

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, auctoritas, etc.). Luxuria as a vice designates "lust for luxury". It is combined with other vices (avaritia, licentia, superbia, etc.) and opposed to virtues (egestas, 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, obrectatio, 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.*

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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. Mluți dintre acești termeni sunt opuși categoriilor etice stoice (precum *avaritia*) sau categoriilor etice și politice îndeobște acceptate în societatea romană. Alți termeni, precum *audacia* sau *licentia*, sunt utilizați 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 *puđicitia, religio, temperantia, constantia, industria, moderatio, pudor, sapientia, conscientia, fides, honestum, innocentia, liberalitas, modestia, prudentia*. Înșã, în raționamentul filosofic, Cicero îl utilizează în sens neutru, referindu-se la *libido* ca o pasiune trupească opusã 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. Berry², N. Coffee³, T.D. Frazel,⁴ R.J. Gorman & V.B. Gorman,⁵ J. Patterson,⁶ K.O. Sandnes⁷ and H.W. Litchfield.⁸ 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.⁹ N. Coffee offers a frequency analysis of use of the words with the stem

² BERRY 1994, 85.

³ COFFEE 2017, 52–55.

⁴ FRAZEL 2009, 125, 132–133, 137–139.

⁵ GORMAN & GORMAN 2017, 334–335.

⁶ PATTERSON 2015, 8.

⁷ SANDNES 2004, 70.

⁸ LITCHFIELD 1914, 1–71.

⁹ BERRY 1994, 85.

avar- in different Roman writings including Cicero's.¹⁰ T.D. Frazel analyses *avaritia* in Cicero's speech "Against Verres"¹¹ and concludes that in the Roman culture avarice is closely connected with such vices as adultery and lust for luxury¹². 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*).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.¹⁴ Others analyse the use of *crudelitas* in a synonymic series with the vices of *vis, superbia, libido, audacia, furor, violentia, immanitas*.¹⁵ There are some scholars, who oppose Cicero's *crudelitas* to the virtues of *severitas, clementia* and *misericordia*.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 writings¹⁷. R.A. Caster analyses Cicero's *pudor* and the words that blend with it, *audacia* as well.¹⁸ G.O. Hutchinson focuses his attention on the political use of *audacia* and *audax* in relation to the conspirators.¹⁹ L. Langerwerf writes nearly about the same as the previous scholar, considering *audacia* an attribute of a rebel's behaviour.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.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.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 analysed²³, or R.J. Gorman and V.B. Gorman's

¹⁰ COFFEE 2017, 52–55.

¹¹ FRAZEL 2009, 125, 132–133, 137–139.

¹² FRAZEL 2009, 125.

¹³ GORMAN & GORMAN 2017, 334–335.

¹⁴ ARENA 2010, 150, 159; Cicero, *Philippics* 3–9; Cicero's *De Provinciis Consularibus Oratio*; DUNKLE 1967, 151, 159, 165, 168; WIRZUBSKI 1968, 40.

¹⁵ Cicero, *Pro Sexto Roscio*; DEVINE 1978, 27; POLK, 2013, 59.

¹⁶ DRUMMOND 1995, 27; HALL 2014, 89; STEVENSON 2015, 139; VAN DER BLOM 2010, 187.

¹⁷ WIRZUBSKI 1961, 12–22.

¹⁸ CASTER 1997, 16.

¹⁹ HUTCHINSON 2005, 185.

²⁰ LANGERWERF 2015, 155.

²¹ TAHIN 2014, 122.

²² VASALY 1996, 163–165.

²³ BERRY 1994.

book on the destructive influence of luxury on people of the ancient world²⁴. There are other studies on luxury in Ancient Rome, the authors of which make a few comments about Cicero's attitude to luxury.²⁵

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*²⁶. R.A. Kaster specifies the varieties of *invidia*²⁷. D. Konstan analyses the traces of Aristotelian influence in Cicero's arguments about emotions and feelings, about *invidia* in particular.²⁸ 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.²⁹

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.³⁰ 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.³¹ 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.³² Other scholars also acknowledge the fact that Cicero's *superbia* is a vice, which describes a tyrant, a despot, a usurper.³³ 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.³⁴ 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.

