Cicero's Catilinarian Orations: A Study in Emotional Appeal

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CICERO'S CATILINARIAN ORATIONS
A STUDY IN EMOTIONAL APPEAL

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VITA

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CHAPTER I
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM
AND
METHOD OF PROCEDURE

Even casual students of oratory are likely to recognize the potent effect of the emotional appeal of the speaker more than his logic and to feel that persuasion is engendered in them rather by the warmth of the orator's passion than by the calm and collected parade of his reasonings. They realize that all orators, ancient and modern, devote more attention to the exordium and the peroration than to the middle of the speech; they are aware of the conscious effort of the orator to win them over emotionally in the beginning, and to leave them with an exalted or a commiserative heart at the end. Deeper research into this phenomenon shows that the orators of antiquity were most concerned with the emotional side of their oratory. Even a summary knowledge of the famous Oration on the Crown of Demosthenes reveals that the vast part of this oration, which was perhaps the most celebrated in all antiquity, is nothing but an extended appeal to personality, prejudice and patriot-
ism with but little emphasis on the logical aspects of the case. Even more striking is Aeschines' speech for the prosecution in this same case of The Crown. Legally, Aeschines had a strong case, and from the standpoint of the legal and logical aspect should have had no trouble in winning the verdict. Emotionally, however, Aeschines was on the weaker side -- he could not wave the flag of democratic Athens with the same vehemence or in the same cause as Demosthenes. Nonetheless, instead of resting his case solely upon his logic, he felt the need of employing the emotional appeal, weak though it was. As we pass from the democracy of Athens to the democracy of Rome, we pass from the democracy of the city-state to the democracy of a world-state, a state in which the emotional appeal of the orator would have greater weight because it could be employed upon topics of greater moment and of wider scope. And it is interesting to note that in the orator who best represents the Roman oratory of the Republic the factor or emotional appeal has such great weight in the winning of persuasion for his cause.

In the following chapters I intend to point out the factors which contribute to Cicero's practically unique art of swaying the minds of men by moving the hearts. I became interested in research into the emotional appeal
of Cicero when I was struck forcibly by the tribute which Quintilian, the famous literary critic of his day, paid the orator, when he called him the supreme artist possessing the power to play upon the feelings of men. If such were the estimate of Quintilian, then there should certainly be copious examples of the emotional appeal in Cicero, and it was especially in the Catilinarians that I proposed to discern just how the orator exercised this faculty. Furthermore, in spite of intensive research on my part, I failed to discover any work whatever, wherein the writer attempted to prove that Cicero succeeded in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy solely through an appeal to the feelings of his public. Not only does this investigation bid fair to contain some fresh collation of data and conclusions concerning Cicero's emotional appeal, it has the added advantage of dealing with those orations of the great Tully which are most frequently read. As a result, the reading of this thesis should prove of material advantage to all students of Cicero.

In the present work, therefore, I shall endeavor to point out some of the more outstanding factors in the Catili-

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1 Quintilian, XI, i, 85: "summus ille tractandorum animorum artifex"
narians which contributed to the orator's power of exciting in his hearers the whole gamut of human emotions.

I have found that the foremost of these factors was the orator's reputation for self-sacrifice, patriotism and integrity. Frequently among the ancients we find that a man's success in achieving his object was attributable in large part to his possession of such estimable traits of character as these. Chief among such men of antiquity we might place Demosthenes whose speeches are the very breath of patriotism - if passionate devotion to the greatness and the traditions of a country, and if recognition of an unlimited duty of maintaining its fame by energy, courage and self-sacrifice are considered emblematic of patriotism. When he was sent as an ambassador to the Thebans, his force and power fanned their courage and fired their emulation to such an extent that they cast away every thought of fear or obligation and chose the path of honor to which his words invited them. Through his speeches he united cities and peoples into a general league. He ruled supreme in their popular assemblies and incensed them against Philip and Alexander the Great of Macedonia, Plutarch tells\(^1\) us that he exercised his authority with-

out unfair means. Then, too, we find that the best of Romans were willing to die for their country and did die for it, not only by going into battle but in other ways as well. As Roman history informs us we have the story of Regulus, the Roman prisoner, who was sent along with the Carthaginian ambassadors to assist them in their purpose of securing peace and who promised at the same time to return at once to Carthage if he failed in his mission. The Carthaginians believed that for his own sake Regulus would do all that he could toward restoring peace. But when the latter reached Rome he was noble enough to forget himself, courageous enough not to make peace and not to exchange the Carthaginian prisoners for the Romans who were held at Carthage. Regulus then returned to his enemies and met a cruel death at their hands. Another famous incident is that of Camillus, the Roman general, who had a goodly share of years, as well as of glory. On watching the retreat of the Roman soldiers, he addressed them with fiery words, spurring them on to patriotism. Then he commanded his men to lift him on his horse. The soldiers, with shouts of renewed courage were thus led to

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1 Caroline H. and Samuel Harding, The City of the Seven Hills, p. 132.
2 Ibid., p. 105.
victory. Again, when Appius Claudius Caecus the con-
structor of the first aqueduct and the builder of the Ap-
pian Way, heard that peace was about to be made with
Pyrrhus who was stationed with his army on the Italian
soil, he ordered his servants to carry him in his chair
through the Forum to the Senate house. There by appeal-
ing to their patriotism he prompted them to continue the
fight. Thus did personal devotion to country lend added
weight to the emotional appeal in the speeches of these
ey early Romans.

Cicero himself was an exemplary pattern of Roman
character and conduct. In the passages wherein he in-
forms the citizens that they have a consul who has been
saved from many dangers and plots, from the jaws of death
not for his own sake but for their preservation, or where
he commended to the Romans his little son for protection
if they would but remember that he was the son of the man
who saved the entire state, risking himself alone,

\[\text{1Caroline H. and Samuel Harding, op. cit., p. 120.}\]

\[\text{2Cicero, In Catilinam, IV, ix: "Habetis consulem ex-
plurimis periculis et insidiis etque ex media morte non
ad vitam suam sed ad salutem vestram reservatum".}\]

\[\text{3Ibid., xi: "Commendo vobis parvum meum filium...si
eius qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conservavit il-
um filium esse memineristas".}\]
in such passages are detected the sparks of that reputation for self-sacrifice and patriotism which blaze brightly throughout his speeches. Moreover, Cicero continually gave expression to the ideal of love of one's country, which demanded the willingness to die for one's native land in case of necessity. He devoted himself nobly to his civic duty and no sacrifice of time or labor was too great for him if, thereby, he could but achieve some success for the republic. Res Publica, the Republic, was the one word which contained a political charm to his ear. Thus it was that his appeal to patriotism proved to be a torch applied to the prevailing passion of the Roman, for he himself being a master of such emotions and being himself so moved, could mould the feelings of others into harmony with his own.

Besides his reputation for patriotism and self-sacrifice another factor which I regard as valuable in enabling Cicero to sway the masses was his invocation of the deities. The Roman was a person in whom the fear of the gods and the influence of the supernatural were factors which every orator had to take into account. In fact, in Cicero's own time the strength and violence of the attack of

1Torsten Petersson, *Cicero*, p. 37.
Lucretius on the deep-seated superstitions of the people is, in itself, an indication of the hold which religious observances had on the average educated Roman. And in former times did not Marcus Curtius, a brave youth, devote himself as a sacrifice to the gods so that his country might not perish? At another time when the Roman armed forces were giving way and the enemy was pressing on to victory, the chief priest showed how necessary to them was the aid of the gods. Did not Decius Mus then sacrifice his life in the same unselfish spirit? He mounted his horse and rushed into the midst of the enemy, where he fell pierced by many weapons. It was perhaps with such precedents in mind, and with a keen appreciation of the sensitivity of his audience to a religious appeal, that Cicero employed his invocations to the gods of Rome, invocations that could not fail to exalt the heart and stir the soul from its profound depths.

In addition, therefore, to the item of personal character, I intend to devote a chapter to the constant in-

1 Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, Bk. 1, 62-65: "Humana ante oculos foede cum vita inceret in terris oppressa gravi sub religione quae caput a coeli regionibus ostendebat horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans"

2 Ibid. 101: "tantum religio potuit suadere malorum"

3 Caroline H. and Samuel Harding, op. cit., p. 113.
voking and apostrophising of the deities by Cicero. The very fact that Cicero, in his speeches, could appeal to the religious feelings of his listeners necessitates the presence of religious feeling in their hearts. Every Roman believed that Jupiter, Optimus Maximus, was the god of the heaven above them and watched over the destinies of the Roman State\(^1\). Even Sulla who plundered the temple at Delphi, always carried with him a little image of Apollo, which he frequently kissed, and to which he addressed fervent prayers in moments of danger\(^2\). In the eyes of Lucretius all worship seemed prompted by fear and based on ignorance of natural law\(^3\). He saw men fearing death and fearing the gods. And so we note Cicero made use of this popular weakness in order to prevent crime and add terror to life. He announced himself the agent of the purpose and the wisdom of the gods, saying that it was they who had willed that the wicked should be punished in the infernal region\(^4\). He emphasized continually the providence

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\(^1\) Warde W. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, p. 337.  
\(^3\) Lucretius, op. cit. Bk. III, 87-90:  
"nam veluti pueri trepidant atque omnia caecis in tenebris meticunt, sic nos in luce timemus interdum, nilo quae sunt metuenda magis quam quae pueri in tenebris pavitant figuntque futura"  
of the immortal gods

Thirdly, I intend to show how Cicero's skillful use of rhetorical devices was still another of the potent means which he employed to secure a favorable popular reaction toward the banishing of Catiline. In fact, it was this expert touch on the chords of rhetoric that made his hearers live through the conspiracy with him. In the Catilinarians we find interwoven with diligent dexterity every ornament that the art of rhetoric could supply. He has not only successfully employed and applied the rules of that art which were previously in vogue but has multiplied them and created others: such as his favorite clausulae, and his uses and adaptations of prose rhythm. His richly-decorated style, his pungent sallies of passion, and his tremendous apostrophies gained for him a powerful influence over the senses and feelings of his hearers. Because of his eloquence, Cicero stands out in bold relief as one of the most powerful and magnetic personalities among orators.

Therefore, besides his invoking of the deities for the sole purpose of securing the people's approval to rid...
the country of the Catilinarian plague, I wish to show in another chapter a further means used by Cicero for attainment of this object, namely, the employment of glittering rhetoric. He dazzled his audience with the brilliancy of his speeches. Not only were the elaborate periods developed with attention to such rhetorical figures as anaphora, chiasmus, hyperbaton and others; there was also considerable emphasis upon prose rhythm and certain favorite clausulae of the orator which were always called upon by the author at critical points. The author's magic "bag of tricks" with which he charmed their ears led also the minds of his listeners to react to their emotions.

Furthermore, I shall indicate how Quintilian, whom Windsor calls a "tolerably just critic," can say of him that for posterity the name of Cicero has come to be regarded not as the name of a man, but as the name of eloquence itself. Now, if Cicero and eloquence are synonymous, it will be well to determine in this introductory chapter just what is meant by "eloquence." Many writers,

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2 Quintilian, X, 1, 112: "apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero iam non hominis nomen, sed eloquentiae habeatur."
ancient and modern, have tried to explain the meaning of this "art of arts". Why an "art"? When the human mind endeavors to express itself passionately, definitely, vividly -- that is the beginning of art; whereas when the form charms the eye or the ear through the permanent and continuing power of beauty -- that is the end of art. Eloquence is supposed to bear an intellectual message, to convince through logic, and to attract through charm. And so in formulating a definition of eloquence, this masterful art, I have restricted myself to that of Cicero's own, since Thorndike remarks that "Cicero himself said the best things ever said about it":

"Eloquence is not only the art of addressing men in public -- it is the gift of strong feeling, accurate thought, extensive knowledge, splendor of imagination, force of expression, and the power of communicating, in written or spoken language, to other men, the idea, the feeling, the conviction of truth, the admiration for the beautiful, the disposition of uprightness, the enthusiasm for virtue, the devotion to duty, the heroic love of country, and the faith in immortality, which make men honorable -- the feeling heart, the clear head, the sound judgment, the popular knowledge, the artistic imagination, the ardent patriotism, the attachment to liberty, the pious philosophy, and lastly the religion consonant with the most exalted idea of the people great, and the human race sacred."

