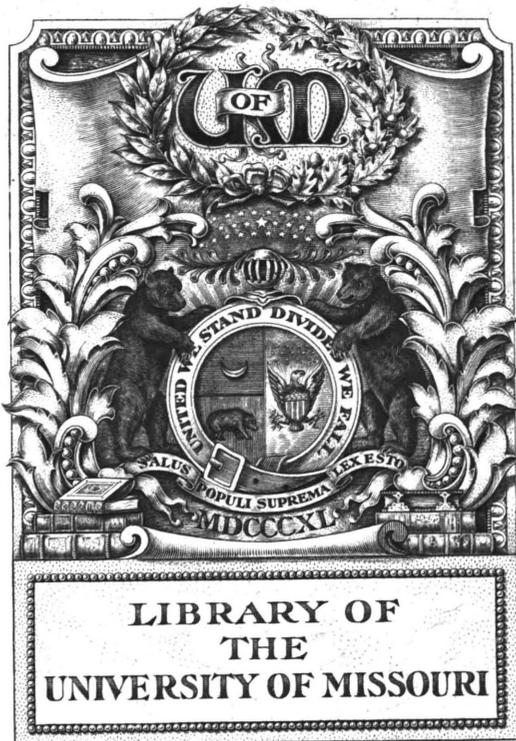


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DOUBLE EXPRESSIONS IN THE SPEECHES OF SALLUST

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DOUBLE EXPRESSIONS IN THE SPEECHES OF SALLUST.

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There is no doubt that the speeches in Sallust's histories are not quoted exactly but that, in accordance with the custom prevailing in classical times, words are put into the mouth of the speaker which might have been used under the given circumstances, which suit the occasion, and which serve to illustrate the character to be portrayed. It is natural that these speeches should differ in style from the plain historical parts of the writings and this has been found to be true. Different phases of Sallust's style have been noted and discussed by writers, and some differences in the style of the narrative part and the speeches have been pointed out. The abundance of rhetorical figures in the



latter have been noted and are worthy of comment both from their number and variety.<sup>1</sup> It seems, however, that no one has noticed Sallust's abundant use of synonyms in the speeches, a use that is characteristic of rhetorical style. Cicero in his orations uses many pairs of synonyms which seem to have been borrowed from ritualistic or legal formulae or from the folk speech,<sup>2</sup> but often he pairs words of similar meaning for purely rhetorical effect.

To the best of my knowledge the synonyms of Sallust have never been discussed. Presuming then that this is an unworked field, this paper will attempt to show his

<sup>1</sup>Gernsternberg in a monograph "Über die Reden" takes note of the following tropes: metaphores, synechdoche, metonymy, antonomasie, onomatopaeie, katachesis, periphrasis, hyperbaton, hyperbole; of rhetorical figures the following: isocolon, homoioteleuton, parechese, anaphora, ellipsis, zeguma, asyndeton, polysyndeton, frage hyphophora, antithesis.

<sup>2</sup>Landgraf on Sex Rosc. *Am.* p. 357.



fondness for pairing words, especially synonyms, and will compare this use as found in the speeches with that found in simple narrative. To show how characteristic of the speeches this grouping of words in pairs is, it is necessary to quote only one or two from the many passages in which this use is found. Cat. XX, 5-11 is a fairly good representative passage and we quote it in full:

"Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes iam antea divorsi audistis. ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in liberatem. nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, stremui boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, volgus fuimus, sine gratia sine auctoritate, eis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. itaque omnis gratia potentia, honos divitiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula repulsas, iudicia egestatem. quae quo usque tandem patiemini, o fortissimi viri? nonne emori per virtutem praestat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? verum enim vero, pro



deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in manu nobis est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consemuerunt. tantum modo incepto opus est, cetera res expedit.

In the above passage the abundant use of double expressions is to be noted. They consist of adjective pairs, some of them used substantively, such as strenui boni, nobiles atque ignobiles; some of them retaining their adjective force as miseram atque inhonestam; of nouns such as ius atque dicionem which is a partially synonymous double expression, and populi nationes. We find clauses balanced as viget aetas, animus valet where chiasmus is employed. Some of the double expressions found in this passage will be treated later.

Another good example of Sallust's fondness for pairs is

Cat. 51, 16-18:

"D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio quae dixerit, studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. verum sententia eius mihi non crudelis (quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?) sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. nam perfecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum genus poenae novum decernere."



The three pair underlined seem to be rhetorical in intent.

One thing to be noticed before leaving the discussion of the first passage, is the fact that where Sallust connects four words he makes two distinct pairs. This shows his fondness for double expressions. The passages noted in regard to this are: in the middle part of

Sec. 7,

"ceteri omnes strenui boni nobiles atque ignobiles."

The first two are synonymous and are grouped together; nobiles atque ignobiles are antithetical and are set off from strenui and boni. This is shown both by their meaning and by the fact that atque is only used to join nobiles and ignobiles. The second case occurring in section 8 is not so clear. gratia and potentia seem however to form one pair, while honus and divitiae form the other.

In considering the use of double expressions in Sallust, we find that he is fond of using in pairs antonyms as well as synonyms, but since it is with the latter that we are especially concerned in our attempt to bring out the rhetorical effect of the double expressions of the speeches, we first take up the discussion of synonyms or words that approach the synonym. Alliteration has from the earliest times been used to produce effect.



Sallust often connects words in which alliteration is to be noted. A very large percentage of the double expressions of Sallust which are alliterative we also find used by Cicero in his orations. We shall see that a much larger percent of alliterative pairs are common to both than of ordinary pairs. They seem to have been the common stock of this style of writing. The first example I cite is in Jug. 31, 19, where Memius has just asked what sort of a peace and surrender it is when Jugurtha goes unpunished and a few amass wealth, but  
ad rem publicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint.

It is natural for the two words damna atque dedecora to be connected, for to the Roman loss was disgraceful. Damna atque dedecora are used by Cicero Verr. I, 33

damna dedecora quae res patris eius aetas  
ipsius pertulit praetereantur.

In Verr. .III, 228,

etiamne haec tot detrimenta atque damna  
cum maxumis iniuriis contumelisque perferre,

Cicero with similar alliteration connects the words damna atque detrimenta, thus using words more nearly synonymous

than damna dedecora.

In Verr. III, 108,

damna ac detrimenta senserunt

the order is reversed.



Ferrum is connected with fuga to form alliteration in Jug. 14, 9

Semperne in sanguine ferro fuga corsabitur.

Though when taken separately these words are by no means synonymous, yet in the question asked by Adherbal these three words, sanguine, ferrum and fuga, express the idea of a continual state of civil war or strife, the unsettled condition of affairs. In expressing this one idea they are rhetorical. Ferrum is connected with famis in

Jug. 24, 3

ferro an fame acrius urgear incertus sum.

The one idea of destruction is felt in the two words ferro an fame. In their ordinary meaning they would not be synonymous nor rhetorical; but used to convey the idea of destruction they add a rhetorical force to the sentence.

Ferrum is connected with flamma in Or. Phil. 10, 11, where we find three cases of alliteration in double expressions. I quote the passage in full since it well shows Sallust's fondness for pairing words.

expectatis, dum exercitu rursus admoto  
ferro atque flamma urbem invadat? quod  
multo propius est ab eo quo agitat statu,  
quam ex pace et concordia ad arma civilia.  
quae ille advorsum divina et humana omnia cepit,  
non pro sua aut quorum sumulat iniuria, sed  
legum ac libertatis subvertundae. agitur



enim ac laceratur animi cupidine et noxarum metu,  
expers consilii, inquires, haec atque illa temptans;  
metuit otium odit bellum; luxu atque licentia  
carendum videt atque interim abutitur vostra  
socordia.

The passage is full of pairs. Those in alliteration  
other than ferrum atque flamma are legum ac libertatis  
and luxu atque licentia. The idea that ferrum  
atque flamma expresses is again that of destruction. Fre-  
quently we find ferrum connected with ignis and express-  
ing the same idea where alliteration is not sought. I  
am able to cite from Cicero one passage illustrating the  
use of each:

Cic. Verr. IV, 78

bis ex duorum bellorum flamma ferroque servata est  
and

Phil. XI, 37

ferro ignique minitantur

Legum et libertatis, though not usually synonymous, are  
here closely connected. In overthrowing the one the  
thought is that the other is also overthrown. Cicero  
does not seem to use the expression lex et libertas. In  
leg. agr. 102 he writes libertas in legibus showing the  
natural connection of the two words.



Luxu et licentia are examples of excess in two forms. Luxu is excess in the sense of luxuries, licentia is an excess or abuse of freedom. Luxu is a word that Cicero uses rarely. It is found only once in his orations, namely in Verr. III, 62, so that it is not strange that we do not find the expression connected with luxus et licentia in Cicero. In

Cat. 51, 16,

D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum,  
certo scio quae dixerit, studio rei publicae  
dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut  
inimicitias exercere; eos mores eamque modestiam  
viri cognovi,

Caesar speaks in praise of the character of D. Silanus using a double expression composed of the nouns mores and modestiam to perform a descriptive function such as adjectives most frequently perform, for example: fortem atque strenuum in this section. Mores here seems to mean his habits or manners taken as a whole, of which modestiam as a part is clearly added for rhetorical effect. Discretion or moderation (modestia) that Silanus displays is certainly a part of mores.

Cato makes a speech full of double expressions:

Cat. 52, 10-11

"nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis  
moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificentum  
imperium populi Romani sit, sed haec, cuiuscumque



modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium  
futura sint. hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem  
et misericordiam nominat. iam pridem equidem  
nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus. quia bona  
aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia  
fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita  
est.

The double expressions in this passage are especially  
noticeable on account of the alliteration we find in them.  
Alliteration is to be noted in mansuetudo et misericordia.  
In this portion of the speech Cato wishes especially to  
emphasize the fact that it is not the question of the great-  
ness of the republic today, but the effect that his action  
will have upon the future of his country, that determines  
his clemency and mercy. In the passage we note allit-  
eration in malis moribus, quantum aut quam, nostra nobiscum,  
mansuetudinem, vera vocabula, and largiri liberalitas.

Ius et iudicium is an alliterative double expression  
found in Or. Lepid. 23

utique iura et inducia sibimet extorquerent.

It also occurs in Sec. 24

ius iudiciumque omnium rerum penes se quod  
populi Romani fuit.

The words are probably not so nearly synonymous as ius et  
imperium which at times mean authority. They are,  
however, closely interwoven legal terms and as here used



have almost one and the same idea. In

Jug. 14, 11

intoleranda audacia ~~scelere~~ atque superbia  
sese efferens

we have scelus and superbia in alliteration connected with a third word audacia. scelus and superbia do not necessarily have much in common, but as used here superbia is evidently one phase of scelere and as such is merely repetition for effect, and as far as meaning is concerned is not especially necessary to the sentence. audacia too can be considered as one form of scelus. Vas aut vestimentum are coupled.

Cat. 51, 33

nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas  
aut vestimentum alicuius concupiverat.

There are two pairs here which seem synonymous, the non alliterative pair domum atque villam, which seem to refer to the one idea of their homes, and the alliterative pair vas aut vestimentum which refer to the equipment of the house.

We next note the examples in which Sallust has joined adjectives which begin with the same letter. These, as will be seen, are fewer in number than the nouns.

Cat. 51, 5

Rhodi~~orum~~ civitas magna atque magnificia quae  
populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa  
nobis fuit.



The pair magna atque magnifica is undoubtedly a device of Sallust to make the words of Caesar like a speech. The very sound of the two is highflown. In its original meaning magnificus (magnus + facio) was scarcely different from magnus, though it came to be used in a more restricted sense, namely to denote something noble or splendid.

A second example occurs in Cato's speech in Cat. 52, 13, where Cato says that Caesar has spoken eloquently in regard to life and death thinking as he believes, falsely, that

divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra inculta,  
foeda atque formidulosa habere.

Here Sallust uses a double set of pairs, with the alliteration in the second, foeda atque formidulosa. These words are similar in meaning, the former however being more horrible from its disgusting qualities.

I can only cite one pair of verbs in which alliteration is found that would come under the head of synonyms. Oro atque obsecro are connected in

Or. Phil. 9

quos ego vos oro atque obsecro.

The two come near being perfect synonyms. Cicero uses this pair again and again<sup>as</sup> in Verr. II, 42

Verr. II, 42

cum multis lacrimis cum oraret atque obsecraret,

Heraclius impetrare non potuerat, Verr. II, 75, IV. 80.

It is found also in Sex Rosc. 77, Rabir. 5, Cluent. 144, Quiet. Rosc. 20 and Planc. 56, Muren 86.



13.

Sallust connects two clauses of two words each in which the corresponding words are alliterative. In Jug. XIV, 17

solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens

quo adcedam aut quos appellem?

there are two pairs. The first composed of an adjective and participle solus and egens, the second of the clauses quo adcedam aut quos appellem. The idea expressed by the two clauses is similar, namely where shall we turn for aid. The idea is repeated in a different form apparently for emphasis and not from any need of the second clause.

This exhausts the double expressions of Sallust's speeches in which alliteration is found and which are at the same time synonymous. We have noted that many of these are found in Cicero. There are naturally many synonymous alliterative double expressions found in Cicero which are not in Sallust, and some in Sallust which are not found in Cicero. But it is natural that the stock of pairs which are alliterative, and at the same time synonymous, should be small and we should expect, and do find, that many of these are used in common. We find that both writers resort to alliteration as a rhetorical device.

We come now to that much larger class of double expressions in which there is no alliteration. Of those that are synonymous or approach being synonymous, we



take up first the nouns. Some of these we find also in Cicero, but the large majority we do not. Taking them up alphabetically from the standpoint of the first word of the pair, we note first arma joined with words of similar meaning in the following: with per iniuriam in

Or. Phil. 15

cui nihil est domi nisi armis partum

aut per iniuriam.

This double expression, arma et per iniuriam, is hardly as clear a case of repetition of the same idea for effect as the example which follows. To my mind, nevertheless, per iniuriam adds nothing to the thought of gaining what they have by arms, except



perhaps it adds an idea of injustice to the same. The words arma atque tela militaria are most clearly synonymous. Both terms merely emphasize the one idea of weapons. The expression occurs in

Cat. 51, 38

arma atque tela militaria ab  
Samnitibus insignia magistratum  
ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt.

Arma atque tela militaria is a common expression in military writings and descriptions. It occurs in Caesar civ. 3, 44, 1; Livy I, 25, 5; Livy XXII, 48, 2; Livy XXVI, 47, 6; Livy XXXVI, 18, 1. Hence we may judge that little rhetorical force was felt in the expression.

Arma is connected with bellum as the second member of the double expression in

Or. Phil. 2

nam bellum atque arma, quamquam vobis invisae,  
tamen, quia Lepido placent, sumunda sunt.



The pair is perhaps rhetorical, one phase of the war being repeated to emphasize the hatefulness of the war to the people. While Cicero combines the two in

Phil. XI, 37

aut impii, quorum contra furorum bellum  
et iusta arma cepimus.

he introduces a new idea in the iusta arma, an idea of just war. In ordinary prose we would perhaps find iustum bellum in place of the double expression, so the expression is rhetorical in force. Different ideas are set forth by arma and secessionem in

Or. Macr. 17

non arma neque secessionem, tantum modo  
ne amplius sanguinem vostrum praebatis censebo.

Ara and focus as used in

Cat. 52, 3

aris atque focis suis bellum paravere

are in a sense synonymous. They form a pair that has perhaps become conventional. Cicero frequently joins the words as in

nat. deor. 2, 67

vis Vestae ad aras at focos pertinet

and in Phil. 10, 3.

We have noticed the use of bellum atque arma in

Or. Phil. 3. Bellum is also connected with certamen in



Cat. 33, 4

rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia  
inter mortalis sunt.

Cicero uses proelium with certamen in

Cat. II, 25

in eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne,  
etiam si hominum studia deficient, di ipsi  
immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis  
virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari

with almost the same meaning. proelium, however,  
refers to one contest or fight, while bellum refers  
rather to a continued state of war. proelium and  
certamen are often used with the same meaning, though  
certamen does not necessarily refer to a battle.

It's a contest of any sort. While the difference in  
meaning in the expression bellum atque certamen as used  
by Sallust may have been distinctly felt, the chances  
are that the repetition is for the effect that it will  
have on the reader. In Oration of Lepidus 24,

concordia precedes pax in

nisi forte specie concordiae et pacis sceleri  
et parricidio suo nomina indidit

The regular order of the pair is pax et concordia and  
under pax this pair will be treated.

Lepidus concludes his speech with a flourish by  
the use of three words, of which ducem et auctorem seem



to be merely repetitions of parts of the first .

Lepid. 27

et bene iuvantibus divis M. Aemilium  
consulem ducem et autorem sequimini ad  
recipiundam libertatem.

In Caesar's speech, descriptive of the conditions in  
time of Sulla, two pairs of nouns are found which are  
synonymous in the sense that he uses them. We have  
treated vas aut vestimentum. Domum atque villam  
which are simply two ways of expressing the idea of home  
are found here.

Cat. 51, 33

nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo  
vas aut vestimentum alicuius concupiverat, dabat  
operam, ut is in proscriptorum numero esset.

We find examples of them in Verr. IV, 126, dom 62.

In Epist. Pomp. 6, pro quis, o grati patres,  
egestatem et famem redditis, egestas and famis clearly  
express the idea of need. Famis is frequently used  
with the meaning of want and it does not seem to mean  
hunger here. The repetition here is simply a more  
forcible way of bringing out the need of money for the  
army.



In Or. Cottae 4, ingenium seems to repeat his talent callidam facundiam. Perhaps it adds something to the thought, but it seems unnecessary except as a rhetorical device for adding emphasis. The passage in which we find the pair is

neque ego callidam facundiam neque  
ingenium ad male faciendum exercui.

In Jugurtha 14, 18, foedus et societas is found. The two words are used interchangeably, though the original meaning of foedus is league or compact and seems to refer more to foreign powers, while societas refers more to an alliance between individuals or classes such as partnerships and unions. Both are used, however, for political alliances. Here

ne quem coler<sup>e</sup>mus nisi populum Romanum, ne  
societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus

the idea seems to be of alliances with foreign powers and to be merely repetitions of the same idea. Foedus is also connected with amicitia in

Jug. 104, 5

foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.

While the two are not so closely synonymous as foedus atque societas, still they are closely connected - amicitia is naturally implied in foedus.

In Orat. Lepid. 14 there is an especially forceful pair bringing out in figurative terms the dire effects



of the civil war.

In the clause

simul humanas hostias vidistis et

sepulcra infecta sanguine civili

the pair humanas hostias et sepulcra infecta mean simply a slaughter of citizens.

Iniuria and contumelia are connected in

Cat. 35, 3

iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod  
fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus  
statum dignitatis non aptinebam,

which are so near synonymous that contumelia often has the meaning of injury, though contumelia has the first meaning of insult, hence injury. Contumelia and iniuria are coupled frequently. I cite three examples from Cicero, all of which are from Verres.

Verr. II, 86

de contumeliis et iniuriis in  
magistratum Milesium tametsi dici  
.....vehementer potest

Verr. III, 64

genus iniuriarum contumeliarumque  
perferre

Verr. III, 228

haec.....damna cum maxumis iniuriis



ius atque dicio strengthened by the alliteration which precedes in paucorum potentium is used in place of ius et imperium which Sallust more commonly used. In

Cat. 27, 7

in paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem  
concessit.

Ius and dicio with the added word potestas are found in

Cic. leg. agr. II, 98

et sub vestrum ius dicionem potestatem  
urbes.....subiungeritis.

Ius is also connected with maiestas

Jug. 31, 17

maiores vestri parandi iuris et  
maiestatis constituendae gratia  
bis per secessionem armati Aventinum  
occupavere.

Ius et imperium occurs twice in the speeches of Sallust,  
first in

Jug. 14, 1

ceterum ius et imperium eius penes  
vos esse.

The pair are nearly synonymous and tally fairly well with our English expression "law and authority". In the second example gloria is added.



Or. Lepid. 11

populus Romanus, paulo ante  
gentium moderator, exutus imperio  
gloria iure, agitandi inops despect-  
usque ne servilia quidem alimenta  
reliqua habet.

We find the two connected in

Cic. Phil. IV, 9

omnes.....in consuli<sup>o</sup> iure et  
imperio debent esse provinciae.

Memnius is made to use two synonyms in

Jug. 31, 2

ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque  
socordia conruptus sit.

There is little difference in the two words, though perhaps the latter has an added meaning of dullness. Cicero so far as I could find couples socordia with no other word, and he uses ignavia but rarely. Ignavia on the other hand seems to have been a favorite word with



Sallust. He uses it coupled with almost all the words descriptive of the faults of the wealthy class at Rome. He couples it with superbiam in

Jug. 85, 1

primo industrios supplices modicos  
esse, dein per ignaviam et superbiam  
aetatem agere.

Here the pair are hardly synonymous but are very apt words for the class he is describing. Cicero often joins superbia with crudelitas, faults which travel hand in hand. They are, however, not more nearly synonymous than Sallust's ignavia atque superbia. For superbia atque crudelitas in Cicero see Verr. I, 122, Verr. II, 9, leg. agr. I, 18, Muren 8, prov. cons. 11. Cicero couples contumacia and superbia in Verr. III, 5, and IV, 89. Ignavia is coupled with luxuria as the last member of the pair in

Jug. 85, 43

ita iniustissime luxuria et ignavia,  
pessumae artes, illis, qui coluere eas,  
nihi officiunt, rei publicae innoxiae  
cladi sunt.

The words as used here are in no sense synonymous, but set forth two distinct faults. With this double expression we may compare the following almost identical expression:



Cat. 20, 2

neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia.

Again two faults and failings in

Epist. Mith. 12

quos ignavia aut prava calliditas, ut meis laboribus tuti essent, armis abstinuit.

Cat. 52, 28

sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini.

As used here, the pair inertia et mollitia seems to be synonymous, meaning an inability to move through laziness or irresolution. Cicero connects ~~with~~ inertia <sup>and</sup> nequitia words which in their first meanings are more nearly synonymous. Inertia in its first meaning refers to lack of skill; nequitia to worthlessness. With mollitia he connects lenitate a milder term. We have seen from the examples given so far that where Cicero and Sallust use different pairs, one word of which is common to both, the pairs of Cicero are more nearly synonymous.

Sallust connects the words luctus and miseriae in

Cat. 51, 20

in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum  
requiem, non cruciatum esse.

Labor and industria, which are also closely synonymous, are connected

Cat. 35, 3

iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus,  
quod fructu laboris industriaeque  
meae privatus statum dignitatis non optinebam.

The first pair found here has already been noticed. There does not appear to be much difference in the meanings of



the two words as used here. Catiline wishes to express the thought that he is deprived of the benefits of his efforts of whatsoever sort they may be. The repetition for effect then is clear. Labor is also connected with the non-synonymous word periculum

Pomp. 1

Si advorsus vos patriamque et deos penatis  
tot labores et pericula suscepissem.

Manus and vis used in the ablative form of a double expression meaning by force. The pair is coupled in

Jug. 31, 18

vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere  
rem publicam, non manu neque vi, quod magis  
vos fecisse quam illis accidisse indignum est,  
verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthae.

Manu and vi are regularly coupled to express force. In Cicero the words are frequently connected as Cat. I, 20; Sen. 19; Flor. 13; Sest. 92, Calcin. 47, Cest. II, 85; Tull 21; leg. agr. 99; Phil. II, 91; Verr. I, 18.

Intra moenia and in sinu urbis express the same idea of in the city, in

Cat. 52, 35

alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis  
sunt hostes.

The second part of the phrase is perhaps a little more



poetical way of saying in the city, namely in the very bosom of the city. It is not, however, necessary for the completion of the idea, and the two clearly form a pair rhetorical in effect.

Natura and mores are connected in

Cat. 58, 2

quanta cuiusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest.

There is little difference in the meaning of the two words. The Roman used either when he wished to express the idea of character. Natura is distinguished from mores, however, in that the former, when there is a difference, refers to the natural character or disposition while mores refers more to the habits of a man. The two are joined frequently in Cicero. Examples are

Sext. Roscius 109,

naturam moresque hominis.....cognoscite;

Font. 30; Cael. 15; Verr IV, 112.

Jug. 85, 27

quippe vera necesse est bene praedicent,  
falsa vita, moresque mei superant.

falsa vita is connected synonymously or practically so with mores. mores as used here undoubtedly refers to bad habits, and his falsa vita refers to the same. It is a simple case of repetition for effect. Cicero connects both vita and natura with mores in



Sext. Rosc. 109

totam vitam naturam moresque hominis ex ipsa  
legatione cognoscite.

We find in

Muren 74

eam (orationem) usus vita mores civitas  
ipsa respuit.

Sallust connects pax with a variety of words similar  
in meaning with pax. Pax et concordia is the most  
common pair. It is found in

Phil. 5,

qui ad postremum usque legatos pacem concordiam  
et alia huiusce modi decreverunt.

Phil. 10,

quod multo propius est ab eo quo agitatur  
statu, quam ex pace et concordia ad arma  
civilia.

Phil. 13,

nunc pax et concordia disturbantur palam.

The pair needs no explanation as to being synonymous.

The expression becomes so common that it can be considered  
a stock expression, hence there is a question as to whether  
it is rhetorical or not. It is probable that in the  
expression quoted that Sallust feels that there is a rhetoric-  
effect to be gained by it. He does not use it in the  
plain prose portions. The expression is found again  
and again in Cicero, for example



Phil. II, 24; V, 40, 41; leg. agr. I, 23;

Cleunt. 101; Deiot. 11.

Pax is coupled with composita in

Or. Lepid. 25,

si vobis pax et composita intelleguntur.

Res is possibly understood here and the pair so used are synonymous. A thing worthy of notice is the number

of different words Sallust couples with pax. We

have noticed pax et concordia, the pair reversed, and pax et composita.

In Jug. 31, 24 pax is connected with amicitia perhaps to avoid the use of concordia, which word he paired with fides in Jug. 31, 23.

Jug. 31, 24

potestne in tam divorsis mentibus pax  
aut amicitia esse?

Pax et amicitia are not so nearly synonymous as pax et concordia, but amicitia is hardly felt as an added thought distinctly needed. It seems to be rhetorical repetition.

Pax is connected with per indutias in

Cat. 51, 6

item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum  
saepe Carthaginienses et in pace  
per indutias multa nefaria facinora  
fecissent.

Per indutias has in it the idea of a peace of short duration, rather a truce. It seems to be used here with a

force similar to in pace. The change of construction in order to avoid monotony perhaps and to give greater emphasis



is noticeable here. It is a device he uses quite frequently; per or ob with the accusative and the ablative with or without a preposition. In addition to the change of construction which lends impressiveness to the sentence, we find alliteration and the etymological figure employed in *facinora fecissent*, which looks to be a conscious striving for effect, though in pace et per the alliteration may be accidental. Perhaps the change of construction may have been influenced by this. Pax is coupled with deditio in Jug. 31, 19, a sentence which we have quoted above in the discussion of the expression damna atque dedecora. In

Or. Lepid. 9

itaque illa quies et otium cum libertate,  
 quae multi probi potius quam laborem cum  
 honoribus capessebant, nulla sunt

quies is connected with otium making a practically synonymous ~~at~~ pair, since the words are used interchangeably at times. Otium originally means spare time from

business and hence quiet or rest. Quies means quiet from exertion. Here it is hardly probable that any distinguishing difference is meant. In

Cat. 52, 2,

Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti,  
 cum res atque pericula nostra considero

Sallust connects a general term with one more specific to show what condition Cato thinks the Roman people are in. Cicero in



Cleunt. 54,

verbo ille reus erat re quidem vera  
et periculo tota accusatione oppianicus

uses the same pair.

Res is coupled with usus

in

Jug. 85, 12

praeposteri homines, nam gerere quam fieri  
tempore posterius. re atque usu prius  
est.

We have noted before double expressions in which a general term is followed by a specific term. Scelus is found especially often where some particular crime, or a misdeed which the speaker considers a crime, is connected with it. In

Or. Cottae 12,

tantum modo in animis habetote non  
me ob scelus aut avaritiam caesum,

scelus is connected with avaritiam where avarice is counted almost a crime. In

Or. Lepid. 24

nisi forte specie concordiae et pacis  
sceleri et parricidio suo nomina indidit

besides the synonymous pair pax et concordia, scelus is connected with parricidio, certainly a specific form of scelus. Scelus is connected with perfidia in

Or. Lepid. 1

praesertim cum illi spes omnis in  
scelere atque perfidia sit.



Cicero couples these two in

Phil. XI, 5

dexteræ quæ fidei testes esse solebant  
sunt perfidia et scelere violatæ.

They are also coupled by him in ~~Sen~~

Sest. 53

Verr. V, 189.

The oration of Lepidus seems especially full of double expressions of this sort wherein scelus is connected with another crime. In

Lepid. 19,

scelerum et contumeliarum omnium finis sit

we find scelus connected with contumelias. In

Cat. 20, 9, Sallust couples superbia and ludibrium

which the context seems to make synonymous. The passage reads

alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris.

Sallust in 51, 36

potest alio tempore, alio consule

connects two words which under ordinary conditions are far from synonymous. In the sense they are used here they express almost identically the same idea. He connects consule with tempore, both of which words express the idea of time, and the two phrases apparently mean "at another time". In Jug. 14, 11 vis and bellum have a somewhat synonymous force



nihil minus quam vim aut bellum expectantem  
in imperio vostro, sicut videtis, extorrem  
patria.

Virtus, a general term, is connected with a specific term,  
innocentia, in

Jug. 85, 4

quas necesse est virtute et innocentia.

Innocentia is certainly one form of virtue. Cicero  
connects the two in

Font. 16

copiam ..... quae huic virtuti atque  
innocentiae testimonio possit esse,

and

Plauc. 62

virtute eorum et innocentia contentus est.

Votum and supplicum are paired in

Cat. 52, 29

non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus  
auxilia deorum parantur.

Supplicum frequently has a derived meaning of votive of-  
ferings, a meaning of votum. It is difficult to tell  
whether supplicum is used to add a new idea or just for  
force.

Of adjectives I am able to cite a much smaller number  
of synonymous pairs. Alphabetically the first is found  
in



Cat. 51, 23

quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est  
in homines tanti facinoris convictos.

acerbus and gravis (nimis) overlap in meaning. In a  
loose sense the terms are synonymous. Aequus and  
bonus are connected in

Jug. 85, 5

aequus bonosque favere.

The second member of the term seems to include all of the  
first within it. Apparently the pair signifies all  
the good. The two, however, form practically a stereo-  
typed expression, and perhaps have not much rhetorical  
force. The second member of the pair we find connected  
in the same way with several other adjectives especially  
in a substantive use: thus in

Jug. 85, 49

uti boni honestique vitam exigerent

we have bonus connected with honestus. We find the  
pair, bonus atque honestus, used in

Cicero, Verr. III, 56

Polemarchus est Myrcentinus vir bonus atque  
honestus

Verr. III, 183

ex his scribis...viris bonis atque honestis  
per-contamini,

Cat. 1, 4

illi equites Romani honestissimi atque  
optimi viri



Bonus is connected with sapiens in

Or. Phil. 1

quae pessimi et stultissimi decrevere,  
ea bonis et sapientibus faciunda sunt.

The two here are not closely synonymous. It seems, nevertheless, that they present just one idea, namely that the better class of citizens are compelled to fulfill the decrees of the more depraved.

Catiline in his speech of encouragement to his men before going into battle, exhorts them in case they are defeated to leave a bloody victory to the enemy. The idea of bloody is brought out by the pair cruentus atque luctuosus in

Cat. 58, 21

quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam  
atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relin-  
quatis.

Luctuosus probably gives an idea of the grief that will be caused.

In Or. Phil. 5, we have two participles used as adjectives, one accompanied with an adjective which form a practically synonymous pair. Despectus et indignus habitus are connected in

immo despecti et indigni re publica habiti  
praedae loco aestumantur.



Both refer to the despicable element of humanity present in the Republic. We find a very good example of Sallust's fondness for pairs in the grouping of synonymous adjectives in

Cat. 51, 27

ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non  
idoneos transfertur.

We have here two sets of pairs, a positive and negative. The members of each pair are, as has been said, practically synonymous. The pair dignus et idoneus refers to the man who is capable or able or fitted. It is balanced by the antithetical pair indignus atque non idoneus, meaning the one who is not fit.

Among the alliterative pairs we have treated foedus in its connection with formidulosus. Twice elsewhere in the speeches of Sallust it is connected with another word; with crudelis, in a sentence abounding in pairs

Cat. 52, 36

eique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum  
Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem  
incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia  
facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de  
confessis sicuti de manifestis rerum etc.

Foedus is connected with intolerandus in

Cat. 58, 15

quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris  
videbantur.



Marius, in describing the fluency of his opponents, uses facundus with compositus in

Jug. 85, 26

abunde illis facundam et compositam  
orationem fore.

The idea expressed by both words seems to be that of an eloquent oration. Facundus perhaps means fluent, and compositus smooth, but it is not probable that they are used for other than rhetorical effect. Futilis is connected with the participle conruptus in

Or. Lepid. 20

non opibus eius, quae fuitiles et  
conruptae sunt.

The idea of both words here seems to be that of the uselessness of their resources. In

Cat. 51, 5

Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica,  
quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida  
atque advorsa nobis fuit

infidus is connected with advorsus. Both words, infidus and advorsus, as here used, convey the idea of being unfaithful to the Romans. Advorsa seems hardly to express an idea different from that contained in infidus, and probably the two adjectives are used to balance magna and magnifica.



Languidus et socors, two closely synonymous words, are connected in

Or. Macri. 8

An dubium habetis, num officere quid vobis  
uno animo pergentibus possit, quos languidos  
socordesque pertimere.

Languidus and socors both have the meaning of sluggish.

Sallust is rather fond of the words related to socors, as we have seen in his coupling of noun pairs.

We have noticed in the double expressions of nouns that Sallust follows up a general term with a more specific one. We also find this occurring among adjectives.

Magnus and opulentus are coupled in this fashion

Jug. 14, 19

virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis  
et opulenti, omnia secunda et oboedientia  
sunt.

Magni et opulenti seems simply to give the idea that the Romans are great and great in their riches, though perhaps the magnus may be confined to just one idea, as great in respect to power, making the pair mean strong and rich.

Cicero couples the superlatives of magnus and opulentus in

Verr. IV, 67

rex Antiochus..... opulentissimo et maximo  
regno

In Cat. 51, 35 we find multus connected with varius

where the latter term does not add much to multus, in



magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt.

Magnus is connected with clarus in a way in which the meanings of the two are nearly identical. Magnus is found in the superlative degree in the example mentioned

Or. Lepid. 1

Clementia et probitas vostra, Quirites, quibus  
per ceteras gentis maximi et clari estis.

The meaning conveyed by the two seems simply to be the great fame of the Romans.

Multus is connected co-ordinately in the regular Latin way with words which in English we do not pair, such as

multus et opportunus, multus et egregiis,  
multus et magnus

and others. Multus et varius are also connected in

Epist. Mith. 7

post multa et varia certamina  
apud Samothracas.

Multus et varius are found in

Cicero Phil. XIV, 34, : Verr. II, 73;

Leg. Agr. II, 95.

Malus et scelestus, a closely synonymous pair, are connected in

Cat. 52, 15

quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantum  
modo in urbe et non per totam Italiam  
sint.



39.

It is hard to discern any difference in their meaning, though scelectus seems to be a little more forcible. Malus and Sallust's favorite ignavus are connected in the comparative degree in

Or. Phil. 3

qui peior an ignavior sit

These two are not closely synonymous. Again malus in the comparative degree is found connected with the comparative degree of intestabilis

Or. Lepid. 1

si peior atque intestabilior metu  
vostro fuerit.

Both words here convey the idea of an infamous sort of a person. We find three pairs in one short sentence in

Jug. 14, 19

virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis  
et opulenti, omnia secunda et oboedientia  
sunt: quo facilius sociorum iniurias curare  
licet.

The first pair, virtute ac dis volentibus, are nouns; the second pair, magni et opulenti, we have treated as adjectives; the third, secunda et oboedientia, seem to be closely synonymous. Secunda is used in a secondary meaning of subordinate, while oboedientia corresponds closely to our obedience. Evidently this is a most pronounced repetition, or rather pairing rhetorical effect.



In

Or. Lepid. 17

quia non aliter salvi satisque tuti  
in imperio eritas etc..

the two words salvi et tuti have the meaning of safe, though the former refers more to safe in the sense of safe from sickness or disease; the latter refers to safety from danger. The effect of the pairing is further strengthened by alliteration in salvi satisque which may or may not have been intentional. In

Jug. 85, 39

sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt  
an adjective and ablative of quality are coupled. Sordidum is perhaps stronger than incultis moribus as a means of expressing the complaints of the party against Marius, for it is Marius that is talking. In the same chapter sec. 15 we have one idea expressed by the two words unus et communis, namely that natures are all alike. Marius so expresses himself in

quamquam ego naturam unam et communem  
omnium existumo, sed fortissimum quemque  
generosissimum.



Of adverbs which Sallust couples, there is only a very small number including both those which are and those which are not synonymous. Some of these too are stock pairs which occur in almost all writers, as, for example the antonyms

privatim et publice

which occur again and again in both Cicero and in Sallust.

Under the synonymous pairs we find bene et composita

Cat. 52, 13

Bene et composita C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit.

While the pair are not strictly synonymous, there are no two definite ideas distinctly separate presented by these two words; they simply represent Cato as saying that Caesar has spoken in good fashion. In a like manner con-

posita, the second member of the pair, is coupled with magnifice in

Cat. 51, 9

composita atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati sunt.

Cicero, too, is fond of this adverb composita, connecting it with ornate, ample, laxe, and other adverbs of like type.

Separatim is connected with sibi quisque in

Cat. 52, 23

ubi res separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis,

The idea expressed in adverb and pronouns seems to be



identical. Cato wishes to state that each man is running things with an eye towards the greatest possible advantage to himself. Sallust connects recte with ordine in Caesar's speech

Cat. 51, 4

quae maiores nostri contra lubidinem  
animi sui recte atque ordine fecere.

This expression is often found in Cicero as in  
Quinct. 28

si hoc.....recte atque ordine factum  
esse videtur... recte ordine....defendis.

Phil. X, 26; Phil. III, 38; V, 36; Phil. X, 5

Phil. X, 26.

The following are the examples of pairs of verbs of kindred meaning: commendo and trado occur in

Cat. 35, 6

nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado

The idea expressed by the pair is that of intrusting Orestilla to the care of Catulus. Commendo in its primary sense has the meaning of committing for protection, deposit with, while trado has a primary meaning of handing over, confiding to, etc.

In Epistle Mith. 21, extinguo and occido an unusual pair, are connected. The passage reads

hunc morem extinguent omnia aut occident.

Mithridates simply wishes to convey the idea that the



Romans put an end to all things that interfere with their purpose.

Moneo hortorque are found in

Jug. 31, 25

quae re moneo hortorque vos

Epist. Mith. 23

moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicie  
nostra tuam prolatare quam societate  
victor fieri.

Moneo and obtestorque are connected in

Jug. 10, 3

per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te

Moneo hortorque, as well as commendo atque trado, which I have cited, seem to be almost stock expressions and, although synonymous, may be considered to have very little rhetorical force. Pudet and piget are found coupled by aut in

Or. Phil. 14

nisi forte pudet aut piget recte facere.

Both words convey the idea of shame.

Synonymous pairs show a repetition of the same idea clothed in different words for the more elegant or forceful effect that it may give. These pairs by their frequency in the speeches, especially when there seems to be no particular reason for the double expression, tend to show the rhetorical effect that Sallust wishes to add to his speeches by this means.



Frequently, however, in this class of pairs a new and distinct idea is brought in by the second word of the pair, and the connection of the two is entirely logical. In this sort of pairs the speeches differ little from ordinary prose style. I am able to cite the following in which there is alliteration:

Cat. 51, 2

fama atque fortuna

Of non-alliterative antonyms I cite the following:

Jug. 85, 47

neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum  
aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit.

Or. Lepid. 23

Contumeliam atque invidiam

Cat. 51, 9

Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias  
dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum  
rei publicae miserati sunt. quae belli  
saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent,  
enumeravere: rapi virgines pueros, divelli  
liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum  
pati quae victoribus conlubuissent, fana atque  
domos spoliari, caedem incendia fieri, postremo  
armis cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia  
conpleri



Cat. 52, 22

luxuriam atque avaritiam

Cat. 52, 7

de luxuria atque avaritia

Jug. 85, 45

avaritiam inperitiam atque superbiam

Jug. 85, 45

avaritia aut temeritate

Jug. 24, 3

socius et amicitia

Cat. 51, 18

aut metus aut iniuria

Here Sallust makes use of hendyadis.

Jug. 85, 20

ignaviae voluptatem et praemia virtutis.

Jug. 85, 7

labores et pericula (consueta)

Jug. 85, 18

labori, innocentiae, periculis

Cat. 30, 14

divitiae decus gloria

Cat. 58, 8

divitiae decus gloria

Cat. 33, 4

non imperium neque divitias

Jug. 85, 41

ventri et turpissumae parti corporis

ibid

faciant, ament, potent



Pr. Macri. 12

ex licentia aut odio aut avaritia

Or. Phil. 15

peccatum omnium atque impudentissime

Jug. 14, 22

immature et unde minime decuit

Jug. 31, 9

divina et humana (omnia)

The following connected expressions are found in

Jug. 31, 20

regna provinciae, leges iuria iudicia,  
bella atque paces, divina et humana.

Fruentum is found connected with other words in the following:

Or. Cottae 6

stipendium milites, arma frumentum

Epist. Pomp. 3

sine frumento et stipendio

Epist. Mith. 21

sine frumento sine auxiliis

Epist. Pomp. 9

stipendio frumentoque.



Virtus is connected with fides and periurio in

Cat. 20, 2

virtus fidesque

Phil. 15

per fidem aut periurio

It is unnecessary to treat at further length pairs of this sort. They are found in great abundance in any part of the speeches; it is only necessary to look at any one of the speeches. A complete list of these pairs would add nothing to the discussion. There are, however, some things that would bear looking at before going to the second part of the paper, the comparison of the other portions of Sallust with his speeches. Frequently more than two words are connected. We have noticed these when taking up a section of the speeches. Generally when three words are connected there is no mere repetition of the same idea. The added words convey an extra thought. The three frequently make the sentence very emphatic, much more so than would a pair of words. For example, Adherbal in

Jug. 14, 7

quod paulo ante rex genere fama atque  
copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis,  
inops alienas opes expecto,

to show the contrast between his former enviable position and the position in which he finds himself now, cites three things wherein he was powerful before, namely

genere fama atque copiis.



Lepidus expresses the same sort of contrast forcibly by joining imperium gloria ius in

Or. Lepid. 11

populus Romanus, paulo ante gentium moderator,  
exutus imperio gloria iure, agitandi inops  
despectusque ne servilia quidem alimenta  
reliqua habet.

Imperium gloria ius, which the Romans formerly had are balanced against their present position, for they are now inops despectusque. In

Jug. 14, 1

si ea fecissem, in vostra amicitia  
exercitum divitias munimenta regni me  
habiturum

the three words used by Adherbal seem to emphasize his dependence on and trust in the Roman people. A very rhetorical passage is found where Catiline is urging his men to fight to the last for practically everything they possess. Patria libertas vita are connected in this passage

Cat. 58, 11

nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita  
certamus.

The three most valuable things are arranged in the order of their importance, counting liberty and life itself, for life would be the most important argument with the class of people that Catiline has under him. Twice in Catiline we have the abstract words divitiae decus and gloria connected. He seems to have been especially



fond of these three words as he uses each of them in other combinations quite frequently. They are found in

Cat. 30, 14

divitiae decus gloriae in oculis sita sint.

In

Cat. 58, 8

cum proelium inibitis memineritis vos  
divitias decus gloriam, praeterea libertatem  
atque patriam in dextris vestris portare,

we have the three, and tacked on with praeterea is the pair libertatem atque patriam. In

Jug. 85, 48

et profecto dis iuvantibus omnia  
matura sunt, victoria praeda laus

the three words are connected in the order in which they naturally happen, first victory, then booty, then praise.

In some of the passages the third word does not seem to add anything to the passage. Passages such as <sup>Jug.</sup> 85, 41, illustrate this

sudorem pulverem et alia talia relinquunt  
nobis, quibus illa epulis incundiora sunt.

Alia talia rather weaken than strengthen the passage.

The passages quoted by no means exhaust the trios to be found in Sallust, still they are few in number as compared with the double expression. There are also many cases to be found where more than four nouns are connected. In most of these cases there seem to be separate groups. For



example

Or. Lepid. 13

leges indicia, aerarium provinciae  
reges penes unum, denique necis civium  
et vitae licentia.

We have first a group of two, then of three; then two, gentives, necis and vitae depending on licentia. Sallust, in many cases where he uses more than four words, changes the construction to give variety to his sentence. In

Jug. 14, 23

non enim regnum, sed fugam exilium  
egestatem et omnis has quae me premunt  
aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti

instead of having all the words in the accusative, as regnum fugam exilium egestatem and aerumnas we have anima in the ablative with cum. Others of this sort there are in the speeches, but these will serve our purpose.

When Sallust uses four words together, frequently, as we have said before, it is easy to see that there are two clearly distinct pairs. We have such a pair in

Cat. 52, 5

sed per deos immortalis, vos ego appello,  
qui semper domos villas, signa tabulas  
vostras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis,  
domos villas clearly constitute one pair, being nouns closely related, while signa tabulas constitute the other for the same reason. Domum and villa and signum et tabula are frequently found connected as separate pairs,



both in Sallust and Cicero. The former in

Cic. Verr. IV, 126, dom. 62

the latter in

Verr. I, 60; IV, 8; Pomp. 40

Cat. 51, 1

Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de  
rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio amicitia,  
ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet

is another good example of double pairs. Two things seem to show that these form a double pair, first, the chances are that the atque would not be used were they all connected; second, the meaning of the words and the contrast between them show that they are connected as two pairs. On the one side we have the contrasts, hatred and friendships, on the other, wrath and pity. The contrast within each pair is to be noticed; between hatred and friendships, between wrath and pity. Such a doubling up of pairs shows certainly the device of the orator or the rhetorical writer. