

***AN ANTHOLOGY***  
***of***  
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***Illustrative of the History of Western Rhetoric***

**Classical Greek and Roman Speeches**

**Translated and Edited**

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## **Cicero's First Oration Against Catiline (63 BCE)**

*In the century after Cato's death (149 BCE) there were repeated threats against the constitutional government of Rome originating in economic problems, in the difficulties of administering an empire that stretched from Spain to Asia Minor, often providing opportunities for corruption on the part of officials, and in personal ambitions and opportunism. Marius, Sulla, and others seized power for periods of time in the first half of the first century BCE. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE) derived from what today would be described as a middle-class background, became famous as a speaker in the courts of law, and rose through a series of lesser offices to become one of the two consuls, the administrative heads of the government, in 63 BCE. He was a patriotic political conservative who throughout his life sought to preserve and strengthen the traditional republican government of Rome. His colleague in the consulship largely withdrew from active participation and as a result Cicero was effectively head of state during the year 63.*

*Lucius Sergius Catilina was an impoverished aristocrat who had earlier been a follower of Sulla, was defeated by Cicero in the election for consul for the year 63, and was defeated again in the elections in 63 for the consulship of 62. He then abandoned constitutional methods and formed a conspiracy to seize power, promising potential supporters the redistribution of property from rich to poor. There were many disaffected people at all levels of society in Rome and Catiline's cabal was a serious threat to constitutional government and public order. Through resolute and shrewd moves, Cicero was able to meet and defeat this threat. His four Catilinarian orations were delivered in the Roman senate from which he obtained authority to act outside the ordinary limits of law. Catiline was a member of the senate and was present when Cicero first publicly raised the issue of the dangers on November 7, 63. There were some senators cognizant of the conspiracy and friendly to Catiline, and at the time he delivered the First Catilinarian oration Cicero did not have clear senatorial support for decisive action. His objective at this time was limited to getting Catiline to show his hand and leave Rome to join forces being assembled in the countryside. Cicero says (§16) that the senators moved away from Catiline as he spoke, leaving him sitting alone. Cicero delivered four speeches relating to the conspiracy during the course of a month. In addition to the historical information contained in these speeches and in Cicero's other writings, there is a monograph by the historian Sallust entitled On the Catilinarian Conspiracy.*

*Catiline did leave Rome and was killed in the fighting that eventually took place. Other conspirators were arrested and Cicero's fourth Catilinarian speech deals with how they should be punished. According to Sallust, a young senator named Julius Caesar, who may have had some connection with the conspirators, argued that they should be imprisoned for life in separate cities of Italy. Cicero, however, asked for the death penalty and with the support of Cato the Younger, great-grandson of Cato the Elder, obtained the senate's approval for them to be strangled in the small state prison near the forum. Although Cicero was completely successful in putting down the conspiracy, and proud of having saved the republic, his actions came back to harm him later when he was accused of having put Roman citizens to death without a trial and in 58 BCE he was driven into exile in Greece for over a year.*

*The style of Cicero's speech is highly unusual. Note, for example, the abrupt beginning, the series of rapid-fire rhetorical questions and exclamations, and the repeated direct address to Catiline, interspersed with references to him in the third person and addresses to the senate. The speech is also distinguished by two famous examples of prosopopoeia, or speech-in-character, in which Cicero imagines the personified fatherland (patria) speaking to Catiline (§18) and later addressing himself (§§27-29).*