²⁴ GORMAN & GORMAN 2017.

²⁵ ZANDA 2011, 18, 21, 23, 25; ZARMAKOUPI 2014, 7–8.

²⁶ DE LA MORA 2000, 14–15.

²⁷ KASTER 2005, 100, 102.

²⁸ KONSTAN 2006, 149.

²⁹ ZERBA 2002, 300, 305.

³⁰ DUNKLE 1967, 168.

³¹ WIRZSUBSKI 1968, 40. Cf. DUNKLE 1967, 165.

³² BARAZ 2008, 380–382.

³³ ARENA 2012, 244–245; Cicero's *De Provinciis Consularibus Oratio*; Cicero, *Philippics* 3–9; DEVINE, 1978, 27; POLK 2013, 59, 329; VASALY 2000, 453.

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*).³⁵ 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.³⁶

With regard to Cicero's *licentia*, we must note that scholars pay attention to the antithesis of *libertas-licentia*,³⁷ to moderation as the main feature of *libertas* and, as a consequence, immoderation inherent in *licentia*³⁸, to the correlation of *licentia* with ochlocracy and anarchy,³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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*,⁴¹ 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.⁴² Cicero's *avaritia* is combined with the vices of *libido* (25 times), *crudelitas* (21), *audacia*

³⁵ BARAZ 2008, 380–381

³⁶ DUNKLE 1967, 168; BARAZ 2008, 382; Cicero, *Philippics* 3–9.

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.

³⁹ ARENA 2012, 167, 245; REINHARDT 2005, 172; WOOD 1988, 150.

⁴⁰ DUNKLE 1967, 151–171; JED 2011, 227; NOVOKHATKO 2009, 159; ZARECKI 2014, 144.

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.*

(19), *luxuria/luxuries* (11), as well as *vitium* (16).⁴³ Cicero cites Sulla who had three deadly vices: luxury, greed and cruelty,⁴⁴ Gabinius known for his avarice, arrogance, and cruelty,⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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 horseman⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ 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*,

⁴³ We take into account only the words, which are in the same passages with the analysed terms and are connected in meaning with them.

⁴⁴ Cic. *De fin.* 3.75: ... qui trium pestiferorum vitiorum, luxuriae, avaritiae, crudelitatis, magister fuit.

⁴⁵ Cic. *De prov. cons.* 11: avaritia, superbia, crudelitate Gabini.

⁴⁶ Cic. *In Caec.* 3: ... luxuries in flagitiis, crudelitas in suppliciiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis.

⁴⁷ Cic. *De orat.* 2.171: ... avaritiam si tollere vultis, mater ejus est tollenda, luxuries.

⁴⁸ Cic. *De off.* 2.77: Nullum igitur vitium taetrius est, ut eo, unde digressa est, referat se oratio, quam avaritia, praesertim in principibus et rem publicam gubernantibus.

⁴⁹ Cic. *In Verr.* 2.4.46: viro primario, locupleti honestoque equite Romano.

⁵⁰ Cic. *In Verr.* 2.5.91: Tum praedonum dux Heracleo, repente praeter spem non sua virtute sed istius avaritia nequitiaque victor, classem pulcherrimam populi Romani in litus expulsam et ejectam, cum primum in vesperasceret, inflammari incendique jussit.

⁵¹ Cic. *In Verr.* 2.2.134: nam ipsum Verrem tantum avaritia semper hiante atque imminente fuisse, ingenio et cogitatione nulla.

among the latter—*luxuria*, *avaritia* and *audacia*.⁵² In another speech, “For Flaccus”, Cicero praises consul Lucius Lucullus for his generosity⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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,⁵⁵ 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”.⁵⁶

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.⁵⁷ 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 cupidity, his cruelty, his pride, his wickedness, his audacity, by dwelling on the greatness of his exploits and his

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, iustitiae magistra 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 Antony⁷³, and their supporters. In his discourse on cruelty Cicero also mentions the generals who participated in wars with external enemies, for example, Alexander the Great⁷⁴ 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 Falarid⁷⁹, and Dionysius.⁸⁰ Sometimes Cicero asks himself whether *he* looks like a tyrant, and this, we believe, he does for contrast,

⁵⁸ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. in Verr. 2.5.32: *hujus furta, rapinas, cupiditatem, crudelitatem, superbiam, scelus, audaciam rerum gestarum magnitudine atque imperatoris laudibus tegere conaris?*

⁵⁹ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. In Verr. 2.5.189: *facinora sceleris, audaciae, perfidiae, libidinis, avaritiae, crudelitatis.*

⁶⁰ Cic. In Cat. 2.28. Cf. In Cat. 3.25. Ad fam. 4.3.1; Phil. 14.35.

