Cicero on vices

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Abstract. The article analyses Cicero’s use of vices (avaritia, crudelitas, audacia, luxuria/luxuries, invidia, superbia, licentia, libido), which form the core of Cicero’s ethical, philosophical, political and juridical conceptual apparatus. Avaritia (“lust for money”) is often combined with libido, crudelitas, audacia and luxuria. It is opposed to the Stoic ethical categories (honestas, fortitudo, diligentia, etc.) and the Roman ethical and political categories (amicitia, imperium, lex, etc.). Crudelitas goes together with the words denoting crimes, vices, tyrants/usurpers or unjust war. Cicero contrasts crudelitas with some ethical categories (virtus, honestas, misericordia, etc.) as well as political and juridical ones (auctoritas, dignitas, lex, etc.). Audacia is used in a positive (“courage”) and negative meanings (“impudence”). In the negative sense it goes together with the words designating crime or atrocity (scelus, crimen, facinus, etc.), other vices or negative emotions (improbitas, libido, impudentia, etc.), or with pecunia (in the meaning of “lust for money”). It is opposed to positive ethical, philosophical, political or juridical categories (dignitas, lex, auctorita, etc.). Luxuria as a vice designates “lust for luxury”. It is combined with other vices (avaritia, licentia, superbia, etc.) and opposed to virtues (estas, parsimonia). In the meaning of “debauch” or “lechery” it is used with libido, voluptas and cupiditas. It is used in the same context with the semantic fields of idleness (desidia, ignavia, inertia) and crime (scelus, crimen, flagitium). For Cicero, invidia is “hatred” or “envy”, the most common and perpetual vice. It is interchangeable with invidentia. Cicero often links invidia with odium, misericordia, iracundia, obtrectatio, periculum and opposes to gloria. There are different types of invidia: to worthy people, tyrants, rich people. Superbia has a negative meaning of “superciliousness”, as well as a positive one (“pride”). As a vice, it is used in a synonymic series with arrogantia and insolentia, can be combined with crudelitas, contumacia and contumelia, or contrasted with sapientia and liberalitas. Licentia can have a positive meaning of “liberty” (every third example). In most cases, it is a vice (“promiscuity”, “self-will”). In the negative sense it is sometimes synonymous to libertas, goes together with the words denoting crime (scelus, injuria, facinus), with pecunia as a source of profit as well as other vices or negative emotions (voluntas, libido, impunitas, etc.). It is opposed to certain positive categories (judicium, libertas, lex, etc.). Cicero’s antithesis of licentia-servitus means permissiveness of an official opposed to slavery of his subordinates. There are some other antitheses: licentia-libertas, licentia-lex, licentia-gloria. Libido is mostly a political category for Cicero: it is abuse of power of bad rulers (Caesar), tyrants (Tarquin the Proud and his family), governors (Verres), senators (Catiline), judges. It is used together with scelus, crudelitas, audacia, etc., and contrasted with auctoritas, religio, lex, etc. In ethical and philosophical discourse libido means “lust”, “excessive bodily passion”, or “passionate desire” and goes together with flagitium, scelus, avaritia, etc. As a vice, libido is opposed to pudicitia, religio, temperantia, etc. In philosophical reasoning about enjoyment, Cicero uses the term in a neutral sense, referring to libido as a bodily passion opposed to spiritual pleasure.
Rezumat. În articolul de față se analizează folosirea de către Cicero a termenilor care desemnează viciile (avaritia, crudelitas, audacia, luxuria/luxuries, invidia, superbia, licentia, libido), acest demers al scriitorului constituind miezul discursului său etic, filosofic, juridic și politic. Multi dintre acești termeni sunt opuși categoriilor etice stoic (precum avaritia) sau categoriilor etice și politic îndeobște acceptate în societatea romană. Alți termeni, precum audacia sau licentia, sunt utilizai la atât în sens pozitiv, cât și în sens negativ. Totodată, prin antiteză, Cicero face apologia virtuților romane. Un exemplu de viciu este libido, care e opus termenilor de pudicitia, religio, temperantia, constantia, industria, moderate, pudor, sapientia, conscientia, fides, honestum, innocencia, liberalitas, modestia, prudentia. Însă, în raționamentul filosofic, Cicero îl utilizează în sens neutru, referindu-se la libido ca o pasiune trupească opusă plăcerii spirituale.

Keywords: Ancient Rome, Cicero, avaritia, crudelitas, audacia, luxuria, superbia, invidia, licentia, libido.

It is a known fact that Cicero wrote about human virtues and vices a lot. This explains why his interpretation of those concepts still attracts scholars’ attention. We are not an exception. In this article, we try to analyse Cicero’s understanding of human vices (vitia). For that reason we have chosen some of the vices — those which are used by Cicero the most frequently. In our opinion, they are the vices of avarice (avaritia), cruelty (crudelitas), audacity (audacia), lust for luxury (luxuria/luxuries), superciliousness (superbia), envy (invidia), licentiousness (licentia) and abuse of power (libido). Of course, we realise that the list of the given vices is not exhaustive, but we hope we will continue the research in this direction and investigate later the other vices used by Cicero.

We cannot say that the issue has not been investigated so far. There are some research papers devoted to the analysis of Cicero’s use of the vices. In relation to Cicero’s avaritia we can name the works of C.J. Berry, N. Coffee, T.D. Frazel, R.J. Gorman & V.B. Gorman, J. Patterson, K.O. Sandnes and H.W. Litchfield. C.J. Berry thinks that avaritia is used by Cicero in the context of an individual desire to be well-off as a reason of moral corruption in the Roman Republic. N. Coffee offers a frequency analysis of use of the words with the stem

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2 BERRY 1994, 85.
4 FRAZEL 2009, 125, 132–133, 137–139.
6 PATTERSON 2015, 8.
7 SANDNES 2004, 70.
8 LITCHFIELD 1914, 1–71.
9 BERRY 1994, 85.
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avar- in different Roman writings including Cicero’s.\textsuperscript{10} T.D. Frazel analyses avaritia in Cicero’s speech “Against Verres”\textsuperscript{11} and concludes that in the Roman culture avarice is closely connected with such vices as adultery and lust for luxury\textsuperscript{12}. R.J. Gorman & V.B. Gorman analyses the context of Cicero’s use of avaritia and determines its compatibility with other terms of Cicero’s ethical and philosophical apparatus (luxuria, superbia, scelus, flagitium).\textsuperscript{13}

The other vice used by Cicero, crudelitas, is also investigated by some scholars. Some of them think of Cicero’s crudelitas as a tyrant’s quality.\textsuperscript{14} Others analyse the use of crudelitas in a synonymic series with the vices of vis, superbia, libido, audacia, furor, violentia, immanitas.\textsuperscript{15} There are some scholars, who oppose Cicero’s crudelitas to the virtues of severitas, clementia and misericordia.\textsuperscript{16}

As for Cicero’s audacia, we have found several works that contain research on the issue. Thus, one of Ch. Wirszubski’s articles is devoted to the political significance of audaces, a single-root with audacia, in Cicero’s writings\textsuperscript{17}. R.A. Caster analyses Cicero’s pudor and the words that blend with it, audacia as well.\textsuperscript{18} G.O. Hutchinson focuses his attention on the political use of audacia and audax in relation to the conspirators.\textsuperscript{19} L. Langerwerf writes nearly about the same as the previous scholar, considering audacia an attribute of a rebel’s behaviour.\textsuperscript{20} G. Tahin notes that Cicero’s audacia, maleficia, furor, and amentia characterise an absolutely corrupted and incorrigible criminal, driven by an inexplicable rage and a desire to destroy.\textsuperscript{21} A. Vasaly draws attention to the contrast between good rural and bad urban life in Cicero’s speech “For Sextus Roscius of Ameria”, in which it is said that audacia, luxuria, avaritia and other vices make city dwellers corrupted.\textsuperscript{22}

We have not found any special research dedicated to analysis of Cicero’s luxuria/luxuries. Yet, there are more general studies, for example, C.J. Berry’s monograph, in which the idea of luxury in conceptual and historical terms is analysed\textsuperscript{23}, or R.J. Gorman and V.B. Gorman’s

\textsuperscript{10}COFFEE 2017, 52–55.
\textsuperscript{11}FRAZEL 2009, 125, 132–133, 137–139.
\textsuperscript{12}FRAZEL 2009, 125.
\textsuperscript{13}GORMAN & GORMAN 2017, 334–335.
\textsuperscript{14}ARENA 2010, 150, 159; Cicero, Philippics 3–9; Cicero’s De Provinciis Consularibus Oratio; DUNKLE 1967, 151, 159, 165, 168; WIRZSUBSKI 1968, 40.
\textsuperscript{15}Cicero, Pro Sexto Roscio; DEVINE 1978, 27; POLK, 2013, 59.
\textsuperscript{16}DRUMMOND 1995, 27; HALL 2014, 89; STEVENSON 2015, 139; VAN DER BLOM 2010, 187.
\textsuperscript{17}WIRZUBSKI 1961, 12–22.
\textsuperscript{18}CASTER 1997, 16.
\textsuperscript{19}HUTCHINSON 2005, 185.
\textsuperscript{20}LANGERWERF 2015, 155.
\textsuperscript{21}TAHIN 2014, 122.
\textsuperscript{22}VASALY 1996, 163–165.
\textsuperscript{23}BERRY 1994.
book on the destructive influence of luxury on people of the ancient world. There are other studies on luxury in Ancient Rome, the authors of which make a few comments about Cicero’s attitude to luxury.

