ind. obj.

15-17. **re . . . probata** 'as his guilt was not even then proved to you either.' **si . . . multassem fore ut . . . non possem**: the sentence is thrown into the indirect form by *cum viderem*, the direct form being *si multaverō, non potero*. The change of the *protasis* is perfectly regular and that of the *apodosis* is due to the lack of a supine stem in *posse*. A. 288 f; G. 240, 1. 2; H. 537 3, note 1; P. 538 b. **huc** (= *ad hoc*) is explained by the clause *ut . . . possetis*.

quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris
 esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod 20
 etiam illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comi-
 tatus exierit. Utinam ille omnis secum suas copias
 eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in
 praetexta coeperat, Publicium et Minucium, quorum
 aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publi- 25
 cae motum adferre poterat; reliquit quos viros,
 quanto aere alieno, quam valentis, quam nobilis!
 III. Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legi- 5
 onibus et hoc dilectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico
 Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, quae a nobis cotidie
 comparantur, magno opere contemno collectum ex sen-

19. quam vehementer, ironical. **foris**: why not *foras* as in § 2. 26?

20. licet hinc intellegatis: what mood might have been used? See on I., 6. 8. **hinc** (= *ex hoc*), explained by the clause *quod . . . fero*; cf. *in hoc*, l. 2.

21, 22. parum comitatus. Sall. Cat. 32, says of Catilina's departure: *nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est*. **comitatus**, voice? see on I., 26. 14. **exierit**, mood? see on § 2. 25. **omnis**, acc. pl. Note the other ending in l. 1.

23, 24. eduxisset: what kind of a wish is expressed by the plu. perfect subj.? See on I., 22. 3. **mihi**, not to be translated. A. 236; G. 351; H. 389; P. 382. **in praetexta**, 'in boyhood.' The *praetexta*, or *toga praetexta*, had a purple border, and was worn by boys until the sixteenth or seventeenth year, and by magistrates; the *toga* of the

private citizen of full age was not dyed. Nothing more is known of the three men named here.

25. aes alienum, 'debt,' literally, 'other people's money.'

Explain the subj., **accuset** 3, **crederent** 10, **sustulisse**, **viderem** 14, **possem** 17, **possetis**, **videretis** 18, **putem** 20.

§ 5. **1, 2. Gallicanis legionibus**.

A small standing army was kept in Gallia Cisalpina in view of possible danger from the Gauls, and to these troops Quintus Metellus (as Praetor, p. 68, § 73) was adding reinforcements by a fresh levy; cf. Caesar I., 10. 3. **agro Piceno et Gallico**: point out upon Map II. The *ager Gallicus* is the district lying along the coast north of Picenum, and once held by the *Galli Senones*.

4, 5. collectum agrees with *exercitum* in l. 1. **senibus desperatis**, the veterans of Sulla (Creigh-

5 *ibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decocto-*
ribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere quam illum ex-
exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si aciem
exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris osten-
dero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos
10 *stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui*
nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum
suos milites eduxisset; qui si hic permanent, mementote
non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui
exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc
15 *etiam sunt timendi magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire*
6 *sentiant neque tamen permoventur. Video, cui sit*
Apulia adtributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum
Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias

ton, p. 69), of whom Sall. Cat. 28 says: *quibus libido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat. ex agresti luxuria*, 'of boorish high-livers;' for this use of the abstract noun, see on I., 31. 5, and give two examples.

6. *vadimonia deserere*, etc., 'to desert their bonds [men] rather than, etc.' *vadimonium* was a promise, secured by bail, to appear in court on a fixed day, and *vadimonium deserere* = 'to forfeit bail.' The plural is here accommodated to that of *maluerunt*.

7. *quibus ego si* = *qui, si ego eis*; the Latin idiom prefers to put the relative in the subordinate clause. *non modo . . . verum etiam*: with these correlatives a weaker expression may be followed by a stronger (a + B), 'not only . . . but also . . .', or a stronger by a weaker (A + b), 'I

do not say . . . but . . .'. Which here?

9. *video volitare*: translate the infinitive by a present participle which might have been used. A. 292 e; G. 527 R. 1; H. 535, I., 4; P. 543, b. *volitare* in these orations has always a contemptuous force.

11, 12. The use of perfumes and the wearing of colors in public excited the contempt of the sober-minded Romans. *mallem*, often used in wishes instead of a participle; the tense retains its proper force. A. 267, c; G. 254, Rem. 2; H. 483. P. 473, c. *eduxisset*: A. 331 f Rem.; G. 546, Rem. 3; H. 499. 2; P. 491. *suos milites*, 'as his own corps,' in apposition to *hos*, l. 9.

§ 6. 17-19. Sall. Cat. 27: *igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem* [= 'of Cam-

caedis atque incendiorum depoposcerit. Omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefecit in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit; hi quid expectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. Quod expectavi, iam sum adsecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam videretis; nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinae similis cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est iam lenitati locus; severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desi-

erinum'] in agrum Picenum, C. Iulium in Apuliam dimisit. In 43 he gives the names of Lentulus, Bestia, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cethegus, as Catilina's agents in the city. See p. 32, § 54.

20. *superioris noctis*, 'of that former night,' i.e., the night of the meeting at Laeca's. See P. 30, § 49. The report of Cicero's first oration had spread so widely through the city that his hearers would readily understand the allusion, and not take the words in their literal sense, 'night before last.'

22. *Ne vehementer errant*, etc., 'truly they make a great mistake if, etc.' *ne*, interjection (not adv. or conj.), in class. prose always at the beginning of the sentence, and always followed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun.

Explain case of *exercitum* 1, *agro* 2, *copiis*, *nobis* 3, *exercitum* 6, *quibus* 7, *hos* 9, *quos* 10, *se* 11, *nobis* 13, *hoc* 14, *sibi* 18, *die* 21.

1, 2. *Quod*, explained by *ut* . . . *videretis*: give example from § 4. *expectavi*, 'have been waiting for,' not 'have expected;' the three perfects in these lines are 'definite.' *aperte* modifies *videretis*, in spite of its position; cf. § 4. 18.

3. *videretis*, 'can now see,' A. 287, i: 'when a clause depends upon one already dependent, the sequence becomes secondary as soon as the time is thrown back into the past by any form that represents past time.' *nisi vero*, the regular phrase to introduce an ironical exception (here to *omnes*, l. 1), always takes the indicative. *nisi si*, cf. Caesar I., 31. 14: the addition of *si* to *nisi* gives the latter an adverbial force, 'unless,' 'except.' *Catilinae*, gen. or dat.? See on I., 5. 31. *similis*: for case cf. *omnis*, § 4. 22.