⁶¹ Cic. De nat. deor. 3.81; in Cat. 3.24; Phil. 1.34, 11.1.

⁶² Cic. Ad Att. 9.14.2; De dom. 43; De off. 2.27; Pro Lig. 12; Pro Sul. 78.

⁶³ Cic. In Cat. 3.24.

⁶⁴ Cic. In Caec. 3, 38; In Verr. 1.56, 2.1.9, 14, 82, 122, 2.2.9, 77, 80, 82, 91, 95, 109, 115, 117, 192, 2.3.24, 52, 126, 129, 130, 2.4.26, 86–88, 112, 2.5.21, 31, 42, 72, 106, 115, 145, 150, 152–153, 159, 161, 165, 189; Phil. 2.99.

⁶⁵ Cic. Ad Brut. 2.3.5; Ad fam. 12.14.5, 12.15.1; In Verr. 2.1.77.

⁶⁶ Cic. In Cat. 4.10.

⁶⁷ Cic. De dom. 61.

⁶⁸ Cic. Ad Att. 9.6.7, 10.14.1; Ad fam. 4.9.3, 8.17.2, 15.19.4.

⁶⁹ Cic. De prov. cons. 11.

⁷⁰ Cic. Ad Att. 10.14.1; Ad fam. 5.10a.1, 7.3.2, 9.6.3; In Cat. 4.13.

⁷¹ Cic. Pro Sest. 22.

⁷² Cic. Ad Brut. 1.12.2.

⁷³ Cic. Ad Brut. 1.12.2; Ad fam. 10.28.3; Phil. 2.71, 3.28, 4.3, 7.27, 11.6, 12.9, 20, 14.25.

⁷⁴ Cic. Ad Att. 13.28.3.

⁷⁵ Cic. De amic. 28, De off. 1.38.

⁷⁶ Cic. In Verr. 2.1.34, 82, 2.5.21.

⁷⁷ Cic. Dd fam. 12.12.2.

⁷⁸ Cic. De div. 1.53.

⁷⁹ Cic. De off. 3.29; In Verr. 2.4.73.

⁸⁰ Cic. De rep. 3.43; In Verr. 2.5.143, 145.

to emphasise the virtue of his behaviour.⁸¹ 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,⁸² and in the composition “On Friendship” he names Hannibal, whom the Roman citizens will always hate for his cruelty.⁸³ 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), *miseriordia* (19), *clementia* (18), *diligentia* (16), *innocentia* (16), *beneficium* (13), *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”.⁸⁴ 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”.⁸⁵ 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”.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸

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),

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 oderit.*

⁸⁴ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Phil.* 14.37: *ob eas res senatum existimare et iudicare eorum trium imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate, constantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate populum Romanum foedissima crudelissimaque servitute liberatum.* Here Cicero has in mind Gajus Pansa, Aulus Hirtius and Julius Caesar.

⁸⁵ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Phil.* 14.38: *... curent quaestoresque urb. ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere jubeant, ut exstet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam scelus crudelissimum 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 iudicum jam pridem esse praeclusos.*

⁸⁷ Cic. *Ad fam.* 15.19.2: *quanto sit omnibus odio crudelitas et quanto amori probitas et clementia.*

⁸⁸ Cic. *Ad Q. fr.* 1.1.25: *toto denique in imperio nihil acerbum esse, nihil crudele, atque omnia plena clementiae, mansuetudinis, humanitatis.*

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”.⁸⁹ Cicero contrasts Lucius Antony’s cruelty with the authority of the ruling class and the dignity of the Roman people.⁹⁰