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3 Quoted from A. DeLamartine, Memoirs of Celebrated Characters, p. 335.
Taking into account, therefore, Cicero's own viewpoint of eloquence I have endeavored to attribute the man's success in his Catilinarians first of all to the man himself, because he himself possessed the gift of strong feeling, the force of expression and the power of communicating himself to others. With his resolute and imperious tone he forced himself upon men's convictions to the extent that he convinced them that Catiline should be disposed of. He stirred public opinion and excited it in his favor. He knew how to talk to the swaying and passionate mob and make himself listened to. He made the deliberative assembly accept and even applaud opinions contrary to the preference of some of its members. For who would dare to salute Catiline on his arrival in the Senate? Such a belligerent attitude on the part of Catiline's fellow-Senators was something great indeed for the orator to achieve. His eloquence rose and triumphed in that splendor of imagination which we detect in those impassioned apostrophes where he personifies his native country as if pleading with Catiline. Again his enthusiasm for virtue, his devotion to duty, his heroic love of country, his attach-

\(^1\)Cicero, In Catilinam, I, vii.
\(^2\)Ibid., xi.
ment to liberty, — those offsprings of true eloquence — are readily recognized in the famous perorations where he exhorts the Senate to take measures for the protection of the Roman people, for their wives and their children, for their altars and hearths, for the shrines and the temples, for the dwellings and homes of the entire city, for the government and for liberty, for the safety of Italy, for the whole state. And then he assures them that they have a consul who will not hesitate to obey their orders, who can uphold their decrees as long as he shall live and who can by himself warrant their accomplishment. Such exhortations as these did, then, influence the affairs of his country. It seems impossible, after reading the Catilinarians and realizing their effect to deny to him the possession of the power of swaying the mob and convincing honest people. He did with his words all that words could possibly do.

Perhaps it may be objected that there was too much artifice and method in the Ciceronic style. A concise and simple statement might be more suitable, according to our notions. To this objection I would urge the point that Cicero's speeches were perfectly appropriate to the

\[1^\text{Cicero, In Catilinam, III, xii.}\]
taste of his time. The Roman public of his age was extremely appreciative of such rhetorical constructions as he employs, and it was precisely because of all these attributes that the orator won his way into their minds. Moreover, he believed that in order to persuade it is necessary to please, and not to be disagreeable in any respect. Even Quintilian in the passage which he takes from Vergil that if they see before them some grave statesman renowned for his virtue and high service, they listen to him attentively and he is the man who controls their minds and soothes their passions seems to attribute only to the good man, the "man of integrity and devotion" (pietate gravem) the power of entering into the hearts of men and winning their affection, for men then "stand in silence with their ears erect". As a result they are in a pliant mood for he can "rule their hearts by his words and soothes their passions". This man who has weight (gravem) because of his patriotism and devotion (pietate) would seem to Quintilian to be examplar

1G. C. Richards, Cicero, p. 230.
2Quoted from D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism, p. 549.
3Quintilian, XII, i, 27.
4Vergil, Aeneid Bk. I, 153-154: "Tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant; Iste regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcat."
of the great orator, and it would appear that he stresses particularly such qualities of character.

Furthermore, the paramount importance of character is seen in the statement of Kleiser,¹ that "the value of personal character in the speaker is emphasized in the phrase, 'What you are prevents me from hearing what you say'. What an audience knows about a man goes to determine the mental image they have of him when he stands before them to speak, and in a very large degree does this affect the importance they attach to his utterance". Accordingly, it would seem to be important to this investigation to determine what the Romans knew about Cicero, what sort of man they conceived him to be for such knowledge would determine their "mental image" of him and greatly affect their reaction of his words.

Now, DeQuincy² tells us that "the only actor who stood upon the authority of his character was Cicero. All others, from Pompey to the final partisans at Actium moved by the authority of arms". "I have saved Rome from the flames, the citizens from massacre and Italy from war" — such were the proud yet justifiable boasts of Cicero,³

¹Grenville, Kleiser, Great Speeches and How to Make Them, p. 9
²Thomas DeQuincey, Historical and Critical Essays, p. 2.
³Cicero, In Catilinam, III, i.
the dictator, but a dictator friendly to the people. His supreme ambition was not to amass riches or dominate his fellow-men, but to win admiration, whereas the triumvirs, The Three-Headed Monster ¹ - Pompey through his fame, Crassus through his wealth, and Caesar through his genius — combined, thought of nothing but their own ambition and personal fortunes. In his missive to Atticus, ² Cicero says that "Pompey has resolved upon a cruel and deadly war. Pompey is aiming at monarchy after the type of Sulla". Caesar, suspected as a secret accomplice of Catiline, left for the conquest of the unknown country for he understood that he would require an army as well as military renown to gain mastery over Rome. Both Caesar and Pompey formed the triumvirate in order to seize upon the government of the republic. The question pertinent for us to answer is whether a Roman would believe that true patriots think of political revolutions and civil war or that they think first and foremost of the peace, stability and well-being of all the citizens. If then, Cicero does have any acknowledged superiority over other men of the last century of the Republic, these references seem to indicate that this superiority arises as much

¹Gaston Delayen, op. cit. p. 150.
²Cicero, Ad Att. ix.
from his personal character and lofty patriotism as from any rhetorical or linguistic excellence which he may possess. It will be necessary, therefore to devote our attention to the orators' personality as well as to his "bag of tricks" in order to appreciate to the fullest extent the power and influence which he exerted on the feelings of his hearers.

And so delving into Cicero's reputation as an ardent patriot and a man of integrity, his appeal to the gods together with the employment of high-sounding phrases, sonorous and thundering periods that his generation delighted in, I shall venture to prove in the following chapters that these factors kindled his audience's fancies, warmed their passions and awakened their interests. They climaxed his success in squelching that monstrous design, the overthrow of the Republic.
"We should have seen him in the Campus Martius,—
In the tribunal,—shaking all the tribes
With mighty speech. His words seemed oracles,
That pierced their bosoms; and each man would turn,
And gaze in wonder on his neighbor's face,
That with the like dumb wonder answer'd him:
Then some would weep, some shout, some deeper touch'd
Keep down the cry with motions of their hands,
In fear but to have lost a syllable".

Quoted from David A. Harsha,
The Eminent Orators and Statesmen of Ancient and Modern Times, p. 62.
CHAPTER II

CICERO'S SINGULAR ART OF INGRATIATING HIMSELF INTO THE MINDS OF MEN THROUGH THE HEART

"Which is mightier, the pen or the sword"? We ask ourselves this hackneyed question after reading Cicero's Catilinarians. According to Quintilian, Caesar has answered it for us when he says that "Cicero triumphs over all, by virtue of his eloquence, than all the rest of the Romans by their arms". Through years of linguistic study and practice, Cicero became a world master of language habits, and also an artist well-versed in swaying the feelings of his emotional Roman listeners. To him is attributed the admirable talent of affecting the heart by the wonderful art of moving the passions. Nature endowed him supremely for this. Already as a school boy Cicero acquired such reputation that the fathers of

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2 J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome (Golden Age), p. 375.
3 Gaston Boissier, Cicero and His Friends, p. 42.
his schoolmates came to see the prodigy. Ambition, talents and self-confidence were his gifts from the gods and the gods are partial. He never needed to fight against the ordinary temptations of idleness, or greed, or envy, or pleasure. Thus such particular combination of gifts as Cicero's disposition and talents were an assets to his career.

Cicero tells us that Hortensius yielded to him most freely in the art of Peroration because it was his (Cicero's) sovereign perfection to be able to move his audience and to make impressions upon their minds by the turns of his eloquence. How did he accomplish these effects? By the sheer force of his reasoning he was able to engender the ardent emotions by which he attained the desired resolutions of all who heard him. No one can convince and move to action who is not himself convinced of the peculiar value of that action. No one can inspire who is not inspired. The salesman must first sell his product to himself before he can sell it to others. He must reasonably demonstrate to himself the superiority of the product he is selling. Cicero was a salesman who had for sale a

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1. T. Petersson, op. cit., p. 33.
2. Cicero, Brutus 190; Orator 130.
commodity known as Roman Republicanism. And it was because he had first demonstrated to himself the inherent advantage of that commodity, having himself experienced the feelings with which he wished to inspire his audience, that he could command and sway them according to his wishes, firing them with his own zeal, and electrifying them with the current of his own power.¹

Cicero looked at oratory from the point of view of the practical man, of the salesman who had to convince not one house-wife, but the whole thinking body of the Roman people, for he considered the people, his listeners, the final judges.² He realized that the gift of arousing an intelligent but excitable populace was the most valuable asset of a speaker. According to his opinion, man was eloquent only so far as he knew the secret folds and natural turnings of the heart, and could lay them open to the public view. He tells us again and again that the orator's greatest power is found in his capacity to stir the emotions of his hearers. Oratory's aim is not simply to convince, but to lead to decision, to move to action.³

Among the statements which Cicero himself makes con-

¹Torsten Petersson, op. cit., p. 1000
²J. E. D'Alton, op. cit., p. 149.
³Grenville Kleiser, op. cit., p. 61.
cerning the importance of emotional appeal is his remark in the *Orator* where he is distinguishing between the "two topics which, if well-handled by the orator, arouse admiration for his eloquence".¹ He speaks of one of these under its Greek title ὑποθετόν ("expressive of Character"), and while this is related to men's nature, character and habits, and deals with the intercourse of life, still the other is far more important. This element the Greeks called πάθητικόν ("relating to the emotions"). "IT," says Cicero, "arouses and excites the emotions and in this part alone oratory reigns supreme".²

Thus although Cicero recognizes that the style of an oration must conform to the character and habits of men, still he ranks above this need for "characterization", the need of emotional appeal as the one dominant element in oratory.

Again, in the *De Oratore*³ he emphasizes the same fact that the supreme power of the orator consists in exciting the minds of men to the various passions, such as anger, or hatred, or grief, or in recalling them from these violent emotions to gentleness and compassion. He goes on

¹Cicero, *Orator*, 128.
²Cicero, *ibid*. 128: "alterum quod idem nominat quo perturbantur animi et concitantur, in quo uno regnat orato-
³Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, xii.
farther in the *Orator* and definitely points out that the duty of an orator is not only to inform his audience of some circumstance or prove his point but also to be able to win the favor of the hearers and stir them to the desired action. It certainly did not suffice for Cicero to enumerate all the vices of Catiline. His primary aim in this case was to get the Senate interested in the affair and put Catiline on the carpet.

He shows us, then, that eloquence that amuses the head without affecting the heart does not deserve its name. And in his Catilinarian struggle how vividly did his eloquence burn in his heart, flash in his eyes, and burst from his lips, as he pronounced such statements: "Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam".\(^1\) This effectiveness of Cicero's eloquence, based on the tone, look, gesture and whole manner\(^2\) (all of which things cannot be transferred to the written or printed page) played as well an important part in the orator's projecting himself into the minds of his hearers. Cicero knew the importance and power of gesture when he remarked\(^3\) "the hands are the common language of mankind",

\(^1\) Cicero, In Catilinam I, ii: "You live, - and you live, not to lay aside but to persist in your audacity".
\(^2\) Grenville Kleiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27.
\(^3\) David A. Harsha, *Orators and Statesmen*, p. 64.
and seemed never ready to talk "till he had warmed his arm". Mighty mouthed and easily impressible, with a vivid imagination and strong emotional nature, his very presence and bearing were enough to command, inspire, electrify and win. In this "prince of orators" were combined all the essential qualities of the accomplished Orator.

According to Harsha Cicero displayed his greatest talents as an orator and statesman by detecting and crushing the conspiracy of Catiline. He considers this "the most glorious act of his political career; and his orations against Catiline as the most splendid monuments of his eloquence". Did not the Catilinarians drive out the conspirators from Rome and save the commonwealth from utter destruction? Did not Catiline himself lose his life in a battle? Were not five of the principal conspirators executed? Was not, finally, the conspiracy completely suppressed?

4 David, A Harsha, op. cit., p. 51.
5 Ibid., p. 51.
6 Cicero, In Catilinam III, i: "Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe".
7 Sallust, ibid., LV: "In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium quibus praecetum erat laqueo gulum fregere."..."De Cethego, Statilio, Gabiniis, Coepario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est."
Possessing the knowledge and the power to win his way to the heart, to touch the tender cords of the soul, to convince, to move, to arouse, to astonish, Cicero could accomplish what he did. His were the last and highest notes of patriotic eloquence in Rome. We are well aware that he never lost sight of the man who put Catiline to flight and thus saved the Capitol.\(^1\) But though his voice at Rome was equivalent to the modern press -- Cicero being a greater editorial writer than the world has ever known\(^2\) -- yet he seemed prouder of his political achievements than his eloquence in his speeches. That he boasted so much about saving the republic from utter destruction may be ascribed to the intense love he possessed for his native land. This he makes apparent in his speech *In Pisonem*,\(^3\) where he draws for us a vivid picture of his solicitude for the welfare of his native country. Cicero tells us the story in his own words how at the cost of enmity to himself, but no odium to the senate, he deprived of the privilege of candidature at the elections young men, though brave and patriotic, who would have shattered the constitution, had they obtained the office. He alone, when Lucius Catiline

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\(^{1}\) G. C. Richard, "Cicero" (Review), *Times*, p. 55.