6. *Exeant*, mood? A. 266; G. 256, 3; H. 483, 484, 1; P. 472, 2. So *proficiscantur* and *patiantur*.

derio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus est; si accelerare volent, 7 ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis eiecerit! Uno mehercule Catilina exhausto levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis 15 sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subiecto, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor iuventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? quae 20 caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est, quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Iam vero quae tanta umquam in ullo iuventutis inlecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amanti flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis 25 mortem parentum non modo inpellendo, verum etiam

7. **sui**, object. gen.: number? **miserum**, 'in misery,' to be taken in the predicate with *tabescere*.

8. **Aurelia via**, the road along the west coast leading from Rome to Pisa, the direct route to Etruria, the land route to Massilia.

§ 7. 9. **ad vesperam**, 'by evening,' in this phrase *vesperum* (*vesper*) is more common: which is used in Caes. I., 26. 2? **rem publicam**: case? A. 240 d; G. 340; H. 381; P. 400. Give examples from I., § 2.

10, 11. **si quidem**, 'at least if,' the 'restrictive' use of *quidem*. **eiecerit**, for tense see on I., 5.

25. **sentinam . . . exhausto**: cf. I., 12. 30-32.

20. **per hosce annos**, 'in all these years:' for the use of *per* and acc. where we should expect to find the abl. of 'time within which,' see A. 256, a; G. 337, Rem.; H. 379, 1. **hosce**: for the form, see on I., 33. 27.

§ 8. 21. **per illum**, 'by his agency.' **Iam vero**, 'now, again,' marks the transition to a new point, so *nunc vero*, l. 26. **quae tanta**, etc.: see on I., 13. 9-10.

23, 24. **alios, aliorum**: silently note the gender. **fructum**, 'enjoyment,' 'gratification.'

adiuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat! Nemo non modo Romae, sed ullo in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus asciverit. 30
v. Atque ut eius diversa studia in dissimili ratione per- 9
spicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae esse fateatur, nemo in scaena levior et nequior, qui se non eiusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem 5
tamen stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione adsuefactus

25, 26. non modo . . . verum etiam: see on § 5. 7, and give the formula for this passage. Notice the accumulation of these correlatives in the next few lines. **Nunc vero:** see above, l. 21.

28, 29. Nemo non modo Romae, sed, etc., 'there was not only no one at Rome but no one in, etc.:' or, 'there was no one, I don't say at Rome, but in, etc.' *Nemo* goes with both clauses. See on I., 25. 6. The formula for these correlatives is either a + B or A + b; which here?

Explain the subjunctives **videretis** 3, **putet** 4, **exeant, patiantur** 6, **conceperit** 13, **fateatur** 19, **asciverit** 30; the case of **desiderio** 6, **via** 8, **Catilina** 11, **mali** 12, **Italia** 14, **iuventutis** 22, **Romae** 28.

§ 9. **1, 2. ut . . . possitis,** the sentence is elliptical, and the verb upon which this clause depends must be supplied, 'I tell you this;' such final clauses are said to denote 'the purpose, not of the action,

but of the *mention* of the action.' Cf. the similar ellipses with *si*, § 3. 5, and *quod* I., 16. 38. **dissimili ratione,** 'in different directions, lines.' **ludo gladiatorio:** there were regular training schools for gladiators, some of the most famous at Capua. Gladiators and actors were usually slaves, and held in about as high estimation as prize-fighters and variety dancers now.

3. audacior, 'more reckless' than his fellows: standard of comparison omitted. A. 93, a; G. 312; H. 444, 1; P. 164, a. So *levior* and *nequior*.

5. sodalem, 'brother,' a stronger word than *intimum*, as it signified a fellow member of an (originally religious) order or fraternity. It gradually lost this meaning, and sank (as here) to 'pal,' 'crony.' **commemoret,** 'assert,' always in Cicero a word of 'saying,' never of 'reminding,' or 'remembering.'

6-8. exercitatione adsuefactus, etc., 'trained by his practice of

frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in lubricine audaciaeque consumeret. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim iam sunt mediocres hominum lubricines, non humanae ac tolerandae audaciae; nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt; res eos iam pridem deseruit, fides nuper deficere coepit; eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, lubrico permanet. Quodsi in vino et alea comisationes solum et scorta quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi; hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientis

debauchery and crime to bear cold, etc., the ablatives are all of means, but *exercitatione* is the general one modifying the whole phrase *adsuefactus . . . perferendis*, while the others are the special ones that accompany *adsuefactus*. Cf. Caesar IV., 1. 9, *nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti*. G. 403, Rem. 2; P. 421. *cum* is concessive.

11. o nos, etc.; for this form of the apodosis, see on I., 23. 17. Give example from § 7.

§ 10. 14, 15. *audaciae*, 'acts of recklessness;' the word in good writers has almost always a bad sense. The plural of abstract nouns may be rendered 'acts of,' 'instances of,' or the Eng. singular may be used. *nihil nisi*,

'nothing but;' *nisi*, as a mere connective, takes the same construction after as before it, but cf. I., 17. 26.

17. *res*, 'cash,' is contrasted with *fides* 'credit,' as *iam pridem* 'long ago,' with *nuper*, 'recently.' *nuper*, since — ? See on I., 14. 17.

18, 19. *in abundantia*, 'in the days of their plenty;' in this sense *abundantia* is usually accompanied by *rerum*. *Quodsi*: see on I., 29. 11.

20, 21. *quidem desperandi*, etc., 'beyond redemption, I admit, but still, etc.,' a good instance of the 'concessive' use of *quidem*. What other use in § 7?

23, 24. Notice the absence of connectives between the pairs of

vigilantibus? qui mihi accubantes in conviviis complexi mulieres inpudicas vino languidi, conferti cibo, 25
sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris eruc-
tant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum ali- 11
quod, et poenam iam diu improbitati, nequitiae, scelerei, libidini debitam aut instare iam plane aut certe 30
adpropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus, nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia 35
sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata; domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; sus- 40
cipio inimicitias hominum perditorum; quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo, quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea, quae merentur, expectent. 45

words: this is called asyndeton. Give an example from Caes. I., 20. ad fin. **mihi**: see on § 4. 23.

26. obliti, from *oblino*: what does *obliti* come from?

§ 11. **30. aut instare**, etc., 'is either now actually pressing upon them, or at least nearing them.' See on I., 4. 9.

32, 33. nescio quod: how many uses? See on I., 31. 2. Which here? **propagarit**, 'will have added.' **rei publicae**, dative.

36. unius. Pompeius, who had swept the sea of pirates, and con-

quered the east (Creighton, pp. 71-72; Allen, pp. 195-196; Myers, pp. 96-97; Pennell, pp. 120-122).

38-40. luxuria, amentia, scelere: see on *luxuria*, § 5. 5. **Quirites**: see on § 1. 1.

