

CICERO

IN CATILINAM I & II

Edited with Introduction,
Notes and Vocabulary by

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NOTES

FIRST SPEECH

CHAPTER I

Sections 1-3

Line 1. **quo usque** : **quo**, the interrogative adverb (' to what extent ') is here strengthened by **usque**, and the whole phrase = ' how far '.

l. 1. **tandem**. Note this use of **tandem** with questions or commands, = ' pray ', or ' I ask '.

l. 1. **abutere**. The following verbs show that this is future (**abutēre**). Note the 2nd sing. ending **-re** of the passive voice.

l. 2. **etiam**, ' yet ' or ' still ', to be taken with **quam diu**.

ll. 3-7. **nihilne . . . moverunt**. Note the effective repetition of **nihil** = ' in no way '.

We may retain this repetition by translating fairly literally and rendering **nihil** by ' hasn't '; e.g. ' Hasn't the nightly garrison on the Palatium affected you, haven't the patrols in the city, hasn't fear of the people . . . '. Or we may turn into the passive, ' have you been in no way affected by the nightly garrison . . . , in no way by the patrols . . . '.

l. 4. **Palatii**. The Palatium or Palatine Hill, a commanding height, south-east of the Capitoline Hill, was always occupied by troops in times of emergency.

l. 5. **populi**, a good example of what is known as the objective genitive, ' fear for the people '. The name objective is given where the relation of a genitive to the noun on which it depends, is similar to that between an object and its verb.

l. 5. **bonorum**. Cicero, as a moderate conservative, naturally identifies ' good (i.e. loyal) citizens ' with the ' optimates ' or senatorial party.

l. 6. **hic . . . habendi senatus locus**, 'this protected place of (for) the senate to be held', i.e. 'for holding the senate'.

Note this use of the gerundive, which in the genitive case is alternative to the use of the gerund + direct object.

A guard of **equites** (or knights) surrounded the senate. The latter met either in the Council Hall (**Curia Hostilia**, north of the **Comitium**), or in one of the temples near the **Forum**. In this case, the senate was meeting in the temple of **Jupiter Stator**, near the Sacred Way (**Via Sacra**) on the north slope of the Palatine Hill. Thus the members would be protected by the troops stationed there. At the same time, the temple was near Cicero's house.

Such precautions as these show to what extent constitutional law and order had broken down under the Republic.

l. 7. **horum**, 'of these men here'.

l. 9. **proxima . . . superiore nocte**, 'last night . . . the night before last'. The former was the night of the 7th-8th November. On the latter, Catiline held a meeting of his supporters in the house of M. Porcius Laeca, disclosed his plans, and demanded the assassination of Cicero.

ll. 9-12. **quid arbitraris**. Order for translation: **quem nostrum arbitraris ignorare quid . . .**, 'which of us, do you think, does not know . . .'.

Note **egeris, fueris, convocaveris, ceperis**, subjunctives in indirect question, depending on **ignorare**.

l. 12. **O tempora, o mores!**, exclamations, 'What times! what conduct!'

l. 14. **fit . . . particeps**, 'he becomes a partner in a public meeting' = 'he takes part in a public meeting'.

Note that **consilium** which usually means 'counsel', 'deliberation' may sometimes = 'council', 'meeting'.

l. 15. **unum quemque nostrum**, 'each one of us'.

l. 17. **si . . . vitemus**, 'should we avoid'. **vitemus**, present subjunctive, in a conditional clause of the *ideal* type. See the note on Chap. VIII, l. 1.

l. 18. **te, Catilina, duci iam pridem oportebat**, *lit.*, 'it behoved you long since, Catiline, to be led', i.e. 'you ought long ago to have been led'.

l. 18. **iussu consulis**. In times of grave emergency, it was customary for the senate to confer unrestricted powers upon the two consuls by a special decree (**senatus consultum ultimum**). The wording of this decree is given by Cicero in Chap. II, ll. 1-2.

In this case, such authority had been given as long ago as Oct. 22nd.

l. 19. **conferri**, supply **oportebat**.

ll. 20-24. **an vero . . . perferemus**. After reading these two sentences, note that Latin prefers co-ordinate sentences without a conjunction, while English would use subordination and begin the first sentence with 'while'. This absence of a conjunction, which is common in Latin where a contrast is required, is known as asyndeton.

l. 20. **P. Scipio . . . Ti. Gracchum**. Tiberius Gracchus, a member of a distinguished and noble family, when tribune in 133 B.C., endeavoured to initiate several important reforms. In doing so, he neglected the time-honoured custom of gaining the senate's approval before putting his proposals directly before the people. Fearing that this action might establish a dangerous precedent and undermine their control, certain die-hard sections of the senate, led by P. Scipio Nasica, countenanced Tiberius' murder when he sought re-election the following year.

l. 21. **mediocriter labefactantem**, ' (when he was) somewhat weakening '—a very mild expression which is used to heighten the villainy of Catiline who is aiming at setting the whole world in flames (**orbem . . . cupientem**).

l. 22. **privatus**, ' (though) a private citizen ', i.e. he held no official position in the state.

l. 25. **quod . . .**, ' namely the fact that '.

l. 25. **C. Servilius Ahala . . . Sp. Maelium**. During a great famine at Rome in 440 B.C., Spurius Maelius, a wealthy plebeian

knight, bought up corn in Etruria and distributed it free of charge to the people. He was accused by the patricians of aiming at royal power—a common charge in the early days of the Republic. A dictator was appointed and Servilius Ahala his deputy¹ slew the knight, because he refused to appear before the dictator's tribunal.

l. 27. *ista* (in agreement with *virtus*) = 'such'. Normally *iste* refers to that which concerns the Second Person rather than to facts which the speaker mentions himself.

l. 29. *senatus consultum*, i.e. the decree of October 22nd. See the note on l. 18.

l. 30. *vehemens*, neuter, in agreement with *consultum*.

l. 31. *consilium . . . auctoritas huius ordinis*, 'the advice . . . sanction of this house'.

l. 32. *desumus*, supply *rei publicae*, dative case.

CHAPTER II

Sections 4-6

lines 1-5. *L. Opimius . . . C. Gracchus . . . M. Fulvius*.

Ten years after the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius, his younger brother, was elected tribune in 123 B.C., and at once boldly embarked on a series of large-scale reforms. Unlike his brother, he definitely aimed at breaking the stranglehold which the senatorial order had over the constitution. For two years he remained unchecked. The senate, however, put up a fellow tribune to outbid Gaius Gracchus with even more generous reforms, so that owing to loss of popularity with the people, he failed to secure re-election, for the third successive year, to the tribunate. In the riots that inevitably followed, the senate declared Gaius Gracchus, and his follower M. Fulvius Flaccus, public enemies, and entrusted dictatorial power to the consul L. Opimius. As we can read in Cicero's own words, both reformers were put to death.

¹ Officially known as 'the master of the horse', *magister equitum*.

l. 2. **ne quid . . . detrimenti**, 'that-not anything of harm' = 'that no harm',—object of **caperet**. Note **detrimenti**, partitive genitive, which is often found after neuter adjectives denoting amount.

l. 3. **propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones**. Note the mildness of the expression and compare the note on Chap. I, l. 21.

l. 4. **clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus**. Supply **natus**, or **ortus**, 'sprung or descended from.'