\(^{3}\) Cicero, *In Pisonem* II, 4-5.
was not obscurely but openly plotting the massacre of the senate and the destruction of the city, bade him go forth from the city, that Rome might be protected by its walls from one from whom the laws could not protect them. He, in the last month of his consulship, wrenched from the abominable hands of conspirators the weapons which were levelled at the throats of his citizens. The torches which were already lit for the conflagration of the city were by him seized, displayed and extinguished. Then he goes on to say that constantly he defended the senate upon the rostra and the people in the senate-house; he welded the populace with its leaders, and the equestrian order with the senate. Finally his self-laudatory speech reached its apex when he repeated the solemn oath that during his consulship Rome had been saved by his work alone.

We conclude this chapter with the verdict that Cicero's power of playing upon the minds of his Roman audience brought about decisive measures in saving the state by foiling the conspirator Catiline. The various means employed for accomplishing this feat will be successively discussed in the oncoming chapters. We shall start with one of the foremost factors which contributed extensively toward the achieving of his laurel, the fact that Cicero himself excelled his contemporaries as a man of good reputation. This constituted one of the surest passports to popular favor. Quin-
tilian says¹ that "if a bad man has been discovered who is endowed with the highest eloquence, the critic would none the less deny that the man is an orator; for he believes that true courage cannot be conceived without the accompa­niment of virtue". On account of this great avenue of distinction he could expect from others what he possessed himself. We shall note that his people adhered to his words because he had built up their confidence in himself. Public opinion forbade even Sallust, Cicero's public enemy, to write in his dispraise.² Few men have ever exercised such direct influence.

¹Quintilian XII, i, 23.
²A. Trollope, The Life of M. T. Cicero, p. 17.
"Ac, veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
Seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces, et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat;
Tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus adstant;
Ista regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet."

-- Virgil, Aeneid, I, 150-155.

"As when in tumults rise the ignoble crowd,
Mad are their motions, and their tongues are loud;
And stones and brands in rattling volleys fly,
And all the rustic arms that fury can supply;
If then some grave and pious man appear,
They hush their noise, and lend a listening ear;
He soothes with sober words their angry mood,
And quenches their innate desire of blood."

Translation by Dryden
CHAPTER III

HIS OWN REPUTATION, A POTENT FACTOR
IN EXCITING THE EMOTIONS

How did Cicero, the upstart, (novus homo) the stranger from the country, succeed in driving out the traitor Catiline, that unscrupulous ring-leader of an ancient patrician family, when there were many in that senate body\(^1\) who leaned toward that "scum of humanity",\(^2\) pilloried as the very pattern of all wickedness\(^3\) who had threatened the liberties of Rome?\(^4\) We have this vehement apostrophe:

"Quosque tandem abutere, Catilina
patientia nostra? Quam diu etiam furor
iste tuus nos eludet? Quam ad finem
esse effrenata iactabit audacia?"\(^5\)

Had we been present at the senate we should have seen Cicero, his eye fixed upon the conspirator. We should have heard him breaking into the most scathing invective a-

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\(^1\) J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*, p. 123.
\(^3\) Gaston Delayen, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.
\(^4\) Torsten Petersson, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
\(^5\) Cicero, *In Catilinam I, i*: "In heaven's name, Catiline, how long will you abuse our patience? How long will that madness of yours mock us? To what limit will your unbridled audacity vaunt itself?"
gainst Catiline when he accused him of attacking openly the whole state, of threatening with destruction the temples of the immortal gods, the houses of the city, the lives of all the citizens, - in short, all Italy, and then, when he disclosed the infamy in the conspirator's private affairs, when he emphasized that licentiousness in his eyes, that atrocity in his hands, that iniquity in his whole body. With all the fire and force of an incensed eloquence, he laid open the whole course of his villainies, and the notoriety of his treason, in order to show Catiline that his plot was discovered, that his movements were discovered and to drive him out of the city into the position of a public enemy. Did his words bear weight? What was the reaction of his audience to this fiery denunciation of Catiline's effrontery? In answer we have Cicero's own response in the Second Catilinarian, where he recounted to the people the events which had transpired in the senate on the preceding day.

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1Cicero, In Catilinam I, v: "Nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis; templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italian totam ad exitium et vastitatem vocas".

2Ibid., vi: "Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est? Quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret fama? Quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore afuit?"

3Ibid., II, vi.
He makes mention first of all of the personal danger to which he had been exposed when he had been "all but murdered" in his own home. Then after winning the sympathy of his hearers he tells how he had convened the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator and had related the affair to the gentlemen of the senate. With what result? Cicero is most emphatic and dramatic in employing the rhetorical question to heighten the colors of the picture he is painting. "What senator addressed him?"1 he cries. "Who looked upon him not so much even as an implacable enemy?" And with these questions ringing in their ears, Cicero completes his picture with the graphic touch of the leaders leaving "that part of the benches to which he came bare and unoccupied."2

We should have seen this most powerful exhibition of indignant, denunciatory eloquence that terrified the enemy of liberty! Even his accomplices did not dare to salute Catiline. Astonished by the thunder of this speech, the latter had little to say. Cicero tells us that Catiline was silent,3 and Sallust adds that, uttering violent

1Cicero, In Catilinam II, vi: "quis salutavit, quis denique aspexit ut perditum civem ac non potuís ut importuniss um hostem?"
2Ibid., "Quin etiam principes eius ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt."
3Cicero, Orator, 129: "a nobis homo audacissimus Catilina in senatu accusatus obmutuit."
threats, he left the house. Proclaiming himself the general of the Republic, he hurried into Etruria to assume the responsibilities of the head of an open insurrection. The people were inflamed with indignation against him. How did the orator accomplish these electric effects? The general esteem which he had won gave him the air of authority to denounce Catiline. His reputation as an honest or as De Quincey tells us "thoughtfully conscientious man", in other words, his wise conduct gained him the confidence of his people so that they believed whatever he said.

Quintilian wrote about him:

I cannot see that the aims of Cicero were in any portion of his career other than such as may become an excellent citizen. As evidence I would cite the fact that his behaviour as consul was magnificent and his administration of his province a model of integrity, while he refused to become one of the twenty commissioners, and in the grievous civil wars which afflicted his generation beyond all others, neither hope nor fear ever deterred him from giving his support to the better party, that is to say, to the interests of the commonwealth."
In addition Rolfe tells us that "no man of Cicero's day could show so clean a record, and few statesmen of any age would appear to better advantage if their acts and thoughts were exposed to the same publicity as those of Cicero". 1

Cicero discharged his debts conscientiously in order to have a free hand and avoid putting himself under obligation to anyone.2 It is equally to his credit that he did not enrich himself at the expense of his province. And yet, in what manner did he gain the wealth he possessed? He did not acquire it from his practice at the bar. There was a law forbidding orators to accept any fee from those for whom they pleaded. We have no evidence in his letters that he acted like Pompey, who profited from his funds invested in an important bank. His works were not sold to booksellers as is the custom of authors of the present day. At Cicero's time books were usually borrowed and copied by slaves. The ambitious noble usually counted on immense wealth which he procured in the government of provinces. Cicero deprived himself of this opportunity by yielding to Antony, his colleague, the province which was due to him after his consulship. Again, he tells us

1John C. Rolfe, Cicero and His Influence, p. 64.
2Ibid., p. 62.
in one of his letters that he succeeded in delivering many states from the burden of excessive tribute, high rates of interest, and fraudulent debt claims.\textsuperscript{1} In reference to his management in Cilicia he professed that in all his life he never experienced so much pleasure in the contemplation of his incorruptibility as at that time, and that it was not so much the enhancement of his reputation, though that is important, as the exercise of the virtue that delighted him.\textsuperscript{2} It is probable, however, that the nobles whose honor or fortune he had saved and the towns or provinces that he had protected against greedy governors, had often found an opportunity of testifying their gratitude by bequest which they left him. The greatest origin of his fortunes was the legacies received after death and will of the clients. From Cicero's letters to Atticus we are informed that Cluvius, a rich banker of Puteoli, left his estate to Cicero.\textsuperscript{3} We read in Pro Milone that Cyrus placed Cicero among his heirs.\textsuperscript{4} One

\textsuperscript{1}Cicero, Ad Fam. XV, 4: "Quibus in oppidis cum magni conventus fuissent, multas civitates acerbissimis tributis et gravissimis usuris et falso aere alieno liberavi."

\textsuperscript{2}Cicero, Ad Att. V, 20: "Ego in vita mea nulla umquam voluptate tanta sum adfectus, quanta adficior hac integritate, nec me tam fama, quae summa est, quam res ipsa deflectat."

\textsuperscript{3}Cicero, Ad. Att. XIV, xi: "De Cluvio quoniam in re mea me ipsum diligenta vincis, res ad centena perducitur."

\textsuperscript{4}Cicero, Pro Milone, xviii: "Nam quid de Cyro nuntiet, quem Clodius Roma proficiscens reliquerat morientem? Testamentum simul obsignavi, una fui; testamentum autem palam fecerat et illum heredem et me scripserat."
of the largest sums inherited was from his old master, Stoic Diodotus, as a recompense of his long-continued affection.\textsuperscript{1} These traits of honesty and integrity endeared him to his people. They set up statues to him. They looked upon him as the public oracle and tutelary god of their country.\textsuperscript{2} A certain Macer, an office-seeker, having learned that Cicero had intended to cast a vote against him, pronounced himself already defeated without pleading his cause. He committed suicide under the impression that Cicero's condemnation was the verdict of the gods.\textsuperscript{3} Again, when Caesar sought the partnership of Cicero in the coalition with Pompey and Crassus, he figured that Cicero's character would give respectability to the new party.

Then, too, we see that Cicero neglected no means that might acquire for him the reputation of good man. In this he succeeded by the frequent portrayal in his speeches of the qualities of a faithful Roman. The following portions of his Catilinarians show the drift of his tactics. He called Lucius Flaccus and C. Pompitinius, the praetors, brave men (fortissimos) and well-affected

\textsuperscript{1}Cicero, \textit{Ad Att. II}, xx: "Diodotus mortuus est; reliquit nobis HS fortasse centiens."
\textsuperscript{2}Alphonse DeLamartine, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 361.
\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., p. 351.
He summoned his citizens to consider Scipio illustrious (clarus) because by his wisdom (consilio) and valor (virtute) Hannibal was compelled to return to Africa and to depart from Italy. This second Africanus, who destroyed the two cities of Carthage and Numantia, which were hostile to the Roman empire, was to be extolled with conspicuous praise (eximia laude). Lucius Paullus was to be thought a great man (egregius), he whose triumphal car was graced by Perses, previously a most noble (nobilissimus) and powerful (potentissimus) monarch. Marius who delivered Italy from siege and from the fear of slavery deserved eternal honor (aeterna gloria). Pompey was to be preferred to them all; Pompey, whose virtues (virtutes) were bounded by the same districts and limits as the course of the sun. Then,

1Cicero, In Catilinam III, ii: "Itaque hesterno die Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me vocavi. Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica praecella atque egregia sentirent". 2Ibid., IV, x: "Sit Scipio clarus ille, cuius consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque Italia decedere coactus est" 3Ibid., "ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duos urbes huic imperio infestissimos, Carthaginem Numantiumque, delevit" 4Ibid., "habeatur vir egregius Paulus ille, cuius currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit" 5Ibid., "sit aeterna gloria Marius qui bis Italiam obсидione et metu servitutis liberavit" 6Ibid., "anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cuius res gestae atque virtutes isdem quibus. solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur."
further, in his speeches he continued to tag the patriots with superlatives of noble qualities such as when he called Q. Catulus a most eminent (clarissimo) and brave (fortissimo) man, when he spoke of the husband of Lucius Caesar's sister as a most excellent (lectissimae) woman, when he called the tribunes of the treasury most excellent (fortissimos) men, who displayed zeal in defense of the republic. Then he proceeded to say that no injury could be done to him by them for he felt great protection in the affection of all good (bonis) men, a protection which was procured for him forever. In another passage he mentioned a high spirit in the virtuous (in bonis) citizens.