To what point, Catiline, will you abuse our patience? How long will your madness elude us? To what limit will your unrestrained audacity leap? Does the nightly guard on the Palatine not move you? The patrols in the city? The fear of the people? The meetings of loyal citizens? This heavily defended place of holding the senate?<sup>1</sup> The expressions on the faces of these senators? Do you not realize that your plans lay open? Do you not see that your conspiracy is inhibited by the knowledge of these men? What you were doing last night, what the night before, where you were, whom you met, what plans you made, who of us do you think does not know these things? (2) O what times we live in! What moral standards!<sup>2</sup> The senate knows these things, the consul sees them. Yet this man lives. Lives? He even comes into the senate, takes part in public deliberation, notes and marks out with a glance of his eyes each and every one of us for death! But we, brave men, seem to be doing enough for the republic if we avoid that creature's madness and weapons. You ought, Catiline, long since to have been put to death by order of the consul; the ruin that you have long been devising against us should instead have been directed against you. (3) A man of distinction, Publius Scipio, the high priest, when a private citizen killed Tiberius Gracchus although his threat to the republic was only a moderate one.<sup>3</sup> Shall we consuls put up with Catiline who wants to lay waste the whole world with fire and slaughter? I pass over other too ancient precedents, as that Gaius Servilius Ahala with his own hand killed Spurius Maelius when he plotted revolution.<sup>4</sup> There was, there was once in this republic such strength of mind that brave men restrained a dangerous citizen with keener punishment than they did the fiercest enemy. We have a decree of the senate against you, Catiline, a formidable and strong decree; the advice and authority of this body is not failing the republic. We, we, I say openly, we consuls are the ones failing it. (4) There was a time when the senate decreed that Lucius Opimius the consul "should see that the republic suffered no harm";<sup>5</sup> not a night passed; because of suspicions of sedition Gaius Gracchus was killed, a man with a distinguished father, grandfather, and ancestors, and Marcus Fulvius was also killed, a man who had been consul. A similar decree of the senate entrusted the safety of the republic to Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius, the consuls. Was there even one day's delay before death and the vengeance of

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<sup>1</sup> The senate was meeting in the temple of Jupiter Stator rather than in the senate house.

<sup>2</sup> In Latin, *O Tempora, O Mores!*

<sup>3</sup> In 133 BCE when Gracchus was pressing constitutional changes.

<sup>4</sup> In 439 BCE.

<sup>5</sup> This is the traditional phrase for a senatorial decree giving the consul authority to act outside ordinary legal procedures, the Roman equivalent of martial law. The incident took place in 121 BCE during the Gracchan crisis.

the republic overtook Lucius Saturninus, tribune of the people, and the praetor Gaius Servilius?<sup>6</sup> But for twenty days we have allowed the point of our authority to grow dull. We have a decree of this sort, but buried in the minutes like a sword in a sheath, by which decree of the senate you, Catiline, ought to have immediately been put to death. Yet you live, and you live not to lay down but to strengthen your audacity.

Members of the Senate, I want to be merciful, I want not to seem reckless in the time of such dangers to the republic, but now I convict myself of inaction and neglect. (5) There are military camps in Italy, in the passes of Etruria, set there against the Roman people; the number of the enemy increases day by day; you behold the commander of these camps and the leader of the enemy within the walls of Rome and even in the senate, plotting every day some internal ruin for the republic! If I order you to be seized now, Catiline, if I order you to be killed, surely there is reason to fear that all good men will complain not that I am acting too brutally but that I have too long delayed. But there is a particular reason why I am not yet led to do what I ought to have done long since. You will at last be killed when there is no one to be found so wicked, so ruined, so like yourself that he does not admit it has been done justly. (6) So long as there is anyone who ventures to defend you, you will live, and you will live as you now live, constrained by my many strong guards lest you have the power to act against the republic. The eyes and ears of many, just as they have done up to now, will observe and keep watch on you, though you perceive it not.

What more are you waiting for, Catiline, since neither the darkness of night can hide your nefarious meetings nor a private home contain the voices of your conspiracy?<sup>7</sup> Everything is evident, everything bursts into the open. Do as I say. Change your plan, forget slaughter and conflagration. You are caught on all sides; all your plots are clearer than day to us; review them with me.

(7) Do you remember how on the twenty-first of October I said in the senate that Gaius Manlius, a hanger-on and hit-man of your audacity, would take up arms on a certain date and that the day in question would be the twenty-seventh of October? Was I mistaken, Catiline, not only about this important, dreadful and so incredible event, but—what is much more to be wondered at—about the date? I also said in the senate that you had put off the massacre of members of the conservative party to the twenty-eighth of October, by which time many of the leaders of the state had fled Rome, not so much to save themselves as to thwart your plans. Can you deny that on that day, when you were circumvented by my guards and my diligence and were unable to take action against the republic, you went around saying that despite the departure of others you were content with the slaughter of those who remained? (8) And what about this? When you were confident that you would seize Praeneste by a night attack on the first of November, did you realize that that colony was defended by my orders with my security forces, guards, and watchmen? There is nothing that you do, nothing you attempt, nothing you contemplate that I not only hear of but even see and clearly know.