His father had a distinguished career in Spain, while his maternal grandfather was P. Scipio Africanus the elder, who brought the Second Punic War to an end by defeating Hannibal at the battle of Zama in N. Africa in 202 B.C.

l. 7. **num . . . remorata est**, *lit.*, 'surely death, [and] the penalty (inflicted by) the state did not keep L. Saturninus, tribune of the people, and C. Servilius, praetor, waiting a single day afterwards?' . . .

Note: (i) **num** = 'surely not' introducing questions to which the answer 'no' is expected.

(ii) **ac** is explanatory and should be omitted in English.

Cicero seems to suggest that these two men must have been expecting death for a long time, but as soon as the senate's decree was passed, they had not to wait even a single day. In other words, they were put to death on the same day as the decree was passed.

Saturninus, a violent reformer without the ideals of the Gracchi brothers, when tribune in 100 B.C. and a supporter of the consul Marius, attempted to further the candidature for the consulship of his friend Glaucia, a man of ambitions similar to his own, by murdering his rival at the elections. In reply, the senate called on the consuls to safeguard the state. Saturninus, Glaucia, and their supporters were arrested, and eventually lost their lives at the hands of the people.

l. 10. **vicesimum . . . patimur**. '(It is) now the 20th day (that) we have allowed . . .'

Note: the present tense of **patimur**, customary in Latin with phrases like **iam, iam pridem**.¹ Cf. the French *je vous*

¹Where the action is continued into present time.

attends depuis longtemps: 'I have been waiting for you a long time'.

The chronology is not quite correct. Actually it was eighteen days since the senate passed its decree on the 22nd of October.

l. 11. *horum*, 'of these men here' = 'of the senate'.

l. 14. *quo ex . . . convenit*, 'in accordance with which decree it is fitting that you (=you might well) have been put to death immediately'.

l. 16. *patres conscripti*, 'enrolled fathers', i.e. 'the senators'.

l. 20. *in Etruriae faucibus*, near the modern Fiesole, about five miles from Florence. This pass lies on a western spur of the Apennines and gives access northwards into the Lombardy Plain, southwards into Etruria (modern Tuscany).

l. 23. *adeo*, 'actually'.

l. 24. *molientem*, agrees with *imperatorem ducemque* and has for its object *intestinam aliquam perniciem*.

l. 26. *credo*, parenthetical (i.e. it is outside the structure of the rest of the sentence and therefore has no influence on it).

l. 26. *erit verendum mihi*, 'it will have-to-be-feared by me', i.e. 'I shall have to fear'.

Note that in the nominative,¹ the gerundive expresses 'ought', 'must', 'should'. The neuter is always used with intransitive verbs.

l. 26. *ne . . . dicat*, *lit.*, 'not that all loyal men (will say) that this has been done by me too late rather than anyone will say that it has been done too cruelly.'

As the whole sentence is ironic, we may translate, 'I shall have to fear, I suppose, not that all loyal men will say I have acted too late but that someone will say that I have been too cruel.'

l. 28. *hoc*, object of *faciam*, l. 30, and antecedent of the following *quod*.

¹ and accusative in *Oratio Obliqua*.

1. 32. **qui . . . fateatur**, 'as to admit'. The subjunctive is consecutive for **qui = ut is**, 'that he'.

1. 32. **quam**, 'as'.

1. 33. **quisquam**, 'anyone at all'.

1. 33. **qui . . . audeat**. See the note on 1. 32 above.

1. 34. **ut vivis**, 'as indeed you do live'.

1. 36. **te . . . non sentientem**, 'you not perceiving' (object of **speculabuntur atque custodient**) = 'you without your knowing'.

CHAPTER III

Sections 6-8

line 3. **parietibus**. Note: (i) **murus**, general term for 'a wall', (ii) **moenia**, -ium, *n., pl.*, 'city walls', (iii) **paries**, -etis, *m.*, 'wall of a house'.

1. 4. **coniurationis**, 'of the conspiracy' = 'of the conspirators'.

Note that Latin sometimes uses an abstract noun (conspiracy), where we would prefer the concrete (conspirators).

1. 5. **mihi crede**, 'take my advice'.

1. 7. **luce**, ablative of comparison.

1. 8. **licet recognoscas**, 'you may review'.

1. 8. **meministine me . . . dicere**, 'do you remember my saying'.

Memini, 'I remember', is perfect in form, present in meaning. Similar is **odi**, 'I hate'.

1. 8. **ante diem XII Kalendas Novembres**, 'on October 21st'.

1. 9. **fore . . . administrum tuae**. Order for translation: **C. Manlium, satellitem atque administrum tuae audaciae fore in armis certo die qui (dies) esset futurus ante diem VI Kalendas Novembres**.

1. 10. **futurus esset**, subjunctive because it is in a subordinate clause in indirect statement.

1. 10. **ante diem VI Kalendas Novembres**, October 27th.

l. 11. **C. Manlium**. Gaius Manlius had been a centurion in the army of the Roman general Sulla. As a man of considerable military experience, he had been appointed by Catiline as leader of the uprising in Etruria.

l. 14. **verum**, but.

l. 14. **multo magis . . . admirandum**, ' (by) much more remarkable '. Note **multo**, ablative of the measure of difference, found with comparatives.

l. 15. **ego idem**, ' I likewise ' or ' I also '.

l. 15. **caedem . . . contulisse . . . Novembres**, ' that you had fixed the slaughter of the nobles for the 28th October '.

l. 17. **tum cum**, ' at a time when '.

l. 17. **Roma**, ablative ; to be taken with **profugerunt**.

l. 18. **non tam sui conservandi . . . reprimendorum causa**.

Sui conservandi causa, ' for the sake of themselves to-be-saved = ' for the sake of saving themselves '. Similarly **tuorum . . . causa**.

Note : (i) **causa**, ' for the sake of ', follows its case (genitive), (ii) the gerundive construction, which, in the genitive, is an alternative expression to the gerund with a direct object.

Finally notice how Cicero's expression here suggests that many aristocrats had left Rome merely to save their own skins. In so doing, however, they had foiled Catiline's plans by placing themselves out of his reach. Cicero's audience would appreciate this indirect censure.

l. 21. **commovere te . . . non potuisse**, ' could not have moved '.

l. 22. **discessu ceterorum**, ' on the departure of the rest '.

l. 22. **nostra . . . caede**, ' with our (=my) murder '.

l. 23. **remansissemus**. The subjunctive is similar to that in l. 10. 1st plural here = 1st singular.

l. 23. **esse** = fore.

l. 24. **cum**, ' although '. In this concessive meaning, **cum** is always followed by the subjunctive mood.

l. 24. **Praeneste**, acc., object of **occupaturum**. **Praeneste**

(mod. Palestrina) is situated on a hill 20 miles south-east of Rome and is a place of great strategical importance.

l. 27. *custodiis, vigiliis*. Note that Latin uses abstract nouns in the plural with a concrete meaning. E.g. *amicitiae* = 'friends'. So *custodiae* = 'sentinels', *vigiliae* = 'patrols'.

l. 28. *quod . . . sentiam, lit.*, 'which I do not, not-only hear but also see and plainly realise'. The first *non* negatives the whole of the rest of the sentence.

Finally note that the subjunctives in the *quod* clauses are consecutive, because *quod* = *tale ut*, 'of such a kind that'.