42. Metaphors from surgery. quacumque ratione, sc. *potero*, 'by any possible means.'

44. in urbe et in, etc., 'in the city, and of the same mind.' Notice the literal and metaphorical uses of *in* so closely connected:

Explain mood of **fateatur** 3, **deficere** 18, **quaerent** 20, **ferre**

12 VI. At etiam sunt, qui dicant, Quirites, a me eiectum
in exilium esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo adse-
qui possem, istos ipsos eicerem, qui haec locuntur.
Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus
5 vocem consulis ferre non potuit; simul atque ire in
exilium iussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesterno die, Quirites,
cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in
aedem Iovis Statoris convocavi, rem omnem ad patres
conscriptos detuli. Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis
10 eum senator appellavit, quis salutavit, quis denique ita
aspexit ut perditum civem ac non potius ut importu-
nissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes eius ordinis
partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat,
13 nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens
15 ille consul, qui verbo civis in exilium eicio, quaesivi

22, insidiari 22, impendere 28, propagarit 33, pertimescamus 34, expectent 45; case of scaena 4, istis 8, nos 11, consulatus 13, viris 22, sermonibus 27.

Having answered the *boni*, who might think his measures not strong enough (§§ 3-11), Cicero now turns his attention to the *improbi*, who might think them too strong (§§ 12-16).

§ 12. 2. **Quod ego si:** *quod* is object of *consequi*, 'effect;' cf. § 6. 1. How does this differ from the use of *quod* (also with *si*), in I., 31. 5?

4. **Homo**, slightly contemptuous: cf. § 1. 15.

6. **iussus est:** tense? See on I., 16. 11. **Hesterno die** really modifies *convocavi* only, but by its position is ambiguous; his hearers might connect it with *interfectus*

essem. For a similar (intentional?) ambiguity, see on I., 14. 12. **paruit, ivit:** figure of speech? See on § 10. 23-24.

9. Compare with the whole passage, I., § 16. **quo:** part of speech? cf. I., 30. 20. Point out another example in this chapter.

12, 13. **Quin etiam**, 'Why! even.' In this use of *quin* (= *qui ne* 'why not') developed from the interrogative, it is always followed by a startling statement and is exclamatory in nature; cf. the English 'why?' and 'why!' **principes eius ordinis** = *omnes consulares*, I., 16. 9. **subselliorum:** describe them. See on I., 16. 9.

§ 13. 14, 15. **Hic**, 'hereupon:' this adverb is used (a) of place, (b) of time, (c) of circumstances; which here? Give an example of (a) from I., § 9. **vehemens** . . .

a Catilina, in nocturno conventu apud M. Laecam fuisset necne. Cum ille homo audacissimus conscientia convictus primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera; quid ea nocte egisset, quid in proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. 20 Cum haesitaret, cum teneretur, quaesivi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo iam pridem pararet, cum arma, cum secures, cum fasces, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium 24 domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam. In exilium 14 eiciebām, quem iam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem expectant, et ille eiectus in exilium se Massiliam, ut 30 aiunt, non in haec castra conferet.

eiicio. Cicero quotes ironically the charge of the *improbi*. **vehemens ille consul.** The Latin idiom does not ordinarily connect adjectives of praise and blame directly with names and titles of persons. Instead, the adjective is usually separated from the noun by (a) an appositive (see on I., 4. 4), or (b) *ille*. **civis:** case? cf. *similis*, § 6. 3. **verbo,** 'a mere word:' what is referred to?

16, 17. a Catilina, 'asked Catilina.' Do not translate *a*. A. 239 c, note 1; G. 333, Rem. 2; H. 374, note 4; P. 394 (2) *a*. **fuisse necne,** 'whether or not.' A. 211, a; G. 461, 460; H. 353, note 3; P. 581. **homo:** could *vir* have been used? See on I., 13. 4.

18-20. ea nocte, in proximam: see p. 30, § 49. **quem ad**

modum, 'how.' **ei:** case? See on I., 16. 10. **ratio totius belli,** 'the whole campaign.'

22, 23. proficisci: mood? See on I., 17. 21. **cum,** causal, with —? **cum arma, cum secures, cum,** etc. What figure of speech? See on I., 1. 3. *arma, secures,* etc., indicating his usurpation of the consular power. **secures, fasces:** see p. 64, §§ 54. 55.

24. aquilam: see on I., 24. 28. **illam:** meaning? See on § 1. 10. **sacrarium:** see on I., 24. 30.

§ 14. **27. credo,** parenthetical and ironical as often (not always): give an example from I., 5. 26. **iste:** meaning here? See on I., 2. 17.

30. Massiliam: case? A city (originally a Greek colony) in the south of Gallia, of considerable

VII. O condicionem miseram non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam
 5 mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abiecerit et ex hoc cursu sceleris ac belli iter ad fugam atque in exilium converterit, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indem-
 10 natus innocens in exilium eiectus a consule vi et minis esse dicetur; et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint!
 15 Est mihi tanti, Quirites, huius invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis huius

size, wealth, and culture, and a favorite refuge for Romans avoiding punishment by going into exile. *ut aiunt*: p. 31, § 51 ad fin.

Explain mood of *dicant* 1, *possem*, *eicerem* 3, *interfectus essem* 7, *fuisset* 17, *egisset* 19, *scirem* 25, *aiunt* 31. Define the following 'figures of speech,' and give an example of each from these orations: anaphora, asyndeton, hendiadys, ellipsis.

1-3. condicionem, 'terms,' 'task:' case? See on § 7. 9. **consiliis, laboribus, periculis**: figure of speech? Point out other examples in this chapter.

4-7. pertimuerit . . . et converterit. Note the series of five future perfects, of which the last

two only are connected by *et*. In such enumerations, when the several units are regarded as of equal importance, either (a) the connective is written between each two, or (b) is omitted altogether, or (c) *-que* is attached to the last. When, as here, *et* (or *atque*) is placed between the last *two*, the units are not of equal importance, but those before the *et* are to be taken collectively (a + b + c + d) + e. This should be carefully indicated by the translation: 'Now, if Catilina . . . *not only* becomes suddenly frightened, changes his mind, deserts his friends, and gives up his plan of making war, *but also* turns, etc.'

§ 15. **14. Est tanti**: subject of *est*? Case of *tanti*? See on I., **22.8. huius invidiae**, i.e., arising from excessive rigor, cf. I., **29. 26.**

horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane eiectus esse a me, dum modo eat in exilium. Sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego ab dis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae levandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque 20 in armis volitare audiat, sed triduo tamen audietis; multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius quam quod eiecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, eiectum esse dicant, idem, si interfectus 25 esset, quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam 16 Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule hoc, quod agit, numquam antea 30 cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius, ut eat in exilium, quam queramur. 35

16. *depellatur*: for mood, A. 314; G. 575; H. 513. I.; P. 504.

17-19. *sane*, 'for all I care,' concessive. *mihi credite*, 'take my word for it;' in a different sense, I., 6. 5. *ab dis optabo*, same construction as with some verbs of asking. See on § 13. 16.