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”⁹¹ 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*.⁹² *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/improbitas* (54 times), *libido/lubido* (34), *cupiditas* (33), *imprudencia* (29), *crudelitas* (27), *inimicitia* (26), *turpitudine* (20), *amentia* (19), *furor* (18), *avaritia* (17), *injuria* (17), *voluntas* (16), *nequitia* (15), *metus* (14), *invidia* (13), *acerbitas* (12), *indignitas* (12), *temeritas* (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), *prudencia* (9), *gratia* (8), *moderatio* (6), *modestia* (5), etc. Such frequent use of *judicium* and *lex* together with *audacia* is

⁸⁹ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *pro Rab. perd.* 17: *te ex illa crudeli, importuna, non tribunicia actione sed regia, meo consilio, virtute, auctoritate esse depulsum*

⁹⁰ Cic. *Phil.* 14.8: *quos optimos viros honestissimosque homines maxime cum auctoritate hujus ordinis populi que Romani dignitate conjunctos crudelissimis exemplis interemit propudium illud et portentum, L. Antonius.*

⁹¹ Cic. *Ad fam.* 15.2.6; *De div.* 2.114; *De fin.* 2.28; *De orat.* 2.290, 3.36, 156; *De sen.* 72; *Orat.* 81, 82; *Phil.* 9.3, 10.11, 13.28; *Pro Caec.* 1–2; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 2.

⁹² Cic. *Ad fam.* 5.12.1, 12.17.2, 15.2.6; *De fin.* 2.119; *De orat.* 1.193, 208; *orat.* 26, 202; *Pro Font.* 11; *Pro Mur.* 61; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 31; *Pro Rosc. com.* 16; *Tusc. disp.* 3.21.

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;

⁹³ Cic. *De fin.* 3.75. Cf. Cic. *Pro Cael.* 57.

⁹⁴ Cic. *De off.* 1.106.

⁹⁵ Cic. *De fin.* 2.30, 3.75; *In Cat.* 2.25; *Pro Cael.* 25, 44, 57.

⁹⁶ Cic. *De fin.* 2.27, 3.75; *De orat.* 2.171, 3.168; *In Verr.* 2.2.9, 134, 2.5.87, 137; *Pro Cael.* 13; *Pro Mur.* 20; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 75.

⁹⁷ Cic. *De fin.* 2.70; *In Verr.* 2.3.106.

⁹⁸ Cic. *De leg. agr.* 1.20, 2.97; *In Caec.* 3.

⁹⁹ Cic. *In Cat.* 2.11; *In Verr.* 2.2.134; 2.3.22, 2.5.87.

¹⁰⁰ Cic. *In Verr.* 2.3.106.

¹⁰¹ Cic. *Post redit. in sen.* 11.

¹⁰² *Ibidem.*

¹⁰³ Cic. *Pro Quinct.* 30.

¹⁰⁴ Cic. *De orat.* 2.171: *avaritiam si tollere vultis, mater ejus est tollenda, luxuries.*

¹⁰⁵ Cic. *De fin.* 3.37; *de orat.* 2.135, 2.171, 3.168; *in Caec.* 3; *In Verr.* 2.2.9, 2.5.137; *Pro Mur.* 20.

¹⁰⁶ Cic. *De fin.* 3.75.

¹⁰⁷ Translated by C. D. Yonge. Cic. *In Verr.* 2.5.137: *tua luxurie atque avaritia classis populi Romani a praedonibus capta et incensa est.*

¹⁰⁸ Cic. *De off.* 1.92, 1.123; *in Cat.* 2.11; *in Pis.* 21, 27; *In Verr.* 2.5.80; *Post redit. in sen.* 11; *pro Balb.* 56; *Pro Cael.* 25, 43, 44, 57; *Pro Mur.* 13.

¹⁰⁹ Cic. *De fin.* 2.23; *Pro Mur.* 11, 13.

¹¹⁰ Cic. *De rep.* 2.IV.8.