CHAPTER IV

Sections 8-10

line 1. *tandem*, either 'pray', 'I ask', cf. Chap. I, l. 1, or 'however', 'still'. If the latter, Cicero means to remove any further doubts as to the completeness of his knowledge.

l. 1. *noctem illam superiorem*. See the note on Chap. I, l. 9.

l. 2. *iam intelleges*. Supply 'and' before these two words.

l. 2. *multo . . . acrius*. For the abl. *multo*, see the note on Chap. III, l. 14. *acrius*, comparative adverb (*acriter*).

l. 3. *ad*, 'with a view to'.

l. 3. *dico*, 'I assert'.

l. 4. *priore nocte* = *superiore nocte* = 'the night before last'.

l. 4. *inter falcarios*, 'in the sickle-makers' street'.

l. 4. *non agam obscure, lit.*, 'I shall not deal (with you) obscurely' = 'I shall deal with you plainly'.

l. 5. *eodem, lit.*, 'to the same place'. Here we would say 'at the same place'.

l. 6. *sceleris*, 'recklessness', the usual meaning of the word, when coupled with abstract nouns. There are many more instances of this meaning in Books I and II.

l. 8. *tecum una*; *una* is an adverb. 'Together with you'.

l. 9. **ubinam gentium sumus** ? ' where in the world are we ? '.

Note : (i) **ubi** strengthened by **nam**, (ii) **gentium**, partitive genitive. This genitive stands for the *whole* to which a *part* belongs, and is used particularly with nouns and neuter adjectives denoting quantity and number.

l. 12. **in hoc . . . consilio**, ' in this most venerable and influential advisory council in the world '.

l. 13. **de nostro omnium interitu**, *lit.*, ' about our destruction of all ' = ' about the destruction of us all '. Note that the genitive **omnium** agrees with the genitive understood from and implied in the possessive adjective **nostro**.

l. 13. **qui . . . cogitent**, ' (men so wicked) as to devise '. **cogitent**, consecutive subjunctive because **qui** = **tales ut ei**.

l. 14. **adeo**, ' actually '.

l. 15. **sententiam rogo**, ' I ask (them) their opinion '.

In a debate in the senate, the presiding magistrate (either consul or tribune) called on the members present to express their opinion, beginning with the senior members.

l. 16. **quos . . . vulnero** : **eos** is the antecedent of **quos**.

l. 16. **nondum voce vulnero**. Cicero means that he has not yet attacked them by mentioning them by name or by bringing a formal charge against them.

l. 17. **igitur**, refers back to **num negare audes**, l. 6, which, it is obvious, Catiline has left unanswered. *Therefore*, he was present at Laeca's house.

l. 18. **quo . . . placeret**, *lit.*, ' where it was pleasing that each man was to go ' = ' where each man was to go '.

l. 19. **quos relinquieres, . . . educeres**, ' whom to leave behind, . . . whom to take . . . '.

relinquieres, educeres are good examples of what is known as the indirect deliberative subjunctive. The direct form would be **quos relinquam . . . educam** ? ' whom am I to leave behind, whom am I to lead ? '

l. 22. **paulum . . . morae**, ' a little (of) delay '.

For the genitive, see the note on l. 9 in this chapter.

l. 23. **viverem**. Note the subjunctive ; subordinate clause in indirect speech.

l. 23. **duo equites**. These men were C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius. The knights (**equites**) ranked as a class in political importance next to the senate, and, at this time, included most of the business men such as bankers, rich merchants, and capitalists.

In politics, they sometimes sided with the senatorial party, and sometimes with the popular party and their leaders. It was Cicero's great ambition to unite the senatorial and equestrian classes to form the basis of a strong, stable government.

l. 24. **qui . . . liberarent . . . pollicerentur**. Note the subjunctive mood, expressing purpose.

l. 24. **paulo ante lucem** ; for the ablative **paulo**, see the note on Chap. III, l. 14.

l. 25. **interfecturos esse**. Note that verbs of *hoping, promising, threatening, swearing* regularly take acc. and future infinitive. E.g. ' I promise to come ', **polliceor me venturum esse**.

l. 26. **Haec ego . . . comperi**. English idiom would probably reverse the role of main clause and ablative absolute, and make the latter the main clause, the former subordinate. ' Scarcely had your meeting broken up when I discovered all these facts '.

l. 29. **salutatum**, accusative of the supine, expressing purpose, used most commonly after verbs of sending.

We might translate **salutatum mane** by ' to pay an early morning call ', *lit.*, ' to greet early '.

At this time in Rome, distinguished men received regular early morning visits from humble friends and those anxious for advancement, who called to pay their respects, and, if necessary, dance attendance upon their patron.

In earlier times, the relation of client to patron resembled that of vassal to chief, but, in the first century B.C. and later, this relationship tended to be degraded.

l. 29. **cum**, ' since '.

l. 31. **id temporis**, 'at that time'. Note: (i) **temporis**, partitive genitive, (ii) **id**, accusative of extent in time (adverbial accusative).

CHAPTER V

Sections 10-13

Line 1. **cum**, 'since'. In this meaning, **cum** is always followed by the subjunctive mood.

l. 2. **egredere**, imperative (2nd sing.) of **egredior**.

l. 2. **aliquando**, 'at last'.

l. 3. **nimum diu . . . desiderant**. For the tense, see the note on Chap. II, l. 10.

l. 5. **si minus**, supply **omnes**, 'or if not all'.

l. 5. **magno metu**, a good example of the ablative of separation.

l. 6. **dum modo**, 'provided only'. In this meaning, **dum** is always followed by the subjunctive mood.

l. 8. **non feram, non patiar, non sinam**. Latin often uses synonymous¹ verbs to express a thought forcibly. English uses verb and adverb. E.g. 'I strongly beg of you', becomes in Latin **te oro atque obsecro . . .**

In this passage Cicero wishes to say, 'I will not endure it under any circumstances'. Perhaps we may render, 'I cannot, I will not, I shall not endure it' (Wilkins).

l. 8. **magna . . . habenda est . . . gratia**, 'deep gratitude is to be felt', i.e. 'we should feel deep gratitude'.

For the gerundive in the nominative expressing 'ought', 'must', 'should' see also Chap. II, l. 26. Note that the gerundive in Latin is passive, but that it is often best rendered into English by the active voice.

l. 9. **huic ipsi Iovi Statori**. Cicero points to the statue of the god in whose temple the senate is holding its session.

¹ Of the same meaning.

l. 10. **antiquissimo**, because the temple was believed to have been dedicated by Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome (c. 753 B.C.).

l. 12. **non est . . . rei publicae**, 'the supreme safety of the state is not to-be-risked repeatedly in the person of one man'. More freely: 'it must not repeatedly be one person's fault that the supreme safety of the state be endangered.'

l. 14. **quam**, 'as'.

l. 14. **consuli designato**. Cicero was consul elect in the winter of 64-63 B.C. Consuls entered office on the 1st March and were usually elected in the July previous by the **comitia centuriata**.

l. 16. **proximis comitiis consularibus**, 'at the last consular elections'. The **comitia centuriata**, or 'assembly by hundreds', was originally an organisation of the citizens of Rome for military mobilisation. Later it became the most important assembly of the people, elected the higher magistrates, decided the vital questions of war or peace, and acted as a court of appeal, while whatever measures it accepted, became binding as laws on all citizens.

