Catilina in senatu obmutuit? Ancient and medieval responses to Cicero's first Catilinarian speech

Pieper, C.H.; Geitner, P.; Pausch, D.; Schwameis, C.; Wierzcholowski, R.

9.

Catilina in senatu obmutuit?

Ancient and medieval responses to Cicero's first *Catilinarian speech**

Christoph Pieper

Inge Hellkötter magistrae humanissimae,
qua duce legere diligereque coepi Ciceronis orationes

Abstract Cicero in his *Catilinarians* and even more in later works wanted to convey the impression that the fulminant invective of his first *Catilinarian* speech had made such an impression on Catiline that he left the city without any formal response. Other ancient authors present us with different versions of Catiline's reaction. My contribution analyses the accounts of Sallust, Diodorus, and Plutarch. All negotiate the powerplay between Cicero and Catiline on that day, and thereby also explicitly or implicitly comment on Cicero's authority, both as a historical agent and as a writer and historical source. In the last part of the article, I turn to the first *pseudepigraphon* that presents us with a full speech by Catiline, whereby he responds to Cicero's speech. It is the so-called *Responsio Catiline*, a twelfth-century declamation. I analyse how the anonymous medieval author responds to Cicero's and Sallust's accounts, thus creating a new invective against Cicero.

1. Introduction

8 November 63 BC[1] is the date of one of the most famous and most successful invectives of Cicero's career. During a meeting of the senate, he openly and daringly attacked L. Sergius Catilina (hereafter 'Catiline'). The mutual enmity

* I delivered a shorter version of this contribution during a lecture at Groningen University. I thank the audience there and the organizers and participants of the stimulating (albeit digital) Dresden conference for the fruitful discussion, which has helped me to develop my thoughts further. Henriette van der Blom has very kindly read the article and has offered useful advice and criticism. I am grateful to the editors for their helpful remarks and criticism. Laura Napran has kindly corrected my English. Research for this article has been made possible by a VIDI grant of the 'Dutch Research Council' (NWO), funding no. 276–30–013. All translations in this article are my own.

[1] For this widely accepted date see Dyck (2008) 243–4.

between the two politicians had by then reached its peak:[2] the last step in a series of increasingly hostile actions had been Catiline's attempt to have Cicero murdered in his own house. Cicero therefore decided that the time was ripe to launch an open attack in the senate to force his opponent to leave the city. We know of Cicero's speech and its effect first and foremost through Cicero himself. He had a clear message to communicate: his speech on 8 November was a decisive blow for Catiline's plans to ruin the city and a crucial step for Cicero in saving the state. His first *Catilinarian speech* (which he published in its definitive form three years later)[3] monumentalizes the moment, while the second speech held in front of the people records its immediate effect: Catiline left the city. But what happened in the interim? Did Catiline answer Cicero's invective in the senate, or did he retreat in silence? The latter option seems historically less plausible – fleeing from the meeting after such a harsh attack would have looked like an open confession of guilt. It seems unlikely that Catiline would have wanted to lose face in front of all his fellow senators, especially as Cicero's attack was still based on allegations, not on reliable judicial facts. On the other hand, it is understandable that Cicero was keen on emphasizing that his exuberant rhetoric left no space for Catiline's response.

The lacuna left by Cicero waited to be filled. Such great moments in history were normally attractive for later authors who could supplement itwith their creative rhetorical *inventio*.[4] Surprisingly, we do not have any speech by Catiline that was composed in antiquity for this occasion – neither in historiography nor as a declamation in schools of rhetoric. Ancient historiography, however, although it does not include a full speech by Catiline, nevertheless offers divergent accounts of how Catiline reacted to Cicero's invective. The first part of my article will deal with these different reactions. The diversity was facilitated by the fact that Cicero spent much time and energy on aggrandizing his version of the events in his published speeches and other writings, whereas Catiline most probably did not: his retreat from Rome must have led to hectic manoeuvres in Etruria; only four weeks later, the names of the conspirators were revealed to the Roman senate; and soon afterwards a legion of the Roman Republic marched against Catiline's troops. It is very plausible that he neither had the time nor found it useful to publish a possible speech that he might have delivered on the

[2] For Catiline's and Cicero's relationship in the year 63 prior to November see recently Levick (2015) 41–65, Urso (2019a) 167–95, and cf. Schietinger (2017) for Catiline's political career up to the conspiracy.

[3] Cf. Dyck (2008) 10–11 for a brief discussion (with overview of the scholarship) of the evidence in Cic. *Att.* 2.1.3 (see below).

[4] For *pseudepigrapha* in general see Peirano (2012), esp. 3 for a definition. For Ciceronian examples cf. Keeline (2018) 147–95, La Bua (2020), and Jansen (2022), ch. 4. See also my treatment of the medieval *pseudepigraphon* below.

day before he left Rome.[5] This lack of first-hand material from Catiline allowed ancient historians to fill the gap.[6] After very briefly recapitulating Cicero's own version in section 2, in section 3 I will review the ancient historiographical accounts. I will argue that the variations we encounter not only affect Catiline's image, but they also participate in an ongoing debate about Cicero's role as a historical agent during the affair in that they reduce or enhance the impression of his *auctoritas* and control. Thereby the accounts also challenge the authority of Cicero's written records in which he had constructed his own authority,[7] and thus his trustworthiness as chronicler of his own success.

In section 4, which forms the second part of my contribution, I will turn to the first full speech by *Catiline[8] we possess. It does not stem from antiquity but is a medieval *pseudepigraphon* of Catiline's 'lost speech' of 8 November 63 BC. I will analyse it in light of the ancient pretexts, especially the *corpus Sallustianum*, and argue for its rhetorically persuasive character. Throughout my article, I will not primarily be interested in reconstructing what 'really happened' in the senate; instead, I will read all testimonies as indications of how, in the process of reception, the events could be modelled and complemented. This approach can offer a welcome glance into the Ciceronian tradition, for it reflects ancient and later negotiation of Cicero's legacy both as a political agent and as a masterful writer and orator.

2. Cicero's success

I begin with Cesare Maccari's famous fresco in the Palazzo Madama in Rome (the seat of the Italian Senate), painted towards the end of the nineteenth century (Illustration 1): Cicero is speaking against Catiline during the meeting of the senate in the Temple of Jupiter Stator on 8 November 63 BC.[9] In Maccari's version of the first *Catilinarian speech*, it is crystal clear with whom the spectators should sympathize. The consul stands in a warm, golden light; his body is firmly embedded in the group of his fellow senators, his head being surrounded by other heads that form a kind of gloriole around him. The burning altar on the left fur-

[5] We do not actually know for certain whether he published earlier speeches at all. Cicero for obvious reasons excludes him from his *Brutus*. In Malcovati's *ORF*[4] there is no testimony for published speeches apart from some fakes that circulated under his name (cf. Asc. *Tog. cand.* 94C = *ORF*[4] p. 368, for which see below).

[6] Cf. for historiographical speeches Brock (1995).

[7] Cf. Batstone (1994), Goodwin (2001).

[8] Here and in the following, I use the asterisk to indicate the alleged authors of *pseudepigrapha*.

[9] For an overview of how Maccari's frescoes in the Palazzo Madama were commissioned and planned, see Talbert (1991), who connects the visual program with the ideals of the Italian Risorgimento (p. 21).

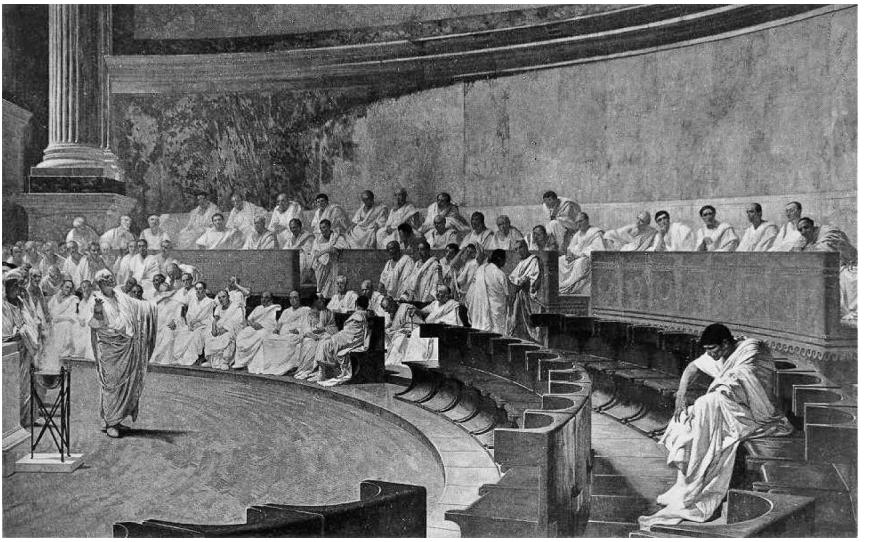

Illustration 1: Cesare Maccari, Cicero denounces Catiline (1888); Rome, Palazzo Madama, Salone d'onore; Wikimedia Commons; Public Domain

ther sanctions his words, which represent not only the authority of the senate but also the will of the gods. Above Cicero, a weighty column continues the line of his upright body, lending further steadiness and *grauitas* to his posture. In the other corner of the painting, outside the warm beam of the light, Catiline is sitting alone, his body clearly detached from any other human being, while some of his fellow senators critically observe him from a distance. His body and neck are bent in despair, while the cramped posture of his right hand suggests his inner anger that can hardly wait to burst out. Maccari's suggestive visual rhetoric could not divide the two enemies more effectively. Within this eye-catching opposition, a final dichotomy is worth mentioning: (standing) Cicero is represented as a successful and respected orator, while (seated) Catiline is not.[10]

Maccari presents us with a very sympathetic version of what happened in the Roman senate on 8 November 63 BC – sympathetic to Cicero, of course.[11] The painter has captured one of the most spectacular rhetorical strategies of Cicero's

[10] For the opposition standing (as symbol for the orator) and sitting, see the beginning of Cic. *Rosc. Am.*: *Credo ego uos, iudices, mirari, quid sit, quod, cum tot summi oratores hominesque nobilissimi sedeant, ego potissimum surrexerim* ('I imagine that you, judges, are astonished at what can be the reason that, while so many great orators and very noble men are sitting, I of all people have stood up') with the insightful remarks by Cerutti (1996) 58–9.

[11] Cf. Krebs (2020) 676: "It was this moment that Cesare Maccari captured when he painted Catiline into the corner of his famous Cicerone denuncia Catilina (1880). But, in fact, Cicero himself had, in his opening apostrophe, already 'painted' his adversary thus."

speech: to isolate Catiline by claiming that he no longer has supporters in the senate and that all senators, the entire fatherland and even the gods are supporting Cicero in his fight against the conspiracy. Maccari thus nicely includes the invective triad of speaker–victim–public in his painting.[12] The cooperation of the public is of crucial importance for the success of an invective: if the audience is unwilling to share the values the speaker uses as a foil for his attack, then it will not follow him in his negative depiction of the opponent's character and actions, either.[13] Maccari must have understood this; his perspective receives its high degree of idealisation mostly via his treatment of the audience. It seems united and reacts in an unambiguously supportive way to Cicero's speech.

Generally, the public can be defined as the risky element in an invective situation: a speaker hardly ever knows in advance how the audience will react; even worse, different audiences ask for different invective strategies within the same text: the supportive listener (or reader) will allow for much more license and attack than the opposing one; for the latter, the speaker should build bridges of shared common ground that can make at least a part of the attack acceptable. Common ground in this sense can be created, among other things, through moments of comic or literary relief, which make the speech aesthetically pleasant, through historical digressions, which refer to a shared cultural heritage, and through references to generally accepted values, which suggest cohesion. In Cicero's first *Catilinarian*, we find all of these: first, the *prosopopoeia* of the fatherland (*Cat.* 1.18), apart from being a passage full of pathos, is also an entertaining moment, especially if accompanied with a fittingly dramatic *actio*; second, historical exempla are introduced in brief summaries at the beginning of the speech (1.3–4); and among the third category, I recall the regular references to the *salus rei publicae* that is at stake (*Cat.* 1.8, 1.11, 1.33, with variation in 1.12: *communis salus*, 1.14: *omnium nostrum salus*, 1.28: *salus ciuium*).

We know, of course, that this was not how the situation appeared in the actual senate. William Batstone in a famous article of 1994 has shown that Cicero invested so much energy in the construction of his *ēthos* and *auctoritas* because of the rather weak position he occupied: first and foremost he did not know how many senators would support him and how many were on Catiline's side or might even have been involved in the conspiracy.[14] Therefore, he started attacking Catiline in a brusque way that knows no parallels in ancient oratory.[15] The fulminant *exordium* makes it inconceivable that Catiline could have been

[12] As described by Schwameis in this volume. Cf. Ellerbrock et al. (2017) 9.

[13] During the discussion at the Dresden conference, this point was especially emphasized by Catherine Steel and Henriette van der Blom.

[14] Batstone (1994); cf. also Steel (2007), who identifies Cicero's strategy of giving advice instead of orders as a clever response to his weak position. Instead, Price (1998) interprets the speech as a failure.