20, 21. *ducere, volitare*: for translation, see on § 5. 10. *triduo*, 'within three days;' 'in two days,' by our reckoning.

22-24. *illud*, explained by *ne . . . sit. quod emiserim . . . eiecerim*: mood? See on § 2. 25.

25. *idem*, nom. plural. *quid*,

crowded out of its place before *idem*; cf. *si*. I., 17. 13.

26, 27. *Quamquam*: what is this use called? see on I., 30. 13. *isti*: cf. § 14. 27. *dictitant*: for form, A. 167 *b*; G. 787, 1. *b*; H. 336. II.; P. 288 (2).

28-31. It would be better for him to go into exile at Massilia than to meet the fate that will surely be his in war, but his accomplices prefer the latter course for him. *mehercule*: full form? See on I., 17. 13. *si . . . tamen*: cf. I., 29. 11-12.

35. *queramur*: mood? See on *emiserim*, § 3. 4.

17 VIII. Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de
 eo hoste, qui iam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia,
 quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo; de his,
 qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum
 5 sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo
 fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi
 ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque, id quare fieri non
 possit, si me audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim
 vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae
 10 copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam con-
 siliū atque orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam.

Explain case of *rei publicae* 2, *faciendi* 5, *me* 7, *armis* 8, *diligentia*, *spe* 9, *me* 12, *mihi* 14, *causa* 20, *triduo* 21, *multo* 22, *nobis* 34; mood of *converterit* 7, *fecerit* 11, *velint* 13, *depellatur* 16, *sit* 22, *acciderit* 33, *optemus* 34.

Second part: Cicero now (§§ 17-23) turns his attention from Catilina to his followers in the city.

§ 17. 2-3. *quem, quia, quod*, etc.: an excellent example of the important principle of 'suspension of clauses.' Any clause, principal or subordinate, is suspended when any subordinate connective appears between the first and last words of that clause; and the rest of the clause does not appear until the whole of the subordinate clause is finished. Here we have three clauses: *quem non timeo, quia murus interest, quod semper volui*, and the suspension may be indicated best by different types: QUEM, QUIA, quod semper volui, MURUS INTEREST, NON TIMEO.

Almost any complex sentence will furnish illustrations. *his*: the choice of the demonstrative of the first person is explained by the clause *qui nobiscum sunt*.

4. *dissimulant*: sc. a clause from line 2.

5, 6. *si... studeo*: note the subjunctive in protasis and the indicative in apodosis, the idea of contingency being sufficiently indicated by the *meaning* (not mood) of *studeo*. So in I., 2. 17: *vide-mur, si vitemus*. *sibi*, 'for their own good,' dat. of reference (*dat. commodi*). Really of no special point in itself, but inserted for the sake of symmetry to balance *rei publicae*, l. 7. Point out another instance in I., 12. 28.

9-11. *ex quibus generibus*. Cicero divides the followers of Catilina into six classes, and then describes the circumstances and needs of each. *singulis*, 'one by one,' sc. *generibus*. *si quam*: sc. *adferre*.

§ 18. The first class: Rich land-holders, but greatly in debt — they

Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno 18
maiores etiam possessiones habent, quarum amore
adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum
species est honestissima (sunt enim locupletes), volun- 15
tas vero et causa inpudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedi-
ficiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus
et copiosus sis et dubites de possessione detrahere,
adquirere ad fidem? Quid enim expectas? bellum?
Quid ergo? in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones 20
sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabulas novas? Errant,
qui istas a Catilina expectant; meo beneficio tabulae
novae proferentur, verum auctionariae; neque enim
isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi
esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent 25

must pay their debts by selling all or part of their land.

12. Unum, 'the first.' In enumerations *unus* and *alter* (*alius*) are generally used before *tertius*, *quartus*, etc., instead of the ordinals *primus* and *secundus*. Give an example from Caesar I., l. 1. **est eorum**, 'consists of those:' case? A. 214, c; G. 365; H. 401; P. 357. **in aere alieno**: See on § 4. 25, the clause has a concessive force 'although in —.'

13-15. possessiones, always of 'landed property.' **species**, 'outward appearance.' **voluntas**, etc., 'intentions and principles.'

16-18. Tu . . . sis et dubites, 'would you be . . . and hesitate? mood? See on I., 24. 25. He imagines one of this class before him. **argento**, 'silver-plate.' **familia**, 'slaves,' never 'family' in the English sense.

20. omnium, neut. gen., 'all

things,' a very rare use of the adj. as a substantive for *omnium rerum*. A. 188, b; G. 195 Rem. 4; P. 439 (4), a.

21. tabulas novas, 'new account books,' the watchword of Catilina's needy followers. This expression in a political sense always denotes an alteration of debts in favor of the debtor, whether the creditors were compelled by law to sacrifice a part only of their claims or the whole, as the conspiracy promised.

22, 23. meo beneficio, etc., 'thanks to me' (lit. 'by my kindness'), 'new account books shall be introduced, but (they shall be) those of the auctioneers.' He means that he will propose a law compelling these debtors to sell and pay.

25, 26. Quod si: case of *quod*? See on § 12. 2. **id quod**: A. 200, e; G. 616, Rem. 2; H. 445. 7. **id** is in apposition with the clause to

- neque, id quod stultissimum est, certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia
 30 possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.
- 19 IX. Alterum genus est eorum, qui quamquam premuntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen expectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata se consequi posse arbitrantur. Quibus
 5 hoc praeciendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent se id, quod conantur,

which the relative refers; when, as here, the antecedent clause is not a substantive clause and has no case, we may consider *id* an adverbial accusative. **certare** depends upon *maluissent* to be supplied from **voluissent**. **cum usuris**, 'against the payment of interest:' use of *cum*? A. 248 *b*; H. 419 III.

1. 2. Give example from § 11. 39.

27, 28. **fructibus praediorum**, 'the income from their farms.' **locupletioribus**... **uteremur**: 'we should find in these men richer and better citizens.' **minime**, 'the least' (not, 'by no means,' 'very little'), i.e., of the six classes this is least formidable.

Compare the adjectives **magno** 12, **honestissima** 15, **impudentissima** 16, **copiosus** 18, **stultissimum** 26, **locupletioribus**, **melioribus** 27.

§ 19. Second Class : Men whose ambition has been disappointed —

they must give up their hopes of power. Sall. Cat. 17: *Erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consili huiusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut alia necessitudo.*

1. **Alterum est eorum**: see on § 18. 12. **qui, quamquam**, suspension: see on § 17. 2.

2, 4. **dominationem**, 'a despotism,' always the rule of one person. **rerumque potiri**, 'to get control of the supreme power.' **potior** always governs the genitive of *res* in this sense; sometimes too of other words. Give an example from Caesar I., 3, ad fin. What is the regular construction? **perturbata**, sc. *re publica*, opposed to *quieta* above.