The consul had nothing with which to oppose this horrid conspiracy except his power of eloquence which alone procured the desired results without any other assistance than firm, undaunted resolution. This he employed wherever opportunity presented itself.

1Cicero, In Catilinam III, x: "Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo et fortissimo viro Q. Catulo"
2Ibid., IV, vi: "cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae virum dixit"
3Ibid., vii: "Pari studio defendendae rei publicae conyenisse video tribunos aerarios, fortissimos viros"
4Ibid., xii: "Quamquam, Quiritas, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istic iam noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis praesidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est"
5Ibid., II, ix: "deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris".
6T. Petersson, op. cit., p. 171.
From the outcome of the Catilinarians we know that Cicero's reputation played a great part in promoting his success. A great orator must not only possess intellectual abilities but he must be a man of sterling character. In one of Pliny's letters to Catius Lepidus where Pliny attacks Regulus as the opposite of a good orator, he tells us that "Herennius Senecio admirably reversed Cato's definition of an orator and applied it to Regulus: 'An orator is a bad man, unskilled in the art of speaking.' In reality Cato's definition is not a more exact description of a true orator than Senecio's is of the character of this man."2

This magnetic orator besides his good reputation had other outstanding qualities of character, one of which we shall discuss in the following chapter. His patriotic zeal deserves a marked consideration. He always spoke of his country with a throb of pleasure, and finally sealed his devotion for it with his own blood.

1Pliny, Epistulae Selectae 4, vii: "Itaque Herennius Senecio mirifice Catonis illud de oratore in hunc e contrario vertit 'orator est vir malus dicendi imperitus'. Non mehercule Cato ipse tam bene verum oratorem quam hic Regulum expressit."
Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.

—Juvenal, Satires, VIII, 243.

Rome, free Rome, hailed him with loud acclaim,
The father of his country — glorious name.

—Gifford
CHAPTER IV

PATRIOTISM, THE TORCH APPLIED TO THE PRE-VAILING PASSION OF HIS ROMAN AUDIENCE

Since one of the most remarkable qualities displayed by Cicero was his sterling patriotism coupled with maintenance of constitutional freedom,¹ he was qualified to engender this same passion in his countrymen. He himself aimed at nothing but what was capable of promoting the glory and interest of his fatherland. He loved his own people.² In evidence of this trait we can point to the incident where the emperor Augustus had so great an opinion of Cicero's zeal for the good of his country that he gave evidence of the esteem he had for him. Sometime after the latter's death, Augustus said to his grandson, whom he found browsing over a volume of Cicero, "My child, this was a learned man and a lover of his country."³

Perhaps nothing can be compared with the uncorrupted

¹T. Petersson, op. cit., p. 37.
²Cicero, Orator, 23: "quod amarem meos".
³Alfred Church, Roman Life in the Days of Cicero, p. 292.
zeal this patriot displayed for his native country against the ambitious, aspiring man who meditated on one thing only; viz., how to raise himself to power by all the unjust methods he could discover. The orator had not trembled before the bravado of Catiline. Love of his country and loyalty in the discharge of public duty compelled him to denounce this villain, guilty of the basest crime, treason, and the murder of the Roman citizens. Had Catiline not sinned against pietas (devotion)? Roman pietas in its highest form was patriae filium esse.\(^1\) In Cicero's opinion, violence committed against one's fatherland amounted to that towards one's father.\(^2\)

The Catilinarian excerpt "nunc te patria quae communis est parens omnium nostrum odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te indicat nisi de parricido suo cogitare,"\(^3\) portrays one of the most successful attempts to excite the emotion of patriotism. Cicero could resort to this strongest appeal to the multitude for he himself, a master of this very passion, was able to attune others in harmony with his

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\(^2\)Cicero, *In Catilinam I*, xii.

\(^3\)Cicero, *ibid.*, I, vii: "now your native country which is the common parent of all of us hates and fears you and has no other opinion of you than that you are meditating parricide in her case".
own feelings.\textsuperscript{1} As a private citizen he always loved his
country faithfully; as a consul he was vigilant and patri-
otic.\textsuperscript{2} After having completed his term of office he swore
on the spur of the moment, when he was attacked by Piso in
the senate, that during his consulship Rome had been saved
by his work alone.\textsuperscript{3} His election to the consulship tended
towards a reconciliation between the Knights and the Sena-
tors. This consolidation and perpetuation of the harmony
between the orders was the dream of Cicero's politics. This
upstart (novus homo) defended the State as vigorously as
the proudest aristocrat could have done. Cicero's brilli-
ant success as consul won for him the title Pater Patri-
ae,\textsuperscript{4} peacefully without bloodshed. It was the most glori-
ous title with which any private person could hope to be
honored. It gave him pretence to the entire mastery over
the minds of men by establishing his dominion in their
hearts. He again was ready to support everything with
courage and joy, provided it were for the glory and well-
being of the Roman people. He was content to suffer un-

\textsuperscript{1} J. R. D'Alton, op. cit., p. 234: cf. De Or. II, 189.
\textsuperscript{2} Cicero, \textit{In\ Catilinam} III, i: "semper vigilavi et
providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tanti et tam abscon-
ditis insidiis salvi esse possemus"
\textsuperscript{3} Cicero, \textit{In\ Pisonem} III, 6: "Sine ulla dubitatione
juravi rem publicam atque hanc urbem mea unius opera esse
salvam"
\textsuperscript{4} G. C. Richard, op. cit., p. 279.
popularity if only he could fulfill his duty.  

He had made an offer of his life to save his country, for death would not be fearful to a brave man, not premature for one who had been consul, nor grievous for a man of wisdom. Richard tells us "that Cicero upheld the banner of a free republic to the end and gave his life for her." Cicero's patriotism appears sometimes bewildered. This is due, perhaps, to his vivid imagination which presented every possible aspect of a problem to his mind; as a consequence he would view it from a dozen angles. This habit led at times to inconsistency of statement, confusion or to hesitancy in action. One too sensitive to the excesses and acts of his fellow-men becomes deprived of their powerful support. This hero of his nation was, however, the exponent of its best thoughts and noblest aspirations; he was its faithful servant in life.

In other passages which are an expression of patriotism he aroused the popular passion by personifying his

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1 Cicero, In Catilinam II, vii: "Est mihi tanti, Quirites, huius invidae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem surre, dum modo a vobis huius horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur."

2 Cicero, ibid., iii: "nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari nec misera sapiaet."

3 G. C. Richard, op. cit., p. 64.
native land as she is represented crying aloud and address­ing her citizens when Cicero makes her say that there has now for many years been no crime committed but by Catiline, who alone unpunished and unquestioned has murdered the citizens, has harassed and plundered the allies, that he alone has had power not only to neglect all laws and inves­tigations but to overthrow and break through them. Do not such forceful statements impress the mind of a liberty loving people and produce the desired effects? Cicero aimed to kindle and keep alive the flame of liberty which had been fed by every lover of his country.

We have another such outpouring, now swelling with successive bursts of thunder, in the passage in which he tells the senators that their common country, besieged by the hands and weapons of an impious conspiracy, stretched forth her hands to them as a supplicant, that she recommends to them the lives of all the citizens, the citadel, the capitol, the altars of the household gods, the eternal and unextinguishable fire of Vesta, all the temples of all

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1Cicero, In Catilinam, I, vii: "Nullum iam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te. Tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad nes­gleendas leges et quaestiones verum etiam ad evertendas perfrigendasque voluisti."
the gods, the altars, the walls and the houses of the city. Moreover, their lives, the lives of their wives and children, the fortunes of all men, their homes, their hearths are this day interested in their decision.\(^1\)

In addition we have Cicero painting pictures of patriotic citizens, as in the passage where he refers to Lucius Caesar as a **thoroughly brave** (fortissimo) man, and of the **best disposition** toward (amantissimus) the republic,\(^2\) or as an **excellent young man**, Publius Sextius,\(^3\) or that **brave** (fortissimo) man, Marcus Marcellus. He comments on Lucius Flaccus and Caius Pomptinus, the praetors, stating that they **deservedly** (merito) and **rightly** (jure) were praised because he has availed himself of their brave (forti) and **loyal** (fidelis) assistance,\(^4\) or he speaks of Caius Marcius, that **most illustrious** (clarissimo) of men, who had

\(^{1}\)Cicero, *In Catilinam* IV, ix: "Obsessa facibus et tellis impiae coniurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis, vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templum et delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de coniugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima de fortinus omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodijerno die vobis iudicandum est."

\(^{2}\)Ibid., "vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae"

\(^{3}\)Ibid., I, vii: "huic adulescenti optimo P. Sestio si fortissimo viro M. Marcello"

\(^{4}\)Ibid., III, vi: "Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praetores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem merito ac iure laudarus"
no scruples about putting to death Caius Glaucius.\textsuperscript{1} He mentions the citizens who shed the blood of Saturninus, the Gracchi, and Flaccus, as most noble (summi) and most famous (clarissimi) men who not only did not stain their names but even were honored for their acts.\textsuperscript{2} Further on, how emphatically he claims that the honest (bonis) citizens have great courage (magnos animos); their unanimity of feeling (concordiam) is great (magnam).\textsuperscript{3}

At times Cicero may seem to have pursued a wavering course but his ultimate goal, the welfare of the republic, was foremost in his mind.\textsuperscript{4} We come in contact with such accusations even today. The American Observer carried an article about Raymond Clapper, a well-known columnist, whose comments appear daily in eighty-five newspapers, to the effect that he was accused by a reader of inconsistency. Mr. Clapper admitted that the gentleman was correct and that he switched almost completed around. He quoted columns he had written during the last several years to prove how changing world events had caused him, month by month, to revise his own personal opinions to a great extent and,

\textsuperscript{1}Cicero, In Catilinam III, vi: "C. Mario, clarissimo viro non fuerat quo minus C. Glauciam"

\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., I, xii: "Etenim si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt sed etiam honestarunt"

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., II, viii: "deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris magnum concordiam"

\textsuperscript{4}Frank, Tenney, Cicero, p. 17.
finally, concluded with these words:

"Yes, I have switched. I try to learn from events. Events are not consistent. Some people, once they adopt an idea, bury it in the ground and go on the rest of their lives defending it, without ever re-examining it to see whether time and the elements have caused it to decay into a worthless handful of dust. In that way you can be always consistent -- and often wrong."

Cicero's attainment in the Catilinarians best proved that an individual may be moved by an enthusiastic appeal to loyalty and patriotism. But in addition to this we should note that there was a sanctification of patriotism in Rome. This sanctification of the Roman citizen's highest ideal - embodied in the Roman religion. An appeal to religion might easily weld the state into a whole, as we shall note in the next chapter. It might well make and hold together a nation. Even St. Augustine, after four hundred years, seemed impressed with the spirit which breathed through the book of Varro, wherein the latter exhibited the vanities and follies of the old Roman religion.

Let us, therefore, now turn our investigation to the consideration of the use which Cicero makes of religious appeals in his attempt to arouse the popular emotions against Catiline.

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"If we wish," says Cicero, "to compare ourselves with other nations, we may be found in other respects equal or even inferior; in religion, that is in the worship of the gods, we are far superior."

Quoted from Bailey, The Religion of Ancient Rome, p. 113.
CHAPTER V

HIS INVOCATION TO THE DEITIES,
PROVOCATIVE OF DESIRED END

Not the least important device which Cicero employed in his art of oratory to gain for it power and conviction was his study of the affections and the interests of his audience. Following the natural bent of their inclinations toward religion, he moved in the same direction they would be likely to travel. Thus he seized upon what they seemed most prone to, so that he might with greater ease draw them after him. Religion was still a powerful motive force in men's lives, though it was a religion much altered from the religion of Numa.¹ In serious crises the state turned to religion for help, and we discover that for purposes of political and social expediency Cicero was willing, in outward show, to temporize with the traditional religion.

We notice the frequent mention Cicero made of divinities in his Catilinarian speeches. Was he himself devoted to the gods? From his works we might infer that he was

not. 1 In the letter which he addressed to his wife, Terentia, he says that he served men, while she worshipped gods. 2 Yet, when Tullia died, the bereaved father intended to build for her not a tomb (sepulchrum) but a shrine (fanum), 3 and we might note that when Cicero was an augur he was proud of holding that position. Still it is probable that such pride rested rather upon his natural conservatism and his respect for established institutions than upon religious conviction. He was keenly alive, however, to the political value which religion possessed - the value of unification of interest in the various elements in the constitution.