There are some research papers on Cicero’s invidia. G.F. de la Mora in his study of envy only briefly mentions Cicero’s invidia. R.A. Kaster specifies the varieties of invidia. D. Konstan analyses the traces of Aristotelian influence in Cicero’s arguments about emotions and feelings, about invidia in particular. M. Zerba also mentions the influence of Aristotelian ethical doctrine on the formation of Cicero’s views on envy and hatred. He also writes about the connection between the feelings of love and envy. The scholar concludes that envy was an integral part of oratorical education for Cicero, one of the many tests on the way to the formation of man as an orator.

There is no special research devoted to the analysis of Cicero’s superbia. Nevertheless, there are some works, in which the word is somehow considered or mentioned. J.R. Dunkle concludes that superbia as a vice of a tyrant goes back to the Greek concept of hybris — the meaningless assertion of one’s rights, which was characteristic of the Greek tyrant. Ch. Wirzsubski remarks that superbia and libido are used together with dominatio, which is characteristic of the Roman invective of the 1st c. B.C. Y. Baraz’s study is devoted to superbia and its synonyms (adrogantia, fastus, insolentia) in the writings of the Roman authors. With regard to Cicero’s superbia, the scholar concludes that Cicero refers to superbia as a quality of a king or a tyrant, that the concept has a clear anti-republic character for him. Other scholars also acknowledge the fact that Cicero’s superbia is a vice, which describes a tyrant, a despot, a usurper. H. van der Bloom draws attention to the fact that nobils (nobiles) are characterised by arrogance and intolerance (superbia atque intolerantia) and achieve political success only because of their noble origin. This opinion echoes Y. Baraz’s statement that the creation of a political system, which prevents the concentration of excessive power in the hands of one member of the Roman elite to the detriment of the entire elite as a whole, led to a knowingly negative perception of superbia as potentially dangerous and to suppression of the pronounced positive features of such superiority among members of the Roman elite.

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24 GORMAN & GORMAN 2017.
27 KASTER 2005, 100, 102.
28 KONSTAN 2006, 149.
29 ZERBA 2002, 300, 305.
30 DUNKLE 1967, 168.
34 VAN DER BLOM 2010, 51.
Secondly, the reason, why the main political values, for example, suppression of pride (superbia), become dominant in the evolution of the national cultural discourse, is mainly connected with the political nature of the Roman republican elite. Thus, the alleged danger emanating from pride (superbia) in the midst of a quasi-egalitarian republican elite must be a fairly convincing explanation of the generally negative meaning of the concept of pride (superbia). Besides, some scholars focus attention on the connection between the depravity of superbia for Cicero and the nickname of the last Roman king, Tarquin the Proud, who was famous for his cruelty.

With regard to Cicero’s licentia, we must note that scholars pay attention to the antithesis of libertas–licentia, to moderation as the main feature of libertas and, as a consequence, immoderation inherent in licentia, to the correlation of licentia with ochlocracy and anarchy, to the borrowing of Plato’s ideas in Cicero’s arguments about freedom and arbitrariness. Nevertheless, we have not found any studies, which analyse licentia in the fullness of its meanings, based on the frequency of its use.

There are some publications about Cicero’s libido, in which its political connotation and the antithesis of libido–lex are considered. We have also found fragmentary arguments about certain values of libido and its derivatives in Cicero’s works, for instance, about negative connotations of the adjective libidinosus, but no such work offers any systematised knowledge of Cicero’s libido.

Our research is based on the method of contextual analysis as well as the statistical method. It means that we take into account the context in which the terms are used and the number of their uses. Besides, we apply to the method of system analysis, which allows us to establish structural links between Cicero’s words denoting vices.

We would like to start the research with the analysis of the triad of the vices used by Cicero most often. The triad includes avaritia, crudelitas and audacia.

We have found more than 150 uses of avaritia and its derivatives (avarus, avare) in Cicero’s writings. Avaritia is used more often in his orations (about 100 times), especially in the invectives “Against Verres” (55 times), least of all — in his epistles (6 times). In his “Tusculan Disputations” Cicero defines avarice as a disease, which makes money the object of our desire. Cicero’s avaritia is combined with the vices of libido (25 times), crudelitas (21), audacia

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35 BARAZ 2008, 380–381
37 Latin Verse Satire: an anthology and critical reader 2009, 8; WIRZSUBSKI 1968, 7; WOOD 1988, 150.
38 Latin Verse Satire: an anthology and critical reader 2009, 8; Mccarter 2015, 10; WIRZSUBSKI, 1968, 7.
41 L’HOIR 1992, 40–41.
42 Cic. Tusc. disp. 4.XI.26: Est autem avaritia opinatio vehemens de pecunia, quasi valde expetenda sit, inhaerens et penitus insita.
luxuria/luxuries (11), as well as vitium (16). Cicero cites Sulla who had three deadly vices: luxury, greed and cruelty, Gabinius known for his avarice, arrogance, and cruelty, viceroy of Sicily Verres, who became famous for his vices, such as voluptuousness for the part of debauchery, cruelty in terms of torments, greed for looting, arrogance for insults. Greediness and desire for luxury are especially interrelated in Cicero’s works: he notes that if we want to destroy covetousness, we should destroy its mother — luxury. These examples allow us to assume that Cicero uses avaritia in a political sense. In the treatise “On the duties”, in which Cicero dwells upon Caesar’s dictatorship, greed is referred to as the most disgusting vice of the highest officials in the Republic. In connection with the definition of Cicero’s avaritia, the question of its compatibility with positively coloured ethical, philosophical and political terms (and their derivatives) is also of interest. Having carried out the statistical analysis, we have obtained such data: avaritia is opposed to honestas/honestum (15 times), lex (13), innocentia (10), fides (8), amicitia (7), ratio (7), religio (7), virtus (6), bonitas (6), fortitudo (6), imperium (6), cogitatio (5), diligentia (5), gloria (5), gravitas (5), liberalitas (5), potestas (5), salus (5), sapientia (5), etc. As we see, greed is opposed to honestas/honestum as the main term of the Stoic ethics, as well as the Stoic virtues (e.g. fortitudo, diligentia, liberalitas, sapientia) and the Roman ethical and political categories (amicitia, imperium, lex, potestas, religio, etc.).

For example, in the speech “Against Verres” Cicero contrasts Lucius Papinius, the most prominent man, well-to-do and venerable Roman horseman to avaricious Verres. Elsewhere in the same speech, we see an opposition of the courage of Heracleon, the leader of the sea brigands, and Verres’s greed and vileness. The contrast of the Stoic virtue called “knowledge of the truth” (sapientia and cogitatio) with the vice of avaritia can be illustrated with the example from the speech “Against Verres”, in which Cicero notes that Verres, for all his terrible greed, which never left him and knew no limit, was neither clever nor inventive.

In his speech “For Sextus Roscius of Ameria” Cicero builds a contrast between rural and urban life on the opposition of virtues and vices: among the first—parsimonia, diligentia and justitia,
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among the latter—luxuria, avaritia and audacia. In another speech, “For Flaccus”, Cicero praises consul Lucius Lucullus for his generosity and does not doubt that in the process of obtaining a possible inheritance Titus Vettius will behave without deserving reproach for greed, without prejudice to his dignity. In a passage of the speech “On Pompey’s command” Cicero points to Pompey’s restraint and at the same time to the fact that he does not have any lust for loot or pleasure, i.e. Cicero opposes avarice to temperance. Finally, the opposition of avaritia to lex seems also important. Cicero repeatedly mentions that greed, especially from the leaders of the state, runs counter to law. Arguing about Verres’s abuse, Cicero points out, “It is not the advantage of the cultivators which is the rule, but the will of the praetor, then the manner of valuing no longer depends on law and duty, but on the caprice and avarice of men”.