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<sup>6</sup> In 100 BCE.

<sup>7</sup> According to Sallust, Cicero's informant was Fulvia, mistress of a conspirators named Quintus Curius.

Review with me now what happened on the night before last; you will then understand that I am much more vigilant for the safety of the republic than you for its ruin. I say that on that night you came to the Street of the Scythe-makers—see how specific I can be—to the house of Marcus Laeca, and many accomplices in like madness and crime met there. Do you dare to deny this? Why are you silent? I'll prove it if you deny it, for I see here in the senate some that were there with you.

(9) On immortal gods! Where on earth are we? Here, here in our assembly, senators, in this most holy and most dignified council in the world, are men who are planning the murder of us all and the destruction of this city and even the whole world.<sup>8</sup> I the consul see them and I am asking their opinion about the republic, and though they ought to have their throats cut, I am not even wounding them with my voice. You were there at Laeca's on that night, Catiline, you assigned the parts of Italy, you determined where you wanted each person to go, you decided whom you would leave in Rome and whom you would take with you, you designated the parts of the city to be set afire, you confirmed that you yourself would be leaving, but you said there would be a little delay now because I was still alive. Two Roman knights were found who would relieve you of that worry and promised on that very night before dawn to kill me in my bed. (10) I found out all these things almost before your meeting ended. I strengthened and fortified my house with more security guards. I denied entry to those you had sent to greet me in the morning.<sup>9</sup> By the time they came I had predicted to many leading men that they would come at that time.<sup>10</sup>

Since this is so, Catiline, continue the course you have begun: leave the city sometime soon. The gates are open. Set out. For too long your camp under Manilius' command has longed for you their general. Take with you all your men, or if not all, as many as you can. Clean the city of infection. You will free me of great fear once the city wall is between me and you. You can no longer mingle with us. I will not bear it. I will not allow it. (11) Great thanks will be due to the immortal gods and to Jove the Protector here,<sup>11</sup> the most ancient guardian of this city, that we have often escaped so foul, so dreadful, so dangerous a criminal as this. The supreme safety of the city must not again be endangered in the person of one man. So long as you plotted against me when consul elect, Catiline, I defended myself by my private precautions, not by public protection. When at the last consular election you wanted to kill me, the consul, as well as your competitors in the Campus,<sup>12</sup> I suppressed your nefarious effort by the help and forces of my friends without stirring up any public riot. In short, whenever you

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<sup>8</sup> By this time Roman rule extended from Spain to Asia Minor.

<sup>9</sup> It was the custom for his friends and supporters to wait on the consul and other important people when they rose in the morning.

<sup>10</sup> In this paragraph note the contrasting anaphora you...you...contrasting with I...I...

<sup>11</sup> Cicero can be thought to gesture toward the statue of Jupiter (Jove) in the temple where the senate was meeting.

<sup>12</sup> Roman elections were held out-of-doors in an open area along the Tibur river called the Campus Martius, or Field of Mars. The voters were assembled and counted in fenced areas resembling sheep pens. Cicero is referring to the election in the late summer of 63 for the two consuls and other officers to hold office beginning January 1, 62 BCE.

attacked me, I resisted you on my own, although I saw my destruction would involve great calamity to the republic. (12) Now you are openly attacking the whole state, the temples of the immortal gods, the buildings of the city, the lives of all citizens; you are invoking destruction and devastation on all Italy. Thus, since I do not yet dare to do what is best and what is appropriate for this empire and the traditions of our ancestors, I shall do what is less severe but more useful for our common safety. If I order you to be killed, what is left of a band of conspirators will remain in the republic; but if you do what I have long been urging, if you leave Rome, the great, infectious sewage of the republic consisting of your associates will be drawn off from the city. (13) What about this, Catiline? Surely you don't hesitate to do at my orders what you were already going to do of your own accord? The consul orders an enemy to leave the city. Are you asking if I mean into exile? I do not order that, but if you ask me I advise it.