[15] Cf. Stroh (2000) 69.

given the chance to speak before Cicero (as other ancient sources suggest, see below) – the dramatic opening of the speech would lose much of its effectiveness. Wilfried Stroh has made an intriguing suggestion for the setting of the speech. According to him, Cicero had started an informative speech about Catiline's recent moves in the latter's absence; when Catiline all of a sudden joined the meeting during that speech, the consul immediately changed his tone and launched his thundering invective. According to Stroh, this moment is captured in the *exordium* of the first *Catilinarian*.[16] As Dyck has rightly observed, the speech's 'aim is clearly not to elicit information but to *throw off balance* and intimidate'.[17] Therefore, Cicero does not invite Catiline to answer his charges formally. It is conceivable that Catiline interrupted Cicero's speech at certain moments (Stroh mentions two: the possible 1.13, *interrogas me num in exilium*, and the rather obvious 1.20, *refer, inquis, ad senatum*),[18] but these would have been short interjections and would definitively not qualify as formal speeches.

Maccari is not the only one who knew that Cicero's coup was successful insofar as Catiline did leave the city. In his own recording of the events Cicero is keen on stressing this result of his speech. In the well-known letter to Atticus, in which he defines the corpus of his twelve (or rather ten plus two)[19] *orationes consulares*, he simply refers to the speech as *septima qua Catilinam emisi* ('the seventh speech with which I expelled Catiline', *Att.* 2.1.3). This same impression of Catiline leaving the city as an *immediate* reaction to the consul's speech is evoked if one reads the published *Catilinarians* (the obvious climax of the *orationes consulares*) in succession. After the pathos-laden *peroratio* of the first *Catilinarian* – with a last direct address to Catiline and the evocation of Jupiter's punishment for him and his conspirators –, at the beginning of the second speech Catiline has gone:

Tandem aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, uobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem ex urbe uel eiecimus uel emisimus uel ipsum egredientem uerbis prosecuti sumus.[20]

Roman citizens! Catiline, raging in his insolence, exhaling crime, wickedly planning pestilence for the fatherland, threatening you and this city with sword and fire – I have finally

[16] Stroh (2000) 70.

[17] Dyck (2008) 63 (my emphasis).

[18] Stroh (2000) 73–4.

[19] The speeches *De lege agraria* 3–4 are presented as a category apart (a kind of appendix) in the letter (*Att.* 2.1.3): *sunt praeterea duae breues, quasi apospasmatia legis agrariae* ('furthermore there are two short ones, so to say shreds of the agrarian law-case').

[20] Cic. *Cat.* 2.1. Cf. also *Mur.* 6: *negat esse eiusdem seueritatis Catilinam exitium rei publicae intra moenia molientem uerbis et paene imperio ex urbe expulisse* ('he denies that it has been similarly severe to have expelled Catiline, who with his words and almost with an order planned the downfall of the state within the city walls, from Rome'); the parallel has been noticed by Fantham (2013) 93.

expelled him and sent away from Rome and I have accompanied his departure with my words.

His precipitous flight is triumphantly stressed in the following asyndetic tetracolon *abiit, excessit, euasit, erupit*. The enemy, who had threatened to destroy Rome and its inhabitants (again in four cola: *furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, uobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem)*, has left, whilst Cicero's authoritative voice accompanies or rather obsesses on his escape (*ipsum egredientem uerbis prosecuti sumus*). In this suggestive representation of the events, it is inconceivable that Catiline could have replied to Cicero's speech in any formal manner. The beginning of the second *Catilinarian* rather gives the impression of a panicking, frantic Catiline snorting with rage and emitting furious threats towards all and everything.

The threats, however, must not necessarily be interpreted as being uttered at that very moment; they could also refer to earlier, perhaps even regular threats.[21] If we take a similar passage from the *Pro Murena* into account, it seems that the reference to a menacing Catiline in the second *Catilinarian* intensifies his utterance against Cato during a meeting of the senate in July 63:

… praesertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine paucis diebus ante Catoni, fortissimo viro, iudicium minitanti ac denuntianti respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua sed ruina restincturum.[22]

… especially because the same man [Catiline], when Cato, a very strong man, threatened him also in the senate and said that he would prosecute him, answered that if any fire was kindled against his possessions, he would not extinguish it with water but with ruin.

What has been an indefinite threat in the *Pro Murena* is turned into a specific one against the foundation of the state in the second *Catilinarian*. In this context it is worth recalling that Cicero did not include the *Pro Murena* in the corpus of the *orationes consulares*, so that for a reader of the second *Catilinarian* the link would have been less marked or even covered up. I therefore assume that on the basis of the first two *Catilinarians* a reader cannot decide whether Catiline left the senate while shouting threats or whether he opted for a silent retreat. Later in his career, however, Cicero suggested the latter scenario. When treating the effect of *pathos* in the *Orator*, he refers to three cases where his oratorical vehemence silenced his opponents: Hortensius and Curio in court cases and Catiline during

[21] Cf. Dyck (2008) 126: 'a good example of the power of a participial modifier; it is not temporally circumscribed'.

[22] Cic. *Mur.* 51. At least Sallust seems to have seen a link between the *Catilinarians* and this passage: his words echo the *Pro Murena*-passage more closely than the second *Catiliarian*: *incendium meum ruina restinguam* (on the passage see below). Fantham (2013) 158 explains that the *Pro Murena* passage originally is rather different in that Catiline does not threaten to destroy the state, but his own properties: 'This was the behavior of a homeowner in a desperate situation'.

the senatorial debate of 8 November: *a nobis homo audacissimus Catilina in senatu accusatus obmutuit* ('the most daring person, Catiline, when accused by me in the senate, fell silent', *Orat.* 129).[23] At least in Cicero's later account, the first *Catilinarian* has not only destroyed Catiline's hope for a successful revolt; it has also deprived him of his status as a potential orator.

3. Ancient evidence for Catiline's reaction to Cicero's first Catilinarian

3.1 Sallust

Not all ancient historians subscribe to Cicero's version of a silenced Catiline. The most complex version of Catiline's reaction that we find in ancient sources[24] is also the earliest non-Ciceronian text dealing with the conspiracy that has been transmitted to us: Sallust's monograph of the affair.[25] Most scholars nowadays agree that the outspoken anti-Ciceronian (and pro-Caesarian) programme of the monograph which scholars like Schwartz and Fumaioli have posited at the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, can hardly be found in the text. Yet this does not mean that Sallust is therefore a completely unbiased writer with no personal interest towards his elder contemporary, as has been the *communis opinio* for a long time since Syme's and La Penna's influential monographs.[26] I agree with those scholars who read the portrayal of Cicero as rather restrained praise, not because Sallust would offer overt criticism (as suggested by Schwartz and others), but because he distinctly did not follow Cicero's own self-aggrandizement and therefore did not give Cicero what he had wished for: a monograph about the Catilinarian affair with himself in the role of the heroic protagonist.[27]

---

[23] Cf. Glei (2002) 156. Stroh (2000) 72 interprets this as referring to *Cat.* 1.8 (*quid taces?*) only, but I consider this too specific for the general summary Cicero gives in the *Orator*.

[24] It is also the one that has been included in Enrica Malcovati's *Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta*. An overview of the material is offered by Glei (2002) 156 n. 4; on Sallust's version (and its relation to Cic. *Mur.* 51 and Asconius Pedianus) cf. 156–7.

[25] Cf. Urso (2019b) 190, with a list of lost accounts of contemporary authors: historiographical works by Atticus, Lucceius (?), Scribonius Libo, Brutus, Tanusius Geminus, Aelius Tubero, and Asinius Pollio; and the invectives against Cicero by Mark Antony in the autumn of 44.

[26] For the debate, see Schwartz (1897) 575–81, Funaioli (1920) coll. 1922–3, Laemmle (1946) 110–13 (who consider Sallust as pro-Caesarian and therefore an anti-Ciceronian writer – in Lämmle's harsh words, Sallust wanted to prove 'dass Cicero, der *pater patriae*, eine Null war', 107), *contra* Broughton (1936), Steidle (1958) 15–16, Syme (1964) 110–11, La Penna (1968) 83–96, Malitz (1975) 101–2, Stone (1999) (Sallust as objective historian who depicts a fair picture of Cicero – according to Stone, '[t]he idealisation of Cicero … begins with Sallust in the very shadow of his death', 76).

[27] Cf. for this wish the famous letter to Lucceius, *Fam.* 5.12 – even if Sallust did not know this letter (which was not 'published' by then, but might have circulated in a restricted from or have

The events in the senate on 8 November are a good example for Sallust's working method as a historian with keen interest in a dramatic narrative plot. In his version, not only does Cicero speak in the senate, but Catiline does so, as well.[28] As a reaction to Cicero's 'clear and useful' speech (the first *Catilinarian*, which is only briefly referred to here), Catiline surprisingly answers with a speech of his own:[29]

tum M. Tullius consul, siue praesentiam eius timens siue ira conmotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso uoltu, uoce supplici postulare a patribus coepit ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia uitam instituisse ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne existumarent sibi, patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque maiorum pluruma beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum eam seruaret M. Tullius, inquilinus ciuis urbis Romae. ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam uocare. tum ille furibundus: 'quoniam quidem circumuentus', inquit, 'ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam.' deinde se ex curia domum proripuit.[30]

The consul Marcus Tullius [Cicero], either out of fear for his presence or instigated by wrath, delivered a splendid speech, which was useful for the state and which he later published in written form. When, however, he sat down again, Catiline (as he was prepared to disguise everything) with lowered face and humble voice began to ask the senators that they should not believe anything about him too rashly; he was born of such a family and

---

been available to him via other sources – Lucceius himself?), he must have known of Cicero's continuous attempts to find eulogists of his deeds, for example through the speech *Pro Archia*. Cf. the fine analysis of Zecchini (1996), who concludes: 'Chi continua ripetere che Sallustio è obiettivo e quindi favorevole a Cicerone, dimentica che essere obiettivi sul Cicerone console significava essere sfavorevoli al Cicerone esegeta del proprio consolato' (538). For the decisive difference between the Lucceius-letter and Sallust's monograph, see Batstone (2010) 53, according to whom Sallust no longer sees Cicero's handing of the Catilinarian affair as a closure of civil uproar (similarly already Steidle (1958) 15).

[28] I cannot pursue the question of Catiline as rather skilful orator in general here (Sallust ascribes *satis eloquentiae* to him, *Cat.* 5.4). The speech in front of the conspirators is a fine example of *popularis* rhetoric. I mention *en passant* the question of the Ciceronian quotation in Catiline's speech (*quae quousque tandem patiemini, o fortissumi uiri?, Cat.* 20.9). Recently, Feldherr (2013) has taken up an idea by Malcolm (1979) again: the possibility that the opening phrase of the first *Catilinarian* (*quousque tandem …*) might have quoted a slogan by Catiline himself (in which case Sallust in his version of Catiline's speech would have 'restored' the phrase to its original author – Feldherr sees in this an act of 'distorting re-appropriation', 65). Traditionally, the link between Catiline's sentence and Cicero's opening has been discussed as intertextual reference by Sallust to Cicero, cf. e. g. Reneham (1976) 99–100, who reads the passage in Sallust as parody, and Innes (1977) 468, who interprets it as Sallust's wish to show Catiline's 'perversion of vocabulary'. See also Van der Blom in this volume with n. 24 on the reception of the phrase after Cicero's banishment. La Penna (1968) 94 doubts any conscious intertextual link. Cf. Sillett (2015) 56–8 for an overview of the debate, and Balbo (2018).

[29] Cf. Sillett (2015) 64–5: 'Catiline hijacks the narrative and throws the emphasis on what happened after the speech was delivered'.

[30] *Cat.* 31.6–32.1 = *ORF*[4], L. Sergius Catilina (112), 9 = Manuwald 2019, L. Sergius Catilina (112), F9.

had led such a life from childhood that he could hope for all good things; the senators should not believe that for him, a patrician who and whose family had done many benefits for the Roman people, the destruction of the state was necessary, while it was saved by Marcus Tullius, a lodger-citizen of the city of Rome. When he added more invectives to this, all cried out and called him an enemy and murderer. Then he answered furiously: 'As I am surrounded by opponents and am overturned, I will extinguish my fall with destruction.' Afterwards he rushed out of the senate building and went home.

The first thing to note is that Sallust reflects on him filling a gap that Cicero has consciously left blank. His reference to the *Catilinarian Speech*, often discussed in the context of whether the omission is meant to undermine Cicero's role in the affair or not, is actually more than a reference to its content. By mentioning the already published Ciceronian speech (*quam postea scriptam edidit*) and then turning to Catiline's unpublished speech the historian explicitly marks that he is offering additional material to what the readers know from Cicero's account.[31] This contrast between well-known and new material is an invitation to compare Cicero's and Sallust's rather different versions of the effect of Cicero's speech. I therefore suggest that by summarizing Catiline's unexpected speech Sallust does not so much question Cicero's authority as acting consul (his speech is *utilis rei publicae* after all); what is put into question is his trustworthiness as annalist of the events.