The second term, which is included by us in Cicero’s triad of the worst vices, is crudelitas. We have found 348 examples of Cicero’s use of the term and its derivatives (crudelis, crudeliter). Most often the word is used in Cicero’s speeches, especially in the invectives (258 times), less often—in his ethical, political and rhetorical dialogues and treatises (48), even more rarely—in his correspondence (42). The term and its derivatives are used in the same context with the words designating different types of crimes, vices, and usurpers (cruel kings, despots, tyrants, etc.). Alongside with crudelitas, Cicero uses its synonym—acerbitas—in the same context (30 times). As it has been said, crudelitas is regularly used together with the words denoting crime: scelus (64 times), nefarium (27), crimen (19), facinus (16), flagitium (13), injuria (12), furtum (6), rapina (5), etc. Thus, Cicero equates cruelty with crime. In his speech “On the Consular Provinces”, he mentions Gabinius’s and Piso’s unheard-of crime and insatiable cruelty. Besides, in Cicero’s writings crudelitas is combined with such vices of cruel rulers and tyrants as libido (29 cases), cupiditas (23), audacia (26), superbia (20), immanitas (20), improbitas (20), avaritia (18), perfidia (7), etc. A vivid example of a synonymic series, containing crudelitas as well as vices and crimes, is the following quotation from Cicero’s speech “Against Verres”: “Do you endeavour to conceal his thefts, his rapine, his cupiditas, his cruelty, his pride, his wickedness, his audacity, by dwelling on the greatness of his exploits and his

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52 Cic. Pro Rosc. Amer. 75: In urbe luxuries creatur, ex luxuria existat avaritia necesse est, ex avaritia erumpat audacia, inde omnia scelera ac maleficia gignuntur; vita autem haec rustica quam tu agrestem vocas parsimoniae, diligentiae, justitiae magis est.

53 Cic. Pro Flac. 85: ... L. Luculle ... pro tua eximia liberalitate maximisque beneficiis in tuos venisse hereditates.

54 Ibidem: ... an tuum nulla avaritia salva dignitate retinebis.

55 Cic. De imp. Pomp. 40: Age vero: ceteris in rebus qua ille sit temperantia considerate ... non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem.

56 Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. in Verr. 2.3.220: Ubi enim semel ab annonae ratione et ab aratorum voluntate res ad praetoris libidinem translata est, non est jam in lege neque in officio, sed in voluntate hominum atque avaritia positus modus aestimandi.

57 Cic. De prov. cons. 2: insigne scelus et importunam crudelitatem.
renown as a commander?”. 58 We find a similar synonymic series in another passage of the same speech, in which Cicero speaks of Verres’s actions as “instances of wickedness, of audacity, of perfidy, of lust, of avarice, and of cruelty”. 59 Crudelitas is often used in the same context with bellum (40 times): Cicero writes about brutal war, about cruel attitude to the enemies, considering internecine and internal war the most cruel and greatest of all. 60 Cicero considers people cruel if they foment civil wars for the sake of illegally gaining power in the state. Among such dishonest people, who seek power, he names Cinna, 61 Sulla, 62 Marius, 63 Verres, 64 Dolabella, 65 Lentulus, 66 Catiline, 67 Pompey, 68 Gabinius, 69 Caesar, 70 Piso, 71 Lepid, 72 Antony 73, and their supporters. In his discourse on cruelty Cicero also mentions the generals who participated in wars with external enemies, for example, Alexander the Great 74 and Hannibal, 75 although Cicero’s mentioning of Alexander the Great in connection with cruelty is not entirely clear to us. One more conclusion concerns cruel rulers: crudelitas and tyrannus are often used together (18 cases of use). Cicero recalls the cruel tyrannies of Verres, 76 Mark Antony, and Dolabella. 77 In addition, he cites the example of the cruel Ancient Greek tyrants — the Thessalian tyrant Alexander, 78 the Sicilian tyrants Falarid 79, and Dionysius. 80 Sometimes Cicero asks himself whether he looks like a tyrant, and this, we believe, he does for contrast,
to emphasise the virtue of his behaviour. Further, since cruel rulers and generals evoke hatred, Cicero quite often combines crudelitas with odium and its root words (16 times). So, in 43 B.C. in a letter to Brutus he mentions public hatred for cruel enemies, and in the composition “On Friendship” he names Hannibal, whom the Roman citizens will always hate for his cruelty. Further, in his arguments about crudelitas Cicero contrasts cruelty with positive ethical, philosophical, political and juridical categories and their derivatives. As we can see, crudelitas is most often opposed to ethical concepts, mainly virtues, for example, virtus (27 cases of use), honestas/honestum (21), misericordia (19), clementia (18), diligentia (16), innocencia (16), humanitas (11), fortitudo (9), constantia (7), mansuetudo (6), magnitudo animi (2), probitas (2), etc. Let us give some examples. In Cicero’s “Philippics” we can read that “on these accounts the Senate thinks and declares that the Roman people has been released from the most disgraceful and cruel slavery by the valour, and military skill, and prudence, and firmness, and perseverance, and greatness of mind and good fortune of these their generals”. Or elsewhere in the same work: “... for that purpose they shall order the city quaestors to furnish and pay money, in order that it may be witness for the everlasting recollection of posterity of the wickedness of our most cruel enemies, and the godlike valour of our soldiers”. In the following passage of the speech “Against Verres” Cicero contrasts cruelty with compassion, noting that he “could easily show by your [Verres’s] cruelty towards others, that every channel of mercy from the judges to yourself [Verres] has been long since blocked up”. To illustrate the antithesis of crudelitas–clementia/humanitas/mansuetudo/probitas, we can give examples from Cicero’s correspondence, in which he remarks how odious cruelty is to everybody, and how attractive honesty and clemency are. There is one more passage from Cicero’s letter, in which he says to his brother that throughout the brother’s government there is no harshness or cruelty — everywhere clemency, mildness, and kindness reign supreme.

In the political and juridical context crudelitas is combined with such political and juridical terms as auctoritas (34 times), consilium (33), judicium (32), dignitas (30), salus (24),

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81 Cic. De dom. 75; In Cat. 2.14.
82 Cic. Ad Br. 1.15.9.
83 Cic. De amic. 28: propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas odierit.
85 Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. Phil. 14.38: ... current quaestoresque urb. ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere jubeant, ut exstet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam scelus crudelissimorum hostium militumque divina virtus.
86 Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. In Verr. 2.5.21: facile ostendam tua crudelitate in alios omnis tibi aditus misericordiae judicium jam pridem esse praeculos.
87 Cic. Ad fam. 15.19.2: quanto sit omnibus odio crudelitas et quanto amore probitas et clementia.
lex (25), potestas (16), imperium (19), fides (22), gloria (12), etc. On the opposition of cruelty to authority Cicero declares, addressing Labien, “You have been driven from that cruel, unreasonable, (I will not say tribunitian, but) tyrannical persecution, by my counsel, by my virtue, and by my influence”. Cicero contrasts Lucius Antony’s cruelty with the authority of the ruling class and the dignity of the Roman people.

The next term is audacia. We have found 350 examples of its use in Cicero’s writings (including its derivatives audax and audacter/audaciter). The major part of the cases (more than a half) appears in his speeches, whereas a smaller part — in his correspondence (18 cases). It should be noted that the target group of the meanings of audacia, audax, audac(i)ter does not include their positive meanings connected with the semantic field of “courage” and “valour” as well as the use of audacius in the meaning of “more courageously” with the verbs deferre, dicere, disputare, expromere, exsultare, ingredi, inquam, scribere, transferre. Audacia and its derivatives, if Cicero assumes the negative meaning of “impudence” or “audacity”, are linked in the context with the words, which also have a negative connotation and denote defects or negative phenomena of social and political life. Audacia is often employed with the words denoting crime or atrocity: scelus (81 cases), crimen (36), facinus (29), nefarium (27), flagitium (14), maleficium (12), caedes (10), insidiae (10), parricidium (10), and the following punishment: supplicium (12 cases of use). Audacia is, of course, a vice for Cicero (vitium is used together with audacia 11 times). In his arguments about audacity Cicero mentions other vices and negative states of the soul or body in the same context: improbitas (54 times), libido/lubido (34), cupiditas (33), impudentia (29), crudelitas (27), inimicitia (26), turpitudo (20), amentia (19), furor (18), avaritia (17), injuria (17), voluptas (16), nequitia (15), metus (14), invidia (13), acerbitas (12), indignitas (12), tementias (12), immanitas (11), odium (9), etc. Pecunia is used together with audacia 31 times, and it is not surprising, as people often show their vices (including audacity) because of money. Audacia is opposed to the words, which have a positive ethical, philosophical, political or juridical meaning: judicium (40 times), dignitas (32), lex (28), auctoritas (23), imperium (23), virtus (22), ratio (21), fides (19), amicitia (18), consilium (17), diligentia (17), gravitas (17), honestas/honestum (17), religio (17), fortitudo (16), potestas (15), salus (15), innocentia (14), pudor (13), officia (11), bonitas/vir bonus (10), libertas (10), sapientia (10), honor (9), humanitas (9), justitia (9), prudentia (9), gratia (8), moderatio (6), modestia (5), etc. Such frequent use of judicium and lex together with audacia is
explained by the fact that Cicero employs them in political discourse, to prove guilt or innocence of a defendant.