5. **hoc praeciendum**, 'this warning should be given;' *hoc* is explained by *ut desperent*: give an example from § 6. 1. **scilicet** (= *scire licet*), 'any one may know,' 'self-evidently:' point out

consequi posse; primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, magnas praeterea militum copias; deos denique immortalis huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris praesentis auxilium esse laturos. Quodsi iam sint id, quod summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, consules se aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit

a similar compound in I. § 19. **quod**: case?

7, 8. primum omnium: see on § 18. 20. In this phrase the genitive plur. neuter is common as a substantive, the gender being suggested by *primum*. **vigilare, adesse, providere**, depend upon a verb of saying to be supplied from the general idea of *praecipendum*, 'I warn them that.'

9-11. magnas copias, sc. *adesse*, 'are at hand,' from *esse*, l. 10, as *maluissent* from *voluissent* § 18. 25. This use of a verb (*esse*) with several words (*animos, concordiam, copias*), to one of which it does not strictly apply, is called *zeugma*. **invicto**, 'invincible,' lit. 'unconquered:' the first meaning is an inference only from the second.

12, 13. tantam vim, sc. *quanta est*: this slight ellipsis after *tantus* is found in English after 'such' ('such an eloquent address!') and need not be in-

dicated in the translation. What other words are used in the same way? See on I., 17. 16. **praesentis**, 'in person,' with *deos*. **Quodsi**: how does the *quod* differ in construction from the *quod* in *quod si*, § 18. 25? **summo furore**, abl. of manner. Why may the preposition be here omitted?

14, 15. num: be sure to indicate in the translation the answer that is expected. *quae*, 'things which;' note that the antecedents *cinere* (*cinis*), and *sanguine* are masculine, while the relative is neuter; both antecedents, however, denote things without life, and in such cases a relative (or predicate adj.) may be neuter.

17, 18. non for *nonne* is used in questions of indignant surprise only. **quod si adepti . . . concedi sit necesse**, 'which, if for the moment gained, must be surrendered, etc.:' *quod* is really object of *adepti sint*, see note on § 5. 8, though the English idiom

20 necesse? Tèrtium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed
 20 tamen exercitatione robustum; quo ex genere iste est
 Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines
 ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit; quas ego univer-
 sas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum
 sentio, sed tamen ii sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac
 25 repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque iacta-
 runt. Hi dum aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis
 lectis, familiis magnis, conviviiis apparatus delectantur,
 in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint,
 Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus; qui etiam non nullos
 30 agrestis homines tenues atque egentes in eandem illam
 spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utros-
 que in eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono,
 sed eos hoc moneo, desinant furere ac proscriptiones

connects it with *concedi*, etc. **fugitivo**, 'runaway slave' always; give example from Caes I., 23. 2. Cicero means that if this class should succeed in establishing a new order of things, it would have in turn to yield to a still lower class, — that of mere brute force.

§ 20. Third Class: Veterans of Sulla — they must not hope for a repetition of his reign of terror (Creighton, pp. 68, 69; Allen, pp. 180, 181; Myers, p. 91; Pennell, p. 114).

19-21. **aetate adfectum**, 'advanced in years.' **Manlius** is said to have been a centurion in Sulla's army.

22, 23. **coloniis**: note the difference between this word and *colonus*, i., l. 24. **quas Sulla constituit**. Sulla had assigned land in Italy, especially in Etruria, to

120,000 of his soldiers. **universas**, 'as a whole.' **esse**: meaning? cf. § 19. 1.

25, 26. **sumptuosius insolentius**: standard omitted, see on § 9. 3. **se . . . iactarunt**, 'have plumed themselves:' for formation of verb, see on § 16. 27. **beati**, 'rich,' a common meaning in Cicero.

27, 28. **familiis magnis**, 'great numbers of—': see on § 18. 17. **conviviis apparatus**, 'splendid banquets,' with reference both to the choice of dishes, and the style of serving them. **salvi**, 'solvent:' cf. § 18, 24.

29-32. **iis**: case? cf. *nobis*, § 11. 39. **ab inferis**, 'from the dead,' abl. of separation. **veterum**, 'of former times,' properly 'of long standing.' **eodem genere**, in the same category: case? See on *cor-pore* I., 16. 38.

et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut iam ista non modo homines, 35 sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur. X. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et 21 turbulentum; qui iam pridem premuntur, qui numquam emergunt, qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno vacillant, qui vadimoniis, iudiciis, proscriptione bonorum 5 defetigati permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acris quam infitiores lentos esse arbitror. Qui ho-

33, 34. eos hoc moneo, 'I give them this advice:' for case of *hoc*, A. 238 *b*, note; G. 331, Rem. 2; H. 375. **desinant**: mood? See on § 6. 6. What other construction might have been used? Cf. *hoc, etc.*, § 19, 5-6. **tantus**, trans. by adverb 'so deeply is, etc.'

35, 36. inustus est: for the metaphor, see on I., 13. 5. **non modo homines, sed ne . . . quidem**: a second *non* must be supplied with the first clause, 'not only men do *not* seem, etc., but not even beasts (seem, etc.).' Cicero sometimes writes the full form, *non modo non*; but when the predicate is common to both clauses he more frequently omits the second *non*, as here. It makes a neater translation, however, to connect the negative in *ne . . . quidem* with the predicate: 'Not only men, but beasts as well, seem to me *unlikely* to, etc.' Notice the difference between this use of the correlatives and that explained on I., 25. 6. **pecudes**, typical of patient suffering; cf. Isaiah, LIII. 7.

§ 21. Fourth Class: Bankrupts of both town and country—their condition is hopeless and will not be improved by a revolution.

1, 2. sane, two meanings (*a*) intensive, 'wholly,' 'utterly;' (*b*) concessive, 'for all I care:' which here? in § 15. 17? **turbulentum**, 'heterogeneous:' the three adj. are synonyms. See on I., 10. 8.

4, 5. vetere, in its proper sense, see on § 20. 31. **vadimoniis . . . bonorum**, 'securities, judgments, execution': the three steps in legal proceedings against debtors: (1) They had to furnish security for their appearance on the day of trial. (2) Judgment was then pronounced against them in due form. (3) By warrant of the court their property was sold. **bonorum**, substant. neut. pl., causing no difficulty as the two words were a formal legal phrase. See on § 18. 20.

6, 8. permulti, 'in large numbers:' force of *per*-? **infitores lentos**, 'shirking default-

mines quam primum, si stare non possunt, corruant,
 10 sed ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem
 proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intellego, quam ob
 rem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter
 velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis,
 22 quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur. Quantum genus est
 15 parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinero-
 sorum. Quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque
 ab eo divelli possunt et pereant sane in latrocinio,
 quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non
 possit. Postremum autem genus est non solum numero,
 20 verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod proprium
 Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero de complexu
 eius ac sinu; quos pexo capillo nitidos aut inberbis

ers;’ i.e., persons who make all sorts of excuses for not fulfilling promptly their engagements. Cicero thinks they will shirk their military duties in the same way.