The **comitia centuriata** met in the **Campus Martius** (or 'Plain of Mars'), the north-west part of the level ground which lay in a bend of the Tiber outside the walls of Rome.

l. 17. **in campo**. See the previous note.

l. 19. **nullo . . . concitato**, *lit.*, 'no alarm having been aroused on the part of the state' = 'without any official mobilisation of troops'.

l. 20. **per me**, 'by myself'.

l. 21. **perniciem meam . . . coniunctam**. Note Cicero's vanity. He was excessively proud of his achievements during this consulship when he crushed with promptitude and vigour the conspiracy of Catiline, and, in later years never tired of referring to them. There is no doubt that he really felt that he deserved the title of **Pater Patriae** which was conferred upon him.

l. 26. **quare quoniam . . . audeo**. Order for translation:

quare quoniam nondum audeo facere quod est primum et quod est proprium huius imperii disciplinaeque maiorum.

l. 26. quod est primum, 'what would be the first thing (to do)'. Latin sometimes says 'is' where we use 'would be'.

l. 27. disciplinaeque maiorum, 'and the best traditions of our ancestors'. disciplinae, [like huius imperii.] gen., depending on proprium.

l. 29. ad severitatem, 'as regards severity'.

Similarly ad communem salutem.

l. 30. si . . . iussero. Note the future-perfect in Latin, where we use the present. Latin is more precise and exact in its use of tenses in subordinate clauses. It is obvious that the action of the 'if' clause must precede that of the main clause (apodosis). Similarly exieris in l. 32.

l. 32. te iam dudum hortor. For the present tense (=our perfect), see the note on Chap. II, l. 10.

l. 32. tuorum . . . rei publicae, *lit.*, 'the great and dangerous refuse of the state (consisting) of your companions'. Translate 'your many dangerous companions, the refuse of the state'.

sentina literally means 'bilge-water'.

l. 34. dubitas . . . facere. Note that dubito (1) when followed by the infinitive means 'hesitate'.

l. 35. faciebas, 'were ready to do'. The imperfect tense in Latin is often used of *attempted*, *intended* or *expected* actions.

CHAPTER VI

Sections 13-16

Line 1. quod . . . possit. Note the consecutive subjunctive, quod=tale ut id. This subjunctive is common in relative clauses where the antecedent consists of a word like idoneus, aptus, dignus, etc., or where the antecedent is indefinite, especially after negatives.

In this case, the question 'What is there?' is negative in character, because it suggests that 'there is nothing'. Cf. also metuat, l. 4, oderit, l. 4.

l. 3. **coniurationem** = 'band of conspirators'. Note that while Latin on the whole prefers concrete terms to abstract ones, it sometimes uses abstract where English has concrete.

l. 4. **oderit**. Like **memini**, 'I remember', **odi**, 'I hate' is *perfect* in form, *present* in meaning.

l. 4. **quae nota**, etc. Cicero now proclaims the scandals and vices of Catiline's private life. Such an attack to-day would be considered irrelevant or, if permitted at all, bad taste, in the Houses of Parliament or a jury-court, or even on a public platform. But in Greek and Roman times, such mud-slinging was customary and, indeed, expected.

l. 4. **domesticae turpitudinis**. This phrase refers to the scandals of his home life. See later.

l. 5. **privatarum rerum dedecus**. This phrase points to the scandal of his private life outside his own immediate family circle.

l. 8. **cui tu adolescentulo . . . non . . . ferrum . . . facem praetulisti?** 'Before what weak youth . . . did you not carry either the sword for . . . or the torch for . . . ?'

adolescentulo; note that diminutives imply either endearment (cf. **lectulo**, Chap. IV, l. 25, 'my *comfortable* bed') or contempt, as here.

facem praetulisti. The metaphor is taken from the practice of slaves who used to run before their masters at night with a lighted torch, to light them home.

l. 12. **novis nuptiis**, dative case.

l. 12. **domum vacuefecisses**. Note the language Cicero uses to charge Catiline with murdering his first wife. No other Roman author corroborates this accusation.

l. 13. **alio incredibili scelere**. Sallust (Roman historian¹ who wrote a monograph on Catiline) states that Catiline fell in love with a beautiful but profligate woman. As, however, she objected to marrying him because he had a grown-up son, Catiline removed him by poisoning.

In another passage in the same work, Sallust admits that

¹ A contemporary of Cicero.

several people believed such charges to have been invented by those who hoped to decrease the unpopularity of Cicero which arose as a result of the execution of the conspirators.

l. 14. **ne**, 'lest'.

l. 16. **non vindicata esse**. Cicero intends his hearers to take this as a sign of evil days, viz. that such a horrid crime as he has laid to Catiline's charge should go unpunished. On the other hand, the fact that Catiline was not brought to trial may suggest that there was in reality very little evidence in support of Cicero's charge. See also the preceding note.

l. 16. **ruinas**, 'the downfall' or 'collapse'. For the plural, see the note on Chap. III, l. 27.

l. 17. **omnes**. In Latin, adjectives, especially superlatives, are often transferred from the antecedent into the relative clause and made to agree with the relative pronoun. So here. Translate **omnes** by 'utter' or 'complete', and take it with the antecedent **ruinas**.

l. 17. **proximis Idibus**, 'at the next Ides'. The Romans used three fixed days in expressing dates, the Kalends (1st of the month), the Nones (5th or 7th¹ of the month) and the Ides (always 8 days later than the Nones). Intervening dates between these fixed days were expressed by such and such² a day before the next fixed day, e.g. **ante diem XII Kalendas Novembres**, Chap. III, l. 8, and other examples.

These fixed days were the 'settling-days' at Rome, and Cicero points out that at the next Ides when Catiline's conspiracy will be recognised as a failure, his creditors will immediately call in the money they have lent him. His bankruptcy will follow on the following Kalends, the usual day of payment.

l. 18. **quae non . . . pertinent**. Note **pertinere ad**, 'to concern'.

l. 18. **privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum**, 'the personal disgrace, (the result) of your vices'.

l. 20. **difficultatem**, 'money difficulties'.

¹ In March, July, October, May.

² Inclusive reckoning must be used.

l. 20. *ad summam rem publicam*, 'the supreme danger of the state'.

l. 21. *omnium nostrum*, 'of us all'. *nostrum*, genitive plural of *nos*.

l. 23. *spiritus*, 'breath', 'air'.

l. 23. *cum*, 'when'.

l. 24. *pridie Kalendas Ianuarias*, *lit.*, 'the day before the 1st of January' = 'Dec. 31st'. The year was 66 B.C.

This is the usual way of expressing the date of a day before a fixed date.

Cicero is referring to the First Catilinarian Conspiracy, for which see the Introduction, pp. xv, xvi.

l. 25. *Lepido et Tullo consulibus*, 'Lepidus and Tullus consuls' = 'in the consulship of L. and T.'. Cf. *me duce*, 'under my leadership'. The construction is ablative absolute.

l. 26. *in comitio*. The *comitium* was a paved area of about 80 yards square on the north-west side of the Forum. In the *comitium* were held (in early times) the assemblies of the Roman people for purposes other than elections.

l. 26. *cum telo*, 'with a weapon (in your hand)'.

l. 26. *manum*, 'band' or 'force'.

l. 26. *consulum . . . causa*, *lit.*, 'for the sake of the consuls and leading men of the state to be killed' = 'for the sake of killing the consuls', etc.

Note *causa* = 'for the sake of', always *follows* its case.

l. 27. *sceleri ac furori tuo*, dative, dependent on *obstitisse* which takes that case.

l. 28. *mentem*, 'reflection'.

l. 28. *timorem tuum*, 'fear on your part'.

l. 29. *fortunam*. It is said that Catiline's plot failed because he gave the signal too soon.

l. 30. *neque . . . postea*. *Neque* qualifies the whole sentence. So the second half literally runs: 'nor (were) not-many (offences) later committed (by you) = 'and many offences were later . . . '.

l. 33. **petitiones**, ' thrusts ', a technical term taken from the gladiatorial school, where ' cut ' and ' thrust ' tactics were taught. Cicero continues the metaphor in the next line.

l. 34. **parva . . . corpore**, ' by a mere swerve and (turn of) the body, as they say '.

l. 38. **quae . . . defigere**. Note: (i) **quae**, co-ordinating relative = ' and . . . this ', agreeing with **sica** (understood), subject of **devota sit**. (ii) **quibus . . . sacris . . . sit**, indirect question, dependent on **nescio**.

Order for translation: **nescio quidem quibus sacris quae (=this) (sica) initiata ac devota sit abs te quod**, etc.

Cicero is referring to the practice of assassins (common in antiquity), dedicating to a god the weapons by which they had successfully perpetrated some murder.

CHAPTER VII

Sections 16-18

Line 3. **quo debeo**, ' by which I ought (to be influenced) '.

l. 3. **nulla** = ' in no way '.

l. 6. **post hominum memoriam** = ' in (=within) the recollection of man '.

l. 6. **vocis . . . contumeliam**, ' the contempt of the voice ' = ' the contempt of their words ' or ' their spoken contempt '.

l. 7. **gravissimo . . . taciturnitatis**, ' by the very heavy judgment of their silence ' = ' by the weight of their silent judgment '.

l. 8. **quid, quod . . . , lit.**, ' what (shall we say of the fact) that '.

l. 10. **tibi**, dative of the person interested, ' in your mind '. This dative is very similar to the dative of the agent, found with the gerundive expressing ' ought ', ' must ', ' should '. Cf. **tibi** in the following note.

l. 12. **quo tandem . . . putas**, ' with what feelings, pray, do you think this is to be endured by you? ' Note once again that the gerundive in the nominative and accusative in indirect

speech as here, expresses 'ought', 'must', 'should'. It is better to translate the gerundive in the active and personally, i.e. 'you should endure this'.

l. 13. **mehercule**, 'by Hercules'. This expression is probably a shortened form of **me, Hercules, iuves**, 'mayest thou, O Hercules, help me.'

l. 13. **si . . . metuerent, . . . putarem**. A good example of a conditional clause, unreal in present time. Note the imperfect subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis. 'If my slaves feared me . . . , I should think'.

l. 14. **ut . . . metuunt**. **ut** with the indicative means 'as', or 'when': it means 'as' here.

l. 15. **domum . . . relinquendam (esse)**, 'my house is to be left by me' = 'I ought to leave my house'. See the note on l. 12 above.

l. 16. **urbem**. Supply **relinquendam esse**.

l. 16. **iniuria**, 'unjustly'.

l. 19. **conspici**. Parse carefully.

l. 19. **conscientia scelerum tuorum**, 'in the consciousness of your crimes' = 'in your guilty conscience'.

l. 20. **odium omnium**, 'the hatred of all' = 'the universal hatred'.

l. 21. **dubitas**, 'do you hesitate?'

l. 21. **quorum . . . vitare**. Translate **vitare adspectum praesentiamque eorum** first, and note the position of the antecedent of **quorum**.

l. 23. **si . . . timerent, . . . posses, . . . concederes**. See the note on l. 13 above.

Odissent. Remember that **odi**, 'I hate' is perfect in form, but present in meaning. Hence **odissent** is equivalent to the imperfect subjunctive.

l. 23. **tui**, take with **parentes**, 'your own parents'.

l. 25. **nunc**, 'but as it is'.

l. 26. **iam diu . . . iudicat**, 'has long been of the opinion'.

For the tense, see the note on Chap. II, l. 10.

l. 27. *nihil te nisi . . . cogitare*, 'that you think of nothing except . . . '.

l. 27. *de parricidio suo*. Parricide strictly means 'the murder of one's parents', but it may also include treason against one's country. The word is very apt here because Cicero is talking of his country as the common parent of all.

Translate by 'of her destruction'.

l. 28. *verebere* = *vereberis*, 2nd sing. future indicative. Similarly *sequere*, 'abide by' or 'bow to'.

l. 29. *quae*, co-ordinating relative. 'And she'.

l. 30. *tacita loquitur*, 'silently pleads (with you)'. Note the oxymoron or combining in one expression two terms that are ordinarily contradictory and whose exceptional coincidence is therefore arresting, e.g., 'a cheerful pessimist'.¹

l. 31. *aliquot annis*, 'for several years'. Note that with negative phrases, the ablative, not the accusative, is used for *duration of time*.

l. 32. *tibi uni*, 'in your case alone', dative of the *person interested*.

l. 32. *multorum civium neces*. A reference to the part Catiline took in the Sullan proscriptions.

l. 33. *sociorum*, 'of allies' = 'of the provincials'.

In 67 B.C. Catiline had been *propraetor* of Africa and prosecuted for extortion and misgovernment. In spite of strong evidence, he was acquitted.

l. 34. *ad neglegendas leges . . . perfringendasque*, 'for the laws and courts to-be-disregarded but also to-be-overthrown and destroyed'.

Note that in the accusative case after the preposition *ad*, Latin prefers the gerundive construction for the English gerund with direct object. So here we would say, 'for disregarding the law and courts but also for overthrowing and destroying them'.

l. 36. *Superiora illa*, neuter plural, object of *tuli*; 'your former actions'.

¹ *Modern English Usage*, Fowler.

l. 36. *ferenda . . . fuerunt*. See the note on l. 12 above.

l. 37. *nunc vero me . . . non est ferendum*. Note : (i) *me . . . unum te ; quidquid . . . timeri ; nullum . . . abhorreat*, are in the accusative and infinitive construction dependent on *non est ferendum* which should be translated first.

l. 37. *totam*, in agreement with *me*, 'wholly'. It is feminine, because, it will be remembered, the *motherland* is addressing Catiline.

l. 38. *quidquid increpuerit*, *lit.*, '(that) whatever has been noised abroad' = 'at every little rumour'.

Increpuerit is perfect subjunctive.

l. 39. *nullum . . . posse* : order for translation : *nullum consilium posse videri iniri contra me*.

l. 40. *abhorreat*. Explain the subjunctive.

CHAPTER VIII

Sections 19-21

Line 1. *si . . . loquatur, . . . debeat, . . . possit*. A good example of an ideal conditional clause, where the supposition is more or less fanciful, 'Should your country speak . . ., should she not obtain . . .'. Note the present subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis.

l. 3. *quid, quod . . .* See the note on Chap. VII, l. 8.

l. 3. *in custodiam*. A week or two before Cicero delivered this speech, Catiline had been impeached on a charge of causing revolution and riots. When a citizen was on a criminal charge, he either gave bail for his appearance in court, or was entrusted to the custody of some distinguished citizen. In this case, to throw off all suspicion and to conceal his real plans as long as possible, Catiline voluntarily offered to place himself in the custody of various distinguished men. He approached Manius Lepidus who had been consul in 66 B.C., Memmius the praetor and even Cicero himself. They all refused to have such a charge on their hands.

l. 4. **vitandae suspicionis causa**. For **causa** and the gerundive construction, read the note on Chap. III, l. 18.

l. 4. **ad** = **apud**. French *chez*.

l. 5. **receptus**, perf. part. passive of **recipio**, ' (when you were) not received '.

l. 8. **me . . . tecum**, ' (namely) that I could in no way be safe . . . '.

l. 9. **qui . . . essem, quod . . . contineremur**. Note : (i) **qui** + subj. = **cum ego** (causal), ' since I was . . . '. (ii) **quod** causal, with the subjunctive, because the clause is subordinate in *oratio obliqua*.

l. 11. **virum optimum, M. Metellum**, sarcastic ; ' that fine fellow Marcus Metellus '.

l. 13. **diligentissimum . . . , sagacissimum, . . . fortissimum**, sarcastic again : **fortissimum**, ' very resolute '.

Nothing beyond what is said here is known about Marcus Metellus, but the presence of Catiline at the meeting at Laeca's house during his supposed voluntary ' detention ' on bail at the house of Marcus Metellus shows the real value of his ' bail '.

l. 15. **quam longe . . . debere**, ' how far does he seem he ought to be away from . . . '. Latin uses **videor**, ' I seem ' *personally*, whereas we prefer to use it *impersonally*. So here we should say, ' how far does it seem that he should be free from . . . '.

l. 15. **a carcere atque a vinculis** ; a reference to the State Prison which was used for detention and execution, not for penal servitude. See the note on l. 3 above.

l. 16. **qui . . . iudicarit**, ' in as much as he judged . . . '.

Note again that **qui** (= **cum is**, causal) is followed by the subjunctive mood.

iudicarit is a shortened form of **iudicaverit**. In verb forms containing the letter ' v ', that consonant and the following vowel often disappear.

custodia, ablative after **dignum**. The reference is to the type of bail or detention described in the note on l. 3 above.

l. 18. **cum**, ' since '.

l. 18. **dubitas**, 'do you hesitate? '.

l. 18. **emori aequo animo**. Cicero now suggests that if Catiline cannot face the death which he deserves either by execution or suicide, he should at any rate go into voluntary exile.

l. 20. **iustis debitisque**, 'just and due' = 'justly due'.

l. 21. **refer . . . ad senatum**, 'put it to the senate'.

l. 22. **hic ordo**, 'this House'. Catiline probably challenged Cicero to put the matter to an open vote, because he knew the senate would shrink from openly condemning him. Cicero, however, refuses to do so, because the senate had no constitutional power to pass sentence on any citizen.

l. 25. **faciam . . . intellegas**, 'I shall make you realise'.

l. 26. **metu**, ablative of separation.

l. 27. **vocem**, 'word'.

l. 27. **proficiscere**, parse carefully. After this word, there is a short pause: then, as the senate remains silent, Cicero continues with, **quid est . . .**

l. 28. **ecquid**, neuter of **ecquis** ('is there anyone who?'), is an adverbial accusative and merely emphasises the two following questions.

l. 29. **patiuntur**, 'they suffer it' = 'they approve or acquiesce'.

l. 30. **auctoritatem**, 'the expressed request'.

l. 30. **loquentium**, 'of them speaking' = 'of their speech' = 'of their words'. With **auctoritatem**, we may translate: 'a request expressed in words'.

l. 30. **voluntatem tacitorum**, 'silent expression of their will'; *lit.*, 'the will of them silent'.

l. 32. **P. Sestio**. Publius Sestius was quaestor at this time. Six years later he actively supported the return of Cicero from exile.

l. 33. **M. Marcello**. Marcellus was destined to become consul in 51 B.C., and a fierce opponent of Caesar. On being pardoned and recalled from exile in 46 B.C., he was murdered by one of his own attendants.

l. 33. **si . . . dixissem . . . intulisset.** Note the pluperfect subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis in this conditional clause (unreal in past time); 'if I had said . . . the senate would have laid'.

l. 34. **vim et manus**, hendiadys, 'violent hands'.

l. 36. **cum tacent, clamant.** For the oxymoron, see the note on Chap. VII, l. 30. **cum**, 'in that'.

l. 37. **auctoritas . . . cara**, a sarcastic reference to Section 20 where Catiline alleged that he was prepared to go into voluntary exile, if such was the senate's will.

l. 38. **vita vilissima**, English says 'lives'.

l. 38. **equites Romani.** Cicero points to the members of the equestrian order who could be seen standing in front of the temple where the senate was in session. When the House was sitting, the doors were always left open.

For the position of the equites in Roman society, see the note on Chap. IV, l. 23.

l. 39. **ceteri fortissimi cives**, i.e. those citizens who belonged neither to the senatorial nor to the equestrian order. Cicero, in particular, and Latin, in general, is very fond of superlative adjectives, where we should be satisfied with the positive form.

l. 41. **paulo ante.** Note the ablative of the measure of difference. Cicero is referring either to when Catiline entered the senate or to interruptions during his own speech.

l. 42. **iam diu . . . contineo.** For the tense (present where we use the perfect), see the note on Chap. II, l. 10.

l. 43. **eosdem**, the antecedent of **quorum**, l. 42.

l. 44. **haec**, 'this scene', i.e. the city of Rome; object of **relinquentem**.

l. 45. **prosequantur.** When a citizen went into voluntary exile, he was usually escorted out of the city by his relatives and friends. Cicero, in making a sarcastic reference to this custom, suggests that Catiline's escort will consist of men who will be glad to see him go.

CHAPTER IX

Sections 22-24

Line 1. *te . . . frangat, lit.*, 'that anything may break you' = 'could anything break down your resolution'.

l. 3. *meditere* = *mediteris*, 2nd person sing. pres. subj. of *meditor*.

l. 4. *duint*, an old form of the 3rd person plur. pres. subj. of *do*. Note that *utinam* + the present subj. expresses a wish for the future.

l. 6. *nobis* = *mihi*, dative, dependent on *impendeat*.

l. 6. *si minus in praesens tempus*, 'if not for the present'.

l. 7. *recenti . . . tuorum*, ablative absolute, 'while the memory of your crimes is still fresh'.

l. 8. *est tanti*, 'it is worth-while'. With this sentence, supply from the preceding sentence *invidiam istam mihi impendere*.

l. 8. *dum modo*, 'provided only'.

l. 11. *temporibus rei publicae*, 'the needs of the state'.

l. 12. *est postulandum*. For the nominative of the gerundive, see the note on Chap. VII, l. 12.

l. 12. *neque is es ut . . . , lit.*, 'you are not such a man that shame has ever called you back from disgrace or . . .'. The consecutive clause would be better in the passive in English: 'you are not the man to be called back from disgrace by shame', etc.

l. 15. *mihi . . . tuo*, 'against me, your personal enemy as you assert'.

l. 16. *vis*, from *volo*.

l. 17. *sermones hominum*, 'the talk of men' = 'what men will say'.

l. 20. *importuna*, 'savage'.

l. 23. *impio*, 'impious', because he is acting against his own fatherland.

l. 23. **ut isse videaris**, 'that you may seem to have gone'.