For what is there, Catiline, that can delight you now in this city? —a city where there is no one, except for your conspiracy of ruined men, who does not fear you, no one who does not hate you. What marks of personal vice are not burned into your being? What shame for private actions does not cling to your reputation? What lust has been lacking from your eyes, what crime from your hands, what disgrace from your whole body? What young man, lured by the inducements of bribes, have you not brought to violent audacity or inflamed lust? (14) What? When recently, with the death of your late wife, you had created a vacancy for a new marriage, did you not top this crime with another unbelievable crime?<sup>13</sup> But I pass over this and easily allow it to remain unspoken, lest in this city the outrage of so great a crime may seem to have arisen and not been punished. I pass over the bankruptcy of your private fortune, which you know is hanging over you next month. I come instead to those things that relate not to the private disgrace of your vices, not to your domestic difficulties and dirty deeds, but that pertain to the highest interests of the republic and the lives and safety of us all.

(15) Can it be, Catiline, that the light of the sun or the breath of heaven is pleasing to you when you know that there is no one among these men who is unaware that on the last day of December in the consulship of Lepidus and Tullus you stood in the meeting place of the assembly with a weapon in your hand?<sup>14</sup> That you prepared a band of men to murder the consul and leading citizens? That no conscience or fear on your part but the Good Fortune of the Roman people stood in the way of your crime and madness? And I omit other things—for they were not unknown and many were later performed—how often you tried to kill me when I was consul elect, how often when I was in fact consul! How many of your attacks, so aimed that they seemed not possible to be avoided, have I escaped by some slight turn and, as they say,<sup>15</sup> by body movement! You accomplish nothing, follow nothing up, but yet do not cease your attempts and intentions. (16)

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<sup>13</sup> Incest.

<sup>14</sup> Historians call this “the first Catilinarian conspiracy,” but the details, including Catiline’s role, are uncertain. The date was Dec. 31, 66 BCE.

<sup>15</sup> Cicero here uses the terminology of the gladiatorial schools: *petis* (attack), *declinatio* (turn), *corpus* (body movement); Catiline is by implication no better than a gladiator, the criminal dregs of society .

How often has the dagger been wrested from your hands, how often has it escaped your grasp by some accident and fallen! I know not in what rites this dagger has been consecrated and devoted to this purpose, so that you think it necessary to plunge it into the body of the consul.

What kind of life do you lead now? For I shall speak with you not that I may seem to be moved by hatred, as I ought, but with pity that you do not deserve. A little while ago you came into the senate. Who in this large crowd,<sup>16</sup> from among your numerous friends and relations greeted you? If you know that this has never happened in the memory of man, are you waiting for a spoken affront when you have been overpowered by the heavy judgment of silence? What? What do you infer from the fact that all those benches were emptied on your arrival and that all the former consuls, men whom you have often designated for death, left that part of the benches empty and desolate as soon as you sat down? (17) By god, if my slaves feared me in the way that all your fellow citizens fear you, I would think I ought to leave home. Don't you think you ought to leave the city? If I saw myself so heavily suspect and offensive, even unjustly, to my fellow citizens, I would prefer to be deprived of the sight of the citizens rather than be looked at by the hostile eyes of all. When you recognize by the consciousness of your crimes that everyone's hatred is just and long deserved, do you hesitate to shun the sight and the presence of those whose thoughts and feelings you have wounded? If your parents feared you and hated you and you could not in any way placate them, you would, I think, withdraw from their sight. Now your native land, which is the common parent of us all, hates and fears you and for long has judged that you meditate nothing except her ruin. Will you not fear her authority and will you not submit to her judgment and will you not tremble at her power? (18) She pleads with you thus, and in some way, speaks silent words: "No crime for several years now has been committed without your participation, no scandal without your involvement. You alone have gone unpunished and free despite the deaths of many citizens, you alone despite the persecution and plundering of the allies. You have had the strength not only to ignore laws and investigations but even to overturn the one and frustrate the other. Those earlier actions, although they ought not to be borne, nevertheless I put up with as best I could; but now it must not be borne that I am everywhere in fear because of you alone; that I tremble at even the slightest sound, Catiline; that no plan against me seems capable of being begun that is free from your guilty participation. Wherefore, depart, and take this fear from me; if it is well-founded, in order that I may not be overthrown, if it is false, that now at last I may cease to fear."