With regard to Catiline's speech, Sallust's narrator disparages it as another example of Catiline's untrustworthy character (*ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia*, 31.7).[32] One can read this remark as an attempt to determine the reader's reactions, as a prolepsis towards the end of the episode, in which Catiline will lose his temper and show his 'true' face. The narrative of the senatorial meeting therefore basically confirms the dichotomy between a prudent Cicero and a wretched Catiline. Yet, it does so with the detour of Catiline's speech, in which his rhetorical tactic is not so bad at all, especially if one realizes that his position is weak and his case almost lost.[33] Indeed his task is huge: as mentioned before,

[31] I thank Ruurd Nauta for having brought this aspect to my attention. The *sed* that introduces the next sentence here not only functions as a transitional marker to the new topic of Catiline, but additionally implies that the following happens against the expectation of the readers. The omission of the first *Catilinarian* has been discussed in the context of Sallust's attitude towards Cicero (see n. 26 above); Schwartz (1897) 576 stresses that Sallust does not deem Cicero, the orator, worthy of a speech in his monograph. I agree with La Penna (1968) 85: 'egli l'ha omessa perché era pubblicata e ben nota al pubblico colto. … E nessuna ragione c'è di credere che le lodi sallustiane … siano stentate.' Similarly Ramsey (2007) 148. See also Stone (1999) 61–2, who argues that Sallust stresses the 'public utility' of the speech, and that '[i]n chapter 31 Cicero is twice associated with *res publica*' (57).

[32] Cf. Vrestka (1987) 390, who argues that Sallust's stylistic choice in the following summary of the speech stresses Catiline's hypocrisy ('Heuchelei'). The characteristic refers back, of course, to the introduction of Catiline in *Cat.* 5.4 (*cuius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator*).

[33] Cf. Sillett (2015) 65, who similarly doubts that Sallust's bias against Catiline's trustworthiness will automatically lead readers to dislike the speech ('at the very least rather intrigued by

he has to counter Cicero's accusations of having taken measures against the state, and his attempt to alienate Catiline from all other senators. Catiline's speech in Sallust concentrates on the second issue: his contested support in the senate. The speech develops in three steps. First, by taking refuge in classical *captatio benevolentiae* (and thus by beginning his speech in the hugest possible contrast to Cicero's thundering opening) he shows himself to be humble, insecure, and at the senate's disposal.[34] In a second step he rebuilds his *ēthos*, more precisely the part of his *ēthos* that he shares with a considerable group among the senators: his *nobilitas*.[35] Against Cicero's attempt to alienate Catiline from the rest of the senate, Sallust's Catiline recurs to a rhetoric that could appeal to the conservative part of the senators: an impressive family tree and the *laus maiorum* were powerful arguments for enhancing one's standing within the group of *nobiles*. In a third step, with invective tone he tries to alienate this group of patrician senators from Cicero by arousing anger against him. He classifies the consul as someone who is a Roman citizen but does not quite belong to Rome.[36] This is a powerful accusation if we consider that the senate had only recently been enlarged by Sulla, so that the number of senators whose families did not belong to the traditional political upper class was considerable. It is plausible to suspect that the members of traditional senatorial families were not all pleased with this and were in principle sensitive to Catiline's rhetoric.[37] At the same time, with his attack on Cicero's non-Roman origin Catiline undermines Cicero's claim that he represents the Roman state and can even speak with the voice of the *patria*, as he had done in *Cat.* 1.18 and 1.27.4–1.29.1.[38]

Catiline's brazen attitude'). An interesting parallel for Catiline's rhetorical tactic is Antonius' defence speech in the Norbanus-case of 94 BC, as discussed in Cic. *De or.* 2.197–203, where, however, the passages meant to build Antonius' *ēthos* and the invective parts (directed against Caepio) are arranged in diverse order; cf. the reconstruction of the speech and a discussion of its rhetorical strategy in Wisse (1989) 269–82.

[34] Genovese (1974) 174 fittingly remarks: '… by his silence during the speech and his humble protest after, according to Sallust, he would seem to have been affecting a polite, yet shocked and persecuted demeanor.'

[35] Cf. Vretska (1976) 390 for a thorough evaluation of Sallust's critical view on the arrogance of the *nobilitas*, which according to him informs this passage.

[36] Cf. Van der Blom (2014) 41, and in this volume on the tradition attacking Cicero for his *novitas*, esp. p. 129 on this passage (Sallust, so she argues with Ramsey, has transposed the insult from the context of the consular elections of 64 BC to the senate meeting of 8 November). Broughton (1936) 39 links the phrase to the general odium against *homines novi* among the upper class, which Sallust has mentioned before (*Cat.* 23.6). The *TLL* s.v. *inquilinus* I A.2 explains the word, with reference to App. *B Civ.* 2.2 (ἐς … ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως [sc. ὀνομάζων] ἰγκουϊλῖνον, ᾧ ῥήματι καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις) and our passage, as '*per conuicium* de municipalibus in urbe constitutis'; cf. Vretska (1987) 391.

[37] Cf. Van der Blom in this volume (p. 132): 'The theme of *novitas* tapped into deep seated elite notions about inclusion of fellow elite families and exclusion of any outsiders'.

[38] Cf. Dyck (2008) 99 for this famous *prosopopoeia* and its aim to further isolate Catiline.

As this summary suggests, I argue that Catiline's speech is potentially that of a good orator who chooses a plausible tactic in a dangerous situation: not to convince all senators, but to appeal to the conservative part among them. That the senators are not inclined to listen to him is not due to the disposition of the speech but due to his character. The elite rhetoric he uses is simply not compatible with the speaker's *ēthos*: everyone in the senate knew that Catiline's political interests were explicitly directed against the *nobiles*. His art of deception is not great enough to disguise this discrepancy; the senators protest loudly.[39] When Catiline realizes that his deceptive speech does not have the result he had hoped for, he finally demonstrates the behaviour that Cicero had ascribed to him. He loses his temper and madly threatens the state with destruction while sallying out of the Curia.[40]

Sallust's relation to Cicero's authoritative version is a complex one. On the one hand the historian subscribes to central elements of it: Cicero's first *Catilinarian Speech* is credited for being rhetorically excellent and politically useful; Catiline is a dangerous and deceitful man who at the end of the meeting emits threats about the destruction of the city. Within the small scene, there is indeed nothing that diminishes the authority of the consul Cicero. Yet by allowing Catiline to show his rhetorical talent as well, Sallust subtly questions the authority of the writer Cicero and of his account of the affair. In Sallust's version, Catiline was not silenced by Cicero's speech. This fits the broader picture of the *Bellum Catilinae*, in which Cicero is hardly ever criticized as a political actor, but in which his self-declared larger-than-life posture in dealing with the conspiracy is reduced to more realistic stature.

3.2 Greek and Roman authors with brief references

In Cicero and Sallust, we have already encountered three possible scenarios: Catiline could have shouted threats while leaving the senate house in anger (if one reads the testimony of Cicero's *Catilinarians* in this restrictive way, as Sallust probably did), he could have fallen silent and simply left the city (Cicero, *Orator*), or he could have tried to defend himself and launch an unsuccessful counteraccusation against Cicero before leaving the senate house in a frenzy (Sallust). How did this variety translate into imperial historiography? Based on

[39] By describing the senators' protest as reaction to Catiline's speech and not to Cicero's famous rhetorical trick in *Cat.* 1.21 (on which, see below the discussion of Diodorus), Sallust also subtly alters the interactions between two other angles of the invective triangle: implicitly he suggests that Cicero's speech has not yet preconditioned the mood of the senators.

[40] Cf. Genovese (1974) 173 on Sallust using the passage *Mur.* 51 (see above) for 'Catiline's final angry words to his colleagues'. The quick development in few sentences has led Urso (2019a) 42 to label the representation of Catiline as close to schizophrenia here ('l'attitude […] frise la schizophrénie').

what we know about Sallust's success in imperial times[41] we might expect that later Roman writers who dealt with the affair (Pollio, Livy, and others) would have used Sallust as a major reference point, but we cannot prove that as we do not have their accounts. Of the transmitted authors, Velleius Paterculus is silent about the senate meeting, and Valerius Maximus repeats Sallust's version.[42] As well, Augustine probably refers to Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* (or a later, longer version based on it) when he mentions a still available speech by Catiline:

qui autem non putant ista [sc. parricidia] probabiliter posse persuaderi, legant orationem Catilinae, qua patriae parricidium, quo uno continentur omnia scelera, persuasit.[43]

Those who do not believe that one can argue with probability for such a thing, should read the speech by Catiline, in which he suggests parricide, a crime that encapsulates all others.

Florus, the only Latin imperial historian whose brief version of the events of 8 November we can read, quotes Sallust's Catiline for the menacing words (in *oratio obliqua*), but leaves out the previous speech, and thus in fact presents his readers with his restricted interpretation of Cicero's version of a threatening and furious, but otherwise speechless Catiline:

tum consul habito senatu in praesentem reum perorauit; sed non amplius profectum, quam ut hostis euaderet seque palam ac professo incendium suum restincturum ruina minaretur.[44]

Then the consul during a meeting of the senate spoke against Catiline in the latter's presence; but he did not achieve more than that he left the city as an enemy and openly threatened that he would extinguish with destruction the fire he had set.

As so often, the variety of versions increases if one also takes into account the major Greek texts that deal with the events. This, however, is not the case for two major sources for Rome's late Republican history, Appian and Cassius Dio. Appian's version of the Catilinarian affair (*B Civ.* 2.2–7) says nothing about the

[41] Cf. e. g. Poignault (1997) with chapters on Sallust's reception in Livy (B. Mineo), Quintilian (D. Hectaridis), Fronto (R. Poignault), Cassius Dio (M.-L. Freyburger-Galland), and Augustin (A.-M. Taisne).

[42] Val. Max. 9.11.3 (chapter on *dicta improba et facta scelerata*): *L. vero Catilina in senatu M. Cicerone incendium ab ipso excitatum dicente 'sentio', inquit 'et quidem illud, si aqua non potuero, ruina restinguam.'* ('When Marcus Cicero said that Lucius Catilina had sparked a fire, the latter answered in the senate: 'I see; and I will extinguish it with destruction, if I cannot do so with water'.')

[43] August. *C. acad.* 3.16. Given the fact that he left the city in order to join his troops immediately afterwards, it seems improbable that Catiline would have had the time (or interest) to publish his speech, and surely none of his friends in Rome will have done so after the further events in November and December 63. For Catiline as *parricida* in Sallust, cf. *Cat.* 52.30 (Cato's speech) and esp. 31.7 (*obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam uocare*), which is followed by Catiline's threats; see above. Cf. also Cic. *Cat.* 1.17, 1.29, 1.33.

[44] Flor. 2.12.7.

events during the senate meeting of 8 November.[45] Cassius Dio, on the other hand, is very brief about it; he does not explicitly mention Cicero's first *Catilinarian* (only the *usual* influence he could exercise through his (judicial) speeches: ἐκ τῶν συνηγορημάτων) and therefore also no reaction by Catiline. Cicero merely informs the senate of Catiline's plan to kill him during the *salutatio*. As a consequence the senate (and not Cicero!) decrees Catiline's banishment:

ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεμηνύθη (ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων πολὺ δυνάμενος, συχνούς τε ἐκ τῶν συνηγορημάτων τοὺς μὲν οἰκειούμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκφοβῶν, πολλοὺς τοὺς διαγγέλλοντάς οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔσχε), μεταστῆναι ἡ γερουσία τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὃς ἀσμένως τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας ἐλθὼν τόν τε πόλεμον ἄντικρυς ἀνείλετο.[46]

Also this plan was unveiled (for Cicero had much influence because he made many people inclined towards him or frightened them through his speeches, and he therefore had many informants about these matters); the senate decreed that Catiline had to leave Rome. And with this pretext he gladly withdrew and, upon coming to Faesulae, he took up war without disguise.

The passage's stress on the senate's role in Catiline's banishment contradicts the claim of the second *Catilinarian* that it was *Cicero* who forced Catiline out of the city. This fits the broader picture of Cassius Dio's account. As Marianne Coudry and Mads Ortving Lindholmer have recently argued, Dio's treatment of the Catilinarian conspiracy conspicuously minimizes Cicero's role as historical agent of 63 BC[47] (which also has repercussions for Cicero's authority as a historical source). At least, however, the omission of the first *Catilinarian* has one consequence that is in line with Cicero's own account: if Cicero does not speak, Catiline also remains silent and is not given the chance to defend himself.