The vices of *luxuria/luxuries* and *superbia* are adjacent to the triad of the main Cicero’s vices (*avaritia, crudelitas* and *audacia*). Cicero thinks that lust for luxury is a deadly defect.93 He is convinced that it is vicious to live luxuriously.94 For that reason, he combines *luxuria/luxuries with vitium*.95 Cicero sometimes uses other negative ethical categories in the same context: *avaritia*,96 *licentia*,97 *superbia*,98 *nequitia*,99 *insolentia*,100 *intemperantia*.101 *Luxuria/luxuries* can be opposed to its antonyms — *egestas*102 and *parsimonia*.103 Cicero considers lust for luxury the cause of covetousness, saying that if you want to destroy avarice, you should destroy its mother — lust for luxury.104 Cicero often uses *luxuria/luxuries* and *avaritia* together.105 Thus, describing Sulla’s way of life, he observes that he was a mentor in three deadly vices: lust for luxury (*luxuria*), avarice (*avaritia*) and cruelty (*crudelitas*).106 In one of the speeches, Cicero accuses Verres, “Owing to your luxury and avarice, a fleet belonging to the Roman people was taken and burnt by pirates”.107

Cicero often uses *luxuria/luxuries* in the meaning of “debauch” or “lechery” together with *libido*,108 *voluptas*109 and *cupiditas*.110 So, Cicero remarks that, instead of going around the province and performing the duties of the praetor, Verres enjoyed his time on the shore of the Syracuse Lake in pursuit of joys and pleasures.111 Or another passage from Cicero’s oration: “You say nothing of those things without which this vice absolutely cannot exist: no shameless feasting, no improper love, no carousing, no lust, no extravagance is alleged;
and when those things which have the name of pleasure, and which are vicious, are not found, do you think that you will find the shadow of luxury in that man in whom you cannot find the luxury itself?”. Here we can also see luxuria and cupiditas together: “Many pernicious excitements too to luxury, are brought over the sea to cities by commercial importation or by conquest. Even the very amenity of the situation suggests many costly and enervating allurements”.

Luxuria and luxuries are also combined with the words denoting idleness, inaction, laziness — desidia, ignavia, inertia. Cicero leaves such a comment about elderly people: “There is nothing against which old age has to be more on its guard than against surrendering to feebleness and idleness, while luxury, a vice in any time of life, is in old age especially scandalous”. About Catiline Cicero writes that virtues of good people fight vices of bad people like Catiline, i.e. all virtues (justice, moderation, courage, prudence) struggle with all kinds of vices (injustice, depravity, sloth, recklessness).

Luxuria and luxuries are combined with scelus, crimen, flagitium as well. Revealing Catiline’s plot to the senators, Cicero advises them to fight depravity, recklessness, crime. In the speech “For Balba” Cicero disagrees with the accuser, who mitigates Sulla’s atrocities, saying about his luxuria, which he branded not by any accusation of debauchery, but by vulgar scandal. Cicero mentions luxuries and libidines when he talks about Clodia’s murder, of which Marcus Caelius Rufus is undeservedly accused: “For who is there, O judges, who does not see, who is there who does not know, that in such a house as that in which the mistress of the house lives after the fashion of a prostitute,—in which nothing is done which is fit to be

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112 Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. Pro Mur. 13: Nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non comissatio, non libido, non sumptus ostenditur, et, cum ea non reperiantur quae voluptatis nomen habent quamquam vitiosa sunt, in quo ipsam luxuriam reperire non potes, in eo te umbram luxuriae reperturum putas.
113 Translated by G.W. Featherstonhaugh. Cic. De rep. 2.IV.8: multa etiam ad luxuriam invitamenta perniciosa civitatis subpeditantur mari, quae vel capiantur vel importantur; atque habet etiam amoenitas ipsa vel sumptuosas vel desidiosas inlecebras multas cupiditatum.
114 Cic. De off. 1.123; In Verr. 2.2.7.
115 Cic. De inv. 1.22; In Cat. 2.25.
116 Cic. De inv. 1.22; In Verr. 2.1.34.
117 Translated by W. Miller. Cic. De off. 1.123: Nihil autem magis cavendum est senectuti quam ne languori se desidiaque dedat; luxuria vero cum omni aetati turpis, tum senectuti foedissima est.
118 Cic. In Cat. 2.25: aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, tementate, cum vitii omnibus.
119 Cic. In Cat. 2.11.
120 Cic. Iro Balb. 56.
121 Cic. Pro Cael. 57.
122 Cic. In Cat. 2.2.11: cum luxuria, cum amentia, cum scelere.
123 Cic. Pro Balb. 56: tum luxuriam, qua non criminem aliquo libidinis, sed communi maledicto notabatur.
It becomes clear that Cicero condemns lust for luxury because he considers it a deadly vice. Nevertheless, Cicero himself was quite a rich man. We can assume that he lived a luxurious life, having villas and estates. How can one dislike luxury in theory and love it in practice? Is not Cicero a hypocrite? We here side with M. Zarmakoupi, who notes that “in a society where villas, together with houses, were markers of social status and indicators of political aspirations, the cultural phenomenon of luxury villas was partially a product of contemporary socio-political games and became an effective part of their making.” When we dwell upon luxury in Ancient Rome, we should differentiate between the luxury associated with private life and that, associated with the socio-political sphere. As Cicero observes, the Roman people hate the luxury of private individuals, whereas they appreciate the splendour in public affairs. Consequently, Cicero is not a hypocrite: he had numerous villas and estates not for his love of luxury, but for maintaining his high social status.

The next vice is invidia. Based on Cicero’s context of its use, we can translate invidia as “hatred”, “envy”, “dislike”, “condemnation”, “ill-will”, “anger”. Invidia is used in Cicero’s writings abundantly (246 examples): more often in his speeches (163), less often in his philosophical works (52), even more rarely in his correspondence (31). First of all, invidia means “hatred” for Cicero, less often “envy.” There are some isolated cases of using invidia in the sense of ill-will, dislike, condemnation, anger. The essence of invidia is set forth in the second book of the treatise “On the orator”, in which Cicero calls the feeling

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124 Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. Pro Cael. 57: Quis enim hoc non videt, judices, aut quis ignorat, in ejus modi domo, in qua mater familias meretricio more vivat, in qua nihil geratur, quod foras proferendum sit, in qua inusitatae, libidines, luxuriae, omnia denique inaudita vitia ac flagitia versentur, hic servos non esse servos...

125 ZARMAKOUPI 2014, 8.


127 Cic. Ad Att. 1.16.1, 1.16.2, 1.19.6, 2.9.2, 3.23.5, 7.12.6, 10.8.7, 14.11.1, 14.21.2; Ad fam. 3.10.10, 5.17.2, 8.6.1, 10.31.3, 11.1.6, 11.28.3, 15.4.12; Ad Q. fr. 3.3.2, 1.3.1, De leg. 3.36; De off. 1.84, 1.86, 2.20, 2.58, 2.85, 3.79, 3.82; De orat. 1.228, 2.189, 2.283, 2.339, 3.8, 3.11; De rep. 1.6; Pro Balb. 16; Pro Cael. 23, 29, 30; Pro Cluent. 3, 5, 8, 9, 77, 79–81, 83, 88, 90, 93–95, 103, 130, 134, 136, 153, 160, 200–202; Pro Sest. 49, 64, 82, 93, 101, 139, 140; Brut. 54, 127, 135, 164; Pro Deiot. 33–34; De dom. 44; Pro Mil. 40, 75, 82, 91, 98; Phil. 2.33, 2.59, 14.15, 14.17; Pro Flac. 41, 66; Pro Sul. 1, 9, 25, 79–81; De leg. agr. 2.60, 2.68–70, 3.7; In Verr. 1.1–2, 1.4, 1.15, 2.1.5, 2.1.1, 2.1.41, 2.1.151, 2.2.25, 2.2.73–74, 2.2.137, 2.2.168, 2.3.69, 2.3.96, 2.3.98, 2.3.140, 2.3.144, 2.5.19, 2.5.21, 2.5.133; Pro Mur. 87; De har. resp. 17; In Cat. 1.22–23, 1.28–29, 2.3–4, 2.15, 3.3, 3.28–29.