His majestic invocations to the gods, gained for him the esteem of pious and religious groups. These prayers certainly had a mighty influence over the minds of the men, for 

pietas, which expressed the due fulfillment of man's duty to god, is the rule and measure of all virtue. 4 It is in these invocations that we detect that a speaker has not a more advantageous way of recommending himself or of meriting approbation than by making a strict and severe pro-

1Grant Showerman, Rome and the Roman, pp. 292, 293.
2Cicero, Ad Fam. 12, 4, l: "Neque Dii, quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines, quibus ego semper servivi".
3Cicero, Ad. Att. XII, 12, 1.
4A. De Lamartine, op. cit., p. 348, 419.
fession of virtue. In the masses, full of superstitious fancies, such a profession of personal faith in the deities was perhaps the only means of establishing confidence in the authority set over them and of maintaining a belief in the power of that authority to secure the good-will of the gods and their favor in matters of material well-being. "In particular," remarks Friedlander, "it was recognized that the crowds, by reason of their morals and lack of education, were in need of religion. Ovid tells us with cynical frankness, that the existence of gods had its uses, and urged men to believe in them and to continue to sacrifice to them. It was emphatically declared that those who despised the gods were people who respected no one else, for Jupiter took his place as the supreme deity of the Roman state and the personification of the greatness and majesty of Rome itself. Carter says that even Lucretius's attack upon religion was a display of his own intensely religious nature, that he is unconsciously calling men to worship by his assaults upon current beliefs, in his criticisms of the ritual of worship. Cicero similarly stirred deep religious motives and

1T. Petersson, op. cit., pp. 393, 394, 456, 460.
2W. Warde Fowler, op. cit., p. 325.
4Ibid.
5Ibid., p. 86.
6W. F. Allen, Essays and Monographs, p. 86.
urged the Romans to propagate the adoration of their deities, when he attributed the world-wide victories of his people to piety, religion, and the knowledge that everything is directed by the will of the gods. In the Fourth Catilinarian he stated that the gods have determined that he should snatch the senators and the people from miserable slaughter, their wives and children and the vestal virgins from most bitter distress, the temples and shrines of the gods, and that most lovely country of all of them, from impious flames, all Italy from war and devastation. Deus to the Romans was a person of reverence, a supernatural being who could help or harm, and whose religious sanction attended birth, adolescence and marriage.

Let us examine the apostrophe Cicero made in glowing terms to the mighty Jupiter in one of his Catilinarian perorations where he tried to recapture the ancient Roman character, discipline and morals upon which he perceived that Rome's great past had been securely built. In the internal organization of the state there was felt the need of religious sanction for public morality, and Jupiter was invoked

1Cicero, In Catilinam IV, i: "di immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos populumque Romanum ex caede miserrima, conjuges liberosque vestros virginesque vestales ex acerbissima vexatione, templaque atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem"
as the deity of justice, Jupiter whom he pronounced conser-
trated by Romulus with the same auspices as the city, whom
the Romans rightly called the stay of the city and empire.
It is upon Jupiter that he calls to repel Catiline and his
companions from his own altars and from the other temples,
from the houses and walls of the city, from the lives and
fortunes of all the citizens, and to overwhelm all the ene-
mies of good men, the foes of the republic, the robbers of
Italy, men bound together by a treaty and infamous alliance
of crimes, dead and alive, with eternal punishments.¹

In another selection we find Cicero giving great thanks
to the immortal gods, and this very Jupiter in whose temple
they were, the most ancient protector of that city, that they
have already so often escaped so foul, so horrible, and so
deadly an enemy to the republic.² To whom was Jupiter not
known? What Roman had not had personal dealings with this

¹Cicero, In Catilinam, I, xiii: "Tu Jupiter, qui isdem
quibus haec urbs, auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem
Statorem huius urbis atque imperi vere nominamus, hunc et hu-
lius socios a tuis ceterisque templis a tectis, urbis ac moe-
nibus, a vita fortunisque civium arcebis et homines bonorum
inimicos hostis patriae, latrones Italiae scelerum foedere
inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos, aeternis, supple-
cliis vivos mortuosque mactabis".

²Ibid., v: "Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque
huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis,
gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque in-
festam rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus".
"highest and best" god? To him the Roman youth came to make his offering when he took the dress of manhood; to him the magistrates before entering on their year of office performed sacrifices; before him the victorious general with the spoils of his victory passed in procession.

Then, too, the fear of retribution for evil among the Roman was an important contribution to the character of a disciplined state. We note Cicero threatening the wicked with the statement that the immortal gods will stand by and bring aid to this invincible nation, this most illustrious empire, this most beautiful city, against such wicked violence.¹

In attributing the credit of saving Rome to himself he would, no doubt, spell his downfall. The reiteration of self-praise would create for him many enemies. Is he not shrewd, therefore, when in his hypnotic language he ascribed his success to the interposition of the Gods? "And if I were to say that it was I who resisted them, I should take too much to myself, and ought not to be tolerated. He -- he, Jupiter, resisted them, he determined that the capitol should be safe, he saved these temples, he saved this city,

¹Cicero, In Catilinam II, ix: "deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris praesentes auxilium esse latus."
he saved all of you, "says our magnetic orator. Or he tells his audience that he relied neither on his prudence, nor on human counsels, but on many and manifest intimations of the will of the immortal gods, under whose guidance he entertained this hope and this opinion; the gods who were defending their temples and the houses of the city not far off as they were used to, from a foreign and distant enemy, but here on the spot by their own divinity and their power.  

The view that religion supplied an instrument to the statesman might be traced in such addresses as those in which he questioned the Romans whether there could be anyone so obstinate against the truth, so headstrong, so void of sense, as to deny that all these things which they saw, and especially this city, was governed by the divine authority and power of the immortal Gods? And then, further on

1 Cicero, In Catilinam III, ix: "quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam et non sim ferendus; ille Jupiter restitit; ille Capitolium, ille cunctam urbem, ille vos omnis salvos esse voluit"

2 Cicero, Ibid. II, xiii: "Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentis neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiiis deorum immortalium significatioibus quibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus; qui iam non procul, ut quondam solemant, ab externo hoste atque longinque, sed hic praeentes suo nomine atque auxilio sua exempla atque urbis tecta defendunt."

Tbid. III, ix: "Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam versus a vero tam praeceps, tam mente captus, qui neget haec omnia quae videmus, praecipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari?"
he continued to emphasize the fact that the republic, and all their lives, their goods, their fortunes, their wives and children, the home of that most illustrious empire, their most fortunate and beautiful city, by the great love of the immortal gods for them were snatched from fire and sword, and almost from the very jaws of fate preserved and restored to them.  

Thus, we see that Cicero created a religious atmosphere to give support and sanction to the achievement of his immediate political aim. Although it was impossible for him to recapture the earlier Roman religion and the old family virtues, yet it proved to be one of the links in the chain that he was forging for the destruction of his antagonist. Besides, all these prayers and entreaties were molded into such hypnotic language that it simply charmed the public as we shall detect in our next chapter.

1 Cicero, In Catilinam III, i: "Rem publicam, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona fortunas, conjuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperi, fortunatissimam pulcherimamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summum erga vos amore, --- e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex facibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis."
Cardinal Newman in a letter to the Rev. John Hayes written April 13th, 1869, says:

"As to patterns for imitation, the only master of style I have ever had (which is strange considering the differences of the languages) is Cicero. I think I owe a great deal to him, and as far as I know to no one else."

Quotation from J.C. Rolfe, *Cicero and His Influence*, p. 159.
CHAPTER VI

HIS SKILLFUL EMPLOYMENT OF RHETORICAL DEVICES,
A MEANS TOWARD SECURING POPULAR REACTION

It was the practice of Cicero, while devoting himself in the main to a consideration of the formal methods conducive to the interests of his issue, to take into account as well the delectation of his audience, and by employing all the resources of an elaborate art of eloquence he easily charmed his listeners. Even in his own time his contemporary, Caesar,\(^1\) paid a tribute to him for his 'copia dicendi' (eloquence or fullness of rhetorical language) and for the services which the orator had rendered to Rome by the enrichment of his native tongue. Cicero's teacher Apollonius after hearing Cicero declaim, expressed himself to the effect that Cicero gained his praise and admiration, whereas Greece his pity and commiseration, since those arts and that eloquence which were the only glory that remained to her were to be transferred by Cicero to Rome.\(^2\) Such an amazing mastery over both word and thought did he possess that subsequent ages have

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always envied him as being an undisputed model due to his slow, deliberate, and magnificent style of speech. Quintilian, among the many glorious things which he said of Cicero, well observed: "He was sent by the special gift of providence, with such extraordinary powers that in him eloquence might manifest all her resources". ¹ Johnston and Kingery tell us that Cicero raised the Latin language to the highest plane of its development; Ciceronian Latin means all that is clear, direct and forcible. ² Another author says that Cicero lifted a language hitherto poor in vocabulary and stiff in phrase, to a level it never afterward surpassed. ³

In the Orator Cicero himself clearly indicates his preference for the Grand style, which was especially designed to stir the emotions of his hearers because of its richness (amplus), its variety (copiosus), its stateliness (gravis), its use of commonplaces and amplifications, and its forceful and vehement delivery. ⁴ Cicero believed that men make their decisions more often under the in-

¹Quintilian, XI, 109: "dono quodam providentiae genitus, in quo totas vires suas eloquentia experiretur"
⁴Cicero, Orator, xxviii, 97.
fluence of passion than under the influence of reason. By employing this style the orator could excite the admiration not only of the cultured few, but also of the general public, which even if it did not understand the cause, could, at any rate, appreciate the effect of sublime eloquence. Cody names him a "typical master of rhetorical style, rhetorical device, and the kind of oratory which is entertaining as well as convincing." Catullus calls Cicero "the most eloquent of the descendants of Romulus, that are, that have been, or that will be in years to come, and the best of all pleaders." He knew not only how to select words, but also how to use them effectively. He used threatening language where vehemence demanded it, and lofty tones in cases of great moment as in supplications. In the Orator he informs us that one style of oratory is not suited to every occasion, nor to every audience. For this reason he was careful to adopt a

1 Sherwin Cody, op. cit., p. 39.
2 Catullus, Carmina, 49: "Disertissime Romuli nepotum, Quot sunt quotque fuere, Marce Tulli, Quotque post alis erunt in annis Gratias tibi maximas Catullus Agit pessimus omnium poeta, Tanto pessimus omnium poeta Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus."
3 Cicero, Orator, xxii, 7: "Non enim omnis fortuna non omnis honos non omnis auctoritas non omnis aetas nec vero locus aut tempus aut auditor omnis eodem aut verborum genere tractandus est aut sententiarum, semperque in omni parte creationis ut vitae quid debeat est considerandum; quod et in re de qua agitur positum est et in personis et eorum qui dicunt et eorum qui audiunt."
variable style suited to the different parts of his speeches.

Accomplished as an orator he could so well play upon the gamut of human emotions that he succeeded in forcing Catiline to flee from Rome. In the hands of a master like Cicero glittering rhetoric became a weapon to accomplish his purpose, not a mere display of finery for public occasions. Let us see how his rhetoric flashes out in the first exordium against Catiline awakening the interest of his hearers with such rapier-like thrusts as:

"Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? Quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia?"

He then presses his advantage, exciting their emotions, fixing their attention, and making all this their personal concern when he cries:

"O tempora, o mores! Senatus haec intellegit, consul videt; hic tamen vivit. Vivit? Immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consili particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum."

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1Cicero, In Catilinam I, i: "In heaven's name, Catiline, how long will you abuse our patience? How long will that madness of yours mock us? To what limit will your unbridled audacity vaunt itself?"