3.3 Diodorus

If we are looking for alternative accounts of Cicero's speech and Catiline's reaction, however, we have to recur to two earlier Greek authors: Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch. Diodorus Siculus' version, which was part of Book 40 of his *Bibliothēkē*, has been transmitted in two fragments in the *Constantinian Excerpts*, a

[45] At *B Civ.* 2.3, he refers to the alleged threats Catiline uttered according to Sallust; in Appian's version, however, Catiline has already executed orders to turn them into reality: ἐν δὲ τῷ τάχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τιθέμενος, τά τε χρήματα προύπεμπεν ἐς Φαισούλας καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐντειλάμενος κτεῖναι Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων πολλῶν νυκτὸς ἐμπρῆσαι μιᾶς ἐξήει πρὸς Γάιον Μάλλιον ὡς αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀθροίσων καὶ ἐς τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμούμενος. ('Putting his hope on swiftness, he sent money to Faesulae, commanded his fellow-conspirators to kill Cicero and to set the city on fire in many places during a single night, and went out of the city to meet Gaius Manlius in order to immediately muster other soldiers and to rush into the conflagration of the city.')

[46] Dio Cass. 37.33.1–2.

[47] Cf. Coudry (2019) 44, and Lindholmer (2019) 87.

tenth-century Byzantine compilation of ancient historians.[48] Diodorus' text was probably written later than Sallust's,[49] which means that Diodorus might have known his version. He shares with his Roman contemporary the wish to make the scene narratively more dramatic by giving Catiline a voice,[50] yet his perspective on the senatorial meeting of 8 November is decidedly different from that of both Sallust and Cicero:[51]

[Ὅτι] Λεύκιος Σέργιος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Κατιλίνας κατάχρεως γεγονὼς ἀπόστασιν ἐμελέτησεν. ὁ δὲ Μάρκος [ὁ Κικέρων ὁ ὕπατος][52] λόγον διετίθετο περὶ τῆς προσδοκωμένης ταραχῆς. καὶ κληθέντος <τοῦ> Κατιλίνα καὶ τῆς κατηγορίας κατὰ πρόσωπον γινομένης, ὁ Κατιλίνας κατ᾽ οὐδένα [τῶν] τρόπον ἔφησεν ἑαυτοῦ καταγνώσεσθαι φυγὴν ἑκούσιον καὶ ἄκριτον. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐπηρώτησε τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς εἰ δοκεῖ μεταναστῆναι[53] τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν διὰ τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐντροπήν, δι᾽ ἑτέρου τρόπου, καθάπερ ἐλέγξαι τὴν σύγκλητον ἀκριβῶς βουλόμενον, τὸ δεύτερον ἐπηρώτησε τοὺς συνέδρους εἰ κελεύουσι Κόιντον Κάτλον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης μεταστήσεσθαι. μιᾷ δὲ φωνῇ πάντων ἀναβοησάντων μὴ δοκεῖν καὶ δυσχεραινόντων ἐπὶ τῷ ῥηθέντι, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν ἔφησεν, ὅταν τινὰ μὴ νομίσωσιν εἶναι ἐπιτήδειον φυγεῖν, μεθ᾽ ὅσης κραυγῆς ἀντιλέγουσιν· ὥστε εἶναι φανερὸν ὅτι διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς ὁμολογοῦσι φυγήν. ὁ δὲ Κατιλίνας εἰπὼν ὅτι βουλεύσεται καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀνεχώρησεν.[54]

[That] Lucius Sergius, surnamed Catiline, being encumbered with debts, set up a revolt. Marcus [Cicero the consul] composed a speech about the foreseen disorder. When Catiline was summoned and openly accused, he declared that under no circumstances he would convict himself and would go into voluntary exile without a trial. Cicero asked the senators whether they wanted to banish Catiline from the city. When the majority remained silent because they were ashamed by Catiline's presence, Cicero turned the matter around, as if he wanted to cross-examine the council more thoroughly, asked the senators for the second time if they would urge him to exile Quintus Catulus from Rome. When they all with one voice shouted that they did not want this and uttered their anger about these words, Cicero again said against Catiline that if they did not consider a person worthy of

[48] On the encyclopaedic nature of these excerpts, which were commissioned by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945–959), see Neville (2018) 110–11. Cf. Yarrow (2018), esp. 262, on the general reliability of the verbatim quotations in the *Excerpta de sententiis* (from which fr. 6 Goukowsky stems).

[49] Sacks (1990) 171 established the year 46 BC as the moment when Diodorus began to write his *Bibliothēkē*.

[50] Cf. Dyck (2008) 104. For strategies of how to turn aspects of Cicero's life into literature see La Bua (2020), who analyses fictionalization in Lucan's and Cassius Dio's representation of Cicero's conduct during the Civil War.

[51] Cf. Matsuraba (1998) 250–4 for a detailed comparison of the evidence: 'Diodorus' account is *clearly a report from the perspective of a third party*, reproducing the scene at the meeting as it actually took place' (my emphasis); similarly von Ungern-Sternberg (1971) 51. I am less sure about the factuality of the report (cf. the valuable counter-arguments by Stroh (2000) 76; I am, however, also not convinced by his defence of the historicity of Cicero's account against Diodorus). Be this as it may, Diodorus' version at least partly represents another tradition that was obviously available in Rome in the first century BC.

[52] *del.* Goukowsky 'ut glossema'; *forsitan recte*.

[53] *coni.* Van Herwerden : μεταναστήσεσθαι *mss.,* Goukowsky.

[54] Diod. Sic. fr. 40.6 Goukowsky (=fr. 40.5a Walton).

banishment, they spoke against the proposal with all so much shouting; therefore it was obvious that with their silence they agreed to his banishment. Catiline said that he wanted to think this over in private and withdraw.

Diodorus shows himself a scrupulous reader of Cicero's first *Catilinarian* in that he follows Cicero in recognizable details: Catiline's wish for an official vote of the senate can be connected to *Cat.* 1.20 (*refer, inquis, ad senatum*); Cicero's following rhetorical trick is a summary of *Cat.* 1.21 (*de te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant* ~ διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς ὁμολογοῦσι).[55] Yet in spite of these Ciceronian allusions, Diodorus does not convey the impression of total control that we find from the beginning of Cicero's first *Catiliarian*. Instead, I argue that the fragment stages a struggle for influence and agency between Cicero and Catiline.[56] Their contention has three steps: first, Catiline plans an uproar, and Cicero reacts by writing his speech; second, when summoned to come to the senate, Catiline reacts by declaring that he will not leave Rome without the senate giving a formal vote. As a reaction to that Cicero delivers his prearranged speech (even though Diodorus is not explicit about whether Catiline's statement precedes the speech or is an interjection during the speech, the impression is rather that Cicero reacts to Catiline – see below). Third, the consul's statement is not received enthusiastically by the senate. Yet instead of Catiline engaging in speech again, Cicero continues to speak with one of his most spectacular rhetorical tricks in the first *Catilinarian*: he defines the senators' silence as approval of his motion, as they would have protested if he had voted for banishment of an esteemed member of the senate. As a reaction to this Catiline declares that he wants to reflect on the matter at home and withdraws.

Especially at the beginning of the topic, switches occur in every sentence (Λεύκιος Σέργιος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Κατιλίνας – ὁ δὲ Μάρκος Κικέρων ὁ ὕπατος – ὁ Κατιλίνας – ὁ δὲ Κικέρων), giving the reader the impression of quick action and counter-action from both sides. If there is any preponderance at all for one of the opponents, the text conveys the impression that Catiline is always one step ahead. His behaviour triggers Cicero's reactions, who is twice mentioned as second of the two, visible in the ὁ δέ-constructions: Catiline's uproar causes Cicero to write his speech in order to have it at hand when needed, and Catiline's request for a formal vote incites Cicero to deliver this speech. In

[55] The parallels are mentioned by Goukowsky (2014) 377 nn. 55 and 56. Von Ungern-Sternberg (1971) 48–9 shows how closely Diodorus reacts to Cicero. In Cicero's speech, these members are P. Sestius and M. Metellus; Diodorus' fragment has Q. Lutatius Catulus instead; if this adaptation is genuine and no intervention of the Byzantine compiler, Diodorus might have chosen a more famous name among his Greek readers. Von Ungern-Sternberg (1971) 50–1 argues in the other direction: he believes that Cicero had indeed used Catulus in the actual speech and replaced him with the less famous Sestius and Metellus in the written version '[weil] der Vergleich von Catilina und Catulus in seiner geglätteten Version übertrieben wirken könnte'.

[56] I thank my colleague Adriaan Rademaker for having discussed the passage with me.

this context, it is worth noting that the summoning and first accusation against Catiline is presented in a passive genitive absolute construction (κληθέντος Κατιλίνα καὶ τῆς κατηγορίας κατὰ πρόσωπον γινομένης). Of course Catiline's wish for an official vote is a reaction to his being summoned, but Diodorus does not *specify* whether he reacts to Cicero's action (in other words, whether Cicero has summoned Catiline for the senate meeting and whether the accusation refers to the beginning of the first *Catilinarian*) or to what the senate as an institution has commanded.[57]

The impression we get of Cicero so far is a mixed one. He is by no means weak, but instead of being the dominant agent of the meeting (as he had portrayed himself in the first *Catilinarian*), his authority and influence seem not to be boundless. The silence with which the senators react to Cicero's proposal to ban Catiline can be read as a metaphor for the equilibrium between the two opponents, a kind of narrative *tabula rasa*.[58] The situation changes, however, with the following rhetorical coup by Cicero, which is presented as Cicero's "brilliant improvisation"[59] and which provokes a vociferous reaction from the entire senate. From that moment Cicero seems in control. Without any intermediate reaction by Catiline, Cicero can once more (πάλιν) address Catiline, to whom Diodorus thereby attributes the reacting part (for the first time, he is introduced with ὁ δὲ Κατιλίνας). He voluntarily goes home and leaves the field to Cicero. His retreat, however, is described in a markedly different way than in the Latin sources we have encountered so far. With his final answer that he wants to think over his options at home Catiline shows himself self-controlled until the end and not prone to his own passions. Even when defeated, he utters no threats and does not show his usual frenzy.

What we find in Diodorus is a remarkably independent and balanced narrative, which clearly alludes to Cicero's version, but comes to a rather original evaluation of the protagonists' characters. Similar to Sallust's monograph, Catiline is upgraded as a true protagonist of the affair; in the senate meeting he moreover appears as a rational politician.[60] Thereby, Cicero's alleged total control of the

[57] Perhaps Cassius Dio's version (see above), in which the banishment of Catiline is ascribed to the senate (μεταστῆναι ἡ γερουσία τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐψηφίσατο), is dependent on a similar source as Diodorus. Plut. *Cic.* 16.3, on the other hand, almost seems to correct Diodorus (or a similar source) by attributing the summoning to Cicero again (ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στησίου Διὸς ἱερόν), although he follows Diodorus' version in that he has Catiline start the debate (see below).

[58] For this effect of silence in historiographical narrative, see Pieper (2016) 168 (on a scene in Dionysius of Halicarnassus).

[59] Dyck (2008) 104.

[60] As we do not know the further narrative, however, it is impossible to tell whether this represents Catiline's image in Diodorus, which would have been generally mitigated and therefore would have offered a true alternative to Cicero's madman and Sallust's unrestrained revolutionary. A second fragment, dealing with the plan to murder Cicero and many other Roman senators in their private house, is certainly not positive about Catiline and his mob

situation is put into question:[61] Diodorus does not subscribe to Cicero's self-presentation as a consul with full authority from the very beginning of the meeting. However, he does confirm Cicero's self-declared role as leading orator of his time, to whose tongue no sword is superior.[62] For it is first and foremost the consul's *oratorical* superiority that turns the tide and decides the contention. Cicero's major weapon is his rhetoric; by means of an effective coup his invective against Catiline has turned a difficult situation into a personal triumph.

3.4 Plutarch

The last author I want to discuss briefly is Plutarch. Like Diodorus, he offers a true alternative for the Ciceronian and Sallustian narrative with regard to Catiline's reaction to Cicero's first *Catilinarian*. Of all authors in this short overview his writing most closely reflects Cicero's self-representation as a fully confident and authoritative consul. Plutarch is a hyper-Ciceronian interpreter of the conspiracy in that he vilifies Catiline in the harshest possible way, who is presented as the instigator of great crimes, including the rape of his own daughter and the murder of his son.[63] Cicero on the other hand appears as balanced and almost ideal:

μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπέδειξε Ῥωμαίοις ὅσον ἡδονῆς λόγος τῷ καλῷ προστίθησι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ἀήττητόν ἐστιν ἂν ὀρθῶς λέγηται, καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἐμμελῶς πολιτευόμενον ἀεὶ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τὸ καλὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ κολακεύοντος αἱρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τὸ λυποῦν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος.[64]

(ὄχλος, Diod. Sic. fr. 40.7 Goukowsky = fr. 5 Walton), although it is possible that the reference to the mob is an intervention of the Byzantine compiler; cf. Goukowsky (2014) 377 n. 62. Generally it is less probable that Diodorus, whom Sack (1990) 205 has labelled as a moral historian interested in 'benefactors … who contributed civilizing gifts in the arts and sciences and in politics', would have portrayed Catiline in very positive terms. Muntz (2017) 242–7 discusses whether Diodorus might have supported Antony in the 30s, yet even if he did, he finds no passages that would be uncomfortable for Octavian. In any case, it seems unimaginable that Catiline would have been a positive name in Antonian circles.

