

Cicero medicus

Medical imagery in Cicero's
Catilinarians

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June 2021

Acknowledgements

Writing a thesis on medical imagery while the world is facing the very literal threat of the COVID-19 pandemic is a curious experience. All irony aside, the process was a challenge at times. Fortunately, I had the support of several people who ensured that I made it through unscathed.

First, I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, prof. dr. Bé Breij. Her invaluable suggestions and guidance—often paired with a much-appreciated dose of humour—helped me make the highlights of this thesis shine as bright as possible. However, this thesis is merely the beginning: I cannot wait to continue our work together in the next two years. I would also like to thank Giovanni Margiotta for his willingness to be my second reader and for his efforts in that role. And finally, I want to thank my friends in Nijmegen. I am especially grateful to Thomas Mulder and Bas van de Ven. Our shared interest in Cicero has already resulted in countless hours of entertainment, and I can only hope there will be many more of those to come.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1: The body of the Republic

On one of many tumultuous days in the life of the Roman Republic—3 February, 43 BC, to be exact—Cicero addressed the senate as follows in his eighth Philippic (*Phil.* 8.15):¹

In corpore si quid eius modi est quod reliquo corpori noceat, id uri secarique patimur ut membrum aliquod potius quam totum corpus intereat. Sic in rei publicae corpore, ut totum salvum sit, quicquid est pestiferum, amputetur.

In a human body, if something is of the sort to harm the remainder of the body, we allow it to be cauterized and cut out, so that some part or other may perish rather than the entire body. Correspondingly, in the body of the Republic, let whatever is pestiferous be amputated, in order that the whole remains well.²

“Cauterized”, “cut out”, “amputated”—these words call to mind a setting quite different from a crowded senate meeting. Nevertheless, politicians of all times have turned to medical language to express complex thoughts about power and its abuse in a vivid, appealing manner. The inherent appeal of medical imagery might be traced back to its relevance for all human beings; after all, each of us has been affected by the turmoil of disease and health at some point.

The passage quoted above ends a section in which Cicero criticizes his audience for the desire to preserve criminal citizens at all costs instead of punishing them properly for their terrible crimes—even if the punishment is execution. One of the criminal citizens Cicero alluded to moments before his comment on the body of the Republic was none other than Lucius Sergius Catilina, also known as Catiline. Almost twenty years before the delivery of the eighth Philippic, Cicero had combated the Catilinarian conspiracy—an attempt to murder the consuls of 63 BC and realize the mass cancellation of debts, among other goals—in a series of four speeches known as the Catilinarians. In these speeches, Cicero regularly used medical imagery comparable to the example from the eighth Philippic quoted above; he equates Catiline with diseases and proclaims to have a plan to “cure” the Republic. It is with these applications of medical imagery in the Catilinarians that this thesis is concerned.

¹ For the date of the speech, see Manuwald 2007, p. 906.

² All translations in this thesis are my own.

2: The Catilinarian conspiracy

Lucius Sergius Catilina was born to a patrician family, the *gens Sergia*, that had been in political and financial decay for some time despite the family's consular origin.³ After many years of military service under generals including Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus and Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Catiline became praetor in 68 BC and served as the governor of Africa in the two following years. Upon his return to Rome in 66 BC, Catiline had his eyes set on the consulship and wanted to present himself as a candidate in the consular elections for 65 BC. His candidacy, however, was rejected after Catiline was indicted for his abusive dealings as governor of Africa. Some sources claim that Catiline was involved in what would later be called the First Catilinarian conspiracy, a plot to murder the elected consuls of 65 BC on the day they assumed office. Catiline's involvement has been disputed, and he probably had no part in this conspiracy.⁴ Eventually, Catiline was acquitted of all charges concerning his time in Africa, and he decided to participate in the elections for 63 BC, where he was defeated by Cicero and Gaius Antonius Hybrida. Catiline initially persevered and ran again for 62 BC, but this time, the loss of yet another election took its toll.

In the historical sources describing his next actions, we meet Catiline as a disillusioned, bittered revolutionary who joined forces with all the politically frustrated and debt-ridden men he could find to set in motion the Second Catilinarian conspiracy, or simply *the* Catilinarian conspiracy. The main objectives of this conspiracy were to murder the consuls of 63 BC and a large group of senators, to distribute all public offices among the conspirators, and to realize the mass cancellation of debts.

Catiline's right-hand man, Gaius Manlius (another veteran of Sulla) gathered an army in Etruria while Catiline managed the conspiracy from Rome. As the threat posed by the conspiracy became clearer, the senate passed a *senatus consultum ultimum* on 21 October. According to Cicero, the conspirators' plans included setting the city on fire and murdering prominent senators—including Cicero himself. The attempt on Cicero's life, planned for the early hours of 7 November, was thwarted when an informant alerted Cicero. Cicero then summoned the senate into the temple of Jupiter Stator on the next day. There, he delivered what would become known as the first Catilinarian speech, in which he exposed Catiline's plans and ordered Catiline to leave the city. Catiline promptly did so, joining Manlius in Etruria.

Meanwhile, a delegation of the Allobroges, a Gallic people, arrived in Rome to request protection against the maltreatment they received from Lucius Murena, their governor and

³ A more thorough introduction to the Catilinarian conspiracy can be found in Dyck 2008, pp. 4-10. The introduction in this thesis is not as in-depth because it mostly serves to contextualize the research question presented in chapter 2.

⁴ For a discussion of the relevant evidence and a convincing refutation of the idea that Catiline was implicated in the First Catilinarian conspiracy, see Seager 1964.

consul in 62 BC. The conspirators informed the Allobroges of their plans, thinking they might be desperate enough to join the conspiracy in hopes of a better future. This was a grave miscalculation: the Allobroges informed Quintus Fabius Sanga of the conspirators' offer, and Sanga in turn alerted Cicero, who then ordered the Allobroges to procure evidence of the conspiracy. The evidence came in the form of letters written to the Allobroges by five of the conspirators. These letters were intercepted on the Milvian Bridge on the night of 2 December—and they remained unopened until the next day, when Cicero had them read out loud before the senate. The conspirators, who were confronted with their letters, admitted their involvement in the conspiracy. Four of them were soon imprisoned and a fifth one was added later. Instead of using the *senatus consultum ultimum* to act immediately, Cicero decided to consult the senate, most likely to ensure that he won a certain amount of political support for his actions. On 5 December, then, the senate deliberated on what to do with the imprisoned conspirators.

Following a heated debate, the verdict was that the conspirators were to be strangled in the Tullianum that night. News of the executions spread fast, and with it, the size of Catiline's army dwindled from 10,000 to 3,000 men. Catiline tried to avoid the senate's armies for some time before fighting Hybrida's army near modern-day Pistoia. Although Catiline was mortally wounded in this conflict, the real aftermath of the conspiracy had yet to come. Soon, Cicero would be accused of unlawfully executing five Roman citizens without a trial, and his arch-nemesis Clodius would exploit this act to have Cicero banished. References to the executions continued to plague Cicero until the end of his life. An example of this can be found in the eighth Philippic, already mentioned in the previous section; in this speech, delivered before the senate on 3 February, 43 BC, Cicero addressed the persistent criticism of his actions in a reflection on the necessity of bloodshed to stop criminal citizens like Catiline. In the end, Mark Antony had Cicero placed on the proscription list of 43 BC⁵, possibly in an act of revenge: Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura, his stepfather, had been among the conspirators executed in 63 BC.⁶

In the next chapter, the research question central to this thesis will be discussed along with several subsidiary research questions and the *status quaestionis*. The third chapter will provide an overview of the theoretical concepts used as a foundation for the analysis in chapters 4 and 5, while also addressing the relevance of those concepts and the methodology behind the subsequent chapters.

⁵ Cf. Plut. *Cic.* 46.

⁶ Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 55.

Chapter 2

Research question and *status quaestionis*

1: Research question

The main research question this thesis will seek to answer is: “How does Cicero use medical imagery to contribute to achieving his rhetorical and political objectives in the *Catilinarians*?” This question assumes that Cicero did in fact use medical imagery with certain rhetorical and political goals in mind; the literature discussed in the *status quaestionis* will support this assumption. In answering our research question, one aim will be to provide a clearer and more complete picture of the medical imagery in the *Catilinarians* and the role this imagery plays in Cicero’s rhetorical strategy for the individual speeches and throughout the speeches as a corpus. Special attention will be paid to the distribution of the imagery throughout the *partes orationis*, and to potential differences between the speeches *ad senatum* and those *ad populum*. We will also investigate the tradition of statesmen self-identifying as doctors to address the ongoing debate of Cicero’s potential identification as a *medicus* in the *Catilinarians*.

Before providing a *status quaestionis*, we should answer the following question: what exactly is the definition of “medical imagery” for the purposes of this thesis? Let us begin with the “imagery” part. Imagery is any form of figurative language, including but not limited to metaphor, allegory, and personification. The definition is nonspecific on purpose; our inquiry is not concerned with particular *forms* of imagery but with the *contents* of medical imagery.⁷ Moreover, the *Catilinarians* form a small corpus, which means that studying multiple forms of imagery is a manageable task.

The definition of “medical” is more complicated. In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, “medical” is defined as “of, relating to, or designating the science or practice of medicine in general, or its practitioners”.⁸ Since Cicero was not a medical professional and was unlikely to discuss the intricate technicalities of medicine as a science in his speeches, a different definition is in order. In this thesis, then, “medical” words are words that can be used to describe the condition of a body (which may also be a metaphorical body) or to indicate any *changes* (past, present/ongoing, and future) in the condition of a body.⁹ This definition is inspired mostly by the importance of body-political imagery in Republican oratory.¹⁰ Based on the existing work on

⁷ Because of this emphasis on the contents of medical imagery, the chapter on rhetorical theory (chapter 3) will not contain a discussion of ancient theories about imagery.

⁸ Cf. *OED* s.v. “medical”.

⁹ To give two examples: an adjective such as “well” qualifies as medical when applied to a (metaphorical) body because it describes the condition of that body; likewise, a verb such as “to cut” (in the context of surgery) qualifies as medical because the end goal of surgery is to improve one’s health—thereby indicating a change in the condition of a body.

¹⁰ This importance is demonstrated most clearly in Walters’ 2020 work *The Deaths of the Republic: Imagery of the Body Politic in Ciceronian Rome*. See the *status quaestionis* below for a summary of the most relevant points Walters makes.

Cicero's use of medical imagery, the odds of encountering many references to the metaphorical body of the Roman Republic in the *Catilinarians* were estimated to be high. Another factor contributing to the definition is the fact that the *object* of medicine is usually a body. Combining these two factors, it seemed logical to focus on the body and its many possible conditions as the central "medical" construct guiding my analysis. By not limiting myself beforehand in any bodily conditions to study beforehand, I was free to incorporate as many aspects of sickness and health as I could find into the final analysis. This, in turn, paved the way for an answer to the main research question that was as comprehensive as possible, doing justice to the pervasiveness of reflecting on the world in terms of disease and health in Cicero's Rome.

2: *Status quaestionis*: the relevance and prevalence of medical imagery in the *Catilinarians*

At the time of writing, there exists no complete survey of Cicero's use of medical imagery in the *Catilinarians*, which is remarkable given the large quantity of medical imagery in the speeches and their importance as presented in this thesis. However, many scholars have *noted* the medical imagery in the speeches. We will now discuss some of their findings.

In his 2008 commentary on the *Catilinarians*, Dyck makes note of several prominent occurrences of medical imagery, such as the comparison between someone sick with a fever and the metaphorical body of the Republic in *Cat.* 1.31. Dissecting all potential instances of medical imagery would contribute little to the main objective of a commentary such as Dyck's, which is to guide advanced undergraduates and graduate students through the speeches, and therefore, it makes sense that Dyck's selection of medical imagery is limited. Accordingly, our selection will be much more extensive. Dyck connects Cicero's use of medical imagery to Demosthenes' habit of using comparable imagery.¹¹ On Demosthenes' imagery, Wooten writes that one of the ways in which Demosthenes used medical imagery was to discriminate between true and false (or rather superficial) causes of political problems in Athens.¹²

Dyck mentions Berry's commentary on the *Pro Sulla*, a speech Cicero delivered after the *Catilinarian* conspiracy, in 62 BC.¹³ As Berry writes, "...imagery of sickness and healing is frequently used by Cicero with reference to the state . . .and in connection with the *Catilinarian* conspiracy."¹⁴ Berry then lists several examples from the *Catilinarians*.¹⁵ It is notable that Cicero continued his use of medical imagery applied to the *Catilinarian* conspiracy in the *Pro Sulla*; this

¹¹ Cf. Dyck 2008, p. 120 and p. 141.

¹² Cf. Wooten 1979, p. 158. On Demosthenes' use of medical imagery, see Das 2015.

¹³ For the date of *Pro Sulla*, see Berry 1996, p. 14.

¹⁴ Cf. Berry 1996, p. 287.

¹⁵ The examples are *Cat.* 1.12; 1.31; 2.7; 2.11; 2.17; 2.25; 3.14; 4.2 (all to be found in Berry 1996, p. 287).

suggests that the connection between the conspiracy and medical imagery was a deliberately crafted one.¹⁶

Another author mentioned by Dyck is Leff, who writes on the possible connections between Cicero's use of medical imagery in the *Catilinarians* and scapegoat rituals, using Burke's theory of redemptive identification to explore this connection.¹⁷

Gildenhard, discussing the "conceptual creativity" of Ciceronian oratory (referring to Cicero's novel use of concepts from the areas we now call anthropology, sociology, and theology), notices the frequent use of the body politic metaphor in Cicero's work.¹⁸ The *Catilinarians* are mentioned to illustrate Cicero's use of this metaphor in his incorporation of sociological concepts such as community in his speeches.¹⁹ We will address concepts of communality in our later thematic analysis.

The most relevant work for our thesis is one that has appeared recently: Walters' 2020 monograph *The Deaths of the Republic: Imagery of the Body Politic in Ciceronian Rome*. Walters studies the use of body-political imagery in the second and first century BC, with an emphasis on Cicero, and investigates the persuasiveness of such imagery. In his introduction, Walters writes the following: "Images of the embodied state possessed an evocative logic that reduced complex ideas about power, status, and obligation to a readily intuitive corpus of corporeal knowledge."²⁰ Our analysis in chapters 4 and 5 will corroborate this statement. Walters' second chapter, "Healing the State with Violence", is about the use of disease and health imagery in Roman oratory, beginning with Cato the Elder's remarks on the tribune M. Caelius in 184 BC and ending with Pompey's term as *consul sine collega* following the murder of Clodius in 52 BC.²¹ In his analysis, he points out the importance of motifs such as the *salus rei publicae* (the well-being of the Republic) within Republican oratory before discussing the justification of violence through medical imagery, a topic we will be addressing thoroughly as well. Walters' treatment of medical imagery in the *Catilinarians* is the most complete I have found, containing over forty examples

¹⁶ At least one scholar has claimed that Cicero does not use persistent forms of imagery in his speeches; see Fantham 1972, pp. 139-40. Aside from our observation on the occurrence of medical imagery in both the *Catilinarians* and the *Pro Sulla*, Fantham's claim can also be challenged by pointing towards the work produced on Cicero's structural use of metaphor in recent years (see, for example, Sjöblad 2009).

¹⁷ Cf. Leff 1973, pp. 171-4 for the examples of medical imagery. The concept of redemptive identification can be roughly defined as follows (summarizing Leff 1973, pp. 161-2): redemptive identification occurs through a rhetorical transaction in which the involved parties are linked by a common self-conception of sinfulness. This sinfulness is externalized by projecting it on a designated scapegoat. Destroying the scapegoat (either literally or metaphorically) ensures that all parties are purged of the sins plaguing them internally. In the *Catilinarians*, Catiline would of course be the designated scapegoat. The emphasis on *purging* people of sins within the framework of redemptive identification also explains why Leff specifically mentions the importance of (medical) purgation imagery in the *Catilinarians*.

¹⁸ Cf. Gildenhard 2011, pp. 130-2.

¹⁹ Gildenhard mentions the following sections (cf. Gildenhard 2011, pp. 130-2): *Cat.* 1.11; 1.23; 1.31; 2.1; 2.2.

²⁰ Cf. Walters 2020, p. 1.

²¹ Cf. Walters 2020, pp. 27-51.

from the speeches, although only several examples receive an in-depth analysis.²² This thesis complements Walters' analysis by providing more examples and by discussing them more extensively, while also seeking to contrast Walters' views on some matters, including the question of Cicero's possible self-identification as a *medicus*.²³

In the following chapter, the rhetorical theory used as a foundation for answering the research questions will be discussed. After the theoretical section, a summary of the four Catilinarians will be given. The chapter will end with a section on the methodology and terminology used in this thesis.

²² For an overview of examples from the Catilinarians discussed by Walters, see Walters 2020, pp. 140-1. As can be seen in this *index locorum*, many of the examples are treated within the same few pages, confirming that most examples are indeed not discussed extensively.

²³ Walters' views on this self-identification will be discussed in chapter 3 and once more in chapter 5.

Chapter 3

Rhetorical theory, terminology, and methodology

1: *Ethos, pathos, logos*, and the statesman turned doctor

In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle defines three so-called *pisteis*, instruments of persuasion, as *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*.²⁴ Whereas *pathos* is concerned with the arousal of emotions in the audience and *logos* represents the rational, logical side of argumentation, *ethos* has to do with character, and especially with one's *moral* character. This conception of "character" refers not only to the character of the orator, but also to the audience's character and that of any opponents.²⁵ Of Aristotle's *pisteis*, *ethos* is the most relevant to our investigation. Our definition of "medical imagery" is focused on the body as a central construct, and while we will encounter metaphorical bodies in our analysis of the Catilinarians, many occurrences of medical imagery will turn out to be applied to human bodies—and, consequently, to the characters of those humans. *Pathos* is another crucial concept: we will see that Cicero used medical imagery in highly emotional contexts, appealing to his audience's hopes and fears to persuade them. Finally, in the previous chapter, we mentioned the power of medical imagery in exploring the meaning of complex social constructs; in this power, the relevance of *logos* to our research can be found. Because medical imagery was found to be used most frequently in connection with *ethos* and *pathos* in the Catilinarians, these two *pisteis* will be discussed more extensively in the remainder of this section.

To Aristotle, the demonstration of an orator's character had to completely rely on the orator's words *within a speech*; outside influences such as the orator's pre-existing reputation were not considered to be "entechnic" (derived from the speech act itself), and Aristotle did consider his three *pisteis* to be entechnic. In Cicero's Rome, one's *ethos* was not limited to a speech. Steeped in a long tradition in which the *mos maiorum* ("ancestral customs") and *auctoritas* ("authority") could immensely impact one's life, orators were constantly shaping and re-shaping the presentation of their character.²⁶ We must also note that Cicero does not use a one-on-one Latin equivalent of *ethos* in his rhetorical works. Instead, Cicero turns *ethos* into an activity, linking the concept with one of the tasks of the orator: to win the favour of the audience, expressed with the word *conciliare*.²⁷

There were many strategies for winning the audience's favour. For example, an orator could emphasize *dignitas* (dignity), *res gestae* (deeds) and *existimatio* (reputation).²⁸ Moreover,

²⁴ Cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1355b35.

²⁵ Cf. May 1988, p. 2.

²⁶ For the changes visible in Roman conceptions of *ethos* compared to the Greek tradition, cf. May 1988, pp. 5-9.

²⁷ Cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.182. See the discussion in May 1988, p. 4 for this connection.

²⁸ Cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.182 and May 1988, p. 9.

orators had lists of commonplaces to their disposal to aid in praising or criticizing people; one of these lists is incorporated in Cicero's own *De inventione*.²⁹ In this list, attributes such as someone's name, place of birth, manner of life, and even one's fortune are presented as suitable arguments for "proving" aspects of someone's character. In our later analysis, we will be observing instances where Cicero's use of medical imagery can be linked to his use of commonplaces to either boost or attack someone's *ethos*.

A concept related to *ethos* is that of the *persona*. Originally referring to a "character" in a theatrical performance, the term *persona* was also applied more broadly to people performing a certain function in a specific setting, and the study of Cicero's political and forensic *personae* has received quite some attention.³⁰ For our thesis, the term is relevant in a subsidiary research question: does Cicero adopt the *persona* of a *medicus* in the *Catilinarians*? If the answer to this question turns out to be positive, Cicero would not be the first statesman to portray himself as a doctor. The self-fashioning of statesmen as doctors was already a prominent theme in, for instance, Plato's *Gorgias*. There, the ideal philosopher-politician is conceived of by Socrates as a doctor applying himself to make the Athenians the best men he can possibly make them.³¹ Esteemed Greek orators including Demosthenes also positioned themselves as doctors dispensing medical advice to the people.³²

In the extant works of Roman oratory from the Republican period, we have no examples of orators explicitly identifying themselves as doctors; the closest example of such an identification we *do* have, can be found in Plutarch's biography of Cato the Elder.³³ Scholars attempting to clarify the lack of these identifications in Roman oratory have pointed toward *auctoritas* as the problem; Gildenhard and Walters, for instance, claim that an explicit self-identification as a *medicus* would have resulted in irreparable damage to Cicero's *auctoritas*.³⁴ This has everything to do with the social status and reputation of doctors in ancient Rome.

First, a definition of *auctoritas* is in order. *Auctoritas*, in short, is the result of possessing an *ethos* worth respecting. Aside from the influence people had in establishing their own *auctoritas* (through the attainment of political office, for instance), there was a conception of *auctoritas* as an inherited trait spanning multiple generations.³⁵ The immense influence of

²⁹ Cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1.34-36.

³⁰ For political *personae*, see Kenty 2020, centred around an analysis of eight of Cicero's political *personae* in the speeches from his *post reditum* period. For an example of the study of Cicero's forensic *personae*, see May 1995, where the *persona* of Cicero as a concerned father in the *Pro Caelio* is discussed.

³¹ Cf. Pl. *Grg.* 521a2-5 (on which, see Ricciardone 2014, pp. 292-3). Other places in the works of Plato where the statesman-as-doctor is mentioned can be found in Brock 2013, pp. 71-3.

³² Cf. Walters 2020, pp. 33-4.

³³ For the observation that there are no examples of identifications as a *medicus* in Roman oratory, cf. Walters 2020, pp. 33-4. For the example in Plutarch, cf. Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 16.5.

³⁴ Gildenhard 2011, p. 130; Walters 2020, p. 34.

³⁵ Cf. May 1988, p. 6.

auctoritas in Roman oratory³⁶ can be attributed to the Roman habit of suspending judgment on important matters and leaving those to a selection of *auctores* with the necessary *auctoritas* to deliberate on those matters.³⁷ *Medici* in Cicero's Rome were, for the greater part, foreigners, and slaves.³⁸ As such, they would have little to no *auctoritas* to begin with. Adding to this, according to Walters, is the overall negative reputation of doctors in Rome, predominantly fuelled by Cato the Elder's hatred of Greek doctors.³⁹ However, Cato's sentiments cannot be interpreted as the only view on *medici*. In his personal correspondence, Cicero speaks highly of certain *medici*, and to members of the political elite in the second and first centuries BC, acquiring Greek doctors as part of their personal staff was not out of the ordinary at all—something Walters readily admits.⁴⁰ Considering Cicero's own opinions and the possibility of a survivorship bias being present in the analyses of Goldenhard and Walters⁴¹, their objections concerning *auctoritas* might be negligible. We will revisit the question of Cicero's identification as a *medicus* near the end of this thesis.

For now, another topic should be mentioned, and that is the concept of *pathos*. As mentioned before, *pathos* is another one of Aristotle's entechnic *pisteis* and has to do with the arousal of emotions in the orator's audience. For this, too, there existed lists of commonplaces orators could use, and for our investigation, the commonplaces used to arouse pity and indignation are the most relevant. In Cicero's *De inventione*, these emotions are deemed most appropriate when incorporated into the *peroratio* of a speech.⁴² As part of our thematic analysis, we will investigate the way in which Cicero uses medical imagery to arouse pity and indignation, while also paying attention to the *partes orationis* in which these emotional forms of medical imagery occur.

2: The Catilinarians as a corpus

In the course of November and December, 63 BC, Cicero delivered several speeches which were published in 60 BC and would gain widespread popularity.⁴³ These speeches are the Catilinarian

³⁶ On the relation between *auctoritas* and Roman oratory, see Eckert 2018, pp. 25-29, where an overview is given of the social structures in Rome that contribute to the power of *auctoritas*.

³⁷ On this habit, see Heinze 1925, p. 358 and May 1988, p. 7.

³⁸ On the varied origin of Roman *medici*, see Nutton 1992, p. 38.

³⁹ Cf. Walters 2020, pp. 35-6.

⁴⁰ Cf. Walters 2020, p. 35. For an example of Cicero warmly recommending a *medicus* to someone, see Cic. *Fam.* 13.20 (where he recommends Asclapo of Patrae to Servius Sulpicius Rufus).

⁴¹ To be exact, this survivorship bias would be that both Goldenhard and Walters attempt to draw universal conclusions from an inherently incomplete dataset—after all, most of the works of oratory from the Republican period have not survived to our times.

⁴² For Cicero's lists of commonplaces on this topic, see *Inv.* 1.100-105 (for indignation) and 1.106-109 (for pity). Many of these commonplaces are also mentioned in *Rhet. Her.* 2.48-49 (indignation) and 2.50 (pity).

⁴³ Cf. Dyck 2008, pp. 10-11.

orations, also known as the Catilinarians. It is likely that the published versions of the speeches contain minor revisions, though the extent of these revisions remains a fiercely debated issue.⁴⁴

The first speech was most likely delivered on 8 November before the senate, in the temple of Jupiter Stator.⁴⁵ Cicero's goal was to alienate Catiline, who was present at this meeting, from the other senators by convincing Catiline that his plot had been uncovered and by persuading his fellow senators that Catiline did indeed pose a danger to the Republic.⁴⁶ In demonstrating the danger of the conspiracy, Cicero refers not only to the plans that were laid out for the attempt on his own life, but also to Manlius' plans for an armed uprising on 27 October and the intended occupation of Praeneste on 1 November.⁴⁷ In this speech, we clearly see the shaping of Cicero's own consular *ethos* that takes place through the construction of a contrast between himself and Catiline.⁴⁸ The speech ends with Cicero exhorting Catiline to leave the city, leading to his destruction, and with a prediction that Jupiter will protect the well-being of Rome.

The second speech was delivered at a *contio*, a meeting for the Roman people, on the day following the first Catilinarian.⁴⁹ While Cicero does report on the senate's deliberations of the day before, the second Catilinarian is more than a repetition of the previous speech. Cicero comments on Catiline's departure from the city following the first speech, emphasizing that he did not order Catiline to go into *exile* as some were claiming. Most of the speech is used to create an even stronger contrast between Cicero and the senate on one hand and Catiline and his fellow conspirators on the other hand, continuing the trend of bolstering Cicero's own *ethos* from the first speech. Cicero creates an elaborate categorization of the conspirators into six groups, which are then closely analysed for their faults and for ways to remedy those faults.⁵⁰ Finally, Cicero describes the conflict as a war, portraying himself as the *dux togatus* of the Roman people.⁵¹

⁴⁴ The highlights of the debate are outlined in Dyck 2008, p. 11. One recent contribution to the debate should be mentioned here: Berry argues for the view that about 90 percent of the contents of the published speeches correspond with the speeches delivered in 63 BC (cf. Berry 2020, pp. 59-82), but that Cicero has heavily edited certain sections. One of Berry's reasons for thinking that there have been serious revisions is that, according to him, the Catilinarians sometimes contain comments that are much more relevant for the political situation of 60 BC than for the situation of 63 BC. However, this argumentation is based on rather subjective judgments of what Cicero might or might not have thought at certain times—a method with many potential pitfalls, as Dyck warns (cf. Dyck 2008, p. 11).

⁴⁵ On the date and location of the speech, see Dyck 2008, p. 60 and pp. 243-4. The date of the first Catilinarian is uncertain because it has to be reconstructed from ambiguous references within the speeches; in particular, Cicero's temporal use of the terms *proximus* and *superior* poses a problem. I accept Dyck's analysis of the available evidence and his conclusion that 8 November is the most probable date (cf. pp. 243-4).

⁴⁶ On this "double aim" of the speech, see Steel 2006, pp. 64-6.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Cat.* 1.7-10 for Cicero's exposure of the conspirators' plans.

⁴⁸ Cf. Batstone 1994 (especially pp. 216-7 for a summary of his views).

⁴⁹ For the date of the speech and the place of this speech within Cicero's other consular *contiones*, see Dyck 2008, pp. 123-4.

⁵⁰ The categorization can be found in *Cat.* 2.17-23.

⁵¹ On the *dux togatus* motif: see, for instance, May 1988, pp. 56-8.

Cicero attempts to show the Roman people that he is aware of the danger the conspiracy poses and that he is a capable head of state, ready to guide his people through this crisis.⁵²

On 3 December, following the interception of the conspirators' letters to the Allobroges, Cicero summoned the senate to the temple of Concordia to discuss the evidence.⁵³ That night, Cicero delivered the third Catilinarian in another *contio* before the Roman people—another speech in which he did more than merely report on the senate meeting. We read that four conspirators were confronted with their letters, leading to emotional confessions, and that nine conspirators in total were then condemned by name in a senatorial decree.⁵⁴ The ensuing salvation of the city ought to be celebrated with a *supplicatio*, a ceremony of thanksgiving to the gods and those who were involved in condemning the conspirators. Obviously, Cicero considers himself to be one of those who should be thanked, and it is here that we see another attempt to bolster his consular *ethos*.⁵⁵ He compares the conspiracy to large conflicts from the past before asking the Roman people to remember this day forever, ensuring that his exposure of the conspiracy is included into his own *res gestae* from now on.⁵⁶

The Roman *carcer* soon contained five of the nine condemned conspirators. However, imprisonment was rarely used with the express purpose of punishing criminals in Rome; the senate had yet to decide on the conspirators' fate. The fourth and final Catilinarian, delivered before the senate on 5 December, was part of this debate.⁵⁷ Two major proposals were brought forth: Caesar argued for long-term imprisonment outside Rome, combined with the confiscation of all their possessions, while Decimus Junius Silanus (one of the *consules designati* for 62 BC) preferred the death penalty.⁵⁸ The rhetorical challenge for Cicero in this speech is to be found in the balancing act of wanting to appear impartial while still arguing (implicitly) for the proposal of Silanus.⁵⁹ A substantial portion of Cicero's speech deals with dispelling potential accusations of cruelty, which he thought he could expect if he proclaimed his support for Silanus' proposal.⁶⁰ The speech is filled with emotional appeals: in the *exordium* and in the *peroratio*, Cicero calls upon the senators to take care of their families and children⁶¹, while he himself asks for nothing

⁵² For a discussion of Cicero's goals in this speech, cf. Manuwald 2012, p. 163.

⁵³ For the date and information on the earlier senate meeting in the temple of Concordia, see Dyck 2008, pp. 164-5.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Cat.* 3.10-13 (for the confessions) and 3.14 (for the senatorial decree).

⁵⁵ Cf. Berry 2020, p. 126.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Cat.* 3.26-29. For the importance of one's *res gestae* in establishing one's *ethos* in Roman society, cf. May 1988, p. 9 and *Cic. De or.* 2.182.

⁵⁷ For the date and setting of the speech, see Dyck 2008, p. 207.

⁵⁸ For an overview of the exact contents of each proposal and the people who supported them, see Berry 2020, pp. 166-7.

⁵⁹ On this challenge, see Berry 2020, pp. 170-1.

⁶⁰ An example of Cicero's reaction to accusations of cruelty can be found in *Cat.* 4.11.

⁶¹ Cf. *Cat.* 4.1 and 4.24.

but the perpetual memory of his consulship, entrusting his son to the care of the senators if anything were to happen to him.⁶²

For our later applications of ancient rhetorical theory to the speeches, it is important to determine what type of speeches the Catilinarians are.⁶³ While mainly considered to be political or deliberative speeches, the Catilinarians show many traits of forensic and demonstrative speeches. The first speech contains some elements of the demonstrative tradition with its invective accusations of Catiline; in turn, these accusations and the way Cicero exposes the conspirators' plans remind us of forensic oratory.⁶⁴ We may also attribute an invective character to the second speech; in his discussion of the six groups of conspirators, Cicero regularly accuses them of all sorts of vices.⁶⁵ Another side of this demonstrative aspect can be seen in Cicero's self-promotion as a competent consul.⁶⁶ The third speech can be analysed in a comparable way. Cicero spends a lot of time on developing his *ethos* as a consul, commending himself for his efforts and the way he combated the conspiracy, complementing the deliberative goal of reporting on recent matters in the hope of persuading the people to form the opinions Cicero wants them to have on these recent events.⁶⁷ Since the third speech was a report of a senate meeting earlier that day that took on aspects of a trial, and since concrete evidence for certain accusations is also discussed in the speech, some traces of forensic oratory may also be pointed out.⁶⁸ The fourth Catilinarian most closely resembles a "true" deliberative speech, but even in this speech, forensic as well as demonstrative elements can be found.⁶⁹

3: Methodology and terminology

For reading the speeches, the 2003 edition of Maslowski was used, supplemented with Dyck's 2008 commentary, which was a useful resource for identifying some of the more obvious instances of medical imagery in the speeches. While reading the speeches, all potential forms of medical imagery were collected in a table. The relevance of these preliminary findings was

⁶² Cf. *Cat.* 4.23.

⁶³ The reason for this is that much of the advice in, for example, Cicero's *De inventione* was geared towards forensic oratory. While this does not imply that none of the advice in works like *De inventione* can be applied to non-forensic speeches, it *does* mean that we should be very cautious in doing so.

⁶⁴ For invective practices in the first speech, cf. Craig 2007; for the judicial factors, cf. Batstone 1994, pp. 216-7 and Dyck 2008, p. 61. According to Berry 2020, p. 90, the first speech should be considered as a speech of blame while not being a true invective. This seems like a reasonable perspective that leaves room for the complexity of assigning the first Catilinarian to a distinct type of oratory.

⁶⁵ Cf. May 1988, pp. 51-2.

⁶⁶ The many layers of Cicero's aims in the second speech are summarized in Manuwald 2012, p. 165.

⁶⁷ For this view on the second and third speeches as deliberative speeches with a focus on reporting to the citizens and persuading them through the report, cf. Berry 2020, p. 90. For elements of self-fashioning of Cicero's *ethos* in the third speech (and the second speech to a large degree), see Manuwald 2012, pp. 168-70.

⁶⁸ On the "trial" aspect, see Dyck 2008, p. 165.

⁶⁹ For the forensic elements, cf. Winterbottom 2019, p. 95; the demonstrative elements can be seen, for example, in the end of *Cat.* 4.20, where Cicero says how he alone has received a public thanksgiving for not just serving but *preserving* the Republic.

tested by consulting the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* to ensure that suspected medical words were in fact used medically by authors from the first century BC. The next step was to determine if the identified words were used medically in the specific context in which they were found. In dubious cases, the most important criterion for inclusion in the final analysis was the proximity of a potentially medical word to other words from the medical domain. Irrelevant findings were then omitted.

A linear analysis of the medical motifs per speech was deemed to be too repetitive. Moreover, such an approach could be problematic for answering our main research question, a process that requires us to focus on both the bigger picture and the individual speeches. Therefore, a thematic approach to the final analysis was chosen. To facilitate this approach, the remaining findings were roughly sorted into two categories, one for *negative medical imagery* and one for *positive medical imagery*. “Negative” and “positive” in this context do not refer to any emotions these words might evoke by themselves; they refer to the connotations of the underlying medical concepts. For instance, “to hurt” would be an example of a negative medical term, while “to cure” would be a positive medical term. The terms of positive and negative medical imagery were chosen because the simpler categories of “disease” and “health” are too restrictive. This can be illustrated with an example: when Cicero refers to the physical weakness of the conspirators in *Cat. 2.10* with words such as *debilitati* (“incapacitated”), he is most likely not referring to an actual disease, though he is still commenting on a *negative* aspect of their physical health. “Negative medical imagery” describes this type of imagery better than “disease imagery”.

There is, however, a problem to be found in this categorization: the medical domain knows many *interactions* between disease and health, and for certain instances of medical imagery, it might be difficult to choose one category. For instance, a verb such as *sano* (“to cure”) can be assigned to both positive medical imagery (emphasizing the improvement in health that takes place when someone is cured) and negative medical imagery (since it is impossible to cure someone who is not already sick).⁷⁰ In such cases where both categories were relevant, the context in which the imagery was found was used to determine which of the two aspects—the positive or the negative aspect—was more important to the analysis of that particular finding.

The two categories are discussed in separate chapters: chapter 4 contains our analysis of negative medical imagery and in chapter 5, we will discuss positive medical imagery. For each category, one leading medical motif was chosen to dedicate an in-depth analysis to. For the category of negative medical imagery, *pestis* (“plague”) was chosen as the leading motif, and for

⁷⁰ In the case of *sano*, the verb was eventually included in the chapter on positive medical imagery because the aspect of health improvement was felt to be more important, based on the contexts in which *sano* is found in the speeches.

the category of positive medical imagery, *salus* (“well-being”) was chosen. These motifs were chosen based on the frequency with which they occurred in the speeches. The remaining findings were bundled into smaller themes, so that approximately three examples per theme could sufficiently illustrate Cicero’s use of the imagery within each theme.

For each example, the full Latin sentence and a translation will be given, followed with an analysis of the content, medical dimension, and style. At the end of each subsection, the relevance of the examples in that section to Cicero’s overall “medical rhetoric” in the *Catilinarians* will be explained.

Chapter 4

The plague you have been plotting: forms of negative medical imagery in the Catilinarians

1: *Pestis*: disease and the conspiracy

One of the most memorable ways in which Cicero incorporates disease imagery in the Catilinarians is by introducing the word *pestis* at crucial moments. Therefore, we will begin our inquiry into Cicero's use of negative medical imagery by analysing the various instances of *pestis*. This analysis will serve as a foundation for further discussion of negative medical imagery and its rhetorical force in the Catilinarians.

Common translations of *pestis* include “physical destruction” and “death” (or the instruments used to achieve those ends), but also “plague” and “epidemic”.⁷¹ In the Catilinarians, *pestis* is frequently juxtaposed with other words relating to health. Reading *pestis* medically—as a “plague”—throughout the speeches almost comes naturally. Cicero manages to transform *pestis* into a powerful weapon against Catiline and his followers by consistently connecting it to various aspects of the conspiracy, creating oppositions between sickness and health, as we shall see.⁷²

The first time we encounter *pestis* in the Catilinarians is in the *exordium* of the first speech.⁷³ The *exordium* traditionally has several important functions: it should make the audience benevolent (*benevolus*), receptive (*docilis*) and attentive (*attentus*).⁷⁴ Rhetorical advice on how to set up a proper *exordium* is usually directed at judicial speeches, so we must be mindful in applying the recommendations from rhetorical handbooks to deliberative speeches like the Catilinarians.⁷⁵ As Quintilian notes, however, there are some undeniable similarities between these two types of speeches: deliberative speeches, just like their judicial counterparts, should at the very least include an attempt to gain the benevolence (*benevolentia*) of the audience (whether the audience consists solely of senators or not).⁷⁶ Gaining this *benevolentia* is possible in several ways, most of which are related to *ethos* as an instrument of persuasion. For instance, in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, we read that we can make the audience well-disposed to us in four ways, three of which have to do with character: by discussing our own character, the character of our adversary, the character of the audience itself or the matters at hand

⁷¹ Physical destruction and death: *OLD* s.v. 1; plague and epidemic: *OLD* s.v. 2; instrument of death: *OLD* s.v. 3; personal ruin: *OLD* s.v. 4.

⁷² While the connection between Catiline and *pestis* has been noted before (see, for instance, Leff 1973, pp. 172-3; Walters 2020, pp. 31-2), the various instances of *pestis* do not seem to have received a very thorough treatment before.

⁷³ I follow Dyck's analysis of the structure of the speech (Dyck 2008, pp. 61-2).

⁷⁴ Cic. *De or.* 2.80.

⁷⁵ The first Catilinarian in particular contains several judicial elements: cf. Batstone 1994, pp. 216-7; Dyck 2008, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.7.

themselves.⁷⁷ This makes the *exordium* an especially suitable place for Cicero to begin setting up a connection between Catiline and a plague: Catiline's *ethos* is attacked by comparing his conspiracy to a disease.

In the somewhat irregular *exordium*⁷⁸ of the first Catilinarian, spanning the first two sections, Cicero describes the paradoxical situation that has now been created: Catiline is a danger to the *res publica*, and yet, he roams about freely, even participating in senate deliberations. This should not have been allowed to happen according to Cicero (*Cat.* 1.2):

*Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri **pestem** istam quam tu in nos omnis iam diu machinaris.*

To have you being led to your death, Catiline, on a consul's orders was necessary long ago already, and that **plague** which you have long been plotting for all of us should be brought upon yourself.

By emphasizing that Catiline's plague is directed at all citizens (*pestem quam tu in nos omnis...machinaris*), Cicero incorporates one of the seventeen standard invective *loci* identified by Christopher Craig: cruelty to citizens and allies.⁷⁹ In this instance, it is not Catiline himself who is compared to a plague, but rather his conspiracy and the plans for death and destruction included in it. The addition of *istam* intensifies the contempt Cicero expresses in this sentence.⁸⁰ The fact that *pestis* is introduced almost immediately in the Catilinarians is not only a strategy that is rhetorically sound, but it creates the expectation that this motif will be a recurring one, as it indeed turns out to be.⁸¹ The connection between Catiline and the image of a *pestis* will be strengthened by repeating it in the remainder of the speech.

Not only are *pestis* and other forms of negative medical imagery connected to Catiline, but combinations of "bad" people and medical conditions are also regularly placed in opposition

⁷⁷ *Rhet. Her.* 1.8.

⁷⁸ Two examples of the irregularity of this *exordium*: a speech for the Senate is supposed to begin with a formal address of the senators (such as *patres conscripti*), which is not the case here; moreover, it was generally advised not to begin a speech "wherever one pleases" (*unde libuit*), as Quintilian describes it, and in this speech, Cicero opens fire on Catiline with a series of rhetorical questions lacking any proper introduction. (Cf. Dyck 2008, pp. 62-3; Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.6)

⁷⁹ For a list of the seventeen *loci*, see Craig 2004, pp. 190-1. For an overview of the *loci* in the first Catilinarian, see Craig 2007, pp. 336-7. As for Craig's sources: his list is based on the works of several scholars, but Cic. *Inv.* 1.34-36 features a fundamental list of topics that can be used for an *argumentum ex persona* (an argument from character), and a list of topics for praise and censure in epideictic oratory can be found in *Rhet. Her.* 3.10-15.

⁸⁰ For forms of *iste* with a negative connotation, cf. *OLD* s.v. 3.

⁸¹ On the expectations set in this *exordium*, see Dyck 2008, p. 63. As for the other occurrences of *pestis* in the Catilinarians: the word can be found in *Cat.* 1.2; 1.11; 1.30 (twice); 1.33; 2.1; 2.2; 4.3. All these examples will be discussed in this chapter.

with positive medical imagery, which in turn tends to be connected to “good people” (such as Cicero, the Senate, and the *boni* in general).⁸² Oppositions of right and wrong are explored in terms of oppositions between sickness and health. Such an opposition occurs in *Cat.* 1.11:

Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus.

We are greatly indebted to the immortal gods and especially to Jupiter Stator, the most ancient defender of this city, for having escaped this hideous **plague**, so horrible and so dangerous to the Republic, so many times already.

The *pestis* seems to be referring to Catiline’s conspiracy instead of Catiline alone. This *pestis* gains force by the alliteration in *rei publicae pestem* and the *tricolon* of negative adjectives (*taetram*, *horribilem* and *infestam*, all paired with *tam* for even more emphasis) further qualifying it. The immortal gods and Jupiter Stator, the god whose temple was the setting for the first Catilinarian speech⁸³, are thanked for their protection against this plague. Saying that the Roman people should thank the gods for escaping the consequences of Catiline’s actions implies that the gods disapprove of Catiline’s actions and are on the side of the Senate: a powerful way of further alienating Catiline from the other senators. Moreover, this religious dimension has strong ties with the medical domain: *pestes* were thought to result directly from the anger of the gods⁸⁴—and if Catiline’s conspiracy is a *pestis*, the gods must be furious.

The next two instances of *pestis* in the first speech are to be found in the second *digressio* of the speech⁸⁵, spanning sections 27 to 32, in which an extensive *prosopopoeia* of the *res publica* is used to underscore the urgency of the current situation in Rome. We might characterize this *digressio* as a special type of digression proposed by James May: a so-called *ethica digressio*.⁸⁶ An *ethica digressio* differs from a regular *digressio* in one important way: it must be placed immediately before the *peroratio* of the speech—as is this digression in the first Catilinarian. Another characteristic of an *ethica digressio* is its reliance on combining extensive portrayals of character with an increase in *pathos*. In the present *digressio*, we are certainly treated to an extensive portrayal of character of the Republic, who also mentions Cicero’s status as *homo*

⁸² The frequent connection between positive medical imagery and “good people” will be explored in the next chapter. The word *boni* refers to the *optimates*, that is, to the adherents of the conservative faction in the Senate (cf. *OLD* s.v. *bonus* 5).

⁸³ For the relevance of this choice, see Dyck 2008, p. 89.

⁸⁴ Cf. Gildenhard 2011, p. 131 n. 24.

⁸⁵ Once again, I follow Dyck’s overview of the structure of the speech (Dyck 2008, pp. 61-2).

⁸⁶ May discusses the *ethica digressio* and its application to Cicero’s *Pro Milone* in May 1979, pp. 240-6.

novus, thereby addressing Cicero's own *ethos*. Nor is there a lack of *pathos*; the Republic assaults Cicero with questions aimed at provoking indignation and anger at the current situation⁸⁷, much in the same way Cicero assaulted Catiline with questions in the *exordium*.

In the *prosopopoeia*, the Republic criticizes Cicero for not caring about the well-being (*salutem*) of its citizens. In his reply to the Republic, Cicero uses *pestis* twice to emphasize the insidious and disastrous character of the conspiracy (Cat. 1.30):

Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quod si sese eiecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique conlectos naufragos adgregarit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

I understand that if this man alone is killed, this **plague** in the Republic can be repressed for a short time, but it cannot be contained forever. But if he throws himself out and moves out his men with him and adds to this group the other shipwrecked men gathered from everywhere in one place, then not only this **plague**, which has become so firmly established in the Republic, will be extinguished and destroyed, but the root and seed of all evils will be as well.

Once again, it is not Catiline alone who is being compared to a plague, but rather his entire conspiracy (cf. *Cat.* 1.2). Cicero implies that he is aware of the dangers to the Republic's *salus* by using medical terms such as *pestis* himself. *Adulta*, from *adultus* ("full-grown" or "established"⁸⁸), indicates the end point of a process of growth, developing the notion of the conspiracy's *pestis* as a living organism. The verbs Cicero uses to describe the potential repression and containment of this *pestis* have their own medical undertones. *Reprimo*, when applied to diseases, means "to subdue" or "repress"; as for *comprimo*, its medical meaning is "to bind or constrict (the bowels and other organs)".⁸⁹ We should also note the staggering amount of alliteration in *publicae pestem paulisper reprimi*, ensuring that *pestem* and *reprimi* are connected stylistically and adding to the separation of *pestem* and *comprimi* in Cicero's prognosis. The way in which Cicero phrases Catiline's hypothetical self-imposed exile (*quod si sese eiecerit*) also echoes the medical connotations of *pestis*: *eicio* can be read as "to banish", but the verb also has a

⁸⁷ Consider, for example, the following question: *An, cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?* (*Cat.* 1.29)

⁸⁸ "Full-grown": cf. *OLD* s.v. 1. "Established": cf. *OLD* s.v. 4 (where our example is mentioned).

⁸⁹ *Reprimo*: *OLD* s.v. 2. *Comprimo*: *OLD* s.v. 5b.

medical meaning, “to emit” or “discharge” from the body.⁹⁰ The description of Catiline’s fellow conspirators as shipwrecked men (*naufragos*) emphasizes their weakness, a theme we will revisit soon.

The final instance of *pestis* in the first speech, which we will analyse in a moment, can be found in the *peroratio*. From a rhetorical point of view, repeating *pestis* there is a sensible move, fitting the purposes of a typical *peroratio*. Quintilian writes that the *peroratio* has two aspects: a factual one and an emotional one.⁹¹ First of all, an orator should briefly recall the most important matters of the speech in a so-called *recapitulatio* or *enumeratio*; this is the factual aspect. But a *peroratio* should also evoke certain emotions in the audience, the most important of which are pity (*commiseratio* or *conquestio*) and indignation (*indignatio*); this is the emotional aspect.⁹² These factual and emotional aspects can be traced back to two of the three functions of the *exordium*: the *recapitulatio* counts on someone being *docilis* to aid their understanding of the speech, and someone who is *benevolus* should be more inclined to genuinely feel the emotions the orator is attempting to rouse in the *peroratio*.⁹³

With his final use of *pestis* in the first speech, Cicero encourages Catiline to actually leave the city and wage his war (*Cat.* 1.33):

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium.

With these omens, Catiline, go to your wicked and abominable war, accompanied with the total well-being of the Republic, with a **plague** and destruction upon yourself, and with the ruin of those who bound themselves to you in every form of crime and parricide.

The *effects* of Catiline’s actions and those of his followers are compared to a *pestis*, contrasted with the well-being of the Republic (*rei publicae salute*). *Pestis* is the first element in a *tricolon* of negative consequences for Catiline (*peste, pernicie* and *exitio*) and is again part of an alliteration (*peste ac pernicie*). Cicero predicts that Catiline’s self-destruction and the downfall of his followers will bring about the well-being of the entire Republic. This emphasis on the scope of

⁹⁰ *OLD* s.v. 2 & 2b. For the imagery of purgation in the *Catilinarians* (which will also be addressed in the next chapter), see Leff 1973, p. 173; Walters 2020, pp. 48-9.

⁹¹ Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.1.

⁹² On the emotional function of the *peroratio* and the emotions of pity and indignation, see also Cic. *Inv.* 1.104 and *Rhet. Her.* 1.49.

⁹³ For the connections between functions of the *exordium* and *peroratio* in ancient and modern speeches, see Braet 2003, pp. 83-91.

the conspiracy ties in with the advice of the *Auctor ad Herennium* and Cicero himself concerning the *loci* for (emotional) amplification in the *peroratio*: one of those *loci* is used when an orator considers who is affected by the acts on which a charge rests.⁹⁴ As for the description of Catiline's future as a *bellum* (one that is *impium*, repeating the religious undertone we encountered before): this is another way of indicating the gravity of this conflict, and it paves the way for Cicero's self-identification as a *dux togatus* in the second Catilinarian.

Let us summarize our findings thus far. Cicero uses *pestis* five times in his first speech against Catiline. Starting in the *exordium*, where expectations for the remainder of the speech are created, Cicero links *pestis* to the conspiracy every single time, using several stylistic devices and words with medical connotations to make the imagery of *pestis* more powerful and memorable. *Pestis* is a useful instrument, not just for causing death and destruction, but also for fleshing out oppositions of right and wrong. Because *pestis* features in both the *exordium* and the *peroratio*, the motif creates a ring composition of sickness projected on Catiline and his conspiracy.

The remaining occurrences of *pestis* function similarly to the ones in the first speech. In fact, the first sentence of the second speech contains another provocative instance of *pestis*. After Cicero's first speech, Catiline has finally left the city (*Cat.* 2.1):

Tandem aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam furem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus.

Finally, citizens, we have expelled Lucius Catilina, raging in his audacity, breathing forth crime, impiously bringing about a **plague** to his native land, threatening you and this city with his sword and fire—or we have sent him out, or we accompanied him with words of farewell as he left.

We are again presented with *pestis* in the *exordium* of a speech⁹⁵, here used as a metaphor for the conspiracy. The word is part of an alliteration, this time with *patriae* instead of *res publica*.⁹⁶ *Pestis* is also part of the third unit in yet another *tricolon*, and while *pestis* is the element that is most clearly from the medical domain, there is something to be said for interpreting *furem*

⁹⁴ Cf. *Rhet. Her.* 2.48-9 for a list of ten *loci* for arousing indignation; 2.48 contains the *locus* mentioned here. A slightly more extensive list of fifteen *loci* can be found in *Cic. Inv.* 1.100-105 (where our current *locus* is the second one, mentioned in 1.101).

⁹⁵ For this speech, I accept Dyck's analysis of the structure as well (Dyck 2008, p. 125).

⁹⁶ In the Catilinarians delivered *ad populum*, we encounter relatively few instances in which medical imagery is mentioned together with the *res publica*, while this combination occurs much more often in the speeches *ad senatum*. To return to our sentence: we might judge that *patria* is a more concrete, tangible concept to the average Roman citizen than the *res publica*, which might be why Cicero chose *patria* over *res publica* here.

and *anhelantem* medically. *Furentem*, from *furere* (“to rage”), is etymologically related to *furor* (“madness”)⁹⁷, which was perceived as a disease in antiquity just as much as a *pestis*. *Anhelantem*, from *anhelo* (“to breathe forth” or “to breathe hard” in general), qualifies as medical since it is used to refer to the state of one’s body. Aside from this *tricolon*, we encounter even more words with medical connotations in this sentence: *ieicimus* and *emisimus*. We have already discussed why *ieicio* can be considered a “medical” verb. As for *emitto*: this verb can not only be read literally as “to send out” but also as “to emit from the body by vomiting”. This image of vomiting provides a build-up towards the personification of Rome in the second section of this speech, where we will see the city vomit as well.

Before we discuss this personification, there is something we should note concerning the current example: the subject of *ieicimus* and *emisimus*. The real subject is most likely Cicero himself, even though he uses the plural. In the rest of the speech, Cicero regularly mentions a narrative spun by Catiline that Cicero was directly responsible for Catiline’s “banishment”, even though Cicero did not explicitly banish Catiline. In Cicero’s comments on this narrative, he consistently speaks in the singular (see, for instance, *emiserim* and *ieicerim* in *Cat.* 2.15) or uses a construction such as *ieiectus a me*, where *ieiectus* refers to Catiline and *a me* to Cicero.⁹⁸ To return to *ieicimus* and *emisimus* in *Cat.* 2.1: if Cicero is indeed the subject, this implies that Cicero considered his own body to be an extension of the Republic’s body with its own *venae atque viscera*⁹⁹, and of Rome’s body vomiting forth Catiline¹⁰⁰, as we shall now read in *Cat.* 2.2:¹⁰¹

*Iacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se percussum 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 evomuerit** forasque proiecerit.*

Now he lies there ruined, citizens, and he recognizes that he has been overthrown and cast away and he regularly turns his gaze back to this city, and he is bewailing the fact that it has been snatched from his jaws. It seems to me that the city is glad that it has **vomited forth** and cast out such a large **plague**.

⁹⁷ On the etymological connection, cf. De Vaan s.v. *furo*. *Furor* as a medical affliction will be studied later in this chapter.

⁹⁸ Cf. *Cat.* 2.12 (*a me ieiectum*); 2.14 (*ieiectus a consule*); 2.15 (*ieiectus...a me; ...quod illum **emiserim** potius quam quod **ieicerim***).

⁹⁹ This description of the Republic’s body can be found in *Cat.* 1.31: *Hic si 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***.

¹⁰⁰ The idea that Cicero considered himself to be an extension of the Republic’s body has been proposed by several scholars already; cf. Walters 2020, p. 57 n. 7.

¹⁰¹ In this example, *evomuerit* technically qualifies as an example of positive medical imagery, since the vomiting forth of the *pestis* is a way of getting rid of it, thereby improving the health of the metaphorical body of the city. Purgation imagery in general will be addressed again in chapter 5.

This personification of the city (introduced by *quae...mihi laetari videtur*) recalls the *prosopopoeia* of the Republic in the first speech. The comparison between the *pestis* and Catiline comes after a vivid picture of Catiline in ruin, and the explicit character of *evomuerit*, as opposed to the forms of *emitto* and *icio* we already encountered, increases both the overall vividness of this section and the force of *pestis* here. In the separation of *hanc urbem* and *tantam pestem* in this sentence, the new distance between the city and the *pestis*—Catiline himself, in this case—following Catiline’s departure is reflected.

These two instances of *pestis* are the only ones in the second speech. Much of the second speech is instead focused on Cicero himself and the ways in which he intends to cure Catiline’s followers of their madness.¹⁰² Cicero tries to portray himself as a doctor of the state, as it were, by persistently inserting connections between himself and imagery of healing and well-being.

Pestis is nowhere to be found in the third speech. One might consider that the time in between the second and third speech is responsible for the lack of *pestis* in the third speech; perhaps *pestis* was not really on Cicero’s mind anymore.¹⁰³ This hypothesis, however, will have to be abandoned immediately. Sometime near the end of November (mere days before the third Catilinarian), Cicero delivered another speech: the *Pro Murena*, containing another comparison between Catiline and a *pestis*.¹⁰⁴ A possible explanation for the general decrease in instances of *pestis* after the first speech might be found in the increasing importance of *salus* and other forms of positive medical imagery in the later speeches.

The fourth speech does contain one more instance of *pestis* in the *exordium*. This instance is especially striking because it is the ultimate example of an opposition between Cicero and Catiline, between well-being and sickness, projected on Cicero’s own family (*Cat.* 4.3):

*Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nos una rei publicae peste pereamus.*¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² See, for instance, *Cat.* 2.17: *Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis **medicinam** consili atque orationis meae, si quam potero, **adferam**.* This quote will be discussed extensively in the next chapter on positive medical imagery.

¹⁰³ If we accept Dyck’s dates for the speeches, the second and third speech were held a few weeks apart: the second should have been held on 9 November, and the third on 3 December; cf. Dyck 2008, pp. 123-4, 164-5.

¹⁰⁴ *Cic. Mur.* 85: *illa pestis immanis importuna Catilinae*. The surrounding text is unfortunately corrupt, hindering any in-depth analysis of this instance of *pestis*. For the date of the *Pro Murena*: see Dyck 2008, p. 165.

¹⁰⁵ The sentence immediately preceding this sentence in the speech clarifies that in the present sentence, *omnes* likely refers to Cicero’s family members; cf. *Cat.* 4.3: *Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor et abiecta metu filia et parvulus filius quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei, neque ille qui exspectans huius exitum diei stat in conspectu meo gener.*

I am moved by all of this, but only in so far as my close family will be **well** with all of you, even if some form of violence were to crush me, instead of them and us perishing because of one **plague** in the Republic.

Salvus, an adjective that will turn out to be an important part of Cicero's use of positive medical imagery, can not only be read as "safe", as it is most often translated, but also as "healthy" or "well".¹⁰⁶ The preservation of the safety of Cicero's family is here contrasted with the alternative scenario, in which everyone will perish because of the *pestis* that is Catiline's conspiracy. Such an emphasis on the misery the orator's dear ones will have to endure can also be found in Cicero's description of one of the *loci* for evoking pity in his *De inventione*.¹⁰⁷ The amount of alliteration at the end of the sentence (*rei publicae peste pereamus*) is impressive yet familiar: the danger of the *pestis* is again stylistically connected to the Republic, emphasizing the danger the conspiracy posed to it.

For now, we can conclude that *pestis* was used by Cicero in almost all Catilinarians to depict Catiline and his conspiracy as a danger to the Republic. The word is often found in sentences with other words from the medical domain and is used in antitheses of sickness and health to create a very clear contrast between Cicero and Catiline.

2: The weakness of the conspirators

Aside from *pestis*, there are more aspects of bad health to be found in the speeches. Especially in the second and third speeches, Cicero frequently accuses the conspirators of being physically weak. Since it is incredibly unlikely that the conspirators all genuinely suffered from the conditions Cicero describes, we may safely interpret the words discussed in this section as forms of medical imagery.

In the second speech we encounter a sentence in which several binary oppositions are created between the conspirators and the *boni*. The conspirators are depicted as guests at an overly luxurious banquet, where they regurgitate all sorts of nefarious plans (*Cat.* 2.10):

Quod si in vino et alea comissiones solum et scorta quaerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi; hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertis homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientis vigilantibus? Qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia.

¹⁰⁶ OLD s.v. 3: "unimpaired in health, well".

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1.109: *Quintus decimus, per quem non nostras, sed eorum qui cari nobis debent esse fortunas conqueri nos demonstramus.*

If they were only out for revelries and whores in their drinking and gambling, they would indeed be hopeless, but they would still be bearable; but who could bear to see **slothful** men scheme against the most powerful men, the most foolish ones against the wisest, **drunkards** against sober men, **slumbering men** against the vigilant? Look at them—reclining at their banquets, embracing women devoid of chastity, **enfeebled** by wine, crammed with food, crowned with garlands, covered in perfume, **incapacitated** by their debauchery, they **disgorge** the slaughter of all good men and the burning down of the city in their conversations.

The sheer number of antitheses between the conspirators and the *boni* is remarkable in itself; even more interesting is the content of the oppositions. The conspirators are *inertes*, marked by sloth;¹⁰⁸ they have a drinking problem (they are called *ebriosos* and *vino languidi*¹⁰⁹); they are altogether incapacitated (*debilitati*¹¹⁰) and are only good for murder and for burning the city down. Their plans for destruction do not merely come up in their conversations, but are regurgitated or disgorged (*eructant*¹¹¹), echoing the references to vomiting we already encountered in the first speech. These regurgitated talks of violence become a conspiratorial symptom, which is something we will address at the end of this chapter.

As we have seen, the third speech notably did not include any instances of *pestis*. The connection between slowness and the conspirators is, however, heavily continued in the third speech. Now that Cicero had acquired evidence of the conspiracy, Cicero was free to focus on the conspirators who had remained in the city. Describing Catiline or his followers as a *pestis*, as a mostly invisible but highly infectious disease, was not necessary at this time, since the evidence Cicero was about to present would make sure that everyone acknowledged the threat posed by the conspiracy. Because of this, Cicero could emphasize the weak position of the conspirators who had remained in the city. In fact, he had already predicted this position as one of two possible consequences of banishing Catiline (*Cat.* 3.3):

*Nam tum cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam—non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit—, sed tum cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam coniuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos qui restitissent **infirmos** sine illo ac **debilis** fore putabam.*

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *iners* 1b: “marked by sloth”.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *languidus* 1: “enfeebled, sluggish”.

¹¹⁰ *Debilitati* is a participle of *debilito* (“to incapacitate”; cf. *OLD* s.v. 1).

¹¹¹ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *eructo* 1 (“to disgorge or bring up noisily”).

Because at the time when I threw Catiline out of the city—I no longer fear the unpopularity associated with this term, "threw out", since the unpopularity I attracted because he left the city alive is to be feared more—well, at that time, when I wanted him to be banished, I thought that either the remaining crowd of conspirators would be leaving together with him, or that those who remained would be **weak** and **enfeebled** without him.

In the previous section, we discussed the medical dimension of *ecio*, and while the word reappears in this sentence, attributing a medical connotation to this instance would be difficult in the absence of words that are more clearly medical in the direct vicinity of *eciebam*. A more important medical aspect of this sentence is the emphasis on the weakness of the conspirators who would remain in Rome after seeing Catiline leave. Cicero's use of *infirmus* is interesting because the word can be simultaneously read in two ways. First, the adjective refers to physical weakness with meanings such as "weak" and "fragile". Secondly, it can indicate a metaphorical weakness: a lack of military resources.¹¹² This second meaning is relevant because the conspiracy's military powers had shifted from Rome to Manlius' camp in Etruria by now.¹¹³ *Debilis* can be used in two similar ways: its primary meanings (such as "enfeebled") indicate a deprivation of bodily strength, but it is also used metaphorically to signal a lack of competence.¹¹⁴ While Dyck argues for reading *debilis* strictly metaphorically in this sentence¹¹⁵, we might argue instead that the literal dimension of *debilis* is equally relevant. The same goes for *infirmos*. We have seen that in Cicero's eyes, the Republic has a body, which has been infected by a disease, the conspiracy. With the draining of this disease's lifeforce—Catiline—to somewhere else, the disease itself physically loses the infectious strength that made it so dangerous in the first place. A reduced effectiveness of the disease in killing its hosts follows naturally.

To summarize, Cicero not only applies disease in the form of *pestis* in his rhetorical attacks on the conspiracy, but he also refers to more general weaknesses of the body in the conspirators. The disease the conspirators are a part of is being eradicated in the second and third speeches, resulting in their own downfall.

3: Interweaving mental and physical afflictions

Up until now, we have only studied afflictions that can be categorized as *physical* in modern terms. This begs the question: are there any *mental* afflictions to be found in the Catilinarians? And if so, are these mental afflictions consistently linked with Catiline and the conspiracy, in a

¹¹² For *infirmus* in the first sense: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1. For the metaphorical, military meaning: cf. *OLD* s.v. 3.

¹¹³ Cf. Dyck 2008, pp. 164-5.

¹¹⁴ *Debilis* in the physical sense: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1; for its metaphorical sense, cf. *OLD* s.v. 2.

¹¹⁵ Dyck 2008, p. 171.

way similar to the physical afflictions we examined? The answer will turn out to be a positive one.

In modern society and medicine, there is a sharp distinction between mental and physical illness. In classical antiquity, however, mental and physical illness were much more closely connected. Mental afflictions were commonly thought to be caused by physical imbalances according to the Hippocratic theory of the four humours.¹¹⁶ Cicero was aware of this connection: in his *Tusculanae Disputationes*, for example, he discussed the connection between melancholy and black bile.¹¹⁷ Mental and physical afflictions occur side by side in the *Catilinarians* as well. In the third speech, three of the chief conspirators and their various weaknesses feature in Cicero's predictions on the aftermath of Catiline's exile (*Cat.* 3.16):

*Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli **somnum** nec L. Cassi **adipes** nec C. Cethegi **furiosam temeritatem** pertimescendam.*

When I was attempting to drive him out of the city, citizens, I foresaw that after the removal of Catiline, I would no longer have to fear the **lethargy** of Publius Lentulus or the **obesity** of Lucius Cassius or the **frenzied recklessness** of Gaius Cethegus.

Somnus (lit. "sleep") can safely be interpreted metaphorically—and medically. One of its metaphorical meanings is "lethargy"¹¹⁸, and this would not be the first time that Cicero attributes an affliction like this to the conspirators.¹¹⁹ For instance, they were already termed "slumbering" (*dormientes*) in the second speech. Furthermore, *somnus* seems to refer to Lentulus' late arrival after being summoned by Cicero to discuss the letters that were intercepted at the Milvian

¹¹⁶ The *locus classicus* for Hippocratic humourism is Hippocrates, *De natura hominum* 4.1. For a modern survey of this theory, see Jouanna 2012, pp. 335-60.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.11: *Graeci autem μανίαν unde appellent non facile dixerim: eam tamen ipsam distinguimus nos melius quam illi; hanc enim insaniam, quae iuncta stultitia patet latius, a furore disiungimus. Graeci volunt illi quidem, sed parum valent verbo: quem nos furorem, μελαγχολίαν illi vocant. Quasi vero atra bili solum mens ac non saepe vel iracundia graviore vel timore vel dolore moveatur, quo genere Athamantem, Alcmaeonem, Aiace[m], Orestem furere dicimus.* This quote receives an elaborate analysis in Kazantzidis 2013, where possible connections with the medical texts of ps.-Aristotle are used to argue for the view that Cicero was familiar not only with *furor* as a possible translation of μελαγχολία, but also with *tristitia*.

¹¹⁸ For the literal meaning of *somnus*, cf. *OLD* s.v. 1; for the metaphorical and medical meaning, cf. *OLD* s.v. 3.

We should clarify the metaphorical aspect of *somnus* here. "Lethargy" is, of course, not always a metaphor; it is the pathological variant of *somnus* in a medical sense. In our sentence, however, "lethargy" should be read metaphorically to refer to the late appearance of Lentulus after being summoned; cf. Dyck 2008, p. 189 for this interpretation. The attention Cicero pays to sleep and vigilance is interesting in light of several studies on the relevance of night times in the *Catilinarians*; see, for example, Crane 1966, pp. 264-7; and, more recently, Pieper 2020.

¹¹⁹ For instance, in the second speech, the conspirators were described as

Bridge.¹²⁰ *Adeps* metonymically refers to “obesity” when used in the plural, as it is here, and so this word can be interpreted medically as well.¹²¹ The *furiosa temeritas* (“frenzied recklessness”) of Cethegus would nowadays be considered a mental affliction; however, this category of afflictions must have been equivalent to physical afflictions in Cicero’s eyes, as the final position of *furiosam temeritatem* suggests in a *tricolon crescens* of afflictions explicitly connected to the conspirators.

Considering the above, mental afflictions must be incorporated into our investigation. For the next part of our analysis, we will focus on *furor*—“madness”, often with a violent edge.¹²² The *furor* of Catiline and his fellow conspirators is one of their core characteristics, which is stressed by the presence of *furor* in all four Catilinarians.¹²³ Cicero’s use of *furor* can be considered a type of imagery because *furor* seems to function as a general stand-in for negative personal qualities of the conspirators. We will examine one example per speech.

4: *Furor* and the conspiracy

The first time we encounter *furor* is in one of the questions Cicero directs at Catiline as the latter joined the senate meeting Cicero had summoned (*Cat.* 1.1):

Quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet?

How long will that **madness** of yours mislead us?

This question ensures that the connection between *furor* and the conspiracy is already in the listeners’ (and readers’) minds from the *exordium* onward.¹²⁴ In this case, the madness is specifically Catiline’s (as marked by *iste tuus*). Even so, *furor* was a characteristic of all revolutionaries according to Cicero, so it firmly places him in that category of undesirables.¹²⁵ In the remainder of the first speech, the connection between Catiline and *furor* is strengthened further.¹²⁶ The reason why *furor* occurs more frequently in the first speech than in the other

¹²⁰ On this topic, see Dyck 2008, p. 189.

¹²¹ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *adeps* 2b.

¹²² Cf. *OLD* s.v. *furor*² 1 (“violent madness”).

¹²³ All instances of *furor* in the speeches can be found here: *Cat.* 1.1; 1.2; 1.15; 1.22; 1.31; 2.19; 2.25; 3.4; 4.6; 4.11; 4.20. Forms of the related adjective *furiosus* can be found in: 1.25; 3.16. Finally, two instances of the verb *furere* can be found in: 2.1; 2.20. It is obvious that the frequency of *furor* in the speeches is higher than that of *pestis*, even though *pestis* was designated as the main “negative medical” motif. The reason for this is that *pestis* is more frequently paired with other “medical” words, yielding a more obviously medical context, while *furor* is mostly used in isolation.

¹²⁴ For the relevance of the position of this motif in the *exordium*, the reader is referred to the discussion on *pestis* in the *exordium* at the beginning of this chapter.

¹²⁵ Cf. Dyck 2008, p. 64.

¹²⁶ In *Cat.* 1.2, Cicero speaks of *istius furorem*, where *istius* clearly refers to Catiline. *Cat.* 1.15 (*furori tuo*) is part of a question addressed directly to Catiline. *Cat.* 1.22 (*a furore*) is part of an apostrophe directed at

speeches is most likely that Cicero still had to make a solid case against Catiline. Attaching Catiline's name and his conspiracy to an assortment of negative terms from the medical domain was a way of stigmatizing him despite a lack of tangible evidence against him.

The second speech, in which Cicero further expounds on the dangers and weaknesses shown by various groups of conspirators, contains a sentence we might call a catalogue of virtues and vices.¹²⁷ Cicero casts his narrative in military terms, speaking of a battle between "this" side (the side of the senate) and the other side (Catiline's side). Among the contending powers are several virtues and vices which are related to mental health (*Cat.* 2.25):

Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitude; hinc continentia, illinc libido; hinc denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit.

Modesty fights on our side, impudence on theirs; on our side purity, on theirs defilement; on our side good faith, on theirs deceit; on our side dutiful respect, on theirs wickedness; on our side steadfastness, on theirs **madness**; on our side integrity, on theirs shamefulness; on our side moderation, on theirs lust; on our side, in short, equality, temperance, fortitude, wisdom, all the virtues battle injustice, extravagance, cowardice, carelessness, all the vices; finally, wealth contends with poverty, sound motivations with corrupt ones, **sanity** with **insanity**, and well-founded hope with hopelessness regarding all matters.

This enumeration speaks volumes about critical binary oppositions within the system of Roman values. Within these oppositions, *furor* is attributed to the side of the conspiracy and is opposed to the *constantia* ("steadfastness") of the *boni*. By using *mens sana* to describe a positive attribute of the senate's side, Cicero inserts an additional medical dimension; *sanus* is an adjective from the medical domain with a primary meaning of "physically sound" or simply "healthy".¹²⁸

Catiline. *Cat.* 1.31 is one place where Cicero implements *furor* more broadly, in reference to the long history of revolutionaries in Rome.

¹²⁷ The list does contain a variation of the four cardinal virtues; see also Dyck 2008, p. 159.

¹²⁸ Cf. *OLD* s.v. 1.

Amentia (also “madness”) is very closely related to *furor*¹²⁹, and its inclusion on top of *furor* in the list of vices to be found in the conspirators results in a double dose of madness.

The third speech has its only occurrence of *furor* at the beginning of Cicero’s triumphant *narratio* concerning the events with the Allobroges.¹³⁰ *Furor* is not the only health-related term to be found here (*Cat.* 3.4):

Atque ego ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnis dies noctesque consumpsi ut quid agerent, quid molirentur sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem ut tum demum animis saluti vestrae provideretis cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis.

And when I saw that the men whom I knew to be **inflamed** with the most severe kind of criminal **madness** were still with us and had remained in Rome, I spent all my days and nights to find out and see what they were doing, what they were scheming, so that I might—since my message might not have seemed credible to your ears because of the unbelievable magnitude of their criminality—so that I might comprehend the case enough to have you look out for your own **well-being** when you saw the actual crime with your own eyes.

The conspirators who had stayed in Rome were not simply afflicted with *furor* but were inflamed by it—*inflammatos* is a participle of *inflammo* which has as its primary meaning simply “to set on fire” but has a specific medical undertone as well.¹³¹ The lines between physical and mental illness are indeed blurred. The *hendiadys* of *furore et scelere* further qualifies the criminality of the conspirators and almost turns crime into a symptom of mental afflictions.¹³² Finally, Cicero repeats that he has always had the best interests of the Roman people at heart by referring to the people’s *salus* again, contributing to his own *ethos*. *Salus*, a word we will discuss in the next chapter, might also be interpreted generally as “salvation” here; nevertheless, the medical undertone in this sentence as provided by *inflammatos* and *furore* does not fully exclude a reading of *salus* as “well-being”. If we are willing to read *salus* medically, this sentence contains a medical ring composition: the medical words are placed near the beginning and end of the

¹²⁹ For this meaning: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1. The difference between *amentia* and *furor* is that *amentia* implies an irreversible type of madness, while *furor* may come and go; cf. Langerwerf 2015, p. 158; Dyck 2008, p. 111.

¹³⁰ For an outline of the structure of the speech, see Dyck 2008, pp. 165-6.

¹³¹ “To set on fire”: *OLD* s.v. *inflammo* 1; “to inflame”; *OLD* s.v. 2. See also Dyck 2008, p. 171, on *furore et scelere*: “They are conceived as a kind of fever; hence *inflammatos*.”

¹³² Cf. Dyck 2008, p. 171.

sentence. Examples of medical ring compositions will be discussed several times in the next chapter.

We will end this section with an example of *furor* from the fourth speech. Amid his deliberations on the fate of the conspirators, Cicero paints a grim picture of Rome in which the conspirators hypothetically emerge victorious and set the city on fire (*Cat.* 4.11):

Versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis.

Before my eyes moves the appearance of Cethegus and his **madness** as he **revels** in your slaughter.

Cethegus is afflicted with the kind of madness one would expect to see in Bacchic revels, a phenomenon with a particularly bad reputation in Rome.¹³³ Furthermore, this sentence is not the only instance of Bacchic imagery in the *Catilinarians*.¹³⁴ Cicero wants to make clear to his audience that this image affects him deeply, as is evident in the words *mihi ante oculos*. Accusations such as the one in this sentence serve to attack the moral character of the conspirators by alluding to their shameful way of life¹³⁵ on top of the repeated accusations of murder (*in vestra caede*).

In this section, we have observed that *furor*, just as much a medical affliction as a *pestis* was in ancient times, has been consistently applied to Catiline and his conspirators, as was the case with *pestis*. People can even be inflamed with *furor*, causing them to act out. The men afflicted with *furor* typically displayed extreme forms of violence as a symptom of sorts. To end this chapter on negative medical imagery, we will therefore investigate some notable examples of the symptom of violence associated with Catiline and his fellow conspirators.

5: The violence of the conspiracy

To Cicero, the conspirators were defined by their incessant calls for violence and murder, resulting from the *furor* that had overtaken the conspirators' minds. The attribution of this violent nature to the conspirators is achieved by the repeated use of several motifs in the *Catilinarians*. In this section, we will explore four of them.

¹³³ Dyck 2008, p. 111.

¹³⁴ Another example can be found in *Cat.* 1.26: *Hic tu laetitia perfruere, quibus gaudiis exsultabis, quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis!* Moreover, the *comissiones* named as an object of the conspirators' desires in *Cat.* 2.10 can also be connected to Bacchic revels; cf. L&S s.v. *comissatio*.

¹³⁵ Someone's manner of life (*victus*) was named by Cicero himself as one of the *loci* for *argumenta ex persona*; cf. *Cic. Inv.* 1.35.

The first example is Cicero's use of the words *parricida* and *parricidium*. *Parricidium* is the murder of one's father or another close relative, also known as "parricide".¹³⁶ However, another interpretative layer appears when taking into account the role of the *patria* ("fatherland") as a metaphorical parent of all Roman citizens, which is a view Cicero himself incorporates in the first Catilinarian.¹³⁷ In political settings where the well-being of the *patria* was at stake, *parricidium* and the related *parricida* (meaning "murderer", especially of family members, but also used as "traitor"¹³⁸) were frequently used terms of abuse.¹³⁹ In the Catilinarians, the use of these terms is limited to the first two speeches.¹⁴⁰ The word can be safely read figuratively; it is unlikely that *all* conspirators had murdered a parent or family member.

The following sentence from the *peroratio* of the first speech illustrates the relation of Catiline's planned *parricidium* to the domain of sickness (Cat. 1.33):¹⁴¹

*Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum omni scelere **parricidioque** iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium.*

With these omens, Catiline, go to your wicked and abominable war, accompanied with the total well-being of the Republic, with a plague and destruction upon yourself, and with the ruin of those who bound themselves to you in every form of crime and **parricide**.

The dominant theme in this sentence is the antithesis of *salus* and *pestis*.¹⁴² In Cicero's imprecation, *parricidium* becomes closely associated with the *pestis* of the conspiracy. Catiline's actions will unleash the full force of the *pestis* on himself and on those who joined him in

¹³⁶ Cf. *OLD* s.v. 1.

¹³⁷ Cf. *Cat.* 1.17: *Nunc te patria quae communis est parens omnium nostrum odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: huius tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec iudicium sequere nec vim pertimesces?*

¹³⁸ For *parricida* in the first sense: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1. For "traitor": cf. *OLD* s.v. 3.

¹³⁹ The various uses of *parricidium* and *parricida* in this sense are discussed in Walters 2020, pp. 102-108. A large portion of this discussion concerns examples that are not part of the Catilinarians, except for a very brief section in the first half of p. 106.

¹⁴⁰ *Parricida* can be found in: *Cat.* 1.28; 2.7; 2.22. *Parricidium* can be found in *Cat.* 1.17 and 1.33. In all cases, the words are used in connection with Catiline, his followers or his conspiracy as a whole. An explanation for the lack of *parricida* and *parricidium* in the third and fourth speeches might be found in the circumstances surrounding the speeches. In the first and second speeches, Cicero still had to make a case against Catiline and his followers while having very little evidence, which made his reliance on invective practices to support his accusations a necessity. At the time of the third and fourth speeches, evidence was finally available and therefore, Cicero was free to address other aspects of the conspiracy.

¹⁴¹ This sentence has also been discussed in the section on *pestis*.

¹⁴² The role of *salus* in this sentence will be discussed in the next chapter.

committing all sorts of *scelus* and *parricidium*—acts that contributed to the conspiracy’s widespread danger in the first place, which in turn justifies Cicero’s application of the term *pestis* to the conspiracy.

Parricidium is not the only type of murder that is associated with the conspirators. General accusations of scheming the mass murder of citizens were frequently mentioned by Cicero. An interesting collection of such accusations can be found in the first speech (*Cat.* 1.9):

*Hic, hic sunt nostro in numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium **interitu**, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum **exitio** cogitent. Hos ego video consul et de re publica sententiam rogo et quos ferro **trucidari** oportebat eos nondum voce **vulnero**.*

Here, here they are among our ranks, senators, in this most sacred and most important council, men who are contemplating the **violent death** of us all, the **destruction** of this city and even the entire world. As consul I see these men and I ask them for their opinion on state affairs, and I am not yet **wounding** with my voice the men who should be **slaughtered** with the sword.

Murder and death occur three times in this excerpt. Two of the relevant terms, *interitus* and *exitium*¹⁴³, are part of the conspiring senators’ plans for all good citizens. The *geminatio* of *hic* emphasizes the closeness of the danger to the senators present at the temple of Jupiter Stator, conferring a sense of urgency. There is an underlying climactic buildup to be seen in the scope of those affected by the conspirators’ plans. First, Cicero refers to the senators (with *nostro omnium interitu*); then, he considers all people within the city (with *de huius urbis...exitio*); finally, he mentions the entire world (with *de orbis terrarum exitio*).¹⁴⁴ A striking paradox ends the second sentence of this excerpt: whereas the conspirators, with all their plans for death and destruction, deserve to be *killed* precisely for these plans, Cicero is not even *wounding* them with his words. The metaphorical use of *vulnero*, employing Cicero’s speech as a weapon, is a vivid addition to the arsenal of medical imagery in the *Catilinarians*.¹⁴⁵ As for the slaughter of the conspirators, the term Cicero uses to describe this is a charged one. *Trucidari* comes from *trucido* which implies a particularly gruesome form of murder; it is therefore commonly translated as “to

¹⁴³ For *interitus* as “violent death”: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1. For *exitium* as “destruction”: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1.

¹⁴⁴ We have already encountered the practice of describing those affected by certain acts as a means of arousing indignation; cf. *Cic. Inv.* 1.101.

¹⁴⁵ An interesting detail is that this is the very first attested metaphorical use of *vulnero*; cf. Dyck 2008, p. 84.

slaughter”.¹⁴⁶ Cicero reserves the use of *trucido* within the Catilinarians to the speeches delivered before the senate¹⁴⁷—another indication of the gravity of this term. We will return to this instance of *trucido* in the next chapter, where we will discuss remedies for the conspiracy.

Another important use of murder in the Catilinarians can be found in the pairing of murder and fires—a combination belonging to the standard arsenal of revolutionaries according to Cicero¹⁴⁸— which was usually phrased as *caedes atque incendia*. The pairing occurs in all four speeches and functions as a *pars pro toto* representing all of the destruction the conspiracy caused or was about to cause according to Cicero’s narrative.¹⁴⁹ *Caedes atque incendia* as an expression of the conspiracy’s madness and violence is all the more relevant because of the association between *furor*—one of the afflictions the conspirators suffered from, as previously discussed—and fire imagery in the works of Cicero.¹⁵⁰ In the first speech, *caedes atque incendia* are used to compare Catiline to a long dead revolutionary (*Cat.* 1.3):

An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus interfecit: Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem nos consules perferemus?

Publius Scipio, a great man, the chief pontiff, killed Tiberius Gracchus as a private citizen, even though Gracchus was barely weakening the state of the Republic. Shall we, the consuls, endure Catiline in his wish to destroy the world **by death and flames?**

Tiberius Gracchus’ revolutionary agenda—the contents of which must have been well-known to Cicero’s audience, hence the omission of further details—was reason enough for Publius Scipio to encourage a band of senators to kill Gracchus in 133 BC.¹⁵¹ Even though Cicero knew perfectly well that Catiline’s revolutionary agenda had nothing to do with a desire to ravage the entire

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *trucido* 2.

¹⁴⁷ The two other occurrences of *trucido* in the Catilinarians are in *Cat.* 4.12 and 4.13.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Dyck 2008, p. 70.

¹⁴⁹ The various instances of *caedes atque incendia* and related phrasings (mentioned within brackets in the following list) can be found here: *Cat.* 1.3; 1.6; 2.6; 2.10 (twice: *nisi caedem, nisi incendia* and *caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia*); 3.8 (*incendissent caedemque infinitam civium fecissent*); 3.10 (*caedem fieri atque urbem incendi*); 3.15 (*urbem incendiis, caede cives*); 3.19; 3.21; 4.4 (*ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem*). Metonymical phrasings are also possible, such as *in cinere urbis et in sanguine* (*Cat.* 2.19, where *cinis* corresponds with *incendia* and *sanguis* with *caedes*). Finally, the motif of fire and burning is reflected in the two occurrences of *inuro* (“to brand on, stamp”; cf. *OLD* s.v. 3) in the speeches, to be found in *Cat.* 1.13 and 2.20.

¹⁵⁰ For example, we already encountered a sentence in which the conspirators were described as “inflamed” with *furor* in *Cat.* 3.4. Cicero used the same description against Verres in *Ver.* 5.106 (where he is *inflammatus scelere furore crudelitate*).

¹⁵¹ For a summary of the historical context, see Dyck 2008, p. 69.

world (*orbem terrae...vastare cupientem*)¹⁵², this aspect of Catiline's plans is treated by Cicero as representative of all his other plans. Moreover, Cicero portrays Catiline's *caedes atque incendia* not as a speculation but as a fact, judging by the future tense of *perferemus*. This might be another way in which Cicero attempts to prove that the conspiracy was a true danger while still lacking concrete evidence. Since Cicero introduces the motif of *caedes atque incendia* this early in the first speech, he has more than enough room to expound on the motif in the remainder of this speech and in all other Catilinarians.

To end this section on the violence of the conspirators, we will investigate a well-known verb from the medical domain: *noceo* ("to injure physically").¹⁵³ The etymological connection with *nex*, "violent death" or "murder", makes the word even more relevant to our investigation.¹⁵⁴ *Noceo* occurs four times in the Catilinarians.¹⁵⁵ In the third speech, we find three of those four occurrences in one sentence (*Cat.* 3.27):

*Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis **nocere** possent ego providi, ne mihi **noceant** vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis iam **noceri** potest.*

I saw to it that the criminal and nefarious minds of overly audacious men could not **harm** you; it is up to you to take care that they do not **harm** me. Although, citizens, nothing from those men can **harm** me any longer.

Now that Cicero has upheld his end of this supposed arrangement between him and the Roman people, it is up to the people to protect Cicero. The word order reflects the symmetry of this reciprocal arrangement (note the parallel constructions of *ne vobis nocere possent ego providi* and *ne mihi noceant vestrum est providere*). Resounding in both sentences are the forms of *noceo*, with a *tradiuctio* in the first sentence as part of the parallelism. The *agentes* of all forms of *noceo* here are the conspirators. There is no place for any positive qualities they might have; they are defined by their intent to hurt, as they are throughout the Catilinarians.

6: Conclusion

In this chapter, we have surveyed some notable examples of negative medical imagery in the Catilinarians. Beginning with an overview of the role of *pestis*, we then investigated other types of physical disease and weakness before discussing the connection between mental and physical

¹⁵² Cicero explains in his speeches that there was more to Catiline's plans; for example, in the second speech he discusses Catiline's plans for the mass cancellation of debts (cf. *Cat.* 2.18).

¹⁵³ Cf. *OLD* s.v. 1.

¹⁵⁴ For this etymological connection, see the *OLD* s.v. *noceo*.

¹⁵⁵ Forms of *noceo* in the Catilinarians can be found here: *Cat.* 3.27 (thrice); 4.12.

illness in antiquity. This led to an inquiry into mental afflictions in the Catilinarians, followed with an overview of four manifestations of the conspirators' violence. Negative medical imagery is consistently connected to the conspiracy, frequently in conjunction with common invective practices, damaging Catiline's reputation and solidifying the image of the conspiracy as a disease, a true *pestis*.

This diagnosis, however, is merely the beginning. In the next chapter, we will delve into the world of positive medical imagery to examine Cicero's proposals for healing the Republic.

Chapter 5

The medicine of my speech: forms of positive medical imagery in the Catilinarians

1: *Salus*: well-being and unity in Cicero's political world

Cicero incorporates forms of positive medical imagery in the Catilinarians just as frequently as he incorporates the forms of negative medical imagery we discussed in the previous chapter. In this chapter, too, we will begin our investigation with a survey of the most important motif within the domain of positive medical imagery, which is *salus*. The primary meanings of *salus* are “safety” and “physical well-being”. *Salus* as “safety” refers to personal safety as well as the safety of a state. As for “physical well-being”, this meaning is generally used to contrast *salus* with illness.¹⁵⁶ Relevant to both meanings is the etymological connection with the Greek adjective ὅλος, “whole”;¹⁵⁷ as we shall see in this section, notions of wholeness and unity were frequently paired with *salus* in the Catilinarians.

Cicero deemed the conspiracy a *pestis*, and therefore, voicing the concerns about the safety of the people was best done in complementary terms of health and medicine. We should note that Cicero was far from the only politician of his times to use *salus* in this manner.¹⁵⁸ The importance of *salus* in Roman society is difficult to overestimate; for example, *Salus* as the goddess of well-being had an important cult¹⁵⁹ and was associated with other goddesses such as *Pax* (“Peace”), *Concordia* (“Concord”), *Securitas* (“Safety”), and *Fortuna* (“Fortune”)—all personifications of concepts with many political uses.¹⁶⁰ In the Catilinarians, the word occurs thirty times.¹⁶¹ We will study several ways in which *salus* is used to strengthen the image of Cicero as a trustworthy leader, capable of healing the Republic from Catiline's *pestis*.

Before discussing any particular examples, we should note that *salus* is used in each *peroratio* in the Catilinarians. This is remarkable, even more so in the third and fourth speeches, where *salus* is also used in the *exordium*. The ensuing ring compositions with *salus* emphasize well-being as a crucial theme for Cicero. A *peroratio* had to remind the orator's audience of the arguments in the speech (which was done in a *recapitulatio* or *enumeratio*) and it had to stir up

¹⁵⁶ For *salus* as “safety”, cf. *OLD* s.v. 1, 4, 5. For *salus* as “physical well-being”, cf. *OLD* s.v. 2.

¹⁵⁷ For the meaning of ὅλος, cf. *LSJ* s.v.; for the etymological connection with *salus*, cf. *OLD* s.v. *salus*.

¹⁵⁸ For a short discussion of *salus* as a political motif in the Roman Republic, see Walters 2020, pp. 38-44.

¹⁵⁹ This importance was especially noticeable from Augustus onward, when vows for the *salus* of the emperor became common (cf. *OCD* s.v. *Salus*). The cult was, however, more than established in Cicero's times; for example, he mentions the annual feast of *Salus* (held on August 5) in *Sest.* 131.

¹⁶⁰ For an example of the association of these goddesses: the Temple of *Concordia* on the Forum Romanum was decorated on the apex of the pediment with statues of *Concordia*, *Pax* (or possibly *Securitas*) and *Salus* (or possibly *Fortuna*); see Claridge 2010, p. 80. Remarkably, Cicero had called the Senate into this Temple of *Concordia* the morning before he held the third speech (see Dyck 2008, p. 165).

¹⁶¹ All occurrences can be found here: *Cat.* 1.8; 1.11; 1.12; 1.14; 1.28; 1.33; 2.27; 3.2; 3.4; 3.20; 3.21; 3.22; 3.26; 3.28; 4.1 (twice); 4.2; 4.3; 4.4; 4.8; 4.9; 4.15 (twice); 4.16 (twice); 4.18; 4.23 (twice); 4.24 (twice).

strong emotions, either of indignation (in an *indignatio*) or pity (in a *conquestio*).¹⁶² This stirring up of emotions is where *salus* comes into view: the preservation or restoration of *salus* regularly becomes part of emotional appeals in the Catilinarians. In our discussion of *salus*, we will pay attention to examples from each *peroratio*.

One of the first appearances of *salus* follows immediately after one of the first mentions of *pestis*, creating an antithesis that will set the tone for the remainder of the speeches (*Cat.* 1.11):¹⁶³

Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus. Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae.

We are greatly indebted to the immortal gods and especially to Jupiter Stator, the most ancient defender of this city, for having escaped this hideous **plague**, so horrible and so dangerous to the Republic, so many times already. Never again is the total **well-being** of the Republic to be endangered by one man.

The heart of the conspiracy and its *pestis*, Catiline, is capable of threatening the *salus* of the entire Republic, as reflected by *in uno homine* in the second sentence.¹⁶⁴ Here, *salus* is used as part of a recurring attack on Catiline, contrasting his *pestis* and thereby adding to the indignation Cicero attempts to arouse by emphasizing the scope of the conspiracy.¹⁶⁵ This scope is expressed in the chiasmic arrangement of *rei publicae pestem* and *salus...rei publicae*: the entire Republic is at risk. Cicero implies that the *salus* of the Republic is indeed something worth defending and something he himself will defend at all costs. Moreover, Cicero speaks not of *salus* but *summa salus*, using an alliterative adjective to develop the supreme importance of *salus* within the Republic. We have already encountered this combination in a sentence from the *peroratio* of the

¹⁶² See, for example, Cic. *Inv.* 1.98. There, Cicero uses the term *conclusio* instead of *peroratio*, but the two are synonymous; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.1 (*Peroratio sequebatur, quam cumulum quidam, conclusionem alii vocant*).

¹⁶³ The first sentence in this excerpt has been discussed in the section on *pestis* in the previous chapter.

¹⁶⁴ According to Dyck 2008, p. 89, the person indicated with *in uno homine* is not Catiline but Cicero. Nevertheless, there is a case to be made for the opposite view. If we follow Dyck's interpretation, Cicero would proclaim that the responsibilities for the well-being of the state should never be put on one man's shoulders—that is, on his own shoulders—because that would be too dangerous. However, Cicero implies elsewhere in this speech that he is more than capable of keeping a close eye on the conspiracy (cf. *Cat.* 1.8, where Cicero exposes the conspirators' "secret" nocturnal meetings). Nowhere does he suggest that he cannot handle the responsibility. Moreover, isolating Catiline from his fellow senators was exactly one of Cicero's goals in this speech, and the wording of *in uno homine* would certainly add to this isolation.

¹⁶⁵ See the notes on invective *loci* in chapters 3 and 4.

first speech (*Cat.* 1.33)¹⁶⁶; in that sentence, *salus* was again *summa* and a property of the Republic. In his later work *De legibus*, Cicero explicitly identified the *salus populi* as a supreme principle guiding the consuls in their governance of the Republic.¹⁶⁷

Besides the *res publica* and the adjective *summa*, there are other words and concepts that are regularly juxtaposed with *salus*. One of those concepts is that of the city of Rome, usually referred to with *urbs*. The *peroratio* of the second speech contains a clear example of this *salus urbis* (*Cat.* 2.27):

Nunc illos qui in urbe remanserunt atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relictis sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo.

Now, those who have remained in the city and especially those who have been left behind in the city by Catiline to oppose the **well-being** of the city and of you all, I still want to have warned repeatedly, even though they are enemies—because they were born citizens.

The second speech was a *contio* for the Roman people. This might explain why Cicero addresses the *salus* of the city (*urbis*) and of all those in the audience (*omniumque vestrum*) instead of the *salus rei publicae*. The city and an entire audience of people are more tangible points of reference than the Republic (a rather abstract concept) and convincing the common people of the conspiracy's danger was perhaps easier with references to matters they could observe with their own eyes. Accordingly, the combination *salus rei publicae* is only found in the first and fourth *Catilinarians* (delivered before the senate).¹⁶⁸ Cicero's description of the conspirators as *cives* after all, along with his insistence on warning them again and again, leaves room for the potential healing of the conspirators.¹⁶⁹

The third speech is characterized by *salus* as something belonging to the audience; the variants *salus vestra* and *salus urbis* are used most frequently. Considering one of the aims of this

¹⁶⁶ Cf. *Cat.* 1.33: *Hisce omnibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium.* We might read the Republic as depending fully on the integrity and retention of *summa salus* for its protection. A reflection of this thought can be seen in the word order of this sentence: *rei publicae* is enclosed by *summa* and *salute*. This sentence has been discussed twice in the chapter on negative medical imagery (once in the section on *pestis*, and once in the section on the violence of the conspiracy).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *Cic. Leg.* 3.8: *Regio imperio duo sunt, iique praeuendo, iudicando, consulendo praetores, iudices, consules appellamino; militiae summum ius habento, nemini parento; ollis salus populi suprema lex esto.*

¹⁶⁸ *Salus rei publicae* can be found in *Cat.* 1.11; 1.33; 4.4.

¹⁶⁹ Healing the conspirators is exactly what Cicero proposes to do earlier in this speech (*Cat.* 2.17; the example will be discussed later in this chapter).

speech (to convince the people to join Cicero in celebrating the *supplicatio* for the city's salvation¹⁷⁰), this interest in the audience seems justified. This interest is already noticeable in the *exordium*, where Cicero mentions *salus vestra* in opposition to the conspiracy's *furor*. In the *peroratio*, the *salus urbis* is used to encourage the people to ensure that Cicero's consulship is remembered forever (*Cat.* 3.26):

*Memoria vestra, Quirites, nostrae res alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et conroborabuntur; eandemque diem intellego, quam spero aeternam fore, propagatam esse et ad **salutem** urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei unoque tempore in hac re publica duos civis exstitisse quorum alter finis vestri imperi non terrae sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter eiusdem imperi domicilium sedisque servaret.*

Through your memory, citizens, my deeds will be sustained; they will grow through your conversations, they will become established and will be strengthened by the monuments of literature. I know that the same amount of time—and I hope it will last forever—has been preserved for the **well-being** of the city as for the memory of my consulship, and I know that at one time in this Republic, two citizens have risen, one of whom has limited the border of your empire not on earth but the heavenly regions, and another who guarded the home and seat of the same empire.

In one sentence, Cicero equates his consulship to the well-being of the Republic, while putting the responsibility for sustaining this well-being on the shoulders of the Roman people: without their continuous remembrance of the events of 63 BC, the Republic is doomed. There is a cyclical arrangement to be seen from *urbis* to *re publica* to *non terrae sed caeli regionibus* (a climactic build-up) to *eiusdem imperi domicilium sedisque*, corresponding with the initial *urbis*. Cicero's duty of protecting the *imperium* and its *salus* domestically overshadows the military achievements of Pompey. The attention to the *salus urbis* in the third speech might also be explained by the symbolic function of the city walls as a firm line to be drawn between the *boni* and the conspirators, who were by now mostly located outside of Rome.¹⁷¹

An instance of ring composition with *salus* within a single section can be found in *Cat.* 4.15. In two sentences, one near the beginning of the section and one at the end, Cicero uses the

¹⁷⁰ See Dyck 2008, p. 165 for a brief overview of the events leading to the *supplicatio*.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Konstan 1993, p. 15 (on the first speech, but the observation is no less relevant for the third speech): "The line that Cicero wishes to draw between the good men, the *boni*, and the bad men, the *improbi*, is the wall of the city of Rome."

idea of *salus communis* (“communal well-being”¹⁷²) to praise the efforts of people from all ranks in resisting the conspiracy. The first sentence introduces the theme of communality (*Cat.* 4.15):

*Qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem **salutem** dignitatemque consentiunt!*

Look at the multitude, the devotion, the virtue with which they act in unison for the communal **well-being** and dignity!

The instruments used to strive for the *communis salus* are contained in a *tricolon* (*frequentia*, *studio*, and *virtute*). The concept of communality in *communis salus* is echoed in *consentiunt*; its prefix, *con-*, expresses a sense of joint action.¹⁷³ In the next sentences of this section, Cicero mentions the renewed alliance between the senators and the *equites* with their patriotism, alluding to the struggles for control of the juries in criminal courts that had kept the two orders occupied in recent times. This newfound unity, when maintained, will protect the Republic forever. The *salus communis* returns to affirm this unity at the end of this section (*Cat.* 4.15):

*Scribas item universos quos cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab expectatione sortis ad **salutem** communem esse conversos.*

Likewise, I see that all clerks, whom the occasion of this day had happened to call to the treasury in great numbers, have turned from expecting the drawing of their lots to the communal **well-being**.

The assignments of lower clerks (such as the *scribae*, who were bookkeepers and archivists to the quaestors) were determined by lottery each year on December 5, the date of the fourth Catilinarian, which meant they were present at the Forum while Cicero was delivering his speech.¹⁷⁴ This was a useful coincidence for Cicero. As the *scribae* were waiting for the results of the lottery, they apparently turned their attention to Cicero’s speech—and they did so *universos*, all together. By first mentioning the senators and the *equites* earlier in this section, and then taking advantage of the situation by mentioning the *scribae*, a notable group of the auxiliary

¹⁷² For this meaning of *communis*, cf. *OLD* s.v. 5. The combination *salus communis* is only used in the senate speeches and can be found in *Cat.* 1.12; 4.15 (twice, and the topic of the present discussion); 4.16.

¹⁷³ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *con-* 2.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Dyck 2008, p. 231.

personnel of Roman magistrates¹⁷⁵, Cicero illustrates the cooperation of the many groups of Roman society.¹⁷⁶ This in turn stresses the communality of *salus* Cicero is evoking.

In the grand finale of the fourth speech, Cicero combines the many faces of *salus* across all speeches into one final emotional appeal (*Cat.* 4.24):

Quapropter de summa salute vestra populi[que] Romani, de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focus, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter.

Wherefore, decide diligently and courageously, as you have done from the beginning, on your total **well-being** and that of the Roman people, on your wives and children, on the altars and hearths, on the shrines and temples, on the buildings and houses of the entire city, on power and liberty, on the **well-being** of Italy, on the entire Republic.

Salus appears twice. The first instance of *salus* is accompanied by three modifiers, all adding to the gravity of *salus*: *summa*, *vestra* and *populi[que] Romani*. The second instance of *salus* shows the noun being connected to *Italia*, which does not happen elsewhere in the *Catilinarians*. This *salus Italiae* seems to be an intermediary step between the *salus vestra* and the *salus rei publicae* mentioned before, and it immediately leads to the final target of this *salus*: the *universa res publica*. And this is not the only function of *Italia*; Cicero implicitly calls upon the senators' *pietas* by referring to their families and households (with *de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focus*) and to their fatherland, *Italia*.¹⁷⁷

In summary: *salus* is all about concord and salvation to Cicero, as we have seen in this section. Throughout the speeches, *salus* is attached to the causes Cicero represents, such as the city, the Roman people, and even the entire Republic. These connections, frequently used in emotional appeals, exemplify the power of *salus* as a means of persuasion in Roman society. Cicero's interest in the well-being of the Republic is an active interest, transcending the mere mentioning of *salus*: at several points in the *Catilinarians*, he proposes countermeasures against the conspiracy that are expressed in medical terms as well. We will discuss some of these

¹⁷⁵ Determining the exact social standing of the *scribae* is a difficult matter, partly because there were multiple categories of *scribae*. Dyck assumes that the *scribae* Cicero mentions were *scribae librarii* (cf. Dyck 2008, p. 231), who could be slaves as well as freeborn. On the other hand, *scribae quaestorii* were usually *equites*, or they became *equites* because of the status and income their employment as *scribae* provided them with; cf. *BNP* s.v. *scriba*.

¹⁷⁶ This so-called *concordia ordinum* would remain one of Cicero's guiding principles until his death; cf. Wood 1988, pp. 193-4.

¹⁷⁷ Cicero himself defined *pietas* as follows (*Inv.* 2.66): *pietatem, quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conservare moneat.*

countermeasures later; for now, we will discuss one more word closely related to *salus* in the Catilinarians.

2: *Salvus*: physical safety as a means of persuasion

Another frequently used word with medical connotations in the Catilinarians is the adjective *salvus*, occurring eleven times.¹⁷⁸ *Salvus* is etymologically related to *salus*¹⁷⁹ and has several meanings, such as the general “safe”; the medical side is more clearly seen in meanings such as “unimpaired in health” or simply “well”.¹⁸⁰ We will now turn to some examples in which the various dimensions of *salvus* are used by Cicero to advocate for certain remedies, to emphasize the danger of the conspiracy, and to add to his own *ethos*.

In the second speech, Cicero divides the conspirators into six groups and promises to prescribe the correct remedy for each of the groups.¹⁸¹ The first group consists of people who are massively in debt. While these people own more than enough property they could sell to pay their debts, they are held back by excessive attachment to their property.¹⁸² The remedy to their madness is described as follows (*Cat.* 2.18):

Meo beneficio tabulae novae proferentur, verum auctionariae. Neque enim isti qui possessiones habent alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt.

With my support, new books will be distributed—auction catalogues, that is. There is no other way for men in possession of estates to be **well**.

A popular target for the adversaries of the conspiracy was Catiline’s promise to deliver *tabulae novae*, “new account books”, referring to the mass cancellation of debt.¹⁸³ Instead of this radical measure, Cicero proposes to force the conspirators to sell their possessions in auctions so that the profits can be used to pay their debts. *Salvus* takes on multiple meanings here. As Dyck states, the meaning “immune from punishment” is relevant, as defaulting debtors were subject to a variety of sanctions.¹⁸⁴ The medical dimension, however, is equally relevant. In the section

¹⁷⁸ All occurrences can be found here: *Cat.* 2.18; 2.20; 2.28; 3.3; 3.22; 3.25 (thrice); 4.3; 4.11; 4.17. The omission of the word in the first speech might again be correlated with Cicero’s emphasis on attacking Catiline and establishing the conspiracy as a *pestis* instead of promoting remedies already in the first speech. *Salvus* also occurred rather infrequently in the first speech in comparison with the other speeches.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. De Vaan s.v. *salvus*.

¹⁸⁰ For *salvus* as “safe”: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1. For “unimpaired in health”, cf. *OLD* s.v. 3.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *Cat.* 2.17.

¹⁸² Cf. *Cat.* 2.18: *Unum genus est eorum qui magno in aere alieno maiores etiam possessiones habent quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt.*

¹⁸³ This promise was one of Catiline’s favourite “slogans” as it were. It was also mentioned by Sallust; cf. *Sall. Cat.* 21: *Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae bellum atque libido victorum fert.*

¹⁸⁴ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *salvus* 4a; Dyck 2008, p. 150.

preceding *Cat.* 2.18, Cicero made his explicit promise to administer the medicine of his advice to the conspirators. His proposal for auctions *is* the metaphorical medicine for this group; then, reading *salvi* as a description of the intended end state after taking the medicine, a meaning such as “well” is self-evident. Cicero’s apparent concern for the well-being of the conspirators complements his own *ethos* as a compassionate yet strict head of state.

In the third speech, Cicero uses *salvus* several times in an amplification of the conspiracy, claiming it was the most brutal war in all of Rome’s history (*Cat.* 3.25):

*In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla umquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta, ut omnes qui **salva** urbe **salvi** esse possent in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut **salvi** omnes conservaremini, et, cum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putassent quantum infinitae caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et civis **integros incolumisque** servavi.*

But in this war, the most important and the most cruel since the memory of man, a war of a kind that no barbarian tribe has ever waged with its own people, a war in which this law was laid down by Lentulus, Catiline, Cethegus, and Cassius that all who could remain **safe** provided that the city was **safe** should be counted in with their enemies, in this war, citizens, I acted in such a manner that you were all kept **safe** from danger. And even though your enemies thought that there would only survive as many citizens as could withstand the endless slaughter, and that only as much of the city would survive as the fire could not overcome, I have saved both the city and its citizens unimpaired and unharmed.

The “war”, mentioned three times in this sentence, was by no means the largest war the Roman people had ever known.¹⁸⁵ However, the amplification has several clear purposes. The first is to enhance Cicero’s self-portrayal as a *dux togatus*, a motif introduced in the second speech.¹⁸⁶ This status as a *dux* in turn enhanced Cicero’s *ethos*; a military career was one of the supreme ways for a man in the Roman Republic to win recognition and glory.¹⁸⁷ The second purpose of the

¹⁸⁵ For instance, the Third Mithridatic War (73-63 BC) was a much larger conflict, and one that had been ended only recently; cf. Dyck 2008, p. 163.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *Cat.* 2.28. See also May 1988, p. 56.

¹⁸⁷ The general public’s estimation of generals was usually higher than that of orators; cf. Cic. *De or.* 1.7: *Quis enim est, qui, si clarorum hominum scientiam rerum gestarum vel utilitate vel magnitudine metiri velit, non anteponat oratori imperatorem?*

amplification is to prove that a *supplicatio* for thanking Cicero was indeed in order. Another purpose is to reiterate that the conspiracy was still a threat that could potentially affect all Roman citizens.¹⁸⁸ Throughout the sentence, Cicero uses *salvus* to further separate the conspirators from the other citizens and to emphasize his own role in protecting the Roman people. The separation of conspirators and citizens is expressed when Cicero says that the conspirators counted among their number of *enemies* the citizens who would remain *salva urbe salvi*—an appropriate *polyptoton* of *salvus*. Cicero’s conduct ensured that the citizens did indeed remain *salvi*, a statement supported by the combination of *conservaremini* and *servavi*. The adjectives *integer* and *incolumis*, used at the end of the sentence, add to the theme of physical safety.¹⁸⁹ The references to Catiline’s plans for *caedes atque incendia* (here reflected in *infinite caedi* and *flamma*) remind the audience of the symptoms of the conspiracy’s *furor* as discussed in the previous chapter.

A final example will illustrate how Cicero used physical safety and well-being to account for his approach to the conspiracy (*Cat.* 4.11):

*Nam ita mihi **salva** re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor—quis enim est me mitior?—sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia.*

I have a wish that I should enjoy together with you the Republic in its **safety**, as surely as I, seeing that I am acting more vehemently in this case, am not moved by cruelty—who, after all, is milder than I?—but by a remarkable kindness and compassion.

The vehemence refers to Cicero’s support for executing the conspirators instead of imprisoning them for life. Justifying this vehemence is Cicero’s desire to enjoy the Republic in its recovered safety, once all conspiratorial maladies have been cured. Cicero was eager to prove that accusations of cruelty were misplaced; an *interpositio* in the form of a rhetorical question emphasizes Cicero’s mildness and separates the *atrocitas animi* from the positive qualities mentioned at the end of the sentence. Of course, those qualities are mentioned to enhance Cicero’s *ethos* once again, and to arouse pity in the audience.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ This will, of course, remind us of one of the tactics described in Cicero’s *De inventione* for arousing indignation: cf. *Cic. Inv.* 1.101 and the earlier notes on this passage of *De inventione*.

¹⁸⁹ Concerning *integer*: cf. *OLD* s.v. 7 (“not impaired by physical injury”) & 10 (“unimpaired by ill health and disease”, though this meaning is admittedly less relevant here). As for *incolumis*, cf. *OLD* s.v. 1 (“unharmd physically”).

¹⁹⁰ The mentioning of *humanitas* and *misericordia* shown to others was a common tactic for arousing pity; cf. *Rhet. Her.* 2.50 (*misericordia commovebitur...si de clementia, humanitate, misericordia nostra qua in alios usi sumus aperiemus*). The contributions of these qualities to the orator’s character is described in *Cic. De or.* 2.182.

To summarize: these examples show how physical safety and well-being in the form of *salvus* are used to enhance Cicero's *ethos* and to portray Catiline and his fellow conspirators as enemies of this very safety. The medical domain is, again, a source of vivid antitheses for separating good from evil and sickness from health.

3: The treatment of the conspiracy

In this section, we will investigate some of the ways in which Cicero uses imagery of healing to describe his approach to the conspiracy.

In the first speech, Cicero was primarily concerned with *diagnosing* the Republic. The connection between a *pestis* and the conspiracy was created, and words such as *salus* did not have a prominent role yet. One of the final sections of the speech, however, contains an elaborate comparison in which Cicero introduces the application of healing imagery to the conspiracy (*Cat.* 1.31):¹⁹¹

Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afflictantur, sic hic morbus qui est in re publica relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.

People **afflicted with a serious disease**, tossing and turning **in the heat of their fever**, often seem to **recover** at first when they drink cold water, but then **are afflicted** much more seriously and forcibly. In the same way, this **disease** currently affecting the Republic might be **alleviated** by punishing him [Catiline], but it **will grow worse** as long as the others remain alive.

This comparison abounds in words from the medical domain. The conspiracy is now a *morbus*, a general term for “disease”¹⁹², and the Republic suffers from a severe fever (cleverly worded with the *hendiadys* of *aestu febrique*). Just as drinking cold water seems advisable to someone with a fever, punishing Catiline seems like a sensible next step in combating the conspiracy; however, this is not a suitable remedy. While the underlying medical advice of withholding cold water from patients with a fever might seem absurd to us, this was in fact the medical consensus of the time.¹⁹³ Cicero speaks like a doctor: *relevo* (“to relieve of physical pain or discomfort”), *afflicto*

¹⁹¹ This example contains more words from the domain of negative medical imagery than from the domain of positive medical imagery. The decision to discuss the example in this chapter despite it containing more negative medical words was made because it fits the theme of Cicero describing ways of *curing* the Republic very well.

¹⁹² Cf. *OLD* s.v. 1: “disease, illness, sickness, infirmity”.

¹⁹³ Cf. Dyck 2008, p. 120; Walters 2020, p. 38 n. 65.

("to afflict"), and *ingravesco* ("to become serious, grow worse") all contribute to the image of Cicero describing the development of a disease.¹⁹⁴ The disease afflicting someone with a fever is connected to the metaphorical disease of the conspiracy by the *adnominatio* of both *morbis* and *relevo*. Disease and its alleviation, then, are two central themes in this sentence.

The motif of healing is introduced more explicitly in the second speech, through the use of the verb *sano*¹⁹⁵ (*Cat.* 2.11):

Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae.

If my consulship were to remove these men, since it cannot **cure** them, then that will preserve the Republic not for a short time, but for many centuries.

Cicero's consulship is portrayed as a remedy, albeit one incapable of curing (*sanare*) all conspirators. It is interesting to note that *sano* means "to cure" not only physically, but also mentally (as in "to bring to reason").¹⁹⁶ While the mental aspect seems more important here at first¹⁹⁷, we might argue that the physical dimension is equally important, given Cicero's insistence on branding Catiline and the entire conspiracy as a *pestis* in the first speech and in the *exordium* of the second speech.¹⁹⁸ We are left wondering what the "removal" of the conspirators entails: does Cicero have banishment in mind, or something more drastic and violent?

The answers can be found at the end of the same section (*Cat.* 2.11):

Quae sanari poterunt quacumque ratione sanabo; quae resecanda erunt non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere.

I **will cure** what can **be cured** by any means possible; what must be **cut off**, I will not allow to remain here, causing ruin to our civilization.

The *adnominatio* of two forms of *sano* (*sanari* and *sanabo*) makes clear one of Cicero's intents. Then there is Cicero's other intent, to remove those parts of the conspiracy that are no longer salvageable, expressed with *resecanda*. *Resecanda* comes from *resecō*, which was not traditionally part of the medical vocabulary of Cicero's times—instead, the term comes from

¹⁹⁴ *Relevo*: cf. *OLD* s.v. 2a. *Afflicto*: cf. *OLD* s.v. 2. *Ingravesco*: cf. *OLD* s.v. 2b.

¹⁹⁵ The verb can be found here: *Cat.* 2.11 (thrice); 2.17; 3.14; 4.2.

¹⁹⁶ For the physical side: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1; for the mental side, cf. *OLD* s.v. 2.

¹⁹⁷ That is how Dyck interprets *sano* here; cf. Dyck 2008, p. 141.

¹⁹⁸ On these topics, see the previous chapter.

arboriculture.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the word most likely does refer to surgery here; it is juxtaposed with two forms of a verb with a strong medical connotation, and Cicero was no stranger to using *reseco* medically, as he did so several times in his letters to Atticus.²⁰⁰ The removal of the worst conspirators suggested in our previous passage is depicted as a surprisingly violent process, requiring the use of a scalpel. In a later section of this chapter, the violence of Cicero's methods will be explored more thoroughly.

A few sections onward, the motif of *sanare* returns, along with one of the most striking medical metaphors in the *Catilinarians* (*Cat.* 2.17)²⁰¹:

Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque id qua re fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam consili atque orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam.

And I do not so much intend, if it can be done somehow, to take revenge on these men as to **cure** them for themselves, to reconcile them to the Republic. I fail to see why this cannot be done, if they are willing to listen to me. I will explain to you, citizens, the categories of men those troops are made up of; then, I will **administer** to each of those categories the **medicine**—if I have any to offer—of my advice and my speech.

Cicero's advice and speech are explicitly presented as a *medicina* to be administered to the conspirators—if he has any to offer, that is. This disclaimer most likely concerns the conspirators who were beyond healing; as we have seen in some of the preceding passages, their fate might be a violent and bloody one, contrasting all mentions of “healing”. The global contents of Cicero's *consilium* can be found in *Cat.* 2.19, where he advises each group of conspirators to abandon all hope of attaining their goals.²⁰² The plans for healing the conspirators—if they are willing to listen to Cicero—are aimed at rehabilitation (reflected in *studeo...placare rei publicae*). Cicero's refusal to take revenge on the conspirators becomes another proof of his mildness, contributing to his *ethos*. Not all imagery in this sentence is medical; a reference to Cicero's self-fashioning as a *dux togatus* and the corresponding military imagery is found in *copiae*.

For now, we may conclude that Cicero reflects on countermeasures against the conspiracy in terms of healing multiple times. Declaring his intent of healing the conspirators is

¹⁹⁹ Cf. *OLD* s.v. 1 (“to cut back, prune”).

²⁰⁰ Cf. Dyck 2008, p. 142, where the letters are mentioned (*Cic. Att.* 1.18.2; 2.1.7; 4.3.3).

²⁰¹ This section is mentioned in passing by Walters 2020, p. 32.

²⁰² Cf. *Cat.* 2.19: *Quibus hoc praecipendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent se id quod conantur consequi posse.*

a way to prove to his audience that his character is mild and compassionate, suiting his consular *ethos*. However, in words like *resecare* and *trucidare* from the first speech, we have also identified a violent undertone in Cicero's narrative of healing, and it is this undertone that we will investigate now.

4: Violent healing

There are several examples of violent healing to be found in the *Catilinarians*. As many examples in this section have already been discussed in previous sections, not all passages will be fully quoted again; instead, we will focus on the big picture.

In the previous chapter, we mentioned Cicero's use of purgation imagery in the *Catilinarians*. The next example contains a form of *purgo*, a word that can be used to indicate at least three types of purgation: religious, hygienic, and medical purgation.²⁰³ Purgation in the medical sense can be a violent process, marked by symptoms such as extreme vomiting. In the first speech, purgation imagery is used to exhort Catiline to leave the city, metaphorically purging it as one would purge a body (*Cat.* 1.10):

*Educ tecum etiam omnis tuos, si minus, quam plurimos; **purga** urbem.*

Lead all your men away with you, and if you cannot do that, then take as many as possible with you; **purge** the city.

At first, there seems to be nothing in this sentence that indicates that we should read *purga* medically. Dyck initially identifies this sentence as an example of hygienic purgation, pointing out a subsequent amplification of the purgation metaphor in *Cat.* 1.12, where the "draining" of the conspiracy is compared to the draining of bilgewater.²⁰⁴ Then, he notes that "the medical implications come to the fore" at the end of the speech (referring to *Cat.* 1.31, where Cicero compared someone sick with a fever to the Republic that was afflicted with Catiline's *pestis*).²⁰⁵ We may wonder if the distinction between hygienic and medical purgation Dyck sees in the first speech is a sensible one: after all, hygienic purgation or cleansing is necessary to preserve people's health, and the relation between hygiene and health was already well-known in

²⁰³ The categorization was made in Dyck 2008, p. 88; cf. *OLD* s.v. 1 ("to free from impurities"—the hygienic type), 4 ("to free a part of the body from morbid matter"—the medical type) and 5 ("to free from religious taint"—the religious type). The example in *Cat.* 1.9 discussed in this section is the only undisputed occurrence of *purgo* in the *Catilinarians*. In one edition of the *Catilinarians* (Mueller 1885), the form *purgabo* occurs in *Cat.* 4.11. However, this is most likely an incorrect reading (see the critical apparatus of Maslowski 2003, p. 84).

²⁰⁴ Cf. *Cat.* 1.12: *...sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, **exhaurietur** ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciose **sentina** rei publicae.*

²⁰⁵ See Dyck 2008, p. 88 for his discussion of this sentence.

antiquity.²⁰⁶ When taking this association into account and considering episodes such as the *prosopopoeia* of Rome (*Cat.* 1.27-29), where the city is personified and has a metaphorical body, it seems reasonable to read our passage medically after all.

Another place where we have already encountered violent purgation imagery is in *Cat.* 2.2, where the city of Rome was described as satisfied after expelling (*evomuerit*, from *evomo*, “to vomit or spew out”) the *pestis* that was Catiline.²⁰⁷ The word *eicio*, which can not only be read literally (as “to banish”) but also medically as “to emit by vomiting”, also occurs regularly. Although not all instances of *eicio* in the *Catilinarians* can be read medically, some of them do allow for a medical reading when they are used in the vicinity of words from the medical domain.²⁰⁸

There is no clear example of purgation imagery in the fourth speech. Instead, there is another remedy Cicero proposes in that speech: the execution of the chief conspirators. This violent remedy was already hinted at in the first speech, where Cicero claimed that the conspirators should have been slaughtered with the sword (*ferro trucidari*) long ago already.²⁰⁹ Cicero preferred the execution of the conspirators over their imprisonment for several reasons; some of those were practical, others moral.²¹⁰ The following example contains an emotional appeal, filled with references to physical injuries, in which Cicero argues that executing the conspirators is the only justifiable course of action, given the severity of the conspirators’ crimes (*Cat.* 4.12):²¹¹

Etenim quaero, si quis pater familias liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo supplicium de servo non quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac

²⁰⁶ On this relationship: see, for example, Rosen 2015, p. 9. We could even argue that in some cases, religious purgation would in fact be a form of medical purgation (or would be strongly related with it at the least). This has to do with Roman conceptions of disease and health; *pestes* were thought to be a direct result of the anger of the gods (cf. Gildenhard 2011, p. 131 n. 24), so religious purgation could, in such a case, be completed with a medical goal in mind: to eradicate a *pestis*.

²⁰⁷ See the earlier discussion of *pestis* in the previous chapter.

²⁰⁸ Forms of *eicio* can be found here: *Cat.* 1.23; 1.30; 2.1; 2.7; 2.12 (twice); 2.13; 2.14 (thrice); 2.15 (thrice); 2.24; 3.3; 3.24 (twice). Of these, the following are part of sentences or sections with medical words: 1.30; 2.1; 2.7; 2.24; 3.3.

²⁰⁹ Cf. *Cat.* 1.9.

²¹⁰ Practical objections to the proposal of imprisoning the conspirators indefinitely, distributed among the towns of Italy, were: can you force a town to take in one of the conspirators, and would it be sufficient to politely *ask* them to take in the conspirators or would the senate have to resort to more drastic measures? (Cf. *Cat.* 4.7: *Municipiis dispertiri iubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare.*) A moral objection has already been discussed before and can be found in *Cat.* 4.8: the proposal of lifelong imprisonment would leave the conspirators in endless suffering until their death, since their life is all they will have left. Executing them would ensure that they would be freed of this suffering.

²¹¹ The decision to discuss this example here instead of in the previous chapter was made because the underlying thought of *relieving* one’s pain seems more important than the forms of pain themselves.

*misericors an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur. Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus qui non **dolore et cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit.***

Let me ask you: if a head of a family, after the murdering of his children by a slave, the killing of his wife, his house set on fire, would not inflict a punishment as harsh as possible on the slave, would you consider him to be mild and merciful or incredibly savage and cruel? To me, a man who does not **soothe** his own **pain** and **torture** by inflicting **pain** and **torture** on **the one who hurt him** is perverse and has a heart of iron.

This narrative is then immediately applied to the conspiracy: acting with severity against the conspirators—men who were out to murder entire families, to set the city on fire and even to rape Vestal virgins—is the only justifiable course of action.²¹² It is fitting that Cicero chose the image of a slave to represent the conspirators; after all, the conspirators could no longer be considered Roman *citizens* after their abominable actions.²¹³ Moreover, according to Cicero, Lentulus had attempted to instigate a slave uprising in support of the conspiracy, which makes the reference to slaves even more relevant here.²¹⁴ Note that the actions of the slave (marked by murder and fire) parallel the accusations of *caedes atque incendia* attached to the conspiracy.²¹⁵ Cicero is now the concerned *pater familias* who would have to deal with the slaughter of his *familia*, yielding a metaphorical framework with many political connotations. The *res publica* was frequently seen as an extension of the Roman *familia*, of which the senators were then seen as heads.²¹⁶ Cicero's emphasis on his own *lenitas* or mildness throughout the speeches is displayed again in *lenierit*, a form of *lenio* (generally "to moderate").²¹⁷ Finally, *dolor*, *cruciatu* and *noceo* give this narrative a medical dimension as well.

From the examples in this section, we can conclude that in Cicero's eyes, using violent remedies for the conspirators was justified. The conspirators' *ethos* was irrevocably damaged by their awful deeds while Cicero's own lenient consular *ethos* ensured that in the fourth speech, he

²¹² The Vestal virgins are mentioned right before the cited passage in *Cat.* 4.12; the application of all this to the conspirators follows the cited passage (still in *Cat.* 4.12).

²¹³ The loss of citizenship of the conspirators, a consequence of their transformation from *cives* to *hostes*, was mentioned in the second speech; cf. *Cat.* 2.27 and our discussion of the passage earlier in this chapter; see also May 1988, pp. 51-2.

²¹⁴ Cf. *Cat.* 4.13: *...hic [=Lentulus] ad evertenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos accersit, servitia concitat* See also Bradley 1978, p. 329 n. 2 for an overview of passages in Cicero and Sallust where slaves are mentioned in connection with the Catilinarian conspiracy.

²¹⁵ See the discussion of *caedes atque incendia* in the previous chapter.

²¹⁶ Cf. Hölkeskamp 2010, p. 33.

²¹⁷ For *lenio* as "to moderate": cf. *OLD* s.v. 1. *Lenio* and *lenitas* are etymologically related: both words are derivatives of the adjective *lenis*, "mild" (cf. De Vaan s.v. *lenis*).

could convince his audience of the importance of executing the conspirators. This paradoxical remedy would continue to haunt Cicero for the rest of his life.

5: Cicero medicus: the statesman as doctor?

There is one more question to address, and that is the question of Cicero's possible self-identification as a *medicus*.

In chapter 3, we mentioned the views of several scholars on *auctoritas* and the problems that would arise for Roman orators self-identifying as *medici*. Those arguing against a clear portrayal of Cicero as a doctor in the *Catilinarians* also cite the fact that nowhere in his extant speeches does Cicero explicitly call himself a *medicus*.²¹⁸ However, scholars such as Dyck and Leff have not hesitated to view Cicero as a doctor when commenting on some particularly vivid passages in the *Catilinarians* we discussed as well, even though Cicero does not use the word *medicus* to describe himself.²¹⁹ Perhaps we should be asking another question entirely, then: do we require an explicit identification of Cicero himself as a *medicus* to still see Cicero as a *medicus* in the *Catilinarians*?

The amount of evidence presented in this thesis in favour of attributing a deliberate medical view on politics to Cicero is overwhelming. It is hard to imagine how all of Cicero's references to disease and health could have been incorporated in the *Catilinarians* *without* the intent to create an image of himself as a doctor. This view is supported by the sentences in which Cicero uses verbs from the medical domain with himself clearly intended as the subject. Two clear examples can be found in *Cat.* 2.11, in which Cicero uses *sanabo* ("I will cure"), and in *Cat.* 2.17, in which we read the combination *medicinam...adferam* ("I will administer the medicine").

The lack of the word *medicus* in the speeches and the potential problem of *auctoritas* are the only objections against viewing Cicero as a doctor. However, these factors are easily overruled by the amount of other medical words present in the speeches. Considering all this, a final solution to the problem of self-identification might be formulated as follows. The reason why Cicero does not explicitly call himself a *medicus* might be related to the issues surrounding the *auctoritas* of *medici* in Cicero's time, although this cannot be proved. While Cicero does not

²¹⁸ In addition to the relevant section in chapter 3 of this thesis, see, for example, Gildenhard 2011, p. 130 ("Here as elsewhere, he [=Cicero] abstains from the metaphorical portrayal of the statesman as a *medicus*...") and Walters 2020, p. 34 ("Cicero may be perfectly content in a private letter or philosophical work to compare statesmen with *medici*, but nowhere in the surviving remains of republican oratory does an orator dispensing political remedies liken himself to a physician.").

²¹⁹ See, for example, Dyck 2008, p. 134, where he comments on *Cat.* 2.6: "The section concludes with two visions of C.'s rôle: as *dux* in a war or as a physician healing and, where necessary, performing surgery." But see also Leff 1973, p. 173: "If Catiline is the sickness which afflicts the state, then Cicero is the physician attempting to cure it." Mebane 2016, p. 198 argues for an implicit identification: "Implicitly positioning himself as a physician able to heal the republic, Cicero uses such formulations [referring to *Cat.* 1.31, where Cicero mentions the Republic's *venae atque viscera*] to legitimize his consular authority without making recourse to the head-of-state metaphor."

use the word *medicus*, he speaks like the political *medici* of the Greek rhetorical tradition, fully exploiting the rhetorical benefits and persuasive force of medical motifs. And Cicero, then, is not only a *dux* but also a *medicus togatus*.

6: Conclusion

In the previous chapter, negative medical imagery was shown to be consistently connected to the conspirators, contributing to attacks on their characters and contrasting the attempts of Cicero and the Senate to preserve the well-being of the Republic. We can now conclude that positive medical imagery functions in a similar way: it can be used to enhance Cicero's *ethos*, but it can also be incorporated in oppositions between the *boni* and the conspirators, further damaging the conspirators' cause. In the end, positive medical imagery was so powerful that Cicero used it to advocate for the execution of five conspirators—an extreme form of negative medical imagery. While not explicitly naming himself a *medicus*, it is clear in the many references to medicine Cicero makes that he considered himself to be the one *medicus rei publicae* capable of diagnosing and healing the Republic from the *pestis* of the conspiracy.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In this final chapter, we will review the conclusions of the preceding chapters, and we will combine those insights to answer the main research question of this thesis: “How does Cicero use medical imagery to contribute to achieving his rhetorical and political objectives in the *Catilinarians*?” We will then answer the minor research questions before ending this chapter with several recommendations for future research.

1: Answering the research question

In chapter 4, we discussed Cicero’s use of negative medical imagery in the *Catilinarians*. The dominant motif in this category was *pestis*. Starting from the first speech, Cicero used *pestis* to describe both Catiline and his conspiracy as a disease threatening the body politic. Throughout all four speeches, Cicero regularly comments on the physical weakness of Catiline’s fellow conspirators, showing how Catiline’s *pestis* will eventually lead to their downfall. We then discussed the relation between physical and mental afflictions in the speeches, exposing the connection between the conspirators’ *furor* and their violent behaviour in the speeches. We concluded that negative medical imagery is consistently used to refer to the conspiracy, frequently as part of invective tactics, damaging Catiline’s *ethos* and that of his fellow conspirators, and solidifying the image of the conspiracy as a disease.

In chapter 5 on positive medical imagery, we demonstrated that Cicero uses references to health and well-being to bolster his own *ethos* and to further attack the conspiracy by creating intricate oppositions between disease and health. In these oppositions, the outlines of a conflict are drawn in which Cicero is the *dux togatus* of the senate, defending the well-being of his citizens, while Catiline’s side is marked with disease and frenzied bursts of violence. Cicero was shown to have a violent side of his own as well: his promises to safeguard the *salus rei publicae* and to heal the conspirators were used to justify violent countermeasures against the conspiracy.

The final answer to our main research question, then, is: Cicero uses medical imagery in the *Catilinarians* primarily to boost his own *ethos* and to attack the *ethos* of Catiline and his fellow conspirators, while also including medical imagery in emotional appeals to his audience, utilizing *pathos* as a means of persuasion. His use of medical imagery is tailored to the rhetorical and political challenges of the individual speeches. In the first speech, where Cicero lacked tangible proof of the conspiracy’s existence, we see a relatively large amount of negative medical imagery, since the domain of sickness provided Cicero with an opportunity to vividly portray the danger of the conspiracy. In sections such as the *prosopopoeia* of the Republic, Cicero’s use of *pathos* combined with medical imagery becomes clear. The main objective of the second speech was to inform the Roman people of recent events and to discuss potential measures against the

conspirators. With frequent references to physical weakness, attacking the conspirators, Cicero introduces the concept of “healing” the very same conspirators, in turn promoting himself as a compassionate yet determined head of state. The recurrent use of positive medical imagery in the third speech emphasizes the importance of a *supplicatio*: the gods and Cicero himself should be thanked for protecting the universal well-being and for saving the Republic from the *pestis* that was Catiline. Finally, the fourth speech is fully dedicated to *salus*. The fact that Cicero had correctly diagnosed the Republic and immediately positioned himself as the supreme leader in the fight for well-being is used to argue for the execution of five conspirators.

The *exordia* and *perorationes* of the speeches have shown a relatively higher frequency of medical imagery than the other *partes orationis*. Attacking Catiline’s *persona* by comparing him to a *pestis*, for example, was an excellent way to ensure that Cicero’s audience was well-disposed to him in the *exordium* of the first speech. Emotional appeals—frequently occurring in the *perorationes*—are complemented with medical imagery to emphasize, for instance, the gravity of the political situation.

Another point of interest concerned potential differences in the use of medical imagery between the first and fourth speeches *ad senatum* and the second and third *ad populum*. Some minor differences can in fact be noticed. In the speeches *ad populum*, Cicero tends to avoid combinations of medical imagery and abstract concepts, such as *salus rei publicae*, instead opting for combinations with tangible matters, such as *salus urbis*, to flesh out his argumentation. Correspondingly, mentions of political ideals such as the *concordia ordinum*, framed in terms of disease and health, occur slightly more often in the speeches *ad senatum*. Overall, however, there were fewer differences than expected.

As for the issues surrounding Cicero’s identification as a *medicus*, our conclusion was a nuanced one. While Cicero does not explicitly call himself a *medicus*, the depth and extent of his use of medical imagery applied to himself and to others suggest that Cicero was in fact shaping an identification of himself as a *medicus*. This allowed Cicero to fully utilize the persuasiveness of medical imagery as demonstrated by Greek orators like Demosthenes, while avoiding the dangers to his own *ethos* that an explicit identification as a *medicus* might have posed, although the small amount of extant evidence makes it nearly impossible to determine the true relevance of the issues concerning *auctoritas*.

2: Recommendations for future research

There remains a lot of work to be done concerning Cicero’s use of medical imagery. In this section, some avenues for future research shall be outlined briefly.

A lot of potential can be found in speeches other than the Catilinarians in which the Catilinarian conspiracy still plays a role. How does Cicero’s medical imagery applied to the conspiracy in the Catilinarians compare to medical descriptions of the conspiracy in speeches

such as the *Pro Murena* and the *Pro Sulla* or even the eighth Philippic?²²⁰ Answering this question will provide valuable insights into the development of the application of medical imagery to the Catilinarian conspiracy within the corpus of Cicero's works.

Texts beyond the corpus of Cicero also offer opportunities for further research. For example, Sallust occasionally refers to the conspiracy in medical terms in his *Bellum Catilinae*—sometimes even paraphrasing speeches in which *Catiline* used medical imagery.²²¹ Comparing Sallust's use of medical imagery to Cicero's, then, could lead to an even better understanding of the development of medical imagery applied to the conspiracy.

The most viable avenue for further research can be found if we are willing to venture beyond Roman oratory. It could be interesting, for example, to compare Demosthenes' use of medical imagery to Cicero's in order to discover possible similarities and to improve our understanding of Demosthenic influences in the extant speeches of Cicero.

²²⁰ In *Mur.* 85, for example, Cicero refers to Catiline as follows: *illa pestis immanis importuna Catilinae*. In *Sul.* 53, Cicero compares the Catilinarian conspiracy to a *morbis*. And to give a final example: in *Phil.* 8.15, a passage we used in the Introduction, Cicero describes his treatment of the Catilinarian conspiracy in medical terms.

²²¹ An example of this is Sall. *Cat.* 20.7: *...si res publica valeret, formidini essemus*.

Chapter 7

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Appendix 1

Index of passages

This appendix contains a list of all examples from the Catilinarians that were discussed in chapters 4 and 5. The list was sorted in the order in which the examples appear in the speeches themselves. For each example, a reference to the chapter and paragraph where the example was originally discussed has been included in brackets.

In Catilinam 1

Cat. 1.1 (ch. 4.4):

*Quam diu etiam **furor** iste tuus nos eludet?*

How long will that **madness** of yours mislead us?

Cat. 1.2 (ch. 4.1):

*Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri **pestem** istam quam tu in nos omnis iam diu machinaris.*

To have you being led to your death, Catiline, on a consul's orders was necessary long ago already, and that **plague** which you have long been plotting for all of us should be brought upon yourself.

Cat. 1.3 (ch. 4.5):

*An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus interfecit: Catilinam orbem terrae **caede atque incendiis** vastare cupientem nos consules perferemus?*

Publius Scipio, a great man, the chief pontiff, killed Tiberius Gracchus as a private citizen, even though Gracchus was barely weakening the state of the Republic. Shall we, the consuls, endure Catiline in his wish to destroy the world **by death and flames**?

Cat. 1.9 (ch. 4.5):

*Hic, hic sunt nostro in numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium **interitu**, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum **exitio** cogitent. Hos ego video consul et de re publica sententiam rogo et quos ferro **trucidari** oportebat eos nondum voce **vulnero**.*

Here, here they are among our ranks, senators, in this most sacred and most important council, men who are contemplating the **violent death** of us all, the **destruction** of this

city and even the entire world. As consul I see these men and I ask them for their opinion on state affairs, and I am not yet **wounding** with my voice the men who should be **slaughtered** with the sword.

Cat. 1.10 (ch. 5.4):

*Educ tecum etiam omnis tuos, si minus, quam plurimos; **purga** urbem.*

Lead all your men away with you, and if you cannot do that, then take as many as possible with you; **purge** the city.

Cat. 1.11 (ch. 4.1; 5.1):

*Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae **pestem** totiens iam effugimus.*

We are greatly indebted to the immortal gods and especially to Jupiter Stator, the most ancient defender of this city, for having escaped this hideous **plague**, so horrible and so dangerous to the Republic, so many times already.

Cat. 1.11 (ch. 5.1):

*Non est saepius in uno homine summa **salus** periclitanda rei publicae.*

Never again is the total **well-being** of the Republic to be endangered by one man.

Cat. 1.30 (ch. 4.1):

*Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae **pestem** paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quod si sese eiecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique conlectos naufragos adgregarit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae **pestis** verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.*

I understand that if this man alone is killed, this **plague** in the Republic can be repressed for a short time, but it cannot be contained forever. But if he throws himself out and moves out his men with him and adds to this group the other shipwrecked men gathered from everywhere in one place, then not only this **plague**, which has become so firmly established in the Republic, will be extinguished and destroyed, but the root and seed of all evils will be as well.

Cat. 1.31 (ch. 5.3):

Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflctantur, sic hic morbus qui est in re publica relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.

People **afflicted with a serious disease**, tossing and turning **in the heat of their fever**, often seem to **recover** at first when they drink cold water, but then **are afflicted** much more seriously and forcibly. In the same way, this **disease** currently affecting the Republic might be **alleviated** by punishing him [Catiline], but it **will grow worse** as long as the others remain alive.

Cat. 1.33 (ch. 4.1; 4.5):

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium.

With these omens, Catiline, go to your wicked and abominable war, accompanied with the total well-being of the Republic, with a **plague** and destruction upon yourself, and with the ruin of those who bound themselves to you in every form of crime and **parricide**.

In Catilinam 2

Cat. 2.1 (ch. 4.1):

Tandem aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam furem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus.

Finally, citizens, we have expelled Lucius Catilina, raging in his audacity, breathing forth crime, impiously bringing about a **plague** to his native land, threatening you and this city with his sword and fire—or we have sent him out, or we accompanied him with words of farewell as he left.

Cat. 2.2 (ch. 4.1):

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 evomuerit** forasque proiecerit.*

Now he lies there ruined, citizens, and he recognizes that he has been overthrown and cast away and he regularly turns his gaze back to this city, and he is bewailing the fact that it has been snatched from his jaws. It seems to me that the city is glad that it has **vomited forth** and cast out such a large **plague**.

Cat. 2.10 (ch. 4.2):

*Quod si in vino et alea comissationes solum et scorta quaerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi; hoc vero quis ferre possit, **inertis** homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, **ebriosos** sobriis, **dormientis** vigilantibus? Qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino **languidi**, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, **debilitati** stupris **eructant** sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia.*

If they were only out for revelries and whores in their drinking and gambling, they would indeed be hopeless, but they would still be bearable; but who could bear to see **slothful** men scheme against the most powerful men, the most foolish ones against the wisest, **drunkards** against sober men, **slumbering men** against the vigilant? Look at them—reclining at their banquets, embracing women devoid of chastity, **enfeebled** by wine, crammed with food, crowned with garlands, covered in perfume, **incapacitated** by their debauchery, they **disgorge** the slaughter of all good men and the burning down of the city in their conversations.

Cat. 2.11 (ch. 5.3):

*Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam **sanare** non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae.*

If my consulship were to remove these men, since it cannot **cure** them, then that will preserve the Republic not for a short time, but for many centuries.

Cat. 2.11 (ch. 5.3):

*Quae **sanari** poterunt quacumque ratione **sanabo**; quae **resecanda** erunt non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere.*

I **will cure** what can **be cured** by any means possible; what must be **cut off**, I will not allow to remain here, causing ruin to our civilization.

Cat. 2.17 (ch. 5.3):

*Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam **sanare** sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque id qua re fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis **medicinam** consili atque orationis meae, si quam potero, **adferam**.*

And I do not so much intend, if it can be done somehow, to take revenge on these men as to **cure** them for themselves, to reconcile them to the Republic. I fail to see why this cannot be done, if they are willing to listen to me. I will explain to you, citizens, the categories of men those troops are made up of; then, I will **administer** to each of those categories the **medicine**—if I have any to offer—of my advice and my speech.

Cat. 2.18 (ch. 5.2):

*Meo beneficio tabulae novae proferentur, verum auctionariae. Neque enim isti qui possessiones habent alia ratione ulla **salvi** esse possunt.*

With my support, new books will be distributed—auction catalogues, that is. There is no other way for men in possession of estates to be **well**.

Cat. 2.25 (ch. 4.4):

*Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc **furor**; hinc honestas, illinc turpitude; hinc continentia, illinc libido; hinc denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, **mens sana** cum **amentia**, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit.*

Modesty fights on our side, impudence on theirs; on our side purity, on theirs defilement; on our side good faith, on theirs deceit; on our side dutiful respect, on theirs wickedness; on our side steadfastness, on theirs **madness**; on our side integrity, on theirs shamefulness; on our side moderation, on theirs lust; on our side, in short, equality, temperance, fortitude, wisdom, all the virtues battle injustice, extravagance, cowardice, carelessness, all the vices; finally, wealth contends with poverty, sound motivations with

corrupt ones, **sanity** with **insanity**, and well-founded hope with hopelessness regarding all matters.

Cat. 2.27 (ch. 5.1):

*Nunc illos qui in urbe remanserunt atque adeo qui contra urbis **salutem** omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relictis sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo.*

Now, those who have remained in the city and especially those who have been left behind in the city by Catiline to oppose the **well-being** of the city and of you all, I still want to have warned repeatedly, even though they are enemies—because they were born citizens.

In Catilinam 3

Cat. 3.3 (ch. 4.2):

*Nam tum cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam—non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit—, sed tum cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam coniuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos qui restitissent **infirmos** sine illo ac **debilis** fore putabam.*

Because at the time when I threw Catiline out of the city—I no longer fear the unpopularity associated with this term, "threw out", since the unpopularity I attracted because he left the city alive is to be feared more—well, at that time, when I wanted him to be banished, I thought that either the remaining crowd of conspirators would be leaving together with him, or that those who remained would be **weak** and **enfeebled** without him.

Cat. 3.4 (ch. 4.4):

*Atque ego ut vidi, quos maximo **furore** et scelere esse **inflammatos** sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnis dies noctesque consumpsi ut quid agerent, quid molirentur sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem ut tum demum animis **saluti** vestrae provideretis cum oculis maleficcium ipsum videretis.*

And when I saw that the men whom I knew to be **inflamed** with the most severe kind of criminal **madness** were still with us and had remained in Rome, I spent all my days and nights to find out and see what they were doing, what they were scheming, so that I

might—since my message might not have seemed credible to your ears because of the unbelievable magnitude of their criminality—so that I might comprehend the case enough to have you look out for your own **well-being** when you saw the actual crime with your own eyes.

Cat. 3.16 (ch. 4.3):

*Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli **somnum** nec L. Cassi **adipes** nec C. Cethegi **furiosam temeritatem** pertimescendam.*

When I was attempting to drive him out of the city, citizens, I foresaw that after the removal of Catiline, I would no longer have to fear the **lethargy** of Publius Lentulus or the **obesity** of Lucius Cassius or the **frenzied recklessness** of Gaius Cethegus.

Cat. 3.25 (ch. 5.2):

*In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla umquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta, ut omnes qui **salva** urbe **salvi** esse possent in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut **salvi** omnes conservaremini, et, cum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putassent quantum infinitae caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et civis **integros incolumisque** servavi.*

But in this war, the most important and the most cruel since the memory of man, a war of a kind that no barbarian tribe has ever waged with its own people, a war in which this law was laid down by Lentulus, Catiline, Cethegus, and Cassius that all who could remain **safe** provided that the city was **safe** should be counted in with their enemies, in this war, citizens, I acted in such a manner that you were all kept **safe** from danger. And even though your enemies thought that there would only survive as many citizens as could withstand the endless slaughter, and that only as much of the city would survive as the fire could not overcome, I have saved both the city and its citizens unimpaired and unharmed.

Cat. 3.26 (ch. 5.1):

Memoria vestra, Quirites, nostrae res alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et conroborabuntur; eandemque diem intellego, quam spero aeternam fore,

*propagatam esse et ad **salutem** urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei unoque tempore in hac re publica duos civis exstitisse quorum alter finis vestri imperi non terrae sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter eiusdem imperi domicilium sedisque servaret.*

Through your memory, citizens, my deeds will be sustained; they will grow through your conversations, they will become established and will be strengthened by the monuments of literature. I know that the same amount of time—and I hope it will last forever—has been preserved for the **well-being** of the city as for the memory of my consulship, and I know that at one time in this Republic, two citizens have risen, one of whom has limited the border of your empire not on earth but the heavenly regions, and another who guarded the home and seat of the same empire.

Cat. 3.27 (ch. 4.5):

*Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis **nocere** possent ego providi, ne mihi **noceant** vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis iam **noceri** potest.*

I saw to it that the criminal and nefarious minds of overly audacious men could not **harm** you; it is up to you to take care that they do not **harm** me. Although, citizens, nothing from those men can **harm** me any longer.

In Catilinam 4

Cat. 4.3 (ch. 4.1):

*Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti **salvi** sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nos una rei publicae **peste** pereamus.*

I am moved by all of this, but only in so far as my close family will be **well** with all of you, even if some form of violence were to crush me, instead of them and us perishing because of one **plague** in the Republic.

Cat. 4.11 (ch. 5.2):

*Nam ita mihi **salva** re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor—quis enim est me mitior?—sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia.*

I have a wish that I should enjoy together with you the Republic in its **safety**, as surely as

I, seeing that I am acting more vehemently in this case, am not moved by cruelty—who, after all, is milder than I?—but by a remarkable kindness and compassion.

Cat. 4.11 (ch. 4.4):

*Versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et **furor** in vestra caede **bacchantis**.*

Before my eyes moves the appearance of Cethegus and his **madness** as he **revels** in your slaughter.

Cat. 4.12 (ch. 5.4):

*Etenim quaero, si quis pater familias liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo supplicium de servo non quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur. Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus qui non **dolore** et **cruciatu nocentis** suum **dolorem cruciatumque lenierit**.*

Let me ask you: if a head of a family, after the murdering of his children by a slave, the killing of his wife, his house set on fire, would not inflict a punishment as harsh as possible on the slave, would you consider him to be mild and merciful or incredibly savage and cruel? To me, a man who does not **soothe** his own **pain** and **torture** by inflicting **pain** and **torture** on **the one who hurt him** is perverse and has a heart of iron.

Cat. 4.15 (ch. 5.1):

*Qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem **salutem** dignitatemque consentiunt!*

Look at the multitude, the devotion, the virtue with which they act in unison for the communal **well-being** and dignity!

Cat. 4.15 (ch. 5.1):

*Scribas item universos quos cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab expectatione sortis ad **salutem** communem esse conversos.*

Likewise, I see that all clerks, whom the occasion of this day had happened to call to the treasury in great numbers, have turned from expecting the drawing of their lots to the communal **well-being**.

Cat. 4.24 (ch. 5.1):

*Quapropter de summa **salute** vestra populi Romani, de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focus, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de **salute** Italiae, de universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter.*

Wherefore, decide diligently and courageously, as you have done from the beginning, on your total **well-being** and that of the Roman people, on your wives and children, on the altars and hearths, on the shrines and temples, on the buildings and houses of the entire city, on power and liberty, on the **well-being** of Italy, on the entire Republic.