If your country should speak to you as I have spoken, ought she not to prevail, even if not able to apply force? (19) Again, what about the fact that you offered to give yourself into custody, that for the sake of avoiding suspicion you

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<sup>16</sup> At this time there were about 600 senators (about the size of the British House of Commons), serving for life. All had previously held some public office and been approved by the censors as meeting the property qualifications. Most senators had some family ties with many other members.

said you were willing to take up residence in Lepidus' house?<sup>17</sup> When he wouldn't receive you, you even dared come to me and ask that I keep you at my house! When you also got the answer from me, that in no way could I feel safe within the same house walls with you when I was in peril because we were both within the same city walls, you came to Quintus Metellus the praetor. Rebuffed by him, you turned to your pal, that worthy man,<sup>18</sup> Marcus Metellus, whom you doubtless thought would be most diligent in guarding you and most wary in spying out your movements and most vigorous in bringing you to justice! But how far from prison and chains does it seem someone should be who judges himself deserving custody? (20) This being so, Catiline, do you hesitate, if you cannot resign yourself to die, to go away to some distant land and hand over your life, snatched from many just and deserved punishments, to lonely exile?

"Refer the matter to the senate," you say; for that is what you are demanding, and if this body shall decree that it is its pleasure that you go into exile, you say you will submit. I shall not refer it, which is something repugnant to my character, and yet I shall act in such a way that you may know what the senators feel about you. Depart from the city, Catiline, free the republic from fear, set out into exile, that is the word you are waiting for. What is this?<sup>19</sup> Do you hear anything? Do you perceive their silence? They let me speak this way and they remain silent. Why do you wait for the sanction of their words when you perceive their wishes though they are silent? (21) But if I had spoken in this same way to that excellent young man Publius Sestius or that most brave man Marcus Marcellus, I think that in this very temple the senate would have laid a violent hand on me. But in your case, Catiline, when they are quiet they are approving what I say, when they let me go on, they are making a decree, when they are silent they are crying out, and not these men only, whose authority surely is dear to you, though their lives are very cheap in your eyes, but even those Roman knights do the same, honorable and virtuous as they are, as do the other brave citizens who surround the senate, whose numbers you see and whose enthusiasm you perceive and whose voices you could hear not long ago.<sup>20</sup> For a long time I have with difficulty kept their hands and swords from attacking you, and I can easily persuade them, once you abandon these places you have long been desiring to destroy, to escort you right to the gates of Rome.

(22) And yet, what is it that I am saying? That anything can break your spirit? that you can ever reform? that you will ever meditate flight? that you will ever consider exile? O that the immortal gods would inspire such thoughts in you. And yet I see what a storm of unpopularity may hang over me, less perhaps in the present time with recent memory of your crimes than in the future, if frightened by my voice you are induced to go into exile. But that is worthwhile, provided the calamity is limited to me and kept separate from dangers to the republic. But it is

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<sup>17</sup> When an upper-class man was suspected of treason he could surrender himself to the care of a respected person until the charges against him were proved or disproved.

<sup>18</sup> Ironic, and perhaps said with a sneer. The next clause is also ironic.

<sup>19</sup> Cicero apparently made a pause so that Catiline could observe the silence of the senators, signifying support for Cicero.

<sup>20</sup> A body of Roman knights, on horseback, and some other reliable citizens were protecting the senate from any attack by the conspirators.



too much to ask that you may be disturbed by your vices, that you may fear the punishment of the laws, that you should yield to the interests of the republic. For you are not the man, Catiline, whom shame will recall from baseness or fear from danger or reason from madness. (23) For that reason, as I have said repeatedly, set out and, if as you promise, you want to excite hatred of me as your private enemy, go straight into exile. Difficult though it may be, I shall bear up under the remarks of men and the weight of unpopularity, if you obey; I shall survive if you go into exile by order of the consul! But if you prefer to contribute to my praise and glory, set out with your troublesome band of criminals, join up with Manlius, summon the disloyal citizens, separate yourself from the loyal, declare war on your native land, exult in your impious scheme of robbery, that you may seem not to have been thrown out by me into the arms of strangers but invited to go to your friends.