2Ibid., "What an age! What morals! The Senate knows these things, the consul sees them. Yet this man lives. Lives, did I say? Nay, more, he walks into the Senate, he singles out and marks with his glance each one of us for murder."
Finally, he works toward a climax, such as the following:

"nobiscum versari iam diutius non potes;
non feram, non patiar, non sinam"¹

trying to sweep his hearers on by the roll and forward movement of his words. In conclusion, after he had raised his audience to the highest pitch of excitement, he delivered those famous perorations in which he appeals to the gentler emotions of the soul and ends with a dignity and serenity and sublimity far removed from such thunderous beginnings. Such a peroration is the beautiful apostrophe to the mighty Jupiter at the end of the first Catilinarian.² How such variety of mood must have delighted and thrilled the Roman audience so fond of ornate and attractive style! Perhaps it would not have pleased the age of Cato the Censor, because it was more luxuriant than was agreeable to that age, which was so frugal in life and in speech. But at this time, eloquence flourished mightily in the popular assembly, in the senate, and in the courts. There were but two roads to fame at Rome, that of the victorious general, and that of the successful lawyer and public pleader. Ability to speak, therefore, was one of the two greatest weapons in public life,

¹Cicero, In Catilinam I, v: "You cannot now remain with us longer; I will not bear it, I will not tolerate it, I will not permit it."
²Ibid., xlii.
and everything was decided by debate, not by the sword, in the senate and in the forum. Cicero's imagination coupled with his literary skill could depict the most vivid pictures. Quintilian\(^1\) praises him for the vigor (vis), dignity (gravitas), and elevation of his language (mira sermonis) as well as for the arrangement of matter.

His eloquence is much indebted for its effectiveness to an abundance of common figures of speech and thought, used skillfully.\(^2\) Striking figures clarify things, ideas, and experiences and often produce a singularly compelling effect. The pleasure which they afford the hearer has in it all the force of persuasion. The Roman audience believed that in the figures lay some magic power to enhance the beauty and sublimity of oratory. The ancients claimed that a rhetorical training without an exhaustive survey of the many figures of speech was incomplete, while an effective use of these was one of the great glories of the speaker.\(^3\) The figures served to give variety (copiosus) to style, and they helped the orator to focus the attention of the audience and keep it from flagging.\(^4\) It is impossible here to quote all the most brilliant and highly wrought passages in which the Catilinarians abound.

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\(^{1}\text{Quintilian, X, I, 105-115.}\)
\(^{2}\text{Cicero, Orator, 134, sqq.; also 82-86.}\)
\(^{3}\text{Ibid. 140.}\)
\(^{4}\text{Quintilian, VIII, iii, 5.}\)
My desire is rather to discuss some of the outstanding forms, and to give the more vivid examples of each which have come to my notice in my research.

The following may be considered as Cicero's parade of master-figures: Amplificatio, Accumulatio, Anaphora, Apostrophe, Asyndeton, Hyperbole, Interrogatio, Ironiam, Period and Climax. There are also many others, such as Reduplicatio, Hyperbaton, Chiasmus, Polysyndeton, Zeugma, Hysteront- Proteron, Litotes, Hendiadys, Praeteritio, Oxy­moron, Personification, Homoeoteleuton and Metaphor. ¹

Cicero employed a very effective means of enlivening his speeches and giving them vividness by a frequent use of Amplificatio (Lat. amplus - large, spacious; amplicare - to make larger, wider, fuller). According to him this figure is the greatest glory of eloquence, for it is here that virtue, duty, rewards and punishments are amplified.² Quintilian tells us that in the Amplification, the orator reigned supreme and triumphed.³ In the following illustration, the amplification of the passage is enhanced by comparison:

¹Cicero, Orator, 135-140.
²Ibid., 126, 127.
³Quintilian, VIII, iv.
Cicero here compares Gracchus with Catiline; the whole earth with the commonwealth; slaughter, fire, and devastation with moderate changes; consuls with a private citizen. Amplification in this instance is an exaggeration of all the constituent parts, and lends strength to the argument by dwelling upon it. It is, furthermore, a typical example of an oratorical appeal to the prejudice of the audience, for at the very thought of the name Gracchus, the aristocratic feeling was roused, whereas at the time of the deed referred to, Scipio's conduct met with severe condemnation from his contemporaries.

Another rhetorical device that is suitable for Amplification is Interrogatio2 (Lat. inter-among, between, thoroughly; rogare-to ask) a question propounded with no intent of receiving an answer, but to presuppose the idea that the hearers may be challenged to gainsay the affirmation. It serves aptly to express any emotion; here anger:

1Cicero, *In Catilinam* I, i: "Did not that illustrious man and chief Pontiff, Publius Scipio, in his private character, kill Tiberius Gracchus when he was making only moderate changes in the commonwealth, and shall we consuls bear with Catiline who is seeking to devastate the whole earth with fire and sword."

"How long, Catiline, will you abuse our patience? How long will that madness of yours mock us? To what limit will your unbridled audacity vaunt us?"\(^1\) In a string of wrathful interrogation the orator exhibited the characteristics of fire and vigor and of fervid imagination. But then, a certain pitch of excitement is requisite to justify the boldness of this figure. Men scold in interrogations. Again,

"For what, Catiline, can please you now in this city where there is no one, except your fellow-conspirators - ruined men - who does not fear you, or who does not hate you? What stigma of disgrace is not branded on your private life? What dishonor in personal relations does not cling to your ill fame? What lust has not stained your eyes, what crime has not stained your hands, what corruption has not stained your whole body? To what youth whom you had ensnared by the allurements of seduction have you not furnished a weapon for his crimes or a torch for his lust? What then? When lately, by the death of your former wife, you had made your house empty and ready for a new bridal, did you not even add another incredible wickedness to this wickedness?"\(^2\)

Or,

"Haec, si tecum, ita ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debet, etiamsi vim adhibere non possit? ... Quid est, Catilina? Ecquis attenditis, ecquis animadvertis horum silentium? ... Quid expectas auctoritatem"

\(^1\) Cicero, *In Catilinam* I, i.
\(^2\) Ibid., vi.
loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitum perspicio?"  

This figure serves as a charged electric wire carrying to his hearers the sign of vivid conviction. Cicero reduced his opponent to sophisticated answers, making him make such shifts as these: "'Tis so'; 'tis not so'."

When the orator after laboring under such violent emotion, sought to give speedy release to his thoughts, he employed Asyndeton (Gr. ἀ, privative; σύν together; σεω to bind; not connected together). By dropping the connective particles he produced the effect of impassioned and rugged impetuosity. We may note it in such passages as:

"Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palati, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt?"

In this passage we find Asyndeton interwoven with Anaphora

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1 Cicero, In Catilinam, I, viii: "If our country speaks to you thus, as I have spoken, ought she not to obtain her request, even though she cannot use force? ... What are you waiting for? Do you notice at all the silence of these men? ... Why do you await the spoken word when you see their wish silently expressed?"

2 Ibid., i: "Is it nothing to you that the Palatine has its garrison by night, nothing to you that the city is full of patrols, nothing that the populace in panic, nothing that all honest men have joined forces, nothing that the senate is convened in this stronghold, is it nothing to see the looks on all the faces?"
(Gr. ἀνά; again, back: ἄφεσις, to bring) where repetition of nihil with each item mentioned at the beginning of successive clauses helps to concentrate force in that one word which, by reason of its importance, holds the first place.

Another example of this rhetorical device is found in the following passage:

"Tum denique interficiere, cum iam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniure poterit etc."

Or,

"illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templarum atque delubrarum vobis murus atque urbis tecta commendat."

With a gesture toward the small round Temple of Vesta, Cicero made this repetition prove itself emphatic. In these two extracts we see the force in each case that is concentrated in one word—tam and vobis. The sensations aroused and renewed again in this same order must remain deeply embedded in the mind of the audience. It is used to economize the mental energy of the listeners while adding charm and grace to speech. Thus in the following re-

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1Cicero, In Catilinam, I, ii: "You will be put to death, then, when there shall be not one person possible to be found so wicked, so abandoned, so like yourself, etc."

2Ibid., IV, ix: "she commends the eternal fire of Vesta, and all the temples of all the gods, and the altars and the walls and the houses of the city."
ference, since Catiline had several times attempted violence at the Campus Martius and the Forum, as well as on Cicero's life at his residence, it is the special province of the anaphora of "non" coupled with the asyndeton to emphasize the fact that such dangers exist no longer:

"Non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur, non in Campo, non in Foro, non in Curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescimus."

A further illustration of Amplification is Accumulation, (Lat. cumulus - a heap; ad - to; accumulare - to heap up) a heaping up of phrases or sentences more or less of the same tenor. Its purpose is to rivet the thought to the mind of the listener by amplification, and to please the ear by symmetry of construction in phrases and sentences. An example of this figure is found in the following:

"O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis ejecerit! Uno mehercule Catilina exhausto, levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fangi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? Quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis,

1Cicero, In Catilinam II, 1: "For now that dagger will no longer hover about our sides; we shall not be afraid in the campus, in the forum, in the senate-house,--aye, and within our own private walls."
Here we have an aggregation of thoughts and words which have the same signification, but they do not ascend step by step. All these thoughts work together to produce one harmonious effect. In this passage as in previous tones which we have noted, the emphasis is strengthened by the use of Asyndeton and Anaphora. Although redundancy of words may at times be considered a defect, yet, such eloquent passages as this, with their piled-up and trip-hammer diction certainly are a source of power and beauty.

Cicero was fond of expressing many facts in one well-balanced sentence. This was brought about by means of a rhetorical form, Periodos (Gr. ἐπὶ around; ὁδὸς way, road; making a circuit around) — a structure in which the

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1Cicero, In Catilinam II, iv: "Happy country, could it be drained of the impurities of this city? To me the absence of Catiline alone seems to have given it fresh bloom and beauty. Where is the villainy, where is the guilt, that can enter into the heart and thought of man that did not enter into his? In all Italy what prisoner, what gladiator, what robber, what cut-throat, what parricide, what robber, what forger, what rascal, what ruffian, what debaucher, is there found among the corrupted, among the abandoned of our country, that did not avow that he was on terms of intimacy with Catiline? What murder has been committed for years without him? What nefarious act of infamy that has not been done by him?"
completion of the sense is suspended till the close. One effect of the periodic structure is to throw emphasis upon the end. The following is a well-balanced period, with skillful arrangement of words and clauses:

"Si non minus nobis jucundi atque illus tres sunt id dies quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta conditio, et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto quoniam illum qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deos immortales benevolentia famaque sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debeat is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit."

Notice how the members of this long period go on lengthening, and close with the longest. This sentence permits the disclosure of the growth of a thought. A certain loftiness of imaginative thinking takes place.

Another illustration of the oratorical Period may be found in the first Catilinarian where Cicero exclaims:

1Cicero, In Catilinam III, i: "And if the days of our preservation are not less joyful or less illustrious, than those on which we were born; because the pleasure of deliverance is certain, but the condition of life is precarious; and because we are born unconscious of it, but we are preserved with great delight; ay, since him, who founded this city, we have, by our gratitude and veneration, raised to the immortal gods; he ought, by you and your posterity, to be revered; he, who this city with all its acquisitions of strength and wealth has preserved; for by me were those flames... averted."
"Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afflictantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescent."

Here we find the sense of this sentence suspended till the words "will grow much worse." We also note that Cicero generally employed the Period in sonorous passages as well as in calm, unimpassioned narrative. Such uses tend to keep up and concentrate the listeners' attention.

In the employment of Climax\(^2\) (Gr. \(κλιμακίον\), ladder, staircase) the ordering of thought and expression takes place so that there is evident increase in significance, or importance or intensity. The thought must grow, must have progress. What could be more effective than the gradual rise in emotional appeal in the climactic period:

"cum quiescunt, probant
cum patiuntur, decernunt
cum tacent, clamant."

\(^1\)Cicero, In Catilinam I, xiii: "Just as often men, sick with a grievous disease and tossed about in a burning fever, drink cold water at first seem to be relieved, but later are more grievously and violently afflicted, so this disease in the state, though relieved by the punishment of this man, so long as the rest remain alive will grow much worse."

\(^2\)W. Thrall and A. Hibbard, A Handbook to Literature, p. 84.

\(^3\)Cicero, In Catilinam I, viii: "when they say nothing they express their approval; their acquiescence is a decree; by their silence they cry aloud."
This example also includes Oxymoron (Gr. ὁξίς sharp, pointed keen; ἁπλός dull, foolish; a remark that seems to contradict itself) a figure in which an epithet of contrary signification is added. A further example which might be cited is:

"si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica sic loquatur:" ¹

Such technique enables the hearers to appreciate the less weighty as well as the weighty thoughts. This figure may be made not only by single words, but by the connection or the weaving together of words. In the concise and pungent statement:

"Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas" ²

he again begins with a word inferior in sense "agis" (do), and terminated with one superior, "cogitas" (think), rising, as it were, by steps or degrees.