[61] For Diodorus' weakening of Cicero's position see von Ungern-Sternberg (1971) 51; as an example, he analyses Catiline's wish to formally ask the senate for its vote. In Diodorus this surprises Cicero, whose reaction shows that he wants to avoid such a formal vote at all costs (50).

[62] To paraphrase the (in)famous Ciceronian verse, especially in the version we read it in [Sall.] *Inv. in Cic.* 6 and Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.24 (with *linguae* instead of Cicero's *laudi* as final word): *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi/linguae* (Cic. *Poet. fr.* 12 Courtney = 11 Blänsdorf); cf. Keeline (2018) 156.

[63] Plut. *Cic.* 10.3. Cf. Moles (1988) 161 and Lintott (2013) 148, both for the parallels in Cic. *Tog. cand.* (Catiline's second wife being his daughter, cf. Asc. 91–2C) and Cicero *Comment. pet.* 9 (Catiline killing his brother-in-law).

[64] Plut. *Cic.* 13.1. Lintott (2013) 151 refers for this passage to Plutarch's (very Ciceronian) ideal of the political orator; cf. also his introduction, p. 8. Also Steidle (1990) 171 stresses '[w]ie sehr die Vorstellung einer philosophisch beeinflußten Redekunst die Schilderung des Consulats … beherrscht'. Cf. also the comparison of Cicero and the conspirators in *Cic.* 18.7 (Cicero acts with πόνος, 'hard labour', λογισμὸς νήφων, 'sober rationality', and σύνεσις περιττή, 'exceptional

This man best showed the Romans how much charm the word adds to the (ethically) beautiful, and that justice is invincible if it is expressed rightly, and that a politician whose acts are in tune with justice must always in his deeds choose the (ethically) beautiful instead of what is flattering and in his speech remove mortifications from his advantage.

Even where the historiographic tradition would offer him material to criticize Cicero, Plutarch does his best to excuse all possible errors beforehand.[65] His consul Cicero is the uncontested hero of the moment; the last sentence of the chapters dealing with the consulship is the climax of Plutarch's glorification: as the first Roman in Republican times Cicero receives the title *pater patriae* from Cato and the *contio* (23.6).[66]

Although the senate meeting of 8 November 63 is only dealt with briefly, it fits the broader picture of Plutarch's Ciceronian perspective. In order to strengthen Cicero's authority and undermine Catiline's, Plutarch, a versed narrator,[67] adds an interesting twist to the story, which contradicts both the impression received from Cicero's *Catilinarians*[68] and Sallust's authoritative monograph. Plutarch is the only ancient historian in whose version Catiline, not Cicero, starts the debate.[69] The change might seem subtle, but has repercussions on how the reader perceives the opponents. After having captured the moment of Catiline's complete isolation, which Maccari would later depict so effectively,[70] Plutarch recounts that Catiline begins to speak:

ἀρξάμενος δὲ λέγειν ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν λόγοις, ἐκείνου δ᾽ ὅπλοις πολιτευομένου μέσον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κατιλίνας εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων ὁπλοφόρων …[71]

---

insight", while both Catiline and his friends are unstable, ἀστάθμητοι, and enjoy their lives with wine and women).

[65] This is most clearly the case in his description of the death penalty for the conspirators, a moment that would lead to huge criticism against Cicero afterwards. Plutarch stresses that Cicero was not the driving force behind the severe measures, but that his character was merciful and mild (ἐπιείκεια ἤθους, 19.6). Cf. also *Cic.* 21.2, where Cicero adds weight to Caesar's mild *sententia* (ἐπιεικὴς γνώμη) in the debate. Cf., e.g., Cicero's self-representation in *Sull.* 8: *me natura misericordem, patria seuerum, crudelem nec patria nec natura esse uoluit* ('nature wanted me to be full of pity, the fatherland wanted me severe, but either fatherland nor nature wanted me to be cruel').

[66] Alföldi (1953) 104–5 has shown that Plutarch interprets a spontaneous and semi-formal elevation as an exemplar for the formalized imperial propaganda of his own time.

[67] Cf. Pelling (1985) 326 on Plutarch's interest in a good story, see n. 76 below.

[68] This makes Pelling's assumption of Cicero's Περὶ ὑπατείας as the main source for the Catilinarian conspiracy (Pelling (1985) 313, see also below n. 75) less safe for this episode.

[69] Lintott (2013) 155 merely notes that 'Plutarch reverses the order of speeches found in Sallust and implicit in Cicero's speech'.

[70] Plut. *Cic.* 16.4: συγκαθίσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθρου μετῆλθον ('No senator, however, could bear to sit with him, but all moved away from his bench').

[71] Plut. *Cic.* 16.5–6.

When he started to speak, he was booed and silenced, and finally Cicero stood up and ordered him to leave the city, and that, as one of them made politics with words, the other with weapons, it was necessary that the city-wall was in between them. Catiline in his turn immediately left with three hundred comrades who carried weapons …

With extreme brevity and one sentence only[72] Plutarch describes how Catiline begins an apologetic speech (which, however, the senators immediately hoot down) and how Cicero finally arises and orders him to leave. Catiline's reaction is obedience: he leaves the city without any further words.

Although none of Plutarch's elements are new (a speech by Catiline and his silent retreat), the effect of the changed order is huge. The fact that already when entering the senate house Catiline realizes that he has to defend himself suggests a feeling of guilt on his part. The immediate distancing of the senators makes his weak position visible for the reader. His speech is therefore doomed to fail from the very moment he appears on the scene. At the same time it reduces the surprise effect of Cicero's attack, at which the beginning of the first *Catilinarian* must surely have aimed (see above). Both elements help Plutarch to render the situation less ambiguous: Catiline's status is weakened from the very beginning of the debate, whereas Cicero's authority and lenience is stabilized. He is not looking for strife, but merely reacts to Catiline's moves. The senators' angry reactions already before Cicero's speech strengthen the impression of Cicero being in control: there is no silence in the senate, which Cicero daringly has to interpret as assent to his claims. Instead, Plutarch basically confirms Cicero's own representation of him voicing the thoughts and feelings of the entire senate. Contrary to Catiline's vain attempt to speak, Cicero's speech further fortifies his position; at its end he is so predominant that he can give his opponent an order (ὁ Κικέρων προσέταξεν) that is immediately obeyed by Catiline (ὁ μὲν οὖν Κατιλίνας εὐθὺς ἐξελθών).[73]

This most flattering version for Cicero fits with Plutarch's treatment of Cicero's consulship in general, which in the *Life of Cicero* takes up about one fourth of the whole text. It is written with considerably more sympathy towards Cicero than the rest of the *Life*.[74] Christopher Pelling has explained this by Plutarch's

[72] Even so, Plutarch manages to add a verbal allusion to the first *Catilinarian* (δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν λόγοις, ἐκείνου δ' ὅπλοις πολιτευομένου μέσον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος, 16.5), seemingly inspired by Cic. *Cat.* 1.10, cf. Moles (1988) 165 and Lintott (2013) 155.

[73] Cf. Moles (1988) 165: '"Commanded" is dramatic exaggeration'; Cicero plays with the tension between advice and order, cf. *Cat.* 1.13 (*exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem; interrogas me, num in exilium? non iubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo*, 'the consul orders the enemy to leave the city; you ask me: in exile? I do not order that, but if you ask for my advice, I suggest it'). Cassius Dio takes Plutarch's interpretation of the events a step further when he makes the senate the commanding instance and omits Cicero's speech altogether: μεταστῆναι ἡ γερουσία τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐψηφίσατο (see above).

[74] Admiration for Cicero's deeds is regularly mixed with criticism of his character and especially his abundant ambition, cf. e. g. Erbse (1956) 407, Moles (1988) 10, Steidle (1990) 172,

probable major source: Cicero himself, or more concretely his lost Greek commentary Περὶ ὑπατείας.[75] Whereas Pelling's view is that of Plutarch as a learned compiler of source material and a great narrator, whose major concern is to arrange the material he found in such a way as to tell a good story,[76] others have stressed Plutarch's ethical concerns with regard to his character portrayal of Cicero. I agree with what Jeffrey Benneker has argued: Plutarch has dedicated so much space to the consular year in order to show that in 63 BC the politician and orator Cicero reached a high degree of perfection.[77] The rest of the *Life*, however, will deconstruct this image in order to show that it has only been Cicero's temporary, not everlasting posture in life. In other words, Cicero as politician is excellent as long as he can act with full authority of his office and can use his brilliant rhetoric within this context,[78] but less so as philosopher[79] – because his *ēthos* is not firmly rooted in philosophical principles.[80]

To sum up the ancient evidence, we have encountered a variety of versions with regard to Catiline's reaction to Cicero's speech during the senate meeting on 8 November 63. Despite the huge popularity of Cicero's first *Catilinarian Speech*, the way in which Catiline reacted to it was obviously not as canonized as were other elements of the conspiracy (the turmoil during the consular elections, the role of the Allobroges, or the debate in the senate about the death penalty

---

Fulkerson (2012) 68, Lintott (2013) 8. See also the PhD dissertation by Leanne Jansen (2022), which has a chapter on Cicero's political *ēthos* in Plutarch and others.

[75] Pelling (1985) 313 (with reference to Cic. *Att.* 1.19.10). According to Cicero the Greek account was well known in the East of the Roman Empire and was written so well that Cicero 'confounded the Greek nation' (*conturbaui Graecam nationem, Att.* 2.1.2) with it.

[76] Pelling (1985) 326: '[T]here is little attempt to relate the detailed narrative of the conspiracy to any wider framework. … After the first chapters, Plutarch's main concern is to *tell a good story*.' I want to add that this does not mean that Pelling does not appreciate Plutarch's portrayal; in fact he explicitly acknowledges Plutarch's nuanced view on Cicero (perhaps even *because* he did not try to explain every contradiction in his biography with the same overarching narrative), cf. Pelling (1985) 316 n. 18: 'Plutarch's portrait of Cicero is indeed a good one. … More than any other Roman hero, after all, Cicero was Plutarch's sort of person: he understood him well' (he refers to Erbse (1956) 410–11 n. 3 for a similar view: 'Wohl ist es erstaunlich, daß sich Plutarch, trotz seinen in mancher Hinsicht beschränkten Lateinkenntnissen, ein so angemessenes Urteil zu bilden vermochte. Aber man wird das Erstaunliche anerkennen müssen.').

[77] Cf. *Cic.* 32.5: καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἠξίου τοὺς φίλους μὴ ῥήτορα καλεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφον ('and he himself often asked his friends that they should not call him orator, but philosopher').

[78] Cf. Benneker (2016) 151.

[79] Cf. Swain (1990) 197, who hints at an interesting omission of the Platonist Plutarch: 'In *Cicero* there is no attempt to support Cicero because he was a Platonist. Cicero's political fall cannot be defended from his philosophy, for he is not successful in this.'

[80] According to Benneker (2016) 159, the success of the consular year has incited Cicero to 'believe that the glory available to him is unlimited and so makes it his lifelong pursuit. "Know thyself" is thus re-interpreted to mean that one must know when to stop'. This is a more nuanced position than the traditional view expressed by Swain (1990) 196: 'Cicero's love of glory is an indicator of his failure both as a statesman and as a philosopher. By its scurrility and impropriety, and worse its vainglory, his rhetoric points the failure of his public life'.

for the conspirators)[81] and was therefore open to adaptation. At least as far as our sources can tell, Sallust's version, which includes a response *In Ciceronem* by Catiline, was probably the canonical one for Latin imperial historiography. Historians writing in Greek, however, added more variation, and through the different accounts not only presented their readers with different versions of Catiline, but also re-evaluated Cicero's role during the senate meeting. Yet no ancient author (as far as we know) supplemented Catiline's missing speech of 8 November in a more substantial way; the lacuna waited to be filled until far beyond the boundaries of antiquity.

4. The *Responsio Catiline* – a medieval *pseudepigraphon*

Antiquity knew of fake speeches attributed to Catiline. In the middle of the first century AD, Asconius Pedianus commented on Cicero's otherwise lost speech 'as a candidate' (*In toga candida*), held shortly before the *comitia consularia* of 64 BC, in which Cicero bluntly attacked his opponents Antonius Hybrida and Catiline. Obviously, Asconius was not only still able to read Cicero's speech, but also knew of several invectives by Catiline against Cicero written for the same occasion.[82] The commentator, however, passes over their content in silence: according to him, they are inauthentic fakes unworthy of study, mainly because they were written by authors who wanted to diminish Cicero's glory (*non ab ipsis scriptae sed ab Ciceronis obtrectatoribus*, Asc. *Tog. cand.* 94C = *ORF*[4] p. 368).[83] Because of Asconius' silence we do not know whether he refers only to speeches situated during the consular elections of 64, or whether there were fakes for other occasions, as well.[84] Similarly, we have no traces of late antique declamations in which Catiline would answer to Cicero's invective.

[81] Including Cato's crucial role in it – according to Vell. Pat. 35.1 it was Cato's, not Cicero's virtue which reached its peak on that day.