Note the personal construction with **videor**. English prefers to say, 'that it may seem that you have gone'.

l. 25. **a quo sciam esse praemissos, qui . . . praestolarentur**, *lit.*, 'by whom I know (men) have been sent ahead to wait'. **Sciam**, subjunctive after **qui** causal = 'since by you' (**cum a te**). Translate, 'since I know you have sent ahead men to wait'. **qui . . . praestolarentur**; the subjunctive is due to **qui** (final).

l. 26. **Forum Aurelium**, the modern Montalto, about fifty miles north of Rome on the great north road, called the **Via Aurelia**.

l. 27. **cui = cum tibi**. See the note above, l. 25. **tibi**, dative of the person interested.

l. 28. **a quo . . . praemissam**. Order for translation: **a quo sciam** (causal) **illam aquilam argenteam esse praemissam quam confido . . . futuram . . .**

l. 28. **quam . . . futuram**, in parenthesis.

l. 28. **aquilam illam**. According to the Roman historian and contemporary of Cicero and Catiline, Sallust, this eagle was said to have belonged to the famous Roman general Marius, who repelled two serious Gallic invasions of Italy forty years before the date of this speech, i.e. in 101 B.C.

Marius introduced many reforms in the Roman army and was the first to use the eagle as a standard.

l. 30. **sacrarium scelerum**, 'a shrine of crime'. There is a reference here to the **sacrarium** in the Roman military camp, a spot near the general's tent (**praetorium**) where the eagles were kept. The **sacrarium** was considered sacred.

l. 31. **tu ut . . . possis**, '(to think) that you can any longer go without that (eagle)'. Note that **carere** is followed by the ablative case.

l. 33. **a cuius altaribus**, 'and from its altar'. Classical Latin uses **altaria** only in the plural.

CHAPTER X

Sections 25-27

Line 1. *quo*, *lit.*, 'whither'. Translate '(to that place) where'.

l. 3. *haec res*, 'this conduct (of yours)': i.e. making war upon your country.

l. 3. *quandam incredibilem voluptatem*, 'a kind of joy beyond belief'.

l. 5. *voluntas*, 'your own inclination'.

l. 6. *non modo . . . sed ne quidem*. *non modo* = *non modo non*, as it often does when the two negative phrases have a verb in common. The negative strengthens the previous *nunquam*. Translate: 'never have you desired, I will not say peace, but even war'.

l. 7. *nisi nefarium*, 'unless (it was) a wicked one'. Cicero means civil war.

l. 7. *nactus*, from *nanciscor*.

l. 8. *ab omni . . . spe*, 'not only in every (kind of) fortune but also in hopes'.

l. 9. *conflatam*, a metaphor from metal-working, 'fused or welded'.

l. 10. *perfruere*: parse carefully.

l. 11. *bacchabere*: *bacchor* literally means, 'celebrate the rites of Bacchus', Greek god of wine. From the nature of the worship, the verb came to mean 'revel'. Cf. the English 'bacchanalia'.

l. 13. *ad huius vitae studium . . . otiosorum*. In this sentence the subject of *meditati sunt*, is *illi labores tui qui feruntur*, and the infinitives *iacere*, and *vigilare* are in apposition with *labores*.

Note that *meditati sunt* is to be translated as passive, 'were practised', although *meditor* is a deponent verb.

l. 13. *illi qui feruntur labores tui*, 'those exertions of yours which are talked about' = 'those famous exercises of yours'.

l. 14. **ad obsidendum stuprum**, 'to watch for (opportunities of) vice'.

l. 17. **habes, ubi ostentes**, 'you have a chance to show'.
ostentes, final or purpose subjunctive.

l. 19. **quibus = et eis**, 'and by them', = 'and by such hardships'.

l. 20. **senties**, 'you will find'.

l. 20. **te a consulatu reppuli**, i.e. at the consular elections for 62 B.C., held in 63 B.C. On the day before they should have been held, Cicero exposed the designs of Catiline in the senate, and took such strong precautions against violence at the actual election a few days later that Catiline was again defeated.

l. 21. **exsul**, 'as an exile': **consul**, 'as a consul'.

l. 22. **id quod . . . susceptum**, 'that which had been criminally undertaken by you' = 'your criminal undertaking', subject of **nominaretur**.

l. 24. **bellum**, a name which might have been used of an attack by a consul with full powers.

CHAPTER XI

Sections 27-29

Line 2. **patriae**, 'on the part of my country', subjective genitive, i.e. the relation between the genitive and the noun on which it depends, is the same as that between subject and verb.

l. 2. **detester ac deprecet**, 'that I may avert by entreaty and prayer'.

l. 5. **multo carior**. Note **multo**, ablative of the measure of difference and **vita mea**, ablative of comparison.

l. 6. **loquatur**, present subjunctive in the protasis of an *ideal* conditional clause. Cf. the note on Chap. VIII, l. 1. There is no regular apodosis owing to the length of the following clauses.

l. 7. **Tulli**, vocative of **Tullius**, Cicero's nomen. A Roman usually had three names, the **praenomen** (=our Christian name, i.e. the individual name), a **nomen** indicating his gens (or clan), and a **cognomen** indicating the branch of the clan. E.g. Marcus Tullius Cicero, Gaius Julius Caesar.

l. 7. **Tune** = **tu** + **ne** interrogative enclitic.

l. 10. **evocatorem servorum**, Sallust, however, who wrote a monograph on the Catilinarian Conspiracy, says that Catiline refused to employ slaves, although large numbers had rushed to join his camp.

l. 11. **exire . . . ut . . . videatur**, '(so) to depart as to appear'.

l. 13. **duci . . . rapi . . . mactari imperabis**, the accusative and infinitive is sometimes used with **impero** (instead of **ut** and **subj.**), but *only* when the infinitive is passive.

l. 14. **summo supplicio**, 'with the direst penalties'.

l. 15. **tandem**, 'pray'. See the note on Chap. I, l. 1.

l. 16. **persaepe**, a rhetorical exaggeration. Cicero gives only one example of a **privatus** putting a citizen to death, viz. that of P. Scipio Nasica killing Tiberius Gracchus, mentioned in Chap. I, l. 20. See the note.

l. 17. **an leges**. A series of laws from the first year of the Republic (509 B.C) until a few years before Cicero's birth in 106 B.C., had given every Roman citizen the right of appeal to his fellow-citizens against a sentence of death or flogging on the part of a magistrate.

In any case, even if such a sentence was passed by the people who alone had the right to exercise such power, the accused could always anticipate or avoid it by going into exile.

l. 18. **at numquam . . . tenuerunt**. Cicero's argument that those who act against the state, thereby forfeit their rights as citizens, has no legal validity.

Cicero no doubt felt that the senate's emergency decree¹ which gave unrestricted power to the consuls, therefore suspended the working of the constitution, and that men whose actions branded them as enemies of their country, were

¹ For which, see note on Chap. I, l. 18.

automatically outlawed and unable to appeal to the laws of the state for protection.

The weak point in Cicero's position arises from the fact that this emergency decree came from the senate, not from the people, and therefore the latter were in a position to refuse to acknowledge its legality.

l. 20. *invidiam posteritatis*, note the subjective genitive, 'hatred felt by posterity'. If the genitive were *objective*, the phrase would mean, 'hatred felt *for* posterity'.

l. 22. *hominem per te cognitum*, 'a man known by yourself' = 'a self-made man'.

l. 22. *nulla . . . maiorum*, 'without any recommendation of ancestors' = 'without the recommendation of ancestry'.