(24) And yet, why should I invite you to go, when I already know that you have sent men ahead under arms to wait for you at Forum Aurelium; when I know that you have settled and arranged the day with Manlius; when I know that you have sent ahead that silver eagle<sup>21</sup> for which a shrine was established in your house and which I trust will be a pernicious, deadly omen to you and all your crowd? Is it to be believed that you can longer be deprived of what you were accustomed to venerate when you set out on a murderous errand and from whose altars you often took your impious right hand for the murder of citizens? (25) You will go at last whither your unrestrained and rapid greed has long been hastening you; nor does this give you pain but some incredible pleasure. Nature produced you for this madness, your own choice trained you; fate reserved you for it. Not only did you never long for peace and quiet, you never wanted war unless it be abominable. You have found a band of wicked followers from among ruined men, abandoned not only by fortune but by hope. (26) What thrills you will have with them, in what joys you will exult, in what pleasure you will revel, when in such a crowd of your fellows you will neither hear nor see any honorable man. It was to prepare you, no doubt, for such a life as this that you practiced all those labors we are told of—lying on the ground not only watching for an opportunity for debauchery but for undertaking crime, keeping watch while plotting not only against sleeping husbands but against the property of honest men. You have an opportunity now to show that vaunted power of yours to bear hunger, cold, and lack of all things, but in a short time you will find yourself undone. (27) When I prevented your election to the consulship I accomplished one thing at least, that you were obliged to attack the republic from outside as an exile rather than persecute her as consul, and that what you had wickedly undertaken would be named robbery rather than war.

Now, Members of the Senate, that I may in the most earnest and solemn manner, remove from me what seems a certain almost well-grounded complaint on the part of my country, listen carefully, please, to what I shall say and commit this to your deepest hearts and minds. For if my country, which is much dearer to me than life, if all Italy, if the entire republic were to speak aloud, saying, “Marcus Tullius, what are you doing? Will you allow this man, whom you have

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<sup>21</sup> A silver eagle on top of a spear was the usual standard borne into battle by Roman armies.

ascertained to be a public enemy, whom you see the future leader of a war, who is, you realize, awaited as commander in the camp of the enemy, a man who is the source of crime, head of a conspiracy, author of a plan to raise the slaves and desperate citizens, will you allow this man to leave with the result that he may seem not sent from the city but set free to attack it? Will you not order him to be taken off in chains, to be led to execution, to be visited with the full weight of the law? What now holds you back? Is it the custom of the past? (28) But often enough in this republic even private individuals have punished dangerous citizens with death. Or do the laws that have been enacted about the punishment of Roman citizens (hold you back)? But never in this city have those who betrayed the republic retained the rights of citizens. Or do you fear the odium of posterity? If so, you are paying fine thanks to the Roman people, who raised you, a self-made man with no ancestral prestige, so rapidly to the highest leadership position through all the stages of official rank, if for fear of unpopularity or some personal danger you neglect the safety of the citizens. (29) But if you fear unpopularity, what ought to be feared is unpopularity from indolence and neglect of action more strongly than from a strict and stern discharge of duty. Or when Italy shall be devastated by war, cities ravaged, houses burned, do you not imagine that you will be set ablaze with the fire of unpopularity?"

To these most revered cries of the republic and to the unexpressed thoughts of those men who feel the same way, I shall make a brief reply. If, Members of the Senate, I judged it the best thing to put Catiline to death, I would not have given that gladiator the enjoyment of a single hour of life. If men of the highest rank and distinguished citizens were not only not polluted by the blood of Saturninus and the Gracchi and Flaccus and many more before them but even were graced by it, certainly I ought not to fear that the death of this murderer of citizens would bring unpopularity on me in future time. Even if it were hanging threateningly over me, yet I have always been of a mind to think that unpopularity brought about by courage should be thought glory, not unpopularity. (30) And yet, there are some in this body who either do not see the dangers threatening us or pretend not to see them: men who nurtured Catiline's hopes by their soft words and strengthened the nascent conspiracy by not believing it existed; under whose influence many others, not only the unprincipled but also the inexperienced would have said I was acting cruelly and tyrannically if I had taken notice of him. Now I am convinced that if that rascal finds his way whither he intends, no one will then be so foolish as not to see that a conspiracy has been formed and no one so dishonest as not to admit it. But if this one man were executed, I am convinced that this plague on the republic could be repressed briefly but not indefinitely suppressed. Whereas, if he flings himself from here and takes his followers with him and collects in one place the rest of his shipwrecked crew brought together from all directions, not only this ripe plague upon the republic but also the source and seed-bed of all our troubles will be destroyed.