128 Cic. Ad fam. 1.1.1, 5.9.1, 6.7.3, 9.16.5–6; De fin. 1.43, 1.67, 2.84; De off. 1.86; De orat. 2.189, 2.201, 2.206, 2.208–209, 2.214, 2.216, 2.337; Pro Balb. 18; Pro Planc. 67, 75; Pro Rab. Post. 10, 18, 48; Tusc. disp. 3.20, 4.16; De amic. 42; Top. 99; Brut. 156; De inv. 1.4, 2.37; Phil. 3.18, 14.13; Pro Quinct. 28; De leg. agr. 1.14; in Caec. 23, 46; in Verr. 2.5.181; De part. orat. 63, 66, 126; De div. 2.28.

129 Cic. Ad fam. 16.18.1; Pro Sest. 49; De div. 2.28; Pro Sul. 54.

130 Cic. Pro Sul. 1; Pro Rab. perd. 2.

131 Cic. Pro Cael. 15; Pro Cluen. 60; Pro Font. 20; De leg. agr. 2.38; De nat. deor. 1.123, 3.3.

132 Cic. Ad fam. 1.1.1; De dom. 139.
of envy the most acute of all,\textsuperscript{133} pointing out that most people envy those who are equal or lower in their position;\textsuperscript{134} however, there is also envy in relation to people of a higher rank.\textsuperscript{135} Cicero realises that most people are envious,\textsuperscript{136} and that envy is the most common and perpetual vice.\textsuperscript{137}

The next point we would like to dwell on is the use of \textit{invidia} and \textit{invidentia} as partial synonyms: the first word means for Cicero a strong sense of envy and hatred, while the second one implies only envy, that is, a dejected state experienced for happiness of another person, although happiness does not harm the envying.\textsuperscript{138}

It is also interesting to trace the verbal environment of \textit{invidia}, its compatibility with other words, the lexical context. Cicero often links \textit{invidia} with the words, which mean hatred (\textit{odium}),\textsuperscript{139} miserable condition (\textit{misericordia}),\textsuperscript{140} anger (\textit{iracundia}),\textsuperscript{141} or envious hostility (\textit{obtrectatio}): such combinations only reinforce the importance of strong and negative feelings transmitted by \textit{invidia}. In the treatise “On the duties” Cicero writes that “the citizen who is patriotic, brave, and worthy of a leading place in the state ... will not expose anyone to hatred or disrepute by groundless charges, but he will surely cleave to justice and honour”.\textsuperscript{143} Here we can see that \textit{invidia} and \textit{odium} are used together. \textit{Invidia} is also combined with \textit{periculum}:\textsuperscript{144} about the conspirators and Caesar’s assassins Cicero remarks that the habit of delivering unprincipled speeches is being fostered to such a pitch that our—I won’t say heroes—our gods, while sure of eternal glory, will yet not escape prejudice or even danger.\textsuperscript{145}

Cicero distinguishes between types of hatred towards worthy people,\textsuperscript{146} to tyrants,\textsuperscript{147} to rich and powerful people.\textsuperscript{148} We have found several cases of opposition of Cicero’s \textit{invidia} to \textit{gloria}. When typifying hatred (\textit{invidia}), Cicero names two of them: the first one takes place

\textsuperscript{133} Cic. De orat. 2.209–210: acerrimus ... omnium motus invidiae.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibidem: invident autem homines maxime paribus aut inferioribus.
\textsuperscript{135} Ibidem: sed etiam superioribus invidetur.
\textsuperscript{136} Cic. De orat. 2.209. On envy as an innate feeling, see de la Mora, 2000, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{138} Cic. Tusc. disp. 4.16: invidentiam esse ... aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti.
\textsuperscript{139} Cic. Top. 99; In Verr. 2.5.181; De off. 1.86; Pro Marc. 29; De fin. 1.67; 2.84; De orat. 2.189, 206, 208, 216; De inv. 1.4, 22.
\textsuperscript{140} Cic. De orat. 2.214, 216.
\textsuperscript{141} Cic. De orat. 2.214, 337.
\textsuperscript{142} Cic. De inv. 1.16, 2.37; Ad fam. 5.9.1.
\textsuperscript{143} Translated by W. Miller. Cic. De off. 1.86: civis et in re publica dignus principatu fugiet ... criminibus falsis in odium aut invidiam quemquam vocabit omninoque ita justitiae honestatisque adhaerescet.
\textsuperscript{144} Cic. Ad Att. 14.11.1; Ad fam. 15.4.12; Pro Quinct. 28; De part. orat. 66.
\textsuperscript{145} Cic. Ad Att. 14.11.1: sic alitur consuetudo perditarum contionum ut nostri illi non heroes sed di futuri quidem in gloria semper inter sint, sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem.
\textsuperscript{146} Cic. Brut. 135; De leg. 3.26; De dom. 69; Pro Sest. 93, 139; Pro Cael. 29; Pro Mil. 75, 91, 98; Phil. 14.13, 15–17; De off. 2.20.
\textsuperscript{147} Cic. Pro Deiot. 33–34.
\textsuperscript{148} Cic. Pro Client. 77; De off. 2.85, 3.82; Ad Q.fr. 3.3.2; Brut. 154.
because of severity and courage,\textsuperscript{149} the second one because of weakness and cowardice,\textsuperscript{150} considering the first type of hatred to be glory.\textsuperscript{151} The idea of the antithesis of \textit{invidia–gloria} is reinforced by the fact that \textit{invidia}, when it is used by Cicero as hatred for bad people, goes together with \textit{infamia} ("infamy").\textsuperscript{152}

The next vice, \textit{superbia}, and its derivatives (\textit{superbus, superbe}) are used in Cicero’s works 93 times: 44 times in his orations (17 in the invectives), 36 times in the political, rhetorical and philosophical treatises and 13 times in his epistles. In some cases, \textit{superbia} is used in a purely ethico-philosophical meaning, as a vice opposed to a virtue.\textsuperscript{153} Such usage is characteristic of Cicero’s rhetorical and philosophical writings. Twice Cicero uses \textit{superbia} in the sense of “pride” without an obvious negative connotation.\textsuperscript{154} Finally, we can conclude that in Cicero’s writings the nickname of Tarquin the Proud—\textit{Superbus}—acquires a specifically political meaning; Cicero often refers to this Roman king to illustrate the injustice of the power of one person.\textsuperscript{155} In fact, the concept of \textit{rex} is often used with \textit{superbia}.\textsuperscript{156} With the help of such references to the cruel and arrogant Tsar Tarquin the Proud and a sole ruler as a whole, Cicero probably proves that the reign of one person is associated with serious violations and abuses of power.