10. non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem: see on § 20. 35–36. What must be supplied? In translating connect the neg. with *sentiant* = ‘be ignorant of.’

11. illud, explained by the clauses *quam ob rem . . . velint* and *cur . . . arbitrentur*; what kind of clauses are these? Point out in §§ 3 and 6 two appositive clauses of different kinds, and explain each.

§ 22. Fifth Class: Common criminals. Sixth Class: Dissipated young men — good riddance to both!

17. et pereant, ‘and (I say this) let them, etc.’ the *et* is correlative to *neque* (= *et non*); and as unlike constructions cannot be

connected by co-ordinate conjunctions, we must assume a slight ellipsis. See on §§ 3. 5; 9. 1, and I., 16. 38. **sane:** force here? See on § 21. 1.

18. carcer, ‘the prison,’ not ‘a prison.’ There was at this time but one prison at Rome, a part of which, called *Tullianum*, served for the execution of sentences of death, the rest for temporary detention until sentence was pronounced. The imprisonment of free men as a punishment was absolutely unknown at Rome. See on I., 19. 15.

19, 20. Postremum, etc. ‘The last class is last, etc.’ **genere,** ‘in kind,’ ‘rank:’ give examples from §§ 20, 21, and 22 of *genus* in three meanings. **quod,** conjunction. **proprium Catilinae,** ‘Catilina’s own:’ case? See on I., 12. 26.

21, 22. immo vero: how used? See on I., 2. 13. What other

aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur. In **23** his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes **26** impuri impudique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari neque saltare et cantare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt. Qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiamsi **30** Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum. Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim iam noctibus? Quo autem **35** pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives

phrase might have been used? See on I., **5. 23.** **pexo** (*pecto*). **capillo**, abl. of quality (so *tunicis*, **23**), equivalent to an adjective and so parallel with *nitidos*, etc. All these adjectives denote foppish peculiarities unbecoming the Roman character.

22, 23. inberbis aut bene barbatos, 'without (a sign of) beard, or heavily bearded.' The former was due to their effeminacy, in consequence of which they are described as hermaphrodites. The heavy beard was a mark of affectation in Cicero's time, as the Romans were accustomed to shave the beard first on their twenty-first birthday, and to let it grow afterwards only as a sign of mourning. **manicatis ac talaribus**: the correct tunic was short and sleeveless.

24. velis, etc., 'wrapped in sails, not togas;' i.e., these fops

affected togas of unusual width, which gave them the appearance of ships under full sail.

27, 28. tam lepidi: sc. what? See on I., **17. 16**, and cf. § **19. 12.** **amari**: see on § **8. 23.** **saltare et cantare**, accomplishments which were considered very disgraceful for Roman citizens.

31, 32. scitote: for this apodosis, see on I., **23. 17**; for tense, A. **269 e**; G. **260**, Rem.; H. **487**, footnote 1; P. **527 b**. Give example of same tense in § **5.** **hoc**, for *hos*, 'these men,' for gender and number, see A. **195 d**; G. **202** Rem. **5**; H. **445 4.** **sibi . . . volunt**, 'mean.'

35. his iam noctibus: at the time when this speech was delivered, the Roman calendar was in great confusion, and it is only by hints such as that in this line that we can even approximately determine the time of year in which this

perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.

- 24 XI. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus.
- 5 Et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Iam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumultibus.
- 10 silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si omissis his rebus, quibus

particular November came. What season does Cicero seem to mean?

38. *saltare*: the complementary infinitive frequently follows verbs of knowing in the sense of 'know how,' 'have learned to.' Cf. I. 29.

Explain case of *negotio*, *aere* 4, *vadimoniis* 5, *parricidarum* 15, *eo*, *latrocinio* 17, *numero* 19, *tunicis* 23, *illis* 34; mood of *corruant* 9, *sentiant* 11, *pereant* 14 and 17, *possit* 19, *cantare* 29.

Third Part, §§ 24-26: A comparison of the resources of the two parties shows that in open warfare Catilina is not to be feared.

§ 24. 2, 3. *cohortem praetoriam*, the picked force of veterans and personal friends which, since the time of the younger Scipio, had formed the general's body guard: cf. Napoleon's "Old Guard." *has tam praeclaras*: use of *tam*? See on I., 11. 10.

4, 5. *praesidia*, as opposed to *exercitus*, means 'garrisons,' fixed at certain definite places. *gladiatori confecto*, Catilina; cf. § 2. 22, and see on I., 29. 5.

7-9. *florem ac robur*, 'the strength and might,' a favorite metaphor. *urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum*, 'cities of the colonies and municipalities.' Originally *coloniae* were communities of persons who had, and always had had, the Roman or Latin franchise; *municipia* were communities formed by Italians, who had afterwards been given the franchise. In Cicero's time the distinction was historical only. *respondebunt*, 'will answer,' metaphorical in English as in Latin.

§ 25. 12. *conferre*, 'compare,' so *contendere*, I. 16. *omissis his rebus*, 'saying nothing of.' Rhetorical figure? See on I., 14.

nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si his rebus omissis causas 15 ipsas, quae inter se configunt, contendere velimus, ex eo ipso, quam valde illi iaceant, intellegere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, 20 illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudine; hinc continentia, illinc libido; denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, 25 mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne, si hominum studia deficiant,

14. **quibus**: used in different constructions with *suppeditamur*, 'with which,' and *eget* 'of which.' Note the absence of a connective between the verbs: what is it called? Cf. § 12. 6.

15-17. **si . . . omissis**, 'omitting, I say, etc.,' the words are repeated on account of the long list of ablatives. **causas**: for meaning, cf. § 18. 16. **inter se configunt**, 'grapple with each other.' What case should we expect for *se*? See on *usuris*, § 18. 26. For the accusative, see A. 196 f; G. 212; H. 448 note; P. 449, 1. **velimus . . . possumus**: for change in mood, see on § 17. 6.

18-27. In this long and highly artificial antithesis, the meaning of each word is more accurately

defined by the corresponding word in the contrasting clause, and a close attention to this fact will assist in the translation. The first series of qualities, **pudor**, l. 18, . . . **libido**, l. 22, is summed up (*denique*), in the four so-called cardinal virtues, **aequitas . . . prudentia**; the second series of more material qualities; **copia**, l. 25, . . . **amentia**, l. 26, is likewise summed up (*denique* again), in **spes . . . desperatione**. Notice then that **postremo**, l. 25, is the connecting link between two groups only, and that **denique**, l. 22, and **denique**, l. 26, are in no way correlative with *postremo* or each other.

28. **nonne**: note position in sentence. What words are simi-

di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus
30 tot et tanta vitia superari?