¹¹¹ Cic. *In Verr.* 2.5.80: *ad luxuriam libidinesque suas.*

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?”¹¹² 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”.¹¹³

Luxuria and *luxuries* are also combined with the words denoting idleness, inaction, laziness — *desidia*,¹¹⁴ *ignavia*,¹¹⁵ *inertia*.¹¹⁶ 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”.¹¹⁷ 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).¹¹⁸

Luxuria and *luxuries* are combined with *scelus*,¹¹⁹ *crimen*,¹²⁰ *flagitium*¹²¹ as well. Revealing Catiline’s plot to the senators, Cicero advises them to fight depravity, recklessness, crime.¹²² 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.¹²³ 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

¹¹² Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Pro Mur.* 13: *Nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non commissatio, 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 perniciose civitatibus subpeditantur mari, quae vel capiuntur vel inportantur; 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 desidiaeque 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, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus.*

¹¹⁹ Cic. *In Cat.* 2.11.

¹²⁰ Cic. *Ino 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, quae non crimine aliquo libidinis, sed communi maledicto notabatur.*

mentioned out of doors,—in which debauchery, and lust, and luxury and, in short, all sorts of unheard of vices and wickednesses are carried on, the slaves are not slaves at all?”.¹²⁴

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”.¹²⁵ 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.¹²⁶ 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,¹²⁷ less often “envy.”¹²⁸ There are some isolated cases of using *invidia* in the sense of ill-will,¹²⁹ dislike,¹³⁰ condemnation,¹³¹ anger.¹³² The essence of *invidia* is set forth in the second book of the treatise “On the orator”, in which Cicero calls the feeling

¹²⁴ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Pro Cael.* 57: *Quis enim hoc non videt, iudices, 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, luxuries, omnia denique inaudita vitia ac flagitia versentur, hic servos non esse servos...?*

¹²⁵ ZARMAKOUPI 2014, 8.

¹²⁶ Cic. *Pro Mur.* 76: *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit.* See ZANDA 2011, 125.

¹²⁷ Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.16.1, 1.16.2, 1.19.6, 2.9.1, 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, 2.1.21, 2.1.41, 2.1.151, 2.2.45, 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, 128; *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,¹³³ pointing out that most people envy those who are equal or lower in their position;¹³⁴ however, there is also envy in relation to people of a higher rank.¹³⁵ Cicero realises that most people are envious,¹³⁶ and that envy is the most common and perpetual vice.¹³⁷

The next point we would like to dwell on is the use of *invidia* and *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.¹³⁸

It is also interesting to trace the verbal environment of *invidia*, its compatibility with other words, the lexical context. Cicero often links *invidia* with the words, which mean hatred (*odium*),¹³⁹ miserable condition (*misericordia*),¹⁴⁰ anger (*iracundia*),¹⁴¹ or envious hostility (*obtrectatio*)¹⁴²: such combinations only reinforce the importance of strong and negative feelings transmitted by *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”.¹⁴³ Here we can see that *invidia* and *odium* are used together. *Invidia* is also combined with *periculum*: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.¹⁴⁵

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

¹³³ Cic. *De orat.* 2.209–210: *acerrimus ... omnium motus invidiae*.

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*: *invident autem homines maxime paribus aut inferioribus*.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*: *sed etiam superioribus invidetur*.

¹³⁶ Cic. *De orat.* 2.209. On envy as an innate feeling, see de la Mora, 2000, p. 14.

¹³⁷ Cic. *De orat.* 2.210: *plerique sunt invidi maximeque hoc est commune vitium et perpetuum*. See Zerba, 2002, p. 304.

¹³⁸ Cic. *Tusc. disp.* 4.16: *invidentiam esse ... aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti*.

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.

¹⁴⁰ Cic. *De orat.* 2.214, 216.

¹⁴¹ Cic. *De orat.* 2.214, 337.

¹⁴² Cic. *De inv.* 1.16, 2.37; *Ad fam.* 5.9.1.

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 iustitiae honestatique adhaerescet*.

¹⁴⁴ Cic. *Ad Att.* 14.11.1; *Ad fam.* 15.4.12; *Pro Quint.* 28; *De part. orat.* 66.

¹⁴⁵ Cic. *Ad Att.* 14.11.1: *sic alitur consuetudo perditarum contionum ut nostri illi non heroes sed di futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint, sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem*.