[82] Peirano (2012) 47 attributes Asconius' testimony to fake responses to the *Catilinarians*, but I see no reason why we should not stick with the context of the *Toga candida*-speech.

[83] The passage is a hint on the ancient tradition of the *Ciceromastiges*, of which we still possess the ps.-Sallustian *Invectiva in Ciceronem* (datable with all probability to the Augustan age, cf. Novokhatko (2009) 7) and which influenced the speech by Calenus in Dio Cass. 46.1–28. Cf. Zieliński (1912) 347–57 ('Die Cicerokarikatur im Altertum'), Keeline (2018) 147–95, La Bua (2019) 100–12. For its background in contemporary criticism of Cicero's *persona*, see Van der Blom in this volume.

[84] Cic. *Mur.* 51 and Plut. *Cic.* 14.6 briefly quote from an invective speech against Cicero by Catiline in the senate in August 63, shortly before the *comitia consularia* of that year, in which Catiline used the image of the state as a human body, for which he offered himself as a head: *tum enim dixit duo corpora esse rei publicae, unum debile infirmo capite, alterum firmum sine capite; huic, si ita de se meritum esset, caput se uiuo non defuturum* ('for at that moment he said that there were two bodies of the state, the one weak with a shaky head, the other strong without a head; for this latter one, if it had deserved it from him, he would not be absent as a head, as long as he was alive', *Mur.* 51).

We have to wait until the High Middle Ages before we can read a full speech by *Catiline. In medieval manuscripts (and still in early modern printed editions of Cicero's works), we find a fifth *Catilinarian Speech* (*Quinta Catilinaria*) and an answer by *Catiline to it (*Responsio Catiline*).[85] The alleged date of both can easily be deduced from their content: they are meant to represent the speeches that were held during the senate meeting of 8 November. As far as I know, no scholarly consent has been reached about the exact historical context of this pair of speeches. It seems reasonable to date them to the twelfth century, and external evidence (like the first manuscripts transmitting them) hints at France as their point of origin. Perhaps they were composed in one of the intellectual centres of that time – Chartres springs to mind, where Thierry of Chartres wrote commentaries on Cicero's rhetorical treatises, and where his pupil John of Salisbury shows great familiarity with many of Cicero's writings and came to one of the most nuanced evaluations of Cicero of the Middle Ages.[86] Even in such a context, however, the speeches are remarkable. Still in the twelfth century, interest in Cicero's biography was scarce; he was read as one of the ancient masters of rhetoric and as teacher of ethical philosophy, and many people believed that there had lived two distinct persons: one named Tullius (the rhetorician) and one named Cicero (the politician of whose life they often knew very little).[87]

[85] The texts are edited in De Marco (1991), whose paragraph numbering I follow (contrary to Haye (1999), who uses his own sentence numbering).

[86] For a possible origin in Chartres, cf. De Marco (1960) 281 (based on Wilmart (1933) 290–1). For John of Salisbury's appraisal of Cicero's philosophical and political persona, see Cizek (2009) 144–54, O'Daly (2018) 41–5. There is an interesting link between the *Responsio Catiline* and Thierry's commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Thierry comments on the example of a speaking city in the discussion of *prosopopoeia* (*Rhet. Her.* 4.66) as follows (p. 359.37–8 Fredborg): *Hic Tullius introducit Romam loquentem contra Catilinam et socios eius*. The *Responsio Catiline* adapts the example from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* very closely (only exchanging Lucius Brutus with Scipio, who fits the context of the speech better, see below). For Cicero's presence in Chartres, cf. also the famous representation of the *septem artes liberales* on the so-called Royal (Western) Portal of the cathedral, dating to the twelfth century as well, where Cicero represents rhetoric. Haye (1999) 230 mentions Reims, Laon or Tours as possible alternatives.

[87] As O'Daly (2018) 42 has shown, even for John of Salisbury it was "difficult to reconcile Cicero the ascetic moralist with Cicero the scheming statesman. It is notable, however, that on most occasions John chooses to gloss over this tension, and this is, in part, a reflection of the Ciceronian sources of which John made most use." For Cicero's reputation in the Middle Ages see Schmidt (2000), Cizek (2009), and Mabboux (2022). Our pair of speeches does not have this confusion: *Catiline describes *Cicero's external appearance and mentions, among other details, his *barba cenosa* (cf. also below n. 108) This fits the traditional author portraits of Cicero in medieval manuscripts, which regularly show him with the beard of the teacher of rhetoric; cf. Lazzi (2000) 80: 'Pertanto la fisionomia non si preoccupa di evidenziare caratteri somatici personalizzati ma di enfatizzare invece quelle *connotazioni che tradizionalmente inclinano ad incutere rispetto e reverenza:* l'atteggiamento austero, la barba, l'abbigliamento' (my emphasis).

Even if the two speeches do not delve into much historical detail, they are nevertheless well informed about the context of the conspiracy and about the psychology of the protagonists. It is obvious that the anonymous author has carefully read Sallust (a canonical school author of the time) and Cicero's *Catilinarians*, but almost certainly none of the Greek authors treated above (since they were hardly available in Western Europe at that time). When it comes to their content, Thomas Haye finds a difference between them: whereas the ps.-Ciceronian speech has the character of a rather basic school exercise (it meticulously combines Ciceronian and Sallustian motifs and puts them into a language in which rhetorical figures are used almost *ad nauseam*),[88] *Catiline's answer offers 'eine insgesamt überzeugende rhetorische Strategie', especially a convincing *inventio*. According to Haye, the fact that the author of the *Responsio* had no ancient models for his speech triggered his creativity.[89] If one follows him in detecting a different degree of complexity to the speeches, one could be inclined to attribute them to two different authors. Yet it is probable that both speeches were composed, if not by the same author, at least in very close proximity to each other, as they seem to react to each other.[90] *Cicero announces that *Catiline will speak as well, a clear prolepsis to the *Responsio*: *nolite mirari si callidus dissimulator respondendi locum expostulat; confidit enim in eloquentia sua* ('do not be astonished if this canny dissimulator demands the right to answer; for he trusts in his eloquence', *5. Cat.* 10). *Catiline cleverly reacts to this with his *captatio benevolentiae* in which he accuses *Cicero of trusting too much in his eloquence (*omnes spes rationesque suas in eloquentie sue senatum*[91] *coniecit*, 'he has put all his hopes and reasoning in the joining together of his eloquence', *Resp. Cat.* 2), whereas he presents himself as an inexperienced speaker (*si quo igitur loco pro dicendi inopia mea oratio uacillabit*, 'if anywhere my speech will tumble because of my want of eloquence', 3). It is noteworthy that both speeches, though highly rhetorical compositions, express a certain reservation against rhetorical brilliance that overshadows truth, and

[88] Haye (1999) 230 calls it a 'rhetorische Stilübung'. I give the two most striking examples of un-Ciceronian wordplays: *in ciuitate ciuitatis incendium alitur* (*5. Cat.* 1); *si enim uestram non nouisset incuriam, proditor patrie non uenisset in curiam* (8; similarly *in curia frequens fit incuria*, 9). The same tendency can, however, also be found in the *Responsio*, e. g. *exeat hinc Scipionis generosa propago et regnat natus de paupere pago, absit Scipionis indoles luculenta, assit balatronis soboles lutulenta* (*Resp. Cat.* 4).

[89] Haye (1999) 231.

[90] Another point of contact is *Cicero's accusation that *Catiline is planning the destruction of Rome and the whole world: *non modo urbem uerum orbem pessumdabit* ('he will destroy not only the city but the whole world', *5. Cat.* 1) which *Catiline counters by turning the accusation against *Cicero, *qui … urbes quoque pessumdare mendacio consueuit* ('… who is accustomed to destroy even cities with his lies', *Resp. Cat.* 1).

[91] De Marco (1991) defends the reading *senatum* as a synonym for *coetus*; Haye (1999) prints the alternatively transmitted *torrentem* (a *lectio facilior*).

thereby show an element of the 'rhetoric of anti-rhetoric' that Tempest in this volume analyses in detail.[92]

Haye's assumption of the missing model for *Catiline's speech is somewhat misleading. The author of the *Responsio Catiline* had access to the skeleton of Catiline's speech as it was offered by Sallust's summary. Additionally, the popular pseudo-Sallustian *Invectiva in Ciceronem*, which was considered to be an authentic Sallustian text in the Middle Ages, supplemented the Sallustian pretext.[93] Therefore, one could expect a twelfth-century author to concentrate on the anti-Ciceronian polemic and to present us with a *Catiline who harshly attacks and insults *Cicero. The *Responsio*, however, is surprisingly restrained in tone and remains so until the end. Catiline's uncontrolled angry outburst and threats, which Cicero and Sallust both emphasize, are excluded from the speech, as is any reference to booing senators.[94] Instead of concentrating on Catiline's fury, the *Responsio* gives the impression of a rational orator. The speech's basic division is twofold: *Catiline wants to show that *Cicero's *sententia* to ban him from Rome is *inhonesta* and *inutilis* (*Resp. Cat.* 3). The categories refer to central concepts of Cicero's *De officiis*, one of his most studied treatises in the Middle Ages. *Catiline thus turns these Ciceronian categories against their author. His refutation of *Cicero's decree in the second part of the speech is clearly structured and offers four arguments: first, his banishment would as a consequence lead to a massive exile of other senators and thus create new enemies for Rome; second, *Cicero cannot simply order *Catiline to leave, as he does not have any proofs in hand; third, *Catiline's popularity among the masses is no crime, or otherwise politicians like Cato, Laelius, and Scipio (not by chance the persons of *De amicitia* and *De senectute*, two highly popular Ciceronian treatises in the Middle Ages) would also have been guilty of similar charges; fourth, no Roman should be punished without a proper trial and defence.[95]

---

[92] Cf. also the opposition *Catiline makes between the *phalerata uerborum agmina, canorae nugae, festiuitatis et concinnitatis splendentia* of rhetoric and the *pondus sententie* of truth (3).

[93] Sallust's enmity to Cicero was taken for granted in the Middle Ages. The tradition is still visible in the life of Cicero in Giovanni Colonna's *De viris illustribus*. After having spent years in Greece, Cicero turns home to Rome and teaches rhetoric; his school is so successful that the one of Sallust has to close, which leads to Sallust's harsh invectives (*oratoriam docuit multosque ex Romanis nobilibus habuit auditores adeo ut Salustii Crispi scola relicta omnes ad audiendum eum conuolarent. Et ex hoc Salustius Tulium [sic] plurimum carpit*). I quote from the edition by Braxton Ross (1970).

[94] What we do find, however, is their famous silence (Cic. *Cat.* 1.21, see above on Diodorus' version of it), which *Catiline cleverly interprets not as their ingenuous hostility towards him, but as the result of *Cicero's threats and bribery: *nemini mirandum si solus omnium Catiline prolocutor appearem; hoc enim minis pretio prece Ciceronis effectum est ut nemo se Catiline tutorem audeat confiteri* ('no one must be astonished if I alone arise as intercessor of Catiline; Cicero's threats, bribery and pleas have had the result that nobody dares to show himself openly as Catiline's protector', *Resp. Cat.* 9).

[95] For the legal arguments, Haye (1999) 231 links the text with the so-called 'Lütticher Gerichtsreden' of the twelfth century.

Only in the first part do we find invective elements against Cicero, and here the speech also shows closer links with Sallust and ps.-Sallust. The anonymous author does not closely follow Catiline's rhetorical strategy sketched in the *Bellum Catilinae* (humiliation, building of his own *ēthos*, negative *ēthos* of Cicero), but with a bit of goodwill all three elements are nevertheless recognizable in the speech.

1. Humiliation: Sallust's formulation *demisso uoltu, uoce supplici*, which comments on Catiline's *actio* (an element that one can hardly represent in a written speech), is translated into verbal submissiveness in the *Responsio*. The first sentence compares *Cicero with a wolf and *Catiline with a humble and innocent lamb:

si subtiliter a circumstantibus, que sit presentis actionis controuersia, requiratur, inuenietur expressius ille inter nos qui uulpis cum agno coram leone conflictus.[96]

If the bystanders will accurately investigate what the controversy of the present case actually is, they will find more clearly that between us there is the famous strife between the fox and the lamb in front of the lion.

With this beginning *Catiline shows his ability as a speaker: in accordance with what one learned in schools of rhetoric, he immediately asks for a definition of the status of the case. His following comparison is subtle, for it also includes the senators, who are associated with the lion judging the controversy of fox and lamb.[97] Without going into detail here, it is obvious that this addition has a double aim. On the one hand, *Catiline flatters the senators through ascribing to them the role of the highest authority (the lion as the traditional king of the animals – we must not forget that for an author writing in the twelfth century royal dominion was a fully accepted and venerable institution, so there is no irony in this sentence uttered by a Roman politician of Republican times). On the other hand, it entails a warning that the senators must not allow the clever fox *Cicero to delude them.