26 XII. Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad
modum iam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque
defendite; mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo
tumultu satis esset praesidii, consultum atque provisum
5 est. Coloni omnes municipalesque vestri certiores a me
facti de hac nocturna excursionem Catilinae facile urbes
suas finesque defendent; gladiatores, quam sibi ille
manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam animo
meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen
10 nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc
prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi,
aut opprimet hominem aut eius omnis motus conatus-
que prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis,
maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum referemus, quem
15 vocari videtis.

27 Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui

larly postponed in § 15. 26, and in I., 17. 13? What is your answer to Cicero's question here?

29. ab . . . virtutibus: why the preposition? See on I., 25. 8.

Explain case of bellum 1, gladiatori 5, tumultis 9, inopia 11, rebus, quibus 12, senatu 13, desperatione, modi 27.

§ 26. 1, 2. Quae . . . sint: see on I., 20. 16. dixi, a slip of the memory; he has said nothing of the sort. vigiliis custodiis: distinction? See on I., 8. 26.

3, 4. mihi: case? Cf. ei, § 13. 20. consultum, etc., 'care has been taken and provision made:' what is the subject?

5. Coloni . . . vestri, 'your fellow-citizens in the colonies, etc.'

7, 8. quam putavit, 'although he, etc.:' the context gives the concessive force. quamquam, as in § 16. 26: the clause is parenthetical, and quamquam is not correlative with tamen, l. 9.

11. Gallicum, Picenum: see on § 5. 3, and point out on Map II.

14, 15. quem vocari: the senators were summoned to important meetings by praefices, 'heralds' (p. 75, § 103, cf. our sergeants-at-arms), and the people could see these heralds hurrying to and fro.

§ 27. Threats and warnings for the conspirators.

16, 17. illos, subject of monitos

contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relictī sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc expectavit, ut 20 id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam non possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae; si qui exire volunt, conivere 25 possum; qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cuius ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantis, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiores 30 nostri esse voluerunt.

(esse), l. 19. Its emphatic position may be indicated by translating 'as to those.' **atque adeo**: meaning here? See on I., 5. 23. **vestrum**: what should we expect? Cf. I., 9. 12. When can the form here found be used? See on I., 14. 21.

19, 20. **monitos volo**: for tense, cf. *interfectum esse*, § 3. 5. **adhuc** modifies *mea lenitas*, 'my forbearance up to this point,' a rare use of the adverb as an attributive adjective. For its use as a predicate adj., see on I., 19. 8. **hoc**, explained by *ut . . . erumperet*, cf. § 6. 1; for the ellipsis see on § 3. 5.

21. **Quod reliquum est**, 'as to the rest;' for this clause, see A. 333, a; G. 525, Rem. 2; H. 516 2 note.

23. **horum, his**, the loyal citizens whom he is addressing: in strong contrast to *illos*, l. 16. **mihi**: how does this use of the dative differ from that in § 26. 3?

26, 27. **qui** = *siquis*: see on *quicquid*, I., 18. 37. What kind of a pronoun is *qui* here, and in l. 25? **non modo . . . sed**: see on § 8. 28, and give the formula.

30. **carcerem**: what function of the prison is meant? See on § 22. 18. In whose charge was the prison? P. 67, § 68.

32. **voluerunt**, 'meant,' 'intended.'

Explain case of **vigiliis** 2, **urbi** 3, **praesidii** 4, **me** 5, **animo** 8, **motus** 12, **scelerum** 31; point out three expressions for the agent of a passive verb.

28 XIII. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maxu-
mae res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu,
bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum me-
moriā crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato
5 duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo,
Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus
quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris
sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si inpendens
patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate
10 deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et
tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque
bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos
29 omnes salvi esse possitis. Quae quidem ego neque
mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor
15 vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum in-
mortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc
spem sententiamque sum ingressus; qui iam non pro-
cul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque
longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo numine atque auxilio

§ 28. Comfort and encourage-
ment for the loyal (§§ 28. 29).

4. *me togato*. As the *toga* was
the civil dress worn by citizens
and magistrates in the city op-
posed to the *sagum* and *paluda-
mentum* worn by the soldier and
the general in the field, we may
trans.: 'with me, a civil magis-
trate, as your only leader and gen-
eral.' Cicero prided himself espe-
cially upon having thwarted the
designs of the conspirators without
the aid of an armed force.

11, 12. *vix optandum*, 'almost
beyond hope:' the gerundive ap-
proaches dangerously near to the

idea of 'possibility;' cf. § 10.2 1.

neque . . . paucorumque =
neque . . . neque multorum, a
rare variation for *neque . . . et
paucorum*. Trans. -*que* by 'but.'
Madvig, 433. 2: If a negative propo-
sition is followed by an affirmative
in which the same thought is ex-
pressed or continued, -*que*, *ac*, or
et is employed in Latin, where in
English we use *but*.

§ 29. 16. *significationibus*,
'signs,' 'tokens,' such as earth-
quakes, unusual thunder and light-
ning, etc., instances of which,
occurring at this time, are given
in the third oration.

sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt. Quos vos, 20
 Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut, quam
 urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt,
 hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis
 a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

23, 24. The emphatic words are **hostium** and **civium**. **terra** **marique**, loc. ablatives: the regular prepositions may be omitted with these words only when the two words are found together, as here.

Explain the ablatives **motu** 2, **me** 4, **duce** 5, **modo** 6, **urbe** 7, **lenitate** 9, **poena** 12, **prudentia** 14, **hoste** 18, **auxilio** 19, **copiis** 23. Write out an outline of the speech, showing the several parts into which it is divided, and giving a summary of the arguments employed in each.

EXCURSUS I.

THE AFFAIR OF THE ALLOBROGES.

[Sallust, Cap. 39. 6-41; 44-47. Text of Schmalz.]

39. duci posse. Umbrenus, quod in 2
 6 Eisdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed cuiusque modi genus hominum, quodmodo bello usui foret. Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. Itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis et quasi dolens eius casum requirere coepit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Post- 3
 quam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseris suis remedium mortem expectare, "at ego" inquit "vobis; si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Haec ubi dixit, Allo- 4
 broges in maxumam spem adducti

Umbrenum orare, ut sui miseretur: nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret.

- 5 Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena consili propter Sempniam: nam tum Brutus ab
6 Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium arcessit, 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.

41. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consili
2 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.
3 Haec illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. Itaque Q.
4 Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt.
5 Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis praecepit, ut studium coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeam.

44. 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.

Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cas- 2
sius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe profiscitur. Lentulus cum 3
eis T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges, priusquam domum pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta fide societatem confirmarent. Ipse Vol- 4
turtio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est: "Qui sim, ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cogites, in 5
quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse: consideres quid tuae rationes postulent: auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc mandata ver- 6
bis dat: cum ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? In urbe parata esse quae iusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.

45. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua profisciscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis conlocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum 3
Volturtio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Gallis cito cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Voltur- 4
cius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomp-

tinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

46. Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere: nam laetabatur 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 perdundae rei publicae fore credebat.
- 3 Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum Cethegum Statilium Gabinium, itemque Caeparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat.
- 4 Ceteri sine mora veniunt, Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem
- 5 Concordiae venire iubet. Eo senatum advocat magnaeque frequentia eius ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit, Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre iubet.

47. 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, docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantum modo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium Ser. Sullam L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea coniuratione esse. Eadem Galli 2 fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt 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 vigesimum annum quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondiissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur perlectis 3 litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. 4 Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius (nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

PRO L. MURENA ORATIO.

- 1 I. Quod precatus a dis immortalibus sum, iudices, more institutoque maiorum illo die, quo auspicato

TITLE: *M. Tulli Ciceronis*: see on I. *Title*. **Pro**, 'in behalf of.' **L. Murena**. The plebeian family of which L. Licinius Murena was a member came from Lanuvium, and belonged to the new nobility. It had never boasted a consulship; in fact, Murena's great-grandfather was the first of his line to gain the praetorship, and Murena's father, who had been Sulla's legatus in Greece and Asia, was the most distinguished of the family. Murena's claims for the consulship rested upon his honorable services in the field. On the staff of his father, whom Sulla had left in Asia as proprætor with two legions in 84, he served against Mithradates. At the close of the campaign he returned to Rome, and was elected quaestor along with Servius Sulpicius, his present accuser. Without having distinguished himself in his office, he returned to Asia, and, in 74, took part as legatus of L. Lucullus in the third war with Mithradates.

In 65 he gained the praetorship, having Sulpicius again for a colleague, and was so fortunate as to get by lot the *juris dictio urbana*, while to Sulpicius fell the irksome task of conducting the inquiries *de peculatu*. As *praetor urbanus* Murena celebrated with great pomp the *ludi Apollinares*,—his first opportunity, as he had not been aedile, to thus gain the favor of the people (p. 20, § 21). As *propraetor* he went, in 64, to further Gaul, where, by his justice and integrity, he became very popular. In 63 he returned to Rome to canvass for the consulship, having for the third time Sulpicius as one of his competitors. For the result, see p. 28, §§ 42–44. **Oratio**: see p. 33, § 56.

Exordium, § 1–10. § 1, 1—§ 2. 23: The prayer I uttered at the consular elections is still in my thoughts; do you, gentlemen, as representing the gods, protect Murena!

comitiis centuriatis L. Murenam consulem renuntiavi, ut ea res mihi, fidei magistratuique meo, populo plebique Romanae bene atque feliciter eveniret, idem 5 precor ab isdem dis immortalibus ob eiusdem hominis consulatum una cum salute obtinendum, et ut vestrae mentes atque sententiae cum populi Romani voluntatibus suffragiisque consentiant eaque res vobis populoque Romano pacem, tranquillitatem, otium con- 10 cordiamque adferat. Quodsi illa sollemnis comitiorum praecatio consularibus auspiciis consecrata tantam habet in se vim et religionem, quantam rei publicae dignitas postulat, idem ego sum precatus, ut eis quoque homi-

§ 1. 1. Quod precatus sum.

One of the consuls, determined by lot or by mutual agreement, presided over the election of the succeeding consuls, and opened it formally with a solemn sacrifice and prayer. *iudices*, 'gentlemen.' The jurors were selected from citizens of senatorial and equestrian rank, one-third from the former, two-thirds from the latter; of the equestrians, however, one-half had to be *tribuni aerarii*, the presiding officers of the thirty-five tribes into which the people were divided.

2. *die*: the precise day is unknown, but the consular election was regularly held in July (p. 64, § 53), and there is no reason to believe that it was long postponed on this occasion, p. 28, § 44. *auspicato*, 'after taking the auspices,' an impers. abl. abs. A. 255, c: G. 438, R. 2; H. 431, n 2. On the importance of the auspices, see p. 71, § 84.

3. *renuntiavi*, 'returned' (cf. our 'returning board'). After the herald had announced the votes of the single centuries (p. 60, §§ 35, 36), and the final vote of all, the presiding consul formally named the successful candidates.

4. *mihi, fidei, magistratuique*, an old formula, in which *fidei* seems to mean 'honor,' 'trustworthiness.' *populo plebique*. This phrase, dating from the time when patricians only were full citizens, is found only in prayers, oracles, and legal formulas.

7. *ob . . . obtinendum*, 'for the purpose of making good.' *salute*, 'security,' when used of a defendant almost means 'acquittal.' *et ut* connects the following clause with *idem*.

14, 15. *idem*, nom. sing. *me rogante*: sc. *populum*, = *me comitia habente*. The presiding consul was supposed to ask the people whom they would have to succeed him.

15 nibus, quibus hic consulatus me rogante datus esset,
 2 ea res fauste, feliciter prospereque eveniret. Quae
 cum ita sint, iudices, et cum omnis deorum immortalium
 potestas aut translata sit ad vos aut certe
 communicata vobiscum, idem consulem vestrae fidei
 20 commendat, qui antea dis immortalibus commendavit,
 ut eiusdem hominis voce et declaratus consul et defensio
 beneficium populi Romani cum vestra atque
 omnium civium salute tueatur.

Et quoniam in hoc officio studium meae defen-
 25 sionis ab accusatoribus atque etiam ipsa susceptio
 causae reprehensa est, antequam pro L. Murena dicere
 instituo, pro me ipso pauca dicam, non quo mihi
 potior hoc quidem in tempore sit officii mei quam
 huiusce salutis defensio, sed ut meo facto vobis pro-
 30 bato maiore auctoritate ab huius honore, fama
 fortunisque omnibus inimicorum impetus propulsare
 possim.

3 II. Et primum M. Catoni vitam ad certam rationis

§ 2. 18, 19. *translata sit*. The verdict of the jurors will voice the will of heaven. *fidei*, 'protection.'

22. *beneficium*, 'favor,' often used as here of a mark of favor, hence 'distinction conferred by,' 'office bestowed by.'

Justification of his conduct, l. 24-§ 10, in defending Murena when his two friends, Cato and Sulpicius, were prosecuting him.

24-27. *hoc officio*, 'this service' to Murena. *studium*, 'zeal,' 'energy.' *non quo . . . sit*, 'not that, etc.' A. 321, R.; G. 541, R. 1; H. 516, II., 2; P. 521.

§ 3. 1. *M. Catoni*. M. Porcius Cato, great-grandson of the famous censor of the same name, was born in 95. He was noted for a rugged firmness of character, acquired in early life, but intensified by his strict adherence to the stern principles of the Stoic school. A man whose name stood for uprightness itself, for a narrow but unflinching devotion to duty as he saw it, for morality of life and frugal simplicity, he was feared rather than loved by men of his own party, and hated by his foes. Cicero seems to have valued his worth highly, but to have looked upon

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