Another famous Climax made stronger by the Asyndeton is found in these words:

"Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit." ³

¹ Cicero, In Catilinam I, xi: "if all Italy, if all the state should speak thus"
² Ibid., iii: "you do nothing, you attempt nothing, you think nothing"
³ Ibid., II, i: "He has gone, he has departed, he has escaped, he has rushed forth."
This combination of words is expressive of exultant joy. "Abire" (to go away) gives the simple idea of departure; "excedere", (to withdraw) adds the idea of escape; "Evadere", (to escape) is used especially of flight by night or in secret; "erumpere", (to break away) involves the use of violent or forcible means. This is also a case of pleonasm.\(^1\) The same method is employed in the following:

"non feram, non patiar, non sinam"\(^2\)

where the three synonyms form a climax as well. The first expresses simply endurance without assuming any authority; the second endurance with authority; the third emphatically, "I will not permit it." The gradual climax is heightened by the employment of asyndeton.

Apostrophe (Gr. ἀπό away, from; στρέψις to turn) likewise adapts itself to Amplification. The term signifies the turning from the unemotional way of expression or directly from the third person to the second. If the object addressed is inanimate, the figure Apostrophe involves also Personification. In such a citation as the following the orator exaggerates the situation and makes his antagonist appear contemptible. His aim is to disparage him by depicting his character in the darkest colors.

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\(^1\) Quintilian IX, iii, 46.
\(^2\) Cicero, In Catilinam I, v: "I will not bear it, I will not tolerate it, I will not permit it."
"Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit?
in qua nemo est extra istam conjura rationem perditorum hominum qui te non metuat, nemo qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudines non inusta vitae tuae est? Quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? Quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore afuit? Cui tu adlescentulo, quem corruptellarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti?"¹

Cicero's apostrophies or diversions of speech are made either to his country or to the deities or to his adversary or opponent, and lastly to men of rank such as his senatorial colleagues. In the direct address of the country to Catiline there is an aptness for grievous complaint when she rebukes him because there was no crime for some years that had come into existence except through him, no outrage without him; that he alone has killed many citizens, harried and despoiled the allies unpunished and free, that he had been able not only to neglect the laws and the courts but even to thwart and destroy them. She had endured the

¹Cicero, In Catilinam I, vi: "For what, can please you now in this city where there is no one, except your fellow-conspirators, ruined men? Who does not fear you, no one who does not hate you? What stigma of disgrace is not branded on your private life? What dishonor in personal relations does not cling to your ill fame? What lust has not stained your hands, what corruption has not stained your body? To what youth whom you had ensnared by the allurements of your seduction have you not furnished a weapon for his crime or torch for his lust?"¹
earlier deeds patiently, although they ought not to be borne, but now to remain in fear on account of him alone --that whatever rustles, he should be suspected,--that no plan should be suspected, that can be undertaken against her uninspired by his villainy, this she cannot bear. Therefore she urges him to depart and free her from that terror.¹

In other instances Cicero uses apostrophe to make a pleasant variation, notably in the case in which he exhorts the citizens to give praise to that Jupiter, the guardian of the city and to depart to their homes.²

The direct address³ of the country personified, calling upon her servant Cicero to give an account of himself

¹Cicero, In Catilinam, I, vii: "Nullum jam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad neglegendas leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfrigendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli, nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te; quicquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri; nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorrebat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe;"

²Ibid. III, xii: "Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam est nox, venerati Jovem illum, custodem huius urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quamquam jam est periculum depulsum tamen atque ac priore nocte custodiiis vigiliisque defendite."

³Ibid., I, xi.
has been greatly admired. After beginning with the direct address in the apostrophe, the country employs an "accumulatio" as Cicero himself does. Note the opening two sentences:

"Marcus Tullius, what are you doing? This man is a public enemy as you have discovered, he will be the leader of the war, as you see, he is expected to take command in the enemies' camp, as you know: head of a conspiracy, recruiter of slaves and criminals—and you will let him go, in such a way that he will seem to be not cast out of the city by you but let loose against the city."

At this point the country merges the "accumulatio" with the "interrogatio" in the question:

"Will you not command him to be cast into chains, to be punished with the greatest severity?"

The remainder of the brilliant apostrophe combines in an intricate pattern the devices of "interrogatio", "amplificatio", heightened in the final sentence by "anaphora" and "simile":

What, pray, hinders you? The custom of our ancestors? But often even private citizens in this state have punished with death dangerous men. Is it the laws which have been enacted regarding the punishment of Roman citizens? But never in this city have those who revolted against the state enjoyed the rights of citizens. Or do you fear the odium of posterity? A fine return you are making to the Roman people who have raised you, a man distinguished only by your own deeds, and by no achievements of your ancestors, so early to the highest office through every grade of honor, if because of the fear of unpopularity or any
danger whatever you neglect the safety of your fellow-citizens! But if there is any fear of unpopularity, the unpopularity that comes from sternness and severity is no more greatly to be dreaded than that which comes from laxness and cowardice. Or when Italy shall be devastated by war, when the cities shall be harried, when houses shall be burned, do you not think that then you will be consumed by the fire of unpopularity?"

It is small wonder that very often a great intensity of emotion was aroused in the hearers by the employment of such rhetorical devices.

Among the more common rhetorical "white rabbits" in the Ciceronian "bag of tricks" may be mentioned Homoeoteleuton, (Gr. ἕόνιος -like; τελεύω -to bring to an end or ending) a figure consisting in the conscious and deliberate use of a succession of words or clauses concluding with the same sound or similar syllable. In such sentences, clauses finish in words of like tune by using like cases, tenses, or other points of assonance; for example:

"nemö est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior"

Or,

"luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia"

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1 J. Macbeth, Might and Mirth of Literature, (Figures of Rhetoric), p. 250
2 Cicero, In Catilinam II, v: "there is no one in the gladiatorial school a little too eager for crime"
3 Ibid., I, iii: "all your plans are clearer than the light of day"
Or,

"sumnum auxilium omnium gentium"¹

Or,

"Quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum"²

Or,

"ego non modo audiam sed etiam videam plane-que sentiam"³

Its use is chiefly to please the ear. The mind is delighted with the ease as it is relieved of some labor in perception. This anticipated similarity makes the relation of the words clearer.

Another common figure is **Hyperbaton** (Gr. ὑπερβατόν) over, by beyond; whereby words, for reasons of emphasis, elegance or variety, are transposed from plain grammatical order into another handsomer and more fit order, as:

"reliquis de rebus......referemus"⁴

Or,

"cum tu discessu, ceterorum nostra tamen qui

¹Cicero, In Catilinam, IV, i: "the greatest protection of all the nations"
²Ibid., iii: "as to thwart your plans"
³Ibid., iii: "I do not only hear but also see and understand plainly"
⁴Ibid., II, xii: "the question of determining further measures.....I shall refer"
remansissemus caede contentum te esse dicebas

**Hendiadys** (Gr. Ἐν δύο - one thing through two) is the expression of one complex idea through the use of two nouns connected by a conjunction, as:

- "vim et manus" - violent hands
- "vi et minis" - by threats of violence
- "aestu febrique" - with the heat of fever
- "consilii atque orationis meae" - of the advice contained in my orations
- "ora vultusque" - the facial expression

Or,

- "societatem concordiamque" - harmonious fellowship

Cicero is particularly fond of such pairs of synonyms where a single word would have been adequate to convey the idea.

A further type of rhetorical figure used by the orator is **Irony** (Gr. Ἐπίθεσις - an ignorance purposely affected to provoke an antagonist). It is a figure which presupposes the contrary of what is said; it is an edged tool which connotes contempt for an opposing view or opinion. Its use is chiefly to reprove or rebuke, also to jest and move to

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1 Cicero, *In Catilinam*, I, iii: "But you said that, in spite of the departure of the others, you would still be content with killing us who had remained"
2 Ibid., viii.
3 Ibid., II, vii.
4 Ibid., I, xiii.
5 Ibid., II, vii.
6 Ibid., I, i.
7 Ibid., IV, vii.
mirth by the opposing of contraries.\(^1\)

It is not difficult for us to feel the real force of this figure as Cicero employed it when he exclaims:

"Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant, et ille ejectus in exsilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra confert."\(^2\)

This whole sentence is strongly ironical, as if Cicero had said, "It is absurd to suppose that Manlius, that petty centurion, has declared war against Rome on his own account, and that it is not Catiline, their real leader, that they are waiting for."

Again speaking to the people of Rome and reporting his previous acts in the senate and crying out:

"Ego vehemens ille consul qui verbo elices in exsilium ejicio".\(^3\)

he speaks ironically of himself as "that violent consul who could drive citizens into exile by the very breath of my mouth". In fact, he is defending himself while leading

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\(^2\) Cicero, *In Catilinam*, II, vi: "And I suppose that Manlius, that centurion who has pitched a camp in the district of Faesulae, has prepared war against the Roman people on his own account; and that camp does not now await Catiline as its leader; and he, driven forsooth into exile, will go to Marseilles, as they say, and not to the camp."

\(^3\) Ibid., vi.
the populace with him to take part in that accusation which he intends to bring against the chief conspirators who are left in the city. Immediately thereafter he heightens the effect of the previous figure by turning the sword of his irony from himself to Catiline, when he says:

"Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam per-modestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit; simul atque ire in exsilium iussus est, parauit, ivit."¹

This sounds as if the orator were quoting or parodying a statement of one of Catiline's defenders. The rhetorical effect is supported by Asyndeton. We see that Irony, in its extensive use, is an instrument of offense and defense that he could use masterfully.

Another powerful weapon in the hands of the orator who wished to discredit his opponent and exalt his own cause is **Hyperbole**, (Gr. *ὑπέρ*, beyond; *πολύ*, throwing) --the common human tendency to exaggerate. The orator amplifies the greatness or smallness of a thing by exceeding the limits of verisimilitude. He employs it for praise as well as censure. At times he depicts, in flat impossibility, a thing beyond the truth that we may descend to find the truth. In the address to the people we have hyperbole employed to engender hatred, where Cicero intensified and

¹Cicero, In Catilinam, II, vi: "And I suppose that this man, so timid and even modest could not endure the reproach of the consul! As soon as he was bidden to go forth into exile he obeyed, he went."
even created bad qualities in the persons hated. What a swift succession of almost incredible exaggerations do we find in these lines: He speaks\(^1\) of Catiline as a misbegotten monster who will no longer plunge a dagger into their sides, a monster who, after his departure, turns his eyes back toward the city and mourns that it has been snatched from his jaws. There the hyperbole is heightened by metaphor which he carries along to the next exaggeration--that city rejoices because it has spewed out that pestilence and cast it forth. Cicero continues to keep up the hyperbole in relating to the populace how utterly he despises that army of ruined old men, of boorish high-livers, of rustic spendthrifts, and of those who prefer to forfeit their bail rather than to desert his army. Further on he enumerates\(^2\) the intimate associates of Catiline, namely, poisoners, forgers of wills, cheat gamesters, spendthrifts, adulterers, infamous women:--so Cicero continues. Thus, we find whole paragraphs throughout the Second Catilinarian dealing largely with passages which contain superlative adjectives. No doubt the bigger and more monstrous Catiline could be made to appear, the greater would be the honor of having driven him out of the city. This certainly is a language of abuse rather than of indignation. This annihi-

\(^1\)Cicero, *In Catilinam*, II, i.
\(^2\)Ibid. iv.
lating torrent of denunciation may be considered one of the drastic performances both in history and in literature. But the use of such sharp raillery against opponents seems allowable rhetoric at this period.¹ This bitter and coarse personality in which Cicero so frequently indulged was a legitimate weapon of oratory.² In fact, it was sure to be highly relished by a mixed audience.³ Cicero launched his invective at times most unscrupulously. His personalities and redundance of such raillery would not be tolerated in a modern court, but what we dislike today met with no objection in ancient times.

An illustration of an instance in which Cicero used hyperbole for praise is found in the passage where he stated that Pompey fixed the borders of the Roman empire not by limits of the earth, but by the limits of the sky.⁴ However, it is mentioned not without some basis; for Pompey had fought with Sertorius in the extreme west, and Mithridates in the extreme east.

Again the passage "persaepe...multarun"⁵ wherein

¹A.H. Clough, op.cit. p. 420.
²Cicero, Orator, xxxviii, 128-129.
⁴Cicero, Orator III, xi: "quorum alter finis vestri imperi non terrae sed caeli regionibus terminaret"
⁵Cicero, In Catilinam I, xi: "At persaepe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos civis morte multarunt."