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.

¹⁴⁷ Cic. *Pro Deiot.* 33–34.

¹⁴⁸ Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 77; *De off.* 2.85, 3.82; *Ad Q.fr.* 3.3.2; *Brut.* 154.

because of severity and courage,¹⁴⁹ the second one because of weakness and cowardice,¹⁵⁰ considering the first type of hatred to be glory.¹⁵¹ The idea of the antithesis of *invidia-gloria* is reinforced by the fact that *invidia*, when it is used by Cicero as hatred for bad people, goes together with *infamia* (“infamy”).¹⁵²

The next vice, *superbia*, and its derivatives (*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, *superbia* is used in a purely ethico-philosophical meaning, as a vice opposed to a virtue.¹⁵³ Such usage is characteristic of Cicero’s rhetorical and philosophical writings. Twice Cicero uses *superbia* in the sense of “pride” without an obvious negative connotation.¹⁵⁴ Finally, we can conclude that in Cicero’s writings the nickname of Tarquin the Proud—*Superbus*—acquires a specifically political meaning: Cicero often refers to this Roman king to illustrate the injustice of the power of one person.¹⁵⁵ In fact, the concept of *rex* is often used with *superbia*.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.

Superbia and its derivatives are used by Cicero in a synonymic series with *adrogantia/arrogantia* (6 examples) and *insolentia* (5 examples). In the treatise “On the duties” Cicero remarks, “Let us diligently avoid all arrogance, haughtiness, and pride”.¹⁵⁷ This is what Cicero writes about Quinctius: “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!”¹⁵⁸

¹⁴⁹ Cic. *In Cat.* 1.29: *severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia*.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*: *invidia inertiae ac nequitiae*.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*: *Quodsi ea mihi maxime impenderet tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem*.

¹⁵² Cic. *In Verr.* 2.2.45, 68, 3.3.69, 144.

¹⁵³ Cic. *Ad fam.* 3.7.4, 4.9.4; *De amic.* 50; *De fat.* 8; *De inv.* 1.22, 101, 105, 2.108, 178; *De orat.* 1.99, 2.165, 257, 342; *De part. orat.* 65, 81; *Orat.* 150; *Top.* 4; *Tusc. disp.* 1.17, 71.

¹⁵⁴ Cic. *Ad fam.* 1.10; *De leg. agr.* 2.95.

¹⁵⁵ Cic. *De amic.* 28, 54; *De div.* 1.43; *De off.* 3.40; *De rep.* 1.58, 62, 2.28, 46; *Parad. stoic.* 1.2; *Phil.* 3.9; *Pro Rab. perd.* 13; *Tusc. disp.* 1.38, 3.27.

¹⁵⁶ Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.8.1, 6.3.7, 13.28.3; *Pro Rab. perd.* 13; *Pro Sul.* 25.

¹⁵⁷ Translated by W. Miller. Cic. *De off.* 1.90: *superbiam magnopere, fastidium arrogantiamque fugiamus*. Cf. Cic. *De off.* 2.165; *De rep.* 1.48; *Pro Cluent.* 109, 112; *Pro Sul.* 25.

¹⁵⁸ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 109: *Jam insolentiam noratis hominis, noratis animos ejus ac spiritus tribunicos. 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.

Superbia is combined with *crudelitas* 16 times. Cicero writes that after being announced a tsar, Alexander the Great was superb, cruel and immoderate.¹⁵⁹ 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”.¹⁶⁰ 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”.¹⁶¹ In this passage of the invective against Verres we should also pay attention to *luxuries*, which is characteristic of Cicero’s invectives.¹⁶² 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.¹⁶³ Together with *superbia* and its derivatives, Cicero also uses *contumacia* (6 examples), accusing Piso¹⁶⁴ and Verres¹⁶⁵ 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 contumeliis*).¹⁶⁶ 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.¹⁶⁷ 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 (*improbis*), 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*).¹⁶⁸

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, superbum, crudelem, immoderatum fuisse.*

¹⁶⁰ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *In Caec.* 3: *quas res luxuries in flagitiis, crudelitas in suppliciiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis 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 luxuriam, crudelitatem, avaritiam, superbiam, cum omnia sua commoda, jura, beneficia senatus populi que 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 synonymic 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/inpunitas* (6), *audacia* (4), *improbitas* (4), *metus* (4), *crudelitas* (3), *luxuria/luxuries* (3), *temeritas* (3), *vitium* (2), etc. *Cupiditas* is also often combined with *licentia* (9 times), designating rampant desires, including thirst for

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.