\textit{Superbia} and its derivatives are used by Cicero in a synonymic series with \textit{adrogantia/arrogantia} (6 examples) and \textit{insolentia} (5 examples). In the treatise “On the duties” Cicero remarks, “Let us diligently avoid all arrogance, haughtiness, and pride”.\textsuperscript{157} This is what Cicero writes about Quintius: “You know what a tribune-like pride and arrogance he has. How great was the animosity which he displayed! O ye immortal gods! how great was his pride! how great his ignorance of himself! how preposterous and intolerable was his arrogance!”.\textsuperscript{158}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{149} Cic. \textit{In Cat.} 1.29: \textit{severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia}.
\item \textsuperscript{150} Ibidem: \textit{invidia inertiae ac nequitiae}.
\item \textsuperscript{151} Ibidem: \textit{Quodsi ea mihi maxime inpenderet tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem}.
\item \textsuperscript{152} Cic. \textit{In Verr.} 2.2.45, 68, 3.3.69, 144.
\item \textsuperscript{153} Cic. \textit{Ad fam.} 3.7.4, 4.9.4; \textit{De amic.} 50; \textit{De fat.} 8; \textit{De inv.} 1.22, 101, 105, 2.108, 178; \textit{De orat.} 1.99, 2.165, 257, 342; \textit{De part. orat.} 65, 81; \textit{Orat.} 150; Top. 4; \textit{Tusc. disp.} 1.17, 71.
\item \textsuperscript{154} Cic. \textit{Ad fam.} 1.10; \textit{De leg. agr.} 2.95.
\item \textsuperscript{155} Cic. \textit{De amic.} 28, 54; \textit{De div.} 1.43; \textit{De off.} 3.40; \textit{De rep.} 1.58, 62, 2.28, 46; \textit{Parad. stoic.} 1.2; \textit{Phil.} 3.9; \textit{Pro Rab. perd.} 13; \textit{Tusc. disp.} 1.38, 3.27.
\item \textsuperscript{156} Cic. \textit{Ad Att.} 2.8.1, 6.3.7, 13.28.3; \textit{Pro Rab. perd.} 13; \textit{Pro Sul.} 25.
\item \textsuperscript{158} Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. \textit{Pro Cluent.} 109: \textit{Jam insolentiam noratis hominis, noratis animos ejus ac spiritus tribunicios. Quod erat odium, di immortales, quae superbia, quanta ignorantia sui, quam gravis atque intolerabilis arrogantia! Cf. Cic. De rep. 1.51; In Verr. 2.4.89; Phil. 8.21; Pro Marcel. 9.}
\end{enumerate}
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Superbia is combined with crudelitas 16 times. Cicero writes that after being announced a tsar, Alexander the Great was superb, cruel and immoderate. Cicero notes about Verres, “Whatever luxury could accomplish in the way of vice, cruelty in the way of punishment, avarice in the way of plunder, or arrogance in the way of insult, had all been borne by them [Sicilians] for the last three years, while this one man was praetor”. Sicilians “were unable to endure luxury, cruelty, avarice, and pride, when they had lost by the wickedness and lust of one man all their own advantages, all their own rights, and all fruits of the kindness of the senate and the Roman people”. In this passage of the invective against Verres we should also pay attention to luxuries, which is characteristic of Cicero’s invectives. Another example of the joint use of superbia and crudelitas can be found in the same book of the speech against Verres, in which Cicero mentions Verres’s thefts, robberies, greed, cruelty, arrogance, atrocities, audacity. Together with superbia and its derivatives, Cicero also uses contumacia (6 examples), accusing Piso and Verres of being stubborn. Superbia is also combined with contumelia (5 examples): we can recall the already mentioned passage in the speech “Against Caecilius”, which informs us about Verres’s arrogance for insults (superbia in contumelius). Cicero associates the arrogance (superbia) of the politicians in the Republican Rome with crime: scelus and superbia are often used together (5 examples). Cicero writes about Mark Antony that one can notice not only his boldness and atrocities but also insolence and impudence. We can name many other negative ethical and political categories that we have found next to superbia. The most complete list is presented in the speech “Against Piso”, where Cicero defines Piso as dishonest (improbus), cruel (crudelis), thievish (furunculus), greedy (rapax), shameful (sordidus), stubborn (contumax), haughty (superbus), cunning (fallax), insidious (perfidiosus), shameless (impudens), insolent (audax), greedy for luxury (luxuriosus), voluptuous (libidinosus), arrogant (protervus), or dissolute (nequam).

Finally, superbia and its derivatives are contrasted with the positive traits of a Roman citizen and politician, especially sapientia (3 examples) and liberalitas (1 example). In his arguments about laws, Cicero notes that the consuls’ rights must inevitably appear to the

159 Cic. Ad Att. 13.28.3: postea quam rex appellatus sit, superbam, crudelem, immoderatum fuisse.
160 Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. In Caec. 3: quas res luxuries in flagitiis, crudelitas in suppliciis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumelis efficere potuisset, eas omnis sese hoc uno praetore per triennium pertulisse.
161 Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. In Verr. 2.2.9: cum perferre non possent luxuriem, crudelitatem, avaritiam, superbiam, cum omnia sua commoda, jura, beneficia senatus populique Romani unius scelere ac libidine perdidissent.
162 Ibidem. Cf. Cic. De leg. agr. 2.97; In Caec. 3; In Pis. 27.
163 Cic. In Verr. 2.5.32: hujus furta, rapinas, cupiditatem, crudelitatem, superbiam, scelus, audaciam.
164 Cic. De prov. cons. 8.
165 Cic. In Verr. 2.2.192, 2.3.5, 2.4.89.
166 Cic. In Caec. 3. Cf. Cic. De leg. agr. 2.79; Phil. 5.24; Pro Quinct. XXXI, 97; Pro Sul. 25.
167 Cic. Phil. 8.21: M. Antoni non solum audaciam et scelus, sed etiam insolentiam superbiamque perspeximus. Cf. Cic. De leg. agr. 2.97; De prov. cons. 5; In Verr. 2.5.32; Post red. in sen. 17.
168 Cic. In Pis. 27.
people as abusive and fraught with violence, but they were given a moderate and wise restriction.169 With regard to the opposition of superbia to liberalitas in Cicero’s speech “On the Consular Provinces”, we should say specifically: here Cicero ironically speaks of his pseudo-conjecture and Caesar’s pseudo-penitence, because even then, in 56 B.C., he feared for the safety of the Roman Republic, when such ambitious politicians as Caesar aspire to power. We read Cicero: “I must fear that they will blame rather the arrogance that I responded to his generous favours than his unfair treatment of our friendship”.170

The seventh vice we are going to discuss is licentia. We have found 79 cases of its use in Cicero’s treatises. We do not dwell on 25 cases of Cicero’s use of this concept in another, not political sense: either in the sense of “liberty or freedom to write/talk about something”,171 or in the sense of “liberty, or arbitrary assumption, or freedom” in a religious or philosophical context.172 We do it because the meaning in these cases is positive and simple: “liberty”. As for the remaining cases of using licentia, they have negative political connotations, although the minority of them also have a positive meaning of “liberty”173 and sometimes forms a synonimic series with libertas.174 Interestingly, in the speech “For Flaccus” libertas and licentia also occur as synonyms, but already in the negative meaning, in the sense of “the immoderate liberty and licentiousness of the popular assemblies”.175

Let us analyse in more detail Cicero’s licentia in the negative political context. In this sense, licentia can be translated as “permissiveness”, “promiscuity”, “self-will”, “arbitrariness”, “shamelessness”, “unlimited freedom”. It is not used in isolation but as part of a specific conceptual apparatus. Licentia is combined with the words of an ethical and philosophical nature (usually denoting virtues and vices) and with the Roman political and juridical terms. Licentia is more often met near the words denoting crime: scelus (6 examples), crimen (4), injuria (4), vis in the sense of “violence” (3), facinus (2), etc. It goes together with pecunia as a source of profit (7 examples) as well as some other vices or negative emotions: voluntas (7 times), libido in the sense of “arbitrariness” (6), impunitas/impunitas (6), audacia (4), improbitas (4), metus (4), crudelitas (3), luxuria/luxuries (3), tementas (3), vitium (2), etc. Cupiditas is also often combined with licentia (9 times), designating rampant desires, including thirst for

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169 Cic. De leg. 3.17: jus enim illud solum superbius populo, <sed> et violentius videri necesse erat ... quo ... modica et sapiens temperatio accessit. Cf. Cic. De leg. agr. 2.97; Pro Marcel. 9.


171 Cic. ad fam. 12.17.2; De nat. deor. 1.123; De orat. 1.170, 3.153, 169, 185; Orat. 37, 68, 153, 155; Pro Lig. 23; Pro Mur. 20; Tusc. disp. 1.6.

172 Cic. Brut. 316; De div. 2.127, 150; De fat. 15, 38; De nat. deor. 1.65, 93, 107, 27; De off. 1.103, 148, 3.20; Tusc. disp. 4.71.