One incident previously stated was that of Scipio, ibid. I,i.
Cicero relates that even private citizens "frequently" have punished the men with death, we have rhetorical exaggeration for the orator has cited previously only one case of the kind.

A figure that lays powerful hold on the imagination and the emotions of the audience is one which has been mentioned in connection with hyperbole. It is the metaphor (Gr. μετατέθης, one to another, change of places; ἐρήμωσις to carry; a transferring of one word to the sense of another). Here the orator tells us not what a thing is like, but what it is. Metaphors (1) aid the understanding, (2) deepen the impression on the feelings, and (3) give an agreeable surprise. They are also forcible in augmenting persuasion and they are more easily remembered because of their pictorial quality. From Cicero's application of the figure we may assume that he knew the value of the extended metaphor in controlling the emotions and influencing the conduct of his hearers.

Thus, when he speaks of the conspiracy as being "in the veins and in the vitals of the body politic" by a metaphor drawn from nature he represents the state

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1Cicero, Orator, xxiii, 81, 82.
2Ibid., I, xiii: "in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae"
as a human body.

Or,

"si quidem hanc sentinam urbis eiecet! Uno meherecula Catilina exhausto, levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur."

The figure is drawn from a ship (the state) free of sentina (bilge water). The sentina consists of Catiline and his followers. Cicero's wish is that this entire sentina be pumped out (exhausto) and got rid of.

Another interesting figure is Chiasmus (planning crosswise, from the Greek letter X) which consists in changing the relative order of words in two antithetical phrases, as:

"industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis" The power of endurance referred to in "frigore et fame... perferendi", which might have been so useful in an active (industriae) and virtuous (virtutis) life, he was utterly wasting in debauchery and crime.

Again, Litotes is the expression of an idea by the denial of its opposite, a euphemism, as ;

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1 Cicero, In Catilinam, II, iv: "if it can cast forth these dregs of the state! Even now, when Catiline alone is got rid of, the state seems to be relieved and refreshed."
2 Ibid.; v: "aids of industry and means of virtue"
3 Ibid.; I, ix: "ability to endure hunger, cold"
4 C. Coppens, English Rhetoric, p. 83.
"non multa" - few\(^1\)

It may be employed either for praise or blame, and that in a modest form or manner.

Our master's method of driving home a truth by repeating it, and that, too in exactly the same or closely synonymous words is very noticeable and effective. By means of this figure which is termed Reduplicatio he emphasizes a particular concept and implants it firmly in the minds of his listeners. These couplets and triplets most of the time are synonymous, as:

"cum tua peste ac pernicie" - with your ruin and destruction\(^2\)

"notat et designat oculis" - he singles out and marks with his glance\(^3\)

This means employed fixes the meaning of a term; it brings the same idea again and again to light. In the second illustration Cicero conceives Catiline as glancing about among the senators and silently marking them for assassination, though a metaphor - "branding" or "stamping" - may also be marked in "notat", since the verb carries that connotation from its use for the dating and stamping of wine kegs.

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\(^1\)Cicero, In Catilinam, I, vi: "not many have been committed since" Cicero refers here to Catiline's crimes.

\(^2\)Ibid., xiii.

\(^3\)Ibid., i.
Among those rhetorical devices which appear more sparingly in the Catilinarians are: (1) Hysteron-Proteron which is an inversion of the natural order of events, as:

"Africam redire, Italia decedere"¹

Hannibal's withdrawal from Italy naturally preceded his return to Africa.

Or,

"interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravis-simo supplicio adfectum iam pridem opor-tebat"²

The punishment certainly precedes the killing, though this may be viewed as Reduplicatio - if the punishment and killing are considered synonymous.

(2) Polysyndeton (Gr. πολυ often, repeated; ὥ with; συν to bind;) is a figure by which the speaker unites the different parts of his speech by many conjunctions. They render what is said more vivacious and energetic.

Example:

"turpe et infirmam abjectam"³

Note the repetition of the conjunction which is the less usual and so more emphatic form of enumeration. Polysyndeton is always attended by a retarded movement in the

¹Cicero, In Catilinam, IV, x.
²Ibid., II, ii: "Catiline ought to have been put to death and to have suffered the most terrible punishment"
³Ibid., IV, x: "base and powerless and abject"
sentence. It demands special and deliberate attention to each separate word and clause introduced. It may be called the chain of speech, as every chain has a conjunction of matter and a distinction of links.

(3) Zeugma (Gr. συγχωρεω̂-to join, link together; συγχωρεω̂-any pair or couple; συγχωρημα-band) is a rhetorical form in which one verb is made to stand for two, as:

"omnia hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit"¹

Redundavit construed by zeugma with acervis and translated "was choked"; with sanguine, "overflowed".

Not the least important rhetorical trick of Cicero was an old one he borrowed from the Greeks. It was the old-fashioned but always effective Paraleipsis or praeteritio (Lat. a passing over) in which Cicero, while professedly "passing over" the incident referred to, really impresses it effectively on the minds of his audience.

Illustration:

"illa nimis antiqua praetereo" - I pass over as too ancient the fact that
Or,
"Nam ut illa omittam" - for not to speak of these portents ³

¹ Cicero, In Catilinam III, x: "All this place was choked with heaps of bodies and overflowed with blood of citizens"
² Ibid., I, i.
³ Ibid., III, viii.
and then Cicero enumerates them, thus implanting the ideas more impressively. It is a rhetorical trick that the modern lawyer copies when he asks the witness a question, receives the answer and then hears the judge say "The jury will disregard that statement". But does the jury really forget?

Many tributes were paid to Cicero both in his own and succeeding ages for his wit and humor in which he was considered the superior of Demosthenes. Furthermore according to Cicero, Grand style required its seasoning of wit and humor. We know that after the Verrine orations Cicero accepted his destiny as dean of Roman wits, and henceforth he labored so well that each sharp saying which fell from his lips was hailed in Rome with spontaneous delight. Collectors of jokes jotted them down for the enjoyment and wonder of posterity. Julius Caesar himself could tell by the ring, as it were, whether any new joke that reached his ears was genuine Ciceronian coinage. Plutarch says of him,

1Quintilian X, i, 107: "Salibus certe et commiseratione, qui duo plurimum in afectibus valent, vincimus".
2Cicero, Orator, XXV, 87-90: "Huic generi orationis aspergentur etiam sales, qui in dicendo nimium quantum valent. Quorum duo genera sunt, unum facetiarum alterum dicacitatis"
that "he was by nature framed for mirth and jests, and his
countenance expressed smiles and sunshine."\(^1\) Cato also
labels Cicero as an amusing consul.\(^2\) Cicero displayed this
trait to a considerable extent in the Pro Murena and Pro
Caelio. However, in the Catilinarians, I have detected only
one illustration along this line. In the second speech he
remarked that some of the men from the colonies established
by Sulla "have fallen so deeply in debt that if they
would be solvent they must call Sulla back to them from the
infernal regions."\(^3\) The most important political figures,
Cato, Crassus, and Pompey, except Caesar, seem to have
disliked Cicero for his cleverness.\(^4\)

Cicero's speeches fairly teem with skillful and un-
obtrusive use of ornaments, such as figures and prose-rhythm.
He devotes a large space to setting out all the means that
could adorn a speech, and convert it from a merely color-
less medium for conveying ideas into an instrument of ima-
ginative and emotional power. Addressed to the senate we
find it authoritative; to the people it is dignified. Yet

\(^1\) Quoted from J. L. Strachan-Davidson, op. cit., p. 362.
\(^2\) H. Bennett, op. cit., p. 198.
\(^3\) Cicero, In Catilinam, II, ix: "in tantum aes alienum
inciderunt ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit eis ab
inferis excitandus."
\(^4\) A. H. Clough, op. cit., p. 421.
these speeches are supposed to have been unpremeditated and to have been given forth on the spur of the moment.

How much charm is lost in that we can only read the great orator instead of listening to him! Gesture and action were looked upon as essential elements of the orator's power. One appeals to the eye and the other to the ear, the two senses by which all emotion reaches the soul. And yet we find, in spite of this passionate and glowing eloquence, Cicero is branded with the stigma of Asianism, which in the eyes of many was a synonym for oratory that was faulty and corrupt. His Interrogatio and Apostrophe, perhaps, are the rhetorical forms of which his contemporaries complained when they labeled him as Asiatic in his style, florid and redundant. Nothing in this world being absolutely perfect, it follows that no man has ever existed in whom the critic sees nothing at all to reprehend. There was also a tendency in the orator to employ neologisms, archaisms, and words from vulgar Latin. But still the balance sheet of his talents and eloquence calls for nothing but congratulations. His Catilinarian speeches produced a powerful effect. This thunder of eloquence was the means

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1 Cicero, Orator, 55-60.
2 Quintilian, XII, x, xii.
of driving Catiline from Rome and of saving the common-
wealth from utter ruin. Lack of figurative expression may
often times make a speech dull and tiresome, whereas with
their employment a relatively drab subject becomes intense-
ly interesting. The very fact that his throat was later
cut by a representative of the new order and his head and
hands sent to the triumvirs in witness that there was no
longer a single living and formidable tongue to plead for
the old virtue, the ancient liberty, is a tribute to our
orator, and it was a glorious end, the death of a patriot.¹
He sealed his devotion with his blood.

¹Anthony Trollope, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 244.
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

Against conspiracy strong adjectives;
A lean man stands before the mob and flings
Proud words, proud names, proud deeds into the air,
To beat against sharp swords with valiant wings.

When dying freedom falls before the greed
Of men who seek renown and wealth alone,
He stands before them, in their faces flings
All of the scandal, all the filth in Rome.

Of course they kill him, for the truth stabs deep;
But through the ages bright, untouched by rust,
The frail words still will shine in free men's heart
When their proud names are lost, when Rome is dust.

Power leaves only cold and broken stones;
Yet buried under rubble, debris, sods,
Liberty sings, unconquered through the years,
In a dead tongue, still calling on dead gods.

CHAPTER VII

In the foregoing chapters an effort has been made to demonstrate the fact that Cicero set for himself the task to rid the country of its audacious and arrogant enemy by wielding the weapon of clever tactics alone. In the Catilinarians he stands forth as the true patriot, with all his lofty political ideals - as the supreme master of rhetoric and fierce invective. When the life of the republic was endangered by such desperate men as Catiline, Cicero's imperious personal leadership and unselfish courage were always unfailing even unto his death. As a guardian of his state he played the game with such craft and boldness that Catiline was driven from Rome without bloodshed, leaving behind him a headless and irresolute group who planned their own destruction. We have seen that Cicero employed the feelings which prompt men to action, by stirring them to affection for the gods, the state, setting before them instances of glorious deeds formerly accomplished in behalf of their country. This appeal to patriotism was one of the most successful attempts to account for the obtaining of his object - Catiline's banishment. Cicero deliberately undertook to drive Catiline from Rome by his speeches and he succeeded. The essential ele-
ment of oratory, the ability to talk to the heart of his Roman audience, plus his renowned reputation made all his undertakings turn out in his favor. His rhetorical persuasion included not only the choice and presentation of the thought but also the arrangement and management of words as well. Yet all these devices were woven so skillfully into the texture of his speeches that every particular passage became exactly a part of the set oration.

It was not my intention to exhibit the personage of Cicero as faultless. He was much too human to be perfect. However, compared to other men in his time he was sincere and honest; he joined Pompey in Macedonia from a sense of sheer duty; he defied Antony when to defy the latter was probable death. Although Cicero was banished, yet upon his return he was greeted with such an ovation as no other man ever received. Certainly it is a proof that the people could not have thought ill of his conduct. Thus we see he could appeal to his hearers and be heard. Such a splendid record of his personal life together with his sweeping, keen and progressive details of the Rhetorical Art aided him in swaying and dominating his time. I conclude this work with a quotation of Titus Livius,

"If one weighs his faults against his merits, he was a great man, of high spirit, worthy of remembrance; to
sound his praise would require a Cicero for his eulogist.”

1 Quoted from J. Rolfe, op. cit., p. 63.
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PERIODICALS


The thesis, "Cicero's Emotional Appeal in the Catilinarians", written by Sister Mary Alvina Jaracz, has been accepted by the Graduate School with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below, with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

D. Herbert Abel, Ph.D.                         October 27, 1941
Rev. James J. Mertz, S.J., A.M.                  November 16, 1941
Rev. William J. Millor, S.J., Ph.D.              November 17, 1941