¹⁷⁰ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *De prov. cons.* 42: *est mihi verendum ne mea superbia in illius liberalitate quam ne illius injuria in nostra amicitia reprendatur.*

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, 2.7; *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).*

glory.¹⁷⁶ 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 (*perniciēs*) 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), *jus* (4), *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

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 terrore et minis, consulum 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 nimis liberum 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 saepe incredibilis huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit, illam perniciem exstinxit ac sustulit; cui primum mentem iniecit, ut vi irritare ferroque lacessere fortissimum virum auderet, vincereturque ab eo, quem si vicisset habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam.*

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

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.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.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”.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,¹⁸⁸ those who possess virtues.¹⁸⁹ Others may misuse power, which can lead to abuse, in particular, to arbitrariness (*licentia*). As Ch. Wirzsubski 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*”.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.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!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, libidinosae*) 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

¹⁸⁴ Cic. *Pro Flac.* 16.

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.

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.

¹⁸⁷ REINHARDT 2005, 172. Cf. WOOD 1988, 150.

¹⁸⁸ Cic. *De rep.* 3.23.

¹⁸⁹ Cic. *De rep.* 1.51.

¹⁹⁰ WIRZUBSKI 1968, 7.

¹⁹¹ Cic. *Pro Sest.* 134. Cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 2.3.220.

¹⁹² Cic. *De sen.* 44: *tantum licentiae dabat gloria.*

family), governors (Verres), senators (Catiline), judges, witnesses in court, etc.¹⁹³ We have also found several cases of using *libido* as applied to enemies, in the sense of creeps (of barbarians),¹⁹⁴ demands (of Gauls),¹⁹⁵ whims (of enemies).¹⁹⁶ 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), *turpitude* (2), etc. As J.R. Dunkle rightly observes, the mentioned terms, *libido* as well, can be named “words of abuse”.¹⁹⁷

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”.¹⁹⁸ 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”.¹⁹⁹

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), *prudencia* (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*.²⁰⁰ *libido* symbolises bad power based on arbitrariness, as opposed to good one, which is built on compliance with laws.²⁰¹

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

¹⁹³ Cic. *In Verr.* 1.13, 35, 56, 2.1.77–78, 81–82, 120, 2.2.9, 39–41, 97, 2.3.5–6, 16, 56, 77, 82, 95, 117, 205, 208, 210, 220, 2.4.112, 115, 2.5.42, 85, 128, 145; *Phil.* 13.17; *In Pis.* 16, 21, 39; *In Caec.* 9, 57; *Ad Att.* 7.9.4; *Ad fam.* 9.16.3; *De dom.* 106; *De leg. agr.* 2.14, 55; *De leg.* 3.34; *De orat.* 3.4; *De rep.* 1.65, 2.59, 63; *Orat.* 167; *Pro Caec.* 76, 77; *Pro Cluent.* 61, 159; *Pro Flacc.* 26, 51; *Pro Marc.* 23; *Pro Planc.* 30; *Pro Rab. Post.* 1, 11, 22, 25, 43, 45; *Pro Sest.* 20, 93; *Pro Sul.* 16, 78, 79, etc.

¹⁹⁴ Cic. *Pro Font.* 4.

¹⁹⁵ Cic. *Pro Font.* 36.

¹⁹⁶ Cic. *Pro Font.* 49.

¹⁹⁷ DUNKLE 1967, 151.