173 E.g. Cic. Phil. 1.34.

174 Cic. Pro Cael. 57; de rep. 4.4; In Verr. 2.3.3.

175 Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. Pro Flac. 16: libertate immoderata ac licentia (contionum).
The combination of *licentia* and *servitus* is also worth mentioning: in the speech “On his House” Cicero opposes permissiveness of an official to slavery of his subordinates,\(^{177}\) while in the dialogue “On the Commonwealth” he agrees with Plato that due to extreme wilfulness, which these people consider the only freedom, a tyrant is born, so freedom itself makes these excessively free people slaves.\(^{178}\) One more word combination attracts our attention: interdependence of permissiveness (*licentia*) and perdition (*pernicies*) of a person, state or public relations because of useless people (*perditi homines*). Thus, Cicero writes that, as a result of the crime of bad citizens ... his house laras were desecrated, the church of Self-will was built in their dwelling.\(^{179}\) Or: “That divine power; that very same divine power which has often brought incredible prosperity and power to this city, has extinguished and destroyed this mischief; by first of all inspiring it with the idea of venturing to irritate by violence and to attack with the sword the bravest of men, and so leading it on to be defeated by the man whom if it had only been able to defeat it would have enjoyed endless licence and impunity”.\(^{180}\) For completeness of the picture with respect to viciousness of permissiveness, it is important to cite the combination of *licentia* and *libido*: Cicero writes about Verres that “the licentiousness and lust of that man who thought himself king of the Sicilians, was much the same”.\(^{181}\) Our attention is also drawn to the combination of *licentia* and *injuria*: in the speech against Verres Cicero points out that many cultivators, “on account of the insults and licentiousness of the collectors, actually killed themselves”.\(^{182}\)

*Licentia* is also used with the words denoting positive ethical, philosophical, political or juridical categories: *judicium* (11 examples), *libertas* (8), *lex* (7), *potestas* (7), *auctoritas* (5), *imperium* (5), *ratio* (5), *fides* (3), *fortitudo* (3), *mos* (3), *pudor* (3), *religio* (3), *sapientia* (3), etc. We would like to elaborate on the following antitheses: *licentia* vs. *libertas*, *licentia* vs. *lex*, *licentia* vs. *gloria*. Despite the fact that Cicero sometimes uses *licentia* and *libertas* as synonyms in the positive sense of “freedom”\(^ {183}\) or in the negative sense of “permissiveness”,\(^ {184}\) yet most

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\(^{176}\) Cic. Pro Sest. 134.

\(^{177}\) Cic. De dom. 131: *Tu cum ferro, cum metu, cum edictis, cum privilegiis, cum praesentibus copiis perditorum, absentis exercitus terreore et minis, consulsum societate et nefario foedere servitute oppressam civitatem teneres ... tu in civis optime de re publica meriti cruore ac paene ossibus simulacrum non libertatis publicae, sed licentiae conlocasti.*

\(^{178}\) Cic. De rep. 1.68: *ex hac nimia licentia, quam illi solam libertatem putant ... nasci tyrannum ... sic hunc nimirum populum libertas ipsa servitute adficit.*

\(^{179}\) Cic. De leg. 2.42: *Omnia ... perditorum civium scelere ... vexati nostri Lares familiares, in eorum sedibus exaedificatum templum Licentiae.*

\(^{180}\) Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. Pro Mil. 84: *Ea vis igitur ipsa, quae saeppe incredibilis huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit, illam perniciem exstinxit ac sustulit; cui primum mentem injecit, ut vi irritare ferroque lacesse fortissimum virum auderet, vincereturque ab eo, quem si vicisset habituras esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam.*

\(^{181}\) Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. In Verr. 2.3.210: *Cf. Cic. In Verr. 2.3.77: Eandem istius, qui se regem Siculorum esse dicebat, licentiam libidinemque fuisse.*

\(^{182}\) Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. In Verr. 2.3. 129: *propter injurias licentiamque decumanorum mortem sibi ipsi consciverint.*

\(^{183}\) Cic. Pro Cael. 57; De rep. 4.4; In Verr. 2.3.3.
of the examples prove the opposition of these terms.\textsuperscript{185} For example, in the dialogue “On the Commonwealth”, Cicero states that if the people have the most power and everything is at their discretion, this is called freedom, but in reality, it is anarchy.\textsuperscript{186} With this regard, T. Reinhardt correctly notes that licentia in this case means “the excessive freedom of the individual without regard for anything like a common cause”.\textsuperscript{187} We believe that licentia here also implies permissiveness or arbitrariness. For Cicero, the right government is not the rule of all people, but the best, i.e. optimates,\textsuperscript{188} those who possess virtues.\textsuperscript{189} Others may misuse power, which can lead to abuse, in particular, to arbitrariness (licentia). As Ch. Wirzubski puts it, “it is the notion of restraint and moderation that distinguishes libertas from licentia, whose salient feature is arbitrariness; and libertas untempered by moderation degenerates into licentia. True libertas, therefore, is by no means the unqualified power to do whatever one likes; such power—whether conceded or assumed—is licentia, not libertas”\textsuperscript{190}. The next antithesis, licentia-lex, can be illustrated by an example from the speech “For Sestius”. In it, Cicero condemns Vatinius, who disregarded the law on gladiators, but at the same time does not fear the consequences of such self-will, such disregard for the laws.\textsuperscript{191} In the treatise “Cato the Elder: On Old Age” Cicero puts licentia and gloria together, citing Gajus Duellius as an example, who in his old age completely lost his head from fame, for glory inspired him with so much willfulness\textsuperscript{192}.

The last vice we are going to discuss is libido. Cicero uses it more than 300 times. More often we see it in his speeches (in Verr., Phil., in Pis., pro Cael., pro Cluent., pro Sul.), especially in his invectives (in Verr., Phil., in Pis.). Besides, the term is met in Cicero’s political, ethical and philosophical writings (de off., de rep., de sen., de amic., Tusc. disp., de fin.).

Libido and its derivatives (libidinosus, libidinose) have a political connotation, especially in Cicero’s invectives (in Verr., Phil., in Pis., in Caec.), more rarely in his other writings (ad Att., ad fam., de dom., de inv., de leg. agr., de leg., de orat., de rep., Orat., pro Caec., pro Cluent., pro Flacc., pro Planc., pro Rab. Post., pro Sest., pro Sul., etc.). In political discourse libido means “arbitrariness”, “self-will”, “whim”, “promiscuity”. Libido is used in the meaning of abuse of power, of which Cicero accuses bad rulers (Caesar), tyrants (Tarquin the Proud and his

\textsuperscript{184} Cic. Pro Flac. 16.
\textsuperscript{185} Cic. Ad Q. fr. 1.7.22; De dom. 131; De rep. 1.67–68, 3.23; Pro Cael. 7; Pro Scaur. 38; pro Sest. 103.
\textsuperscript{186} Cic. De rep. 3.23: si vero populus plurimum potest, omniaque ejus arbitrio geruntur, dicitur illa libertas, est vero licentia. Cf. Cic. De rep. 1.68.
\textsuperscript{188} Cic. De rep. 3.23.
\textsuperscript{189} Cic. De rep. 1.51.
\textsuperscript{190} WIRZUBSKI 1968, 7.
\textsuperscript{191} Cic. Pro Sest. 134. Cf. Cic. In Verr. 2.3.220.
\textsuperscript{192} Cic. De sen. 44: tantum licentiae dabat gloria.
family), governors (Verres), senators (Catiline), judges, witnesses in court, etc. We have also found several cases of using *libido* as applied to enemies, in the sense of creeps (of barbarians), demands (of Gauls), whims (of enemies). In our opinion, *libido* in such use can also be regarded as political. *Libido* as a political category goes together with the following negatively connotated words: *scelus* (11 times), *crudelitas* (8), *cupiditas* (6), *audacia* (5), *improbitas* (4), *avaritia* (3), *impudentia* (3), *licentia* (3), *metus* (3), *odium* (3), *crimen* (2), *infamia* (2), *invidia* (2), *luxuria/luxuries* (2), *turpitudo* (2), etc. As J.R. Dunkle rightly observes, the mentioned terms, *libido* as well, can be named “words of abuse”.

Let us say a few words about the combination of *libido* and *avaritia*. About Verres Cicero writes, “While he was praetor, everyone in Sicily owns only what has eluded the immoderate greed and arbitrariness of this man — whether because he has missed it, or because was already fed up”. Another Cicero’s remark on Verres’s crimes: “With respect to this matter alone (the war with the pirates), he committed all his most enormous crimes,—crimes of avarice, of treason, of insanity, of lust and of cruelty”.

*Libido* as a political term is contrasted with some positively connotated words. They can be either the Stoic virtues or categories of the Roman political practice: *auctoritas* (6 examples), *religio* (6), *prudentia* (3), *aequitas* (2), *conscientia* (2), *continentia* (2), *dignitas* (2), *fides* (2), *innocentia* (2), *officium* (2), *virtus* (2), etc. Many of Cicero’s arguments about tyrants and other bad rulers are based on the opposition of *libido* to *lex*: *libido* symbolises bad power based on arbitrariness, as opposed to good one, which is built on compliance with laws.