Cicero was a *novus homo*, i.e. he did not belong to a family which had previously held public office in Rome. He was very proud of the fact that he had risen to the highest magistracy in Rome by his own exertions, and, indeed, this was no mean achievement in the closing years of the Republic, when a comparatively few ruling families were anxious to keep all the posts for themselves to the rigid exclusion of new talent, however able and efficient. In this close oligarchy, we see one of the reasons why the Roman Republic failed to solve the numerous problems which arose, and so collapsed.

l. 23. *tam mature*. A law of 180 B.C.¹ fixed the lowest age at which a citizen could hold the various magistracies. A generation before this speech of Cicero, Sulla revised these ages and outlined the order in which various political offices could be held. So we get first, the quaestorship, minimum age 30, next, the praetorship (38), and, finally, the consulship, minimum age 43.

In another speech² Cicero proudly states that he was the only one of the *novi homines* who, so far as could be remembered, attained the consulship at the minimum age.

l. 26. *quis*, 'any', as often after *si*, *nisi*, *num*, *ne*.

l. 27. *severitatis . . . invidia*, 'the unpopularity attaching

¹ Lex Villia Annalis.

² *De Lege Agr.*, II, 2.

to severity and firmness'. Note the *objective* genitives *severitatis* and *fortitudinis* and the way in which they are translated.

l. 28. *inertiae ac nequitiae*, supply *invidia*, 'that attaching to inactivity . . . '.

CHAPTER XII

Sections 29-30

Line 1. *His sanctissimis . . . vocibus*, 'to these most solemn words'.

l. 3. *si . . . iudicarem, . . . non dedissem*. Note that the protasis of this conditional clause is *unreal* in *present* time (imperfect subjunctive), while the apodosis is *unreal* in *past* time (pluperfect subjunctive).

l. 3. *optimum factu*, 'best in the doing' = 'the best thing to do', *factu*, ablative of the supine (an ablative of respect).

l. 4. *Catilinam . . . multari*, in apposition with *hoc*, l. 3.

l. 5. *unius*, 'of a single'.

l. 6. *summi viri, clarissimi cives*. The former are the magistrates mentioned in Chap. II, l. 1-6, the latter the *privati* of Chap. I, l. 20. For the incidents referred to see the notes on these chapters.

This sentence seems to be an answer to the question of Chap. XI, l. 15. *Quid tandem te impedit? Mosne maiorum?*

Cicero has no answer to the second question *An leges*, because there was in existence no law to which he could appeal. In fact, as we pointed out in the note on that passage, the laws were directly against him.

l. 9. *verendum mihi non erat*, 'it was not to-be-feared by me', = 'I had not to fear'.

l. 10. *ne*, 'that' or 'lest'.

l. 10. *quid . . . invidiae*, 'anything of unpopularity', = 'any unpopularity'. *invidiae*, partitive gen.

l. 10. *hoc . . . interfecto*, ablative absolute, best translated by a causal clause.

l. 12. **hoc animo**, ablative of quality or description. This ablative always consists of a noun and adjective.

l. 12. **ut . . . putarem** : **partam** is the perf. part. pass. of **pario**, and **gloriam, non invidiam** is the complement to **invidiam . . . partam (esse)**.

l. 14. **qui . . . videant** : **qui** = **tales ut ei**, 'of such a kind that they' : hence the subjunctive is consecutive.

l. 16. **qui . . . aluerunt . . . corroboraverunt**. Note that **qui** is here followed by the indicative. Therefore this clause is not parallel with the previous **qui** consecutive clauses. **Qui** = 'and they'.

l. 16. **spem**, 'hopes'.

l. 16. **mollibus sententiis**, 'by lenient speeches'—a reference to the meeting of the senate which preceded the consular elections. See the note on Chap. X, l. 20 and the Introduction.

l. 19. **si . . . animadvertissem . . . dicerent**; note the protasis, *unreal* in *past* time, and the apodosis, *unreal* in *present* time : 'if I had punished, . . . they would now be saying'.

l. 20. **factum esse, lit.**, 'that it was done', = 'that I had acted'.

l. 20. **regie**, 'despotically'. Cicero is anticipating an accusation which was later often made against him by his political enemies, viz., that he had abused his consular power.

l. 24. **hoc . . . interfecto** : abl. absol., best translated by a conditional 'if' clause.

l. 26. **reprimi, non . . . comprimi posse**. For the asyndeton (absence of a conjunction), see the note on Chap. I, l. 20.

l. 28. **naufragos**, 'castaways', or 'ship-wrecked crew'.

CHAPTER XIII

Sections 31-33

Line 1. **iam diu . . . versamur**. For the tense (present = English perfect), see the note on Chap. II, l. 10.

l. 1. **in his periculis coniurationis**, 'in these dangers of a conspiracy' = 'in this dangerous conspiracy'.

l. 2. *nescio quo pacto*, *lit.*, 'I know not in what way' = 'somehow or other'. This phrase is used parenthetically, i.e. without any grammatical influence on the rest of the sentence. Cf. the use of the French, *je ne sais quoi*.

l. 4. *maturitas*, 'full force'.

l. 5. *ex tanto latrocinio*, abstract for concrete, 'from this great force of brigands'.

l. 6. *cura et metu*, ablatives of separation with *relevati*.

l. 8. *ut*, 'as'.

l. 9. *aestu febrigue*, hendiadys,¹ 'in feverish heat'.

l. 10. *iactantur* = *se iactant*, 'toss themselves' = 'toss'. The passive is often used in Latin with a reflexive or middle meaning.

l. 12. *relevatus istius poena*, '(if it is) relieved by the punishment of this fellow'.

l. 13. *reliquis vivis*, 'the rest (being) alive' = 'as long as the rest remain alive'.

l. 14. *secedant*, jussive subjunctive, 'let the wicked depart'; similarly *secernant*, *congregentur*, etc.

l. 15. *quod*, 'as'.

l. 17. *domi suae*, locative case, 'in his own home'.

l. 17. *praetoris urbani*, 'of the city praetor'. The *praetor urbanus* was the magistrate who administered justice between Roman citizens.

l. 20. *quid de re publica sentiat*, 'what he feels about the state' = 'his political sentiments'. Take this as the subject of *sit inscriptum*.

l. 24. *Catilinae profectione*, 'on Catiline's departure'.

l. 25. *omnia*, 'the whole conspiracy'.

l. 27. *cum . . . salute, cum tua peste*, *lit.*, 'with the complete salvation' . . . Translate 'to the complete salvation, . . ., to you own ruin and destruction . . .'.

¹ *lit.*, 'one thing by means of two': i.e. two co-ordinate words are used instead of an expression in which one qualifies the other.

l. 31. **Tu, Iuppiter.** Cicero now turns to the statue of Jupiter Stator in whose temple the senate is met.

l. 31. **qui . . . constitutus,** ' who was established by Romulus under the same auspices as this city '. Cicero is using rhetorical exaggeration because while Romulus vowed to erect the temple, it was not built until nearly five hundred years later, 294 B.C.

l. 32. **Statorem,** ' the Stabliher ' or ' Protector '. This meaning is slightly different from that in which, according to Livy's story, Bk. I, 12, Romulus hailed the god as the ' Stayer of Flight '.

l. 37. **inter se,** ' with one another '.

l. 38. **aeternis,** ' never-ending ' or ' unending '.

l. 38. **vivos mortuosque,** ' in life and in death '.