¹⁹⁸ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *In Verr.* 1.4.13: *Hoc praetore ... tantum quisque habet in Sicilia, quantum hominis avarissimi et libidinosissimi aut imprudentiam subterfugit, aut satietati superfuit.*

¹⁹⁹ Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *In Verr.* 2.5.42: *in hoc uno genere omnis inesse culpas istius maximas avaritiae, majestatis, dementiae, libidinis, crudelitatis.*

²⁰⁰ Cic. *In Verr.* 1.13, 56, 82, 2.2.39–41, 2.3.5, 16, 82, 117, 205, 220, 2.4.112; *In Pis.* 16, 39; *De inv.* 2.132; *De leg. agr.* 2.14; *De rep.* 2.63; *Ad Att.* 9.7.5; *Pro Cluent.* 159; *Pro Marc.* 23.

²⁰¹ DUNKLE 1967, 168.

general.²⁰² 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,²⁰³ or as an attraction to copulation as a natural instinct,²⁰⁴ or as a purely philosophical category, without any negative emotions.²⁰⁵ It is also necessary to mention Cicero's arguments about the use of passions by people during the rituals²⁰⁶ and about the gods, which are mad about lust:²⁰⁷ 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*)".²⁰⁸ 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.²⁰⁹

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), *turpitude* (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.

²⁰² Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.16.1, 1.18.2, 1.19.8, 6.1.2, 6.3.1; *De amic.* 19, 35, 47, 83; *De dom.* 23, 93, 126; *De fat.* 8, 10; *De fin.* 1.46–47, 50–51, 59, 2.66, 73, 3.32, 5.62; *De har. resp.* 38, 42; *De imp. Pomp.* 40, 65; *De inv.* 1.32; *De leg.* 1.51, 3.31; *De nat. deor.* 3.71, 91; *De off.* 1.92, 102, 122–123; *De orat.* 2.342; *De part. orat.* 34; *De prov. cons.* 6, 8, 16, 24; *De rep.* 1.60; *De sen.* 7, 29, 36, 42, 49; *In Cat.* 2.11; *In Pis.* 27; *In Verr.* 1.14, 2.1.62–64, 68, 86, 2.2.115, 134, 192, 2.3.4, 23, 60, 76, 2.4.17, 111, 2.5.28, 30, 32, 2.5.80, 82, 137, 189; *Phil.* 2.15, 45, 71, 104, 115, 3.28, 35, 5.33, 6.4, 8.16, 11.9, 13.10, 13.17, 14.19; *Post redit. in quir.* 13; *Post redit. in sen.* 11, 13–15; *Pro Balb.* 56; *Pro Cael.* 1–2, 10, 12–13, 25, 30, 34–35, 38, 43, 45, 47, 49, 53, 55, 57, 70, 78; *Pro Cluent.* 12, 14–15, 36, 188; *Pro Font.* 38, 40; *Pro Mil.* 73, 76; *Pro Mur.* 13; *Pro Scaur.* 6, 8, 13; *Pro Sul.* 58, 70–71, 76, etc.

²⁰³ Cic. *De fin.* 3.35; *De rep.* 6.29; *In Verr.* 2.1.57; *Tusc. disp.* 3.46.

²⁰⁴ Cic. *De nat. deor.* 2.128; *De off.* 1.54. Cf. Cic. *Pro Sest.* 110.

²⁰⁵ Cic. *De off.* 3.39, 117; *De orat.* 1.194; *Tusc. disp.* 1.72, 80, 2.12, 58, 3.4, 7, 11, 17, 23–25, 27, 4.8, 11–12, 15, 21, 24, 34, 44, 55, 57, 60, 72, 5.16, 20, 42–43, 48, 101.

²⁰⁶ Cic. *De leg.* 2.36–37.

²⁰⁷ Cic. *De nat. deor.* 1.42.

²⁰⁸ Translated by W. Miller. Cic. *De off.* 1.14. Cf. Cic. *De sen.* 39–41.

²⁰⁹ Cic. *Parad. stoic.* 1.1, 3.1, 5.1. Cf. Cic. *Pro Quinct.* IV.14; *Pro Sest.* 22.

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*, *innocentia*, *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*, *turpitudinis*, *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*, *auctoritas*, *imperium*, *fides*, *diligentia*, *honestas*, *religio*, *fortitudo*, *potestas*, *innocentia*, *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*, *obtretractio*, *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*, *turpitudō*. 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*, *turpitudō*, *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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