2. *Catiline's *ēthos*: As in Sallust, *Catiline refers to his family tree and the many *beneficia* his predecessors have contributed to Rome. His forefathers have founded and constructed Rome, defended it from its external enemies and stabilized the all-encompassing Roman Empire:

illum namque de ciuitate censet [sc. Cicero] extorrem esse cuius eam maiores fundauere, condidere, ab hostibus protexere et postremo ad tantum culmen honoris promouere ut imperii magnitudinem solis ortu et occasu metiremur.[98]

[96] *Resp. Cat.* 1.

[97] Animal fables, often written with satirical aims, were popular in twelfth-century Europe; suffice to think of the two most famous ones, the *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi* from the mid-eleventh century, and the *Ysengrimus* from the mid-twelfth century.

[98] *Resp. Cat.* 4.

For he believes that a man should be exiled from the state whose forefathers have founded, constructed, defended it against enemies and finally have raised it to such a height of honour that we measure the greatness of the Empire with the rising and setting of the sun.

He does not say so explicitly, but for medieval readers it would have been obvious that with this sentence he defines himself as member of a *noble* family, just as Sallust's Catiline had done (cf. *patricio homini*, Sall. *Cat.* 31.7).

3. *Cicero's negative *ēthos*: In contrast to his own noble origin, *Cicero is taunted as not belonging to the same tradition, but is characterized as an immigrant from Arpinum: *exeat de ciuitate ciuis et permaneat inquilinus; exeat de Roma Romanus et remaneat Arpinas* ('let the citizen leave the state and let the tenant remain; let the Roman leave Rome and let the man from Arpinum remain', *Resp. Cat.* 4).[99] As the summit of the revilement, *Catiline recurs to an effective *prosopopoeia* in which he has Scipio pronounce his disdain against the newcomer. The passage is an almost verbatim quotation from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.66).[100] For the second time *Catiline cleverly turns the writings

[99] Cf. Sallust's *inquilinus ciuis urbis Romae*, *Cat.* 31.7. In Konrad of Mure's *Fabularius* (1273) Cicero is even the son of a blacksmith (*filius fabri*) – a contamination with the biography of Demosthenes, as Schmidt (2000) 29 has shown. By contrast, ps.-Walter Burley's *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum* introduces Cicero as a *uir nobilissimus inter consules Romanorum* (perhaps anticipating humanistic debates about *nobilitas sanguinis* vs. *nobilitas animi*? Text quoted from Schmidt (2000) 35). For medieval authors, Cicero's origin was known especially via an entry for the year 106 BC in the *Chronicle* by Eusebius/Jerome: *Cicero Arpini nascitur matre Heluia patre equestris ordinis ex regio Vulscorum genere* ('Cicero is born in Arpinum from his mother Helvia and a father stemming from equestrian rank in the region of the Volsci'). The first medieval 'biography' of Cicero, transmitted in a Troyes manuscript and datable to ca. 1300 (the so-called *Vita Trecensis*, transmitted in a codex containing several work by Cicero, which is now in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 552; see below) brings together several strands of the tradition. It first quotes Eusebius/Jerome, then refers to the erroneous information of the father being a blacksmith, and finally makes the *novitas*-theme explicit by referring to Sall. *Cat.* 23.6: *Marcus Tullius Cicero Arpinas equestris ordinis et matre Eluia ex regione Volscorum ortus est ut tradit Eusebius in Cronicis. in commentis habetur quod pater ex equestri ordine ac regione prefata faber ferrarius fuit. unde Salustius dicit eum fuisse hominem nouum hoc est infimi generis et quamquam in scolis pauperrimus sua tamen sapientia patris inopiam superauit.* ('Marcus Tullius Cicero from Arpinum, from equestrian rank; his mother was Helvia; he was born in the region of the Volsci, as Eusebius transmits in his *Chronicle*. In commentaries one finds that his father, of equestrian rank and from the aforementioned region, was a blacksmith. Therefore, Sallust says that he [Cicero] was a new man, that means a man of low birth; and although he was very poor in his schooltime, he excelled with his wisdom his father's indigence.' Quoted from Tilliette (2003) 1064). – The *novitas*-aspect of Cicero's biography (important in ancient anti-Ciceronian tradition, see n. 36 above) would become especially relevant in the late Middle Ages again, especially in Italy, where authors like Brunetto Latini began to turn Cicero into a role model for intellectuals in search of political influence. It goes beyond the scope of this article to treat this tradition at length; cf. Mabboux (2020) 140–1 and Mabboux (2022) for further details; for the presence of Cicero's orator-ideal in even earlier *artes dictaminis*, cf. Hartmann (2012) 44–5.

[100] See above n. 86.

of the historical Cicero (who in the twelfth century was still believed to be the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) against his opponent *Cicero.[101]

As I have said above, one could have expected a medieval author of a speech by Catiline against Cicero to rely heavily upon the ps.-Sallustian *Invectiva in Ciceronem*. Surprisingly, however, while the *Invectiva* has clearly shaped some aspects of the text, it is not as overtly present in the *Responsio* as Cicero's speeches are in the *Quinta Catilinaria*.[102] Within the invective parts Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* is similarly present, especially at the beginning where *Catiline launches attacks on *Cicero's moral reliability. He is accused of using *dolus* and *astutia*,[103] relying on mendacious rhetoric and generally being a *dissimulator*. It is worthwhile quoting a passage that reveals the way the anonymous author works. The accusations itself are mostly topical, but he has not simply combined (ps.-)Sallustian phrases, but enriched them with non-topical and exquisitely rare expressions in order to create an innovative anti-Ciceronian invective:

qui aliud corde dissimulare aliud ore simulare[104] *consueuit; … qui corde subdolo,*[105] *ore trilingui,*[106] *uultu hispido,*[107] *barba cenosa,*[108] *ingressu graui, familiari mendacio proposuit*

[101] For a potentially similar tactic by Mark Antony in the context of the *Philippics*, see Van der Blom in this volume (p. 161 with n. 168).

[102] The main elements to be linked to ps.-Sallust are the general idea of Cicero as a *homo leuissimus* with a *lingua uana* (*Inv. in Cic.* 5; cf. Keeline (2018) 157), which runs through the whole first part of the *Responsio*, and *Catiline's claim to be *Scipionis propago* (*Resp. Cat.* 4), which seems to react to ps.-Sallust's attack on Cicero's arrogance who, as *homo novus*, acts as if he were the only remaining offspring of Scipio (*quasi unus reliquus e familia uiri clarissimi, Scipionis Africani, ac non reperticius, accitus ac paulo ante insitus huic urbi ciuis*, 'as if he was the only survivor of the family of that most conspicuous man, Scipio Africanus, a man has been called to this city and has only recently been included among its citizens', *Inv. in Cic.* 1).

[103] *Resp. Cat.* 2: *magis in dolosis fraudulentisque uersutiis … confidit – eloquentie cauillantis astutia* ('he trust more on cunning and deceitful subtlety' – 'the slyness of his witty eloquence', cf. Sall. *Cat.* 26.2: *neque illi tamen ad cauendum dolus aut astutiae deerant*, 'he was not lacking deception and slyness to be on his guard').

[104] A combination of Sall. *Cat.* 5.4 (*cuius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator*, 'a pretender and concealer of any kind of thing') and 10.5 (*ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere*, 'ambition forced many mortals to become false and have one thing concealed in their heart and something else ready on their tongue').

[105] Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 5.4 (*animus audax, subdolus, uarius*).

[106] The expression *os trilingue* is rare; it only appears twice in Horace for Cerberus (*Carm.* 2.19.31–2 and 3.11.20).

[107] Also *uultus hispidus* is a rare expression; in ancient literature it only recurs twice ([Quint.] *Decl. min.* 6.18; Claud. *Carm. mai.* 1.214); John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 5.10 uses it, too (another hint for a Chartres-connection of the *Responsio*?). The connection between *hispidus* and Cicero might be triggered by Silius Italicus, who in 8.399–403 describes the inhabitants of Arpinum as follows: *at, qui Fibreno miscentem flumina Lirim | sulphureum tacitisque uadis ad litora lapsum | accolit, Arpinas, accita pube Venafro | ac Larinatum dextris, socia hispidus arma | commouet atque uiris ingens exhaurit Aquinum*. ('But the shaggy man of Arpinum, who lives next to the Liris, which mixes sulphurous waters with the river Fibrenus and runs with silent and not very deep streams towards the shores, lifts up the allied weapons, having called for aid troops of Venafrum and right hands of the Larinates; and he depopulates the enormous Aquinum.')

instituit iurauit; qui candida denigrat, qui nigra loquendo dealbat;[109] *qui aliorum famam depeculans*[110] *urbes quoque pessumdare mendacio consueuit.*[111]

He who is accustomed to hide one thing in his bosom and pretend another with his mouth; … who proposed, decreed and swore with sly heart, tripartite tongue, shaggy face, filthy beard, heavy steps and well-known lies; who blackens what is white and whitens with his words what is black; who detracts from the good name of others and is accustomed to destroy even cities with his lies.

To conclude this second part, it remains to ask what kind of text the *Responsio Catiline* is. One might debate whether the *Quinta Catilinaria* and *Responsio Catiline* completely fulfil Peirano's criterion of fakes as 'texts which self-consciously purport either to be the work of the author to whom they are attributed or to be written at a different time from that in which they were composed'.[112] Did the anonymous author really try to incorporate Catiline or truly step into the deep past when writing his speech, or did he simply want to prove himself a versatile stylist with extraordinary command of Latin when fulfilling a declamatory exercise, as Thomas Haye suggests?[113] An answer will depend on a second question: do the two speeches show first traits of an increasing interest in Cicero's biography and the political circumstances of his major actions? The first proper medieval *vita* of Cicero stems from more than 100 years later, around 1300, and was probably written in the pre-humanistic circles of Northern Italy.[114] Compared with this so-called *vita Trecensis* the two 'Catilinarian' speeches of the twelfth century do not engage very much in political discourse, apart from a rather general discussion of nobility versus *novitas* (a theme that was relevant for late medieval intellectuals in the new civic or university settings in which they tried to find a place for themselves and their learnedness). Yet if the texts were written in Chartres under the influence of John of Salisbury's huge interest in Cicero's work, they could be read as an interesting indication of a growing wish to better understand Cicero's works by embedding them in his own time, if only for rhetorical training or as proof of one's erudition.

Immediately afterwards Silius mentions an alleged forefather of Cicero as successful military leader (404–5), which gives the poet the opportunity to praise Cicero as the future model of eloquence (406–11). I thank my colleague Jörn Soerink for having brought the Silius-passage to my attention.

[108] A non-classical word; Charon is said to be *cenosus* in Fulgentius' commentary on Vergil (p. 98 Helm). For the image of a Cicero *barbatus* see above n. 87.

[109] For the contrast *nigra* vs. *dealbata* (which is not classical, but recurrent in Christian texts) cf. e. g. August. *Enarr. in Psalm*. 103.

[110] This quotes *Rhet. Her*. 4.51 (cf. De Marco (1991) 52).

[111] *Resp. Cat*. 2.

[112] Peirano (2012) 8.

[113] Haye (1999) 230.

[114] Cf. Tilliette (2003).

5. Conclusion

It would take approximately another 250 years before another response of Catiline was written. In 1417 Buoaccurso da Montemagno, a pupil of the Florentine chancellor Leonardo Bruni, wrote the *Oratio Catilinae in M. Ciceronem*, a much longer and more classicizing text than the medieval *Responsio*.[115] Obviously, the historical context has changed: Florence presented itself as the reborn Republican Rome, and Cicero was one of the historical models for many humanists of the time.[116] Buonaccurso's speech was written in close chronological proximity to Bruni's masterly and influential biography of Cicero (the so-called *Cicero novus*), which was based on Plutarch's biography. Yet in spite of its very different cultural setting, the speech of 1417 shares at least two major characteristics with its medieval predecessor (which Buonaccurso might have known): the question of *nobilitas* versus *novitas* remains hugely important (in fact many philosophical treatises on the true nature of nobility would be written later in the fifteenth century); and Catiline is again presented as a rational speaker, whereas the aspect of his uncontrolled frenzy is completely absent.

Looking at the creative reception of the events of 8 November in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance can sharpen our view on what the ancient sources offer us. Cicero's first *Catilinarian* had been a canonical, even an iconic text ever since antiquity (its popularity is attested, among other things, by some papyrus fragments that prove its use in a teaching context, including in the Greek-speaking world). The status of the speech stands in contrast to the diverse versions of how Catiline reacted to the speech; I have identified at least five alternatives that were available to ancient readers and which present the events and the power relation between the two opponents in different terms. On the basis of our knowledge we cannot tell whether at a certain stage (perhaps through an authoritative commentary of the imperial age) an authorized version emerged. The diversity we find in the ancient sources still testifies to the liveliness with which ancient writers negotiated and reinterpreted the legacy of one of the most iconic strifes fought during the last generation of the Roman Republic. By looking more closely at this tiny detail of Cicero's biography, one can appreciate how many more spoken words than Cicero's there once were and how these words were overshadowed by the omnipresence of Cicero's voice; but also how people throughout the ages have been inspired to fill these gaps of the tradition.