(31) We have, Members of the Senate, now for a long time been involved in these dangers and plots of a conspiracy, but somehow the maturity of all these crimes and of this continued madness and audacity has burst forth in the time of my consulship. If now, from so numerous a gang of robbers this one is removed,

perhaps we shall seem relieved of care and fear for a brief space of time, but the danger will take seat and be hidden in the veins and vitals of the republic. Just as when people are ill with a serious disease and tossing with a burning fever, they seem at first relieved if they drink cold water but then are more gravely and violently afflicted, so this disease that is in the republic, if relieved by the punishment of that man, may return more vehemently if his men are left alive. (32) Thus, let the disloyal depart, let them separate themselves from good men,<sup>22</sup> let them be gathered into one place, let them finally be separated from us by a wall, as I have often said; let them cease plotting against the consul in his own house or surrounding the tribunal of the city judge or besieging the senate house with swords or preparing fiery arrows and brands to set the city ablaze; finally, let his sentiments about the republic be inscribed on the brow of each and every one of us. I promise this to you, Members of the Senate, that you will see in us the consuls such energy, in you yourselves such determination, in the Roman knights such strength, in all good men such unanimity, that with Catiline's departure from Rome all evils will be exposed, brought to light, repressed, and vindicated.

(33) This said, Catiline, with the safety of the republic assured, with your own calamity and ruin certain, and that of those who have joined with you in all manner of crime and murder, go forth to your impious and unhallowed war. O Jupiter, whose cult was established by Romulus with the same rites as was this city, Jupiter whom we rightly call "Stablisher" of this city and empire, thou shalt keep this man and his associations from your temples and the temples of other gods, from the houses and walls of the city, and from the lives and fortunes of all the citizens; and those who are hostile to good men, enemies of their country, brigands robbing Italy, joined together by a compact of wickedness and nefarious complicity, them thou shalt visit with unceasing punishment, while alive and after death.

*Impelled by Cicero's speech and by the growing hostility of the senate Catiline did leave Rome and joined his followers.*

*In his monograph on the conspiracy, Sallust, no great admirer of Cicero in general, has the following to say about the occasion of this first speech:*

*"Finally, whether for the sake of dissimulating or of exculpating himself, as though he were being harassed in an argument, Catiline came into the senate meeting. Then Marcus Tullius (Cicero), the consul, whether fearing his presence or moved by anger, delivered a splendid oration and one useful to the republic, which he later published in written form. But when Cicero sat down, Catiline, as though prepared to hide everything, with downcast face and suppliant voice, began to demand of the senators not to make a rash judgment about him; (he said) he was descended from such a family that he had arranged his life since adolescence so as to have good hopes for the future; they should not think that he, a man of patrician rank, by whom and by his ancestors many benefits had been conferred on the Roman people, felt a need to ruin the republic when Marcus*

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<sup>22</sup> Cicero often uses the term *boni*, "the good," to mean the conservative political group of which he was a member. Political parties in the modern sense did not exist in classical times.

*Tullius, an immigrant to the city of Rome, was saving her. When he added other slurs to this, all cried out, calling him enemy and murderer.”*

*Most of Cicero’s speeches as known today are versions written up after delivery, edited and revised for publication as examples of oratory and as explanations of his political policies. In so far as he could foresee the circumstances, he generally planned his speeches ahead and drafted some passages to deliver from memory. His published speeches against Verres were never delivered, his speech for Milo is a polished version of what he would have said if allowed to speak freely, and one or two of his Philippic speeches against Mark Antony may not have been delivered as planned.*

#### Questions for Discussion

1. What is Cicero’s ethos as projected in the speech; i.e., what features of character and values does he exhibit?
2. Describe some likely features of Cicero’s delivery (voice and gesture) on the basis of what he says. Read aloud a portion of the speech, giving appropriate emphasis and tone to the key words.