As an ethical and philosophical category, *libido* implies “lust”, “lasciviousness”, “debauchery”, “depravity”, “excessive bodily passion”, “love affair or connection”, “voluptuousness”, or “passionate desire”. Cicero sees this vice in his contemporaries, especially in those who occupy high positions in the Republic, as well as young people in...
Sometimes, for example, in philosophical reasoning about enjoyment, Cicero uses the term in a neutral sense, referring to libido as a bodily passion opposed to spiritual pleasure, or as an attraction to copulation as a natural instinct, or as a purely philosophical category, without any negative emotions. It is also necessary to mention Cicero's arguments about the use of passions by people during the rituals and about the gods, which are mad about lust: in his interpretation, religion and passions are incompatible in human life, although he admits the presence of depravity in the existence of the gods. It is also interesting to analyse Cicero's thoughts about libido in the framework of the Stoic doctrine of moral beauty and virtues: he persistently repeats the idea that "Nature and Reason, extending the analogy of this from the world of sense to the world of spirit, find that beauty, consistency, order (pulchritudinem, constantiam, ordinem) are far more to be maintained in thought and deed, and the same Nature and Reason are careful to do nothing in an improper or unmanly fashion (indecore), and in every thought and deed to do or think nothing capriciously (libidinose)". In his "Stoic Paradoxes" Cicero writes of passion as a general philosophical category: as a passion for augmenting wealth or a passion for other vices.

Cicero uses some other vices and negative ethical and philosophical categories in the same context with libido as a vice. They are flagitium (16 cases), scelus (16), avaritia (14), cupiditas (14), vitium (14), audacia (12), crudelitas (12), facinus (12), luxuria/luxuries (12), nequitia (10), stuprum (10), turpitudo (10), dedecus (7), intemperantia (7), improbitas (6), vitium (6), petulantia (5), etc. Libido as an ethical category is opposed to such virtues and positive moral categories as virtus (9 cases), pudicitia (5), religio (5), temperantia (5), constantia (3), industria (3), moderatio (3), pudor (3), sapientia (3), conscientia (2), fides (2), honestum (2), innocentia (2), liberalitas (2), modestia (2), officium (2), prudentia (2), etc.
To sum up, the analysed vices form the core of Cicero’s ethical, philosophical, political and juridical conceptual apparatus alongside with the positive categories mentioned in the article. Cicero’s usage of them is similar, although there are some nuances in each of them. As for avaritia, Cicero defines it as a disease, lust for money. It is often combined with libido, crudelitas, audacia and luxuria. Cicero uses it both in ethical and political sense. It is opposed either to the Stoic ethical categories (honestas, fortitudo, diligentia, liberalitas, sapientia) or to the Roman ethical and political categories (amicitia, imperium, lex, odium, potestas, religio). The second term, crudelitas, is used by Cicero in the political context with the words denoting crimes, vices, tyrants/usurpers and unjust war. It is interchangeable with its synonym acerbitas. Cicero contrasts crudelitas with ethical categories (virtus, honestas, misericordia, clementia, diligentia, innocencia, beneficium, humanitas, fortitudo, constantia, magnitudo animi) as well as political and juridical ones (auctoritas, dignitas, lex, potestas, imperium, gloria). Cicero uses audacia in the positive meaning of “courage” and in the negative sense of “impudence” or “audacity” (the second meaning is of special interest to us). Audacia often goes together with the words, which mean crime or atrocity (scelus, crimen, facinus, nefarium, flagitium, caedes, parricidium), vices or negative emotions (improbitas, libido, impudentia, crudelitas, turpitudo, avaritia, voluntas, nequitia, metus, invidia, acerbitas, temeritas, odium), with pecunia in the meaning of “lust for money”. It is opposed to the words, which possess a positive ethical, philosophical, political or juridical meaning (dignitas, lex, auctorita, imperium, fides, diligentia, honestas, religio, fortitudo, potestas, innocencia, pudor, bonitas/vir bonus, libertas, sapientia, humanitas, justitia, prudentia, moderatio, modestia). Cicero’s luxuria designates lust for luxury, which is a deadly defect. It is used in the same context with other vices (avaritia, licentia, superbia, nequitia, insolentia, intemperantia, libido, voluptas). It is opposed to egestas and parsimonia. The following thesis helps to understand the meaning of Cicero’s luxuria better: if you want to destroy avarice (avaritia), you should destroy its mother — lust for luxury (luxuria). Cicero often uses luxuria in the meaning of “debauch” or “lechery” together with libido, voluptas and cupiditas. Luxuria is also combined with the words denoting idleness, inaction, laziness — desidia, ignavia, inertia. Luxuria is often used in the same context with the words designating crimes (scelus, crimen, flagitium). Another question is why Cicero dislikes luxury in theory and loves it in practice? When we dwell upon luxury in Ancient Rome, we should differentiate between the luxury associated with private life and that associated with the socio-political sphere. As Cicero puts it, the Roman people hate the luxury of private individuals, whereas they appreciate the splendour in public affairs. So, Cicero had numerous villas and estates not for his love of luxury, but for maintaining his high social status. Invidia, which means “hatred” or “envy”, is used by Cicero abundantly. It is the most acute feeling of all, the most common and perpetual vice. Invidia is interchangeable with invidentia. Cicero often links invidia with odium, misericordia, iracundia, obtrectatio, periculum. Cicero distinguishes between different types of invidia: to worthy people, or tyrants, or those who are rich and
powerful. Invidia is opposed to gloria. The idea of the antithesis of invidia–gloria is reinforced by the fact that invidia, used by Cicero as hatred for bad people, goes together with infamia. Cicero often uses superbia as a negative political or ethical category (in the meaning of “superciliousness” or “arrogance”), while very rarely (two times) in the sense of “pride” without an obvious negative connotation. Cicero puts it into a synonymic series with arrogantia and insolentia. Superbia is combined with crudelitas, contumacia and contumelia many times. Superbia is contrasted with such positive traits of a Roman citizen and politician, as sapientia and liberalitas. Licentia is not used by Cicero very often. Every third of its examples is not negatively connotated and means “liberty”. Interestingly, sometimes licentia is synonymous with liberty (libertas), but in this case they both convey a negative meaning (e.g. in the speech “For Flaccus”). Licentia designates “permissiveness”, “promiscuity”, “self-will”, “arbitrariness”. Cicero uses licentia in the same context with the words, which mean crime (scelus, crimen, injuria, facinus). It goes together with pecunia as a source of profit as well as some other vices or negative emotions (voluntas, libido in the sense of “arbitrariness”, impunitas, audacia, improbitas, metus, crudelitas, luxuria, temeritas, cupiditas). Cicero’s antithesis of licentia–servitus means permissiveness of an official opposed to slavery of his subordinates. Licentia is opposed to the words designating positive ethical, philosophical, political or juridical categories (judicium, libertas, lex, potestas, auctoritas, imperium, jus, fides, fortitudo, mos, pudor, religio, sapientia). We have also analysed several antitheses: licentia–libertas, licentia–lex, licentia–gloria. The last vice under question is libido. In political discourse it means “arbitrariness”, “self-will”, “whim”, “promiscuity”, “abuse of power”. Cicero uses libido in the meaning of abuse of power when he accuses bad rulers (Caesar), tyrants (Tarquin the Proud and his family), governors (Verres), senators (Catiline), judges, witnesses in court. There are several cases of libido as applied to enemies, in the sense of creeps of barbarians, demands of Gauls, whims of enemies. It goes together with such negatively connotated words as scelus, crudelitas, audacia, improbitas, avaritia, impudentia, licentia, metus, odium crimen, infamia, invidia, luxuria, turpitudo. It is contrasted with such positively connotated words as auctoritas, religio, prudentia, aequitas, conscientia, continentia, dignitas, fides, innocentia. There is an opposition of libido to lex in Cicero’s writings. In ethical and philosophical discourse libido means “lust”, “lasciviousness”, “debauchery”, “depravity”, “excessive bodily passion”, “love affair or connection”, “voluptuousness”, or “passionate desire”. In philosophical reasoning about enjoyment Cicero uses the term in a neutral sense, referring to libido as a bodily passion opposed to spiritual pleasure, or as an attraction to copulation as a natural instinct, or as a purely philosophical category, without any negative emotions. In its negative meaning libido goes together with flagitium, scelus, avaritia, cupiditas, audacia, crudelitas, facinus, luxuria, nequitia, stuprum, turpitudo, dedecus, intemperantia, improbitas. As a vice, libido is opposed to pudicitia, religio, temperantia, constantia, industria, moderatio, pudor, sapientia, conscientia, fides, honestum, innocentia, liberalitas, modestia, prudentia.
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Cicero on vices


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