[115] The text is edited by Glei and Köhler (2002); Glei (2002) interprets it as part of a Florentine setting.

[116] On the *Cicero novus* as evidence for the renewed interest in Cicero in early Florentine humanism, see recently Jansen (2020, with further bibliography). For Bruni's writings as an indication of Florence's claim to be a *nova Roma*, see Hankins (2000), Leuker (2007) 17–45, Buranello (1995).

Bibliography

Alföldy, A. (1953) 'Die Geburt der kaiserlichen Bildsymbolik: kleine Beiträge zu ihrer Entstehungsgeschichte. 3. *Parens patriae* (I. Teil, Schluß)', *MH* 10, 103–24

Balbo, A. (2018) 'Profili argomentativi del discorso di Catilina in Sall. Cat. 20–22', *Philologia antiqua* 11, 9–24

Batstone, W. (1994) 'Cicero's construction of consular ethos in the first Catilinarian', *TAPhA* 125, 211–66

– (2010) 'Word at war: the prequel', in B. Breed, C. Damon, and A. Rossi (eds), *Citizens of Discord: Rome and its Civil Wars* (Oxford) 45–71

Benneker, J. (2016) 'The nature of virtue and the need for self-knowledge in Plutarch's Demosthenes-Cicero', in J. Opsomer, G. Roskam, and B. Titchener (eds), *A Versatile Gentleman: Conspiracy in Plutarch's Writing. Studies Offered to Luc van der Stockt on the Occasion of his Retirement* (Leuven) 147–59

van der Blom, H. (2014) 'Character attack and invective speech in the Roman Republic: Cicero as target', in E. Shiraev and M. Icks (eds), *Character Assassination throughout the Ages* (Basingstoke) 37–57

Braxton Ross, W. (1970) 'Giovanni Colonna, historian at Avignon', *Speculum* 45, 533–63.

Brock, R. (1995) 'Versions, "inversions" and evasions: classical historiography and the "published" speech', *PLLS* 8, 209–24

Broughton, T. R. S. (1936) 'Was Sallust fair to Cicero?', *TAPhA* 67, 34–46

Buranello, R. (1995) 'The structure and strategy of Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae urbis*', *Quaderni d'Italianistica* 16, 17–31

Cerutti, S. M. (1996) *Cicero's Accretive Style: Rhetorical Strategies in the Exordia of the Judicial Speeches* (Lanham)

Cizek, A. (2009) '*Ingenium et mores Ciceronis:* zum Bild Ciceros im mittelalterlichen Schrifttum', *Ciceroniana* N. S. 13, 141–63

Coudry, M. (2019) 'Electoral bribery and the challenge to the authority of the senate: two aspects of Dio's view of the late Roman Republic (Books 36–40)', in J. Osgood and C. Baron (eds), *Cassius Dio and the Late Roman Republic* (Leiden and Boston) 36–49

De Marco, M. (1960) 'Note sul testo della Quinta Catilinaria e della Responsio Catilinae', *Aevum* 34, 281–97

– (ed.) (1991) *[M. Tulli Ciceronis] Orationes spuriae. Pars prior: Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret; Quinta Catilinaria; Responsio Catiline* (Milan)

Dyck, A. (ed.) (2008) *Cicero, Catilinarians* (Cambridge)

Ellerbrock, D., Koch, L., Müller-Mall, S., Münkler, M., Scharloth, J., Schrage, D., and Schwerhoff, G. (2017) 'Invektivität: Perspektiven eines neuen Forschungsprogramms in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften', *Kulturwissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* 2.1, 2–24

Erbse, H. (1956) 'Die Bedeutung der Synkrisis in den Parallelbiographien Plutarchs', *Hermes* 84, 398–424

Fantham, E. (ed.) (2013) *Cicero's Pro Murena oratio* (New York and Oxford)

Feldherr, A. (2013) 'Free spirits: Sallust and the citation of Catiline', *AJP* 134, 49–66

Fredborg, K. M. (ed.) (1988) *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres* (Toronto)

Fulkerson, L. (2012) 'Plutarch on the statesman: stability, change, and regret', *ICS* 37, 51–74

Funaioli, G. (1920) 'C. Sallustius Crispus', *RE* I A 2, coll. 1913–55

Genovese, E. N. (1974) 'Cicero and Sallust: Catiline's *ruina*', *CW* 68, 171–77

Glei, R. F. (2002) 'Catilinas Rede gegen Cicero: literarische Fälschung, rhetorische Übung oder politisches Pamphlet?', *NLJ* 4, 155–72
Glei, R. F., and Köhler, M. (eds) (2002) 'Bonacursius de Monte Magno, *Oratio L. Catilinae in M. Ciceronem*', *NLJ* 4, 173–96
Goodwin, J. (2001) 'Cicero's authority', *Ph&Rh* 34, 38–60
Goukowsky, P., (ed.) (2014) *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique: Fragments, tome 4: Livres XXXIII–XL* (Paris)
Hankins, J. (ed.) (2000) *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge)
Hartmann, F. (2012) '*Decet ergo cives cum civibus concorditer vivere*: Ideal und Identität in kommunalen *artes dictandi* Oberitaliens', in G. Strack and J. Knödler (eds), *Rhetorik in Mittelalter und Renaissance: Konzepte – Praxis – Diversität: Beiträge der Tagung des Zentrums für Mittelalter und Renaissancestudien ZMR, München, 14.-16. Oktober 2009* (Munich) 41–62
Haye, T. (1999) *Oratio: Mittelalterliche Redekunst in lateinischer Sprache* (Leiden)
Innes, D. C. (1977) '*Quo usque tandem patiemini?*', *CQ* 27, 468
Jansen, L. M. (2020) 'Bruni, Cicero, and their *manifesto* for Republicanism', in C. Pieper and B. van der Velden (eds), *Reading Cicero's Final Years: Receptions of the Post-Caesarian Works up to the Sixteenth Century – with Two Epilogues* (Berlin and Boston) 137–54
– (2022) *Cicero, Statesmanship, and Republicanism in Roman Historiography* (PhD dissertation Leiden)
Keeline, T. J. (2018) *The Reception of Cicero in the Early Roman Empire: The Rhetorical Schoolroom and the Creation of a Cultural Legend* (Cambridge)
Krebs, C. B. (2020) 'Painting Catiline into a corner: form and content in Cicero's *In Catilinam* 1.1', *CQ* 70, 672–6
Lämmli, F. (1946) 'Sallusts Stellung zu Cato, Caesar, Cicero', *MH* 3, 94–117
La Bua, G. (2019) *Cicero and Roman Education: The Reception of the Speeches and Ancient Scholarship* (Cambridge)
– (2020) 'Man of peace? Cicero's last fight for the Republic in Greek and Roman historical "fictions"', in C. Pieper and B. van der Velden (eds), *Reading Cicero's Final Years: Receptions of the Post-Caesarian Works up to the Sixteenth Century – with Two Epilogues* (Berlin and Boston) 79–95
La Penna, A. (1968) *Sallustio e la 'rivoluzzione' romana* (Milan).
Lazzi, G. (2000) 'Iconografia ciceroniana nella tradizione del ritratto miniato', *Ciceroniana* N. S. 9, 79–93
Leuker, T. (2000) *Bausteine eines Mythos: Die Medici in Dichtung und Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne)
Lindholmer, M. O. (2019) 'Dio the deviant: comparing Dio's late Republic and the parallel sources', in J. Osgood and C. Baron (eds), *Cassius Dio and the Late Roman Republic* (Leiden and Boston) 72–96
Lintott, A. W. (2013) *Plutarch, Demosthenes and Cicero* (Oxford)
Levick, B. (2015) *Catiline* (London)
Mabboux, C. (2020) 'Can it ever be wise to kill the tyrant? Insights from Cicero in the debate on rightful government during the Middle Ages (especially in the 13th–14th centuries)', in C. Pieper and B. van der Velden (eds), *Reading Cicero's Final Years: Receptions of the Post-Caesarian Works up to the Sixteenth Century – with Two Epilogues* (Berlin and Boston) 137–54

Mabboux, C. (forthcoming) *Cicéron et la Commune: le rhéteur comme modèle civique (Italie, XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} s.)* (Rome)
Malcolm, D.A. (1979) '*Quo usque tandem* … ?', *CQ* 29, 219–20
Malitz, J. (1975) *Ambitio mala: Studien zur politischen Monographie des Sallust* (Saarbrücken)
Manuwald, G. (ed.) (2019) *Fragmentary Republican Latin. Vol. 4: Oratory, part 2* (Cambridge, MA)
Matsuraba, T. (1998) *Diodorus Siculus on the Late Roman Republic* (Ph.D. Diss. Edinburgh)
Moles, J.L. (1988) *Plutarch, The Life of Cicero* (Warminster)
Neville, L. (2018) *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing* (Cambridge)
Novokhatko, A.A. (ed.) (2009) *The Invectives of Sallust and Cicero: Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Berlin and New York)
O'Daly, I. (2018). *John of Salisbury and the Medieval Roman Renaissance* (Manchester)
ORF^{4} = Malcovati, E. (ed.) (1953) *Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta. Vol. 1: Textus* (fourth ed.) (Turin)
Peirano, I. (2012) *The Rhetoric of the Roman Fake: Latin Pseudepigrapha in Context* (Cambridge)
Pelling, C. (1985) 'Plutarch and Catiline', *Hermes* 113, 311–29
Pieper, C. (2016) 'Menenius Agrippa als *exemplum* für die frühe römische Beredsamkeit: eine historische Spurensuche', *RhM* 159, 156–90
Poignault, R. (ed.) (1997) *Présence de Salluste: Acte du Colloque, Tours, 1996* (Tours)
Price, J. (1998) 'The failure of Cicero's first Catilinarian', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 9, 10628
Ramsey, J.T. (ed.) (2007) *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae* (second ed.) (Oxford)
Renehan, R.F. (1976) 'A traditional pattern of imitation in Sallust and his sources', *CPh* 71, 97–105
Sacks, K.S. (1990) *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (Princeton).
Sillett, A.J. (2015) *A Learned Man and a Patriot: The Reception of Cicero in the Early Imperial Period* (Ph.D. Diss. Oxford)
Schietinger, G.P. (2017) 'Lucius Sergius Catilina: Karriereperspektiven und Karriere eines *homo paene novus* in der späten Römischen Republik', *Klio* 99, 149–91
Schmidt, P.L. (2000) 'Bemerkungen zur Position Ciceros im mittelalterlichen Geschichtsbild', *Ciceroniana* N.S. 11, 21–36
Schwartz, E. (1897) 'Die Berichte über die catilinarische Verschwörung', *Hermes* 32, 554–608
Steel, C. (2007) 'Consul and *consilium:* suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy', in D. Spencer and E. Theodorakopoulos (eds), *Advice and its Rhetoric in Greece and Rome* (Bari) 63–78
Steidle, W. (1958) *Sallusts historische Monographien: Themenwahl und Geschichtsbild* (Wiesbaden)
Steidle, W. (1990) 'Zu Plutarchs Biographien des Cicero und Pompeius', *GB* 17, 163–86
Stone, M. (1999) 'Tribute to a statesman: Cicero and Sallust', *Antichthon* 33, 48–76
Stroh, W. (2000) 'Ciceros erste Rede gegen Catilina', in J. Leonhardt and G. Ott (eds) *W. Stroh: Apocrypha: Entlegene Schriften* (Stuttgart) 64–78
Swain, S. (1990) 'Plutarch's Lives of Cicero, Cato, and Brutus', *Hermes* 118, 192–203
Syme, R. (1964) *Sallust* (Berkeley and Los Angeles)
Talbert, R.J.A. (1991) 'Cesare Maccari's "Episodi del senato di Roma antica"', *CB* 67.2, 15–23

Tilliette, J.-Y. (2003) 'Une biographie inédite de Cicéron, composée au début du XIVe siècle', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 147, 1049–77

von Ungern-Sternberg, J. (1971) 'Ciceros erste Catilinarische Rede und Diodor XL, 5a', *Gymnasium* 78, 47–54

Urso, G. (2019a) *Catilina: Le faux populiste* (Bordeaux)

– (2019b) 'Cassius Dio's Catiline: "a name greater than his deeds deserved"', in C. Baron and J. Osgood (eds), *Cassius Dio and the Late Roman Republic* (Leiden and Boston) 176–96

Vretska, K. (1976) *C. Sallustius Crispus, De Catilinae coniuratione* (Heidelberg)

Wilmart, A. (1933) *Analecta Reginensia: Extraits des manuscrits latins de la reine Christine conservés au Vatican* (Vatican City)

Yarrow, L. M. (2018) 'How to read a Diodoros fragment', in L. I. Hau, A. Meeus, and B. Sheridan (eds), *Diodorus of Sicily: Historiographical Theory and Practice in the 'Bibliotheke'* (Leuven etc.), 247–74

Zecchini, G. (1996) 'Cicerone in Sallustio', in C. Stella and A. Alvo (eds), *Studi in onore di Albino Garzetti* (Brescia) 527–38

Zieliński, T. (1912) *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (third ed.) (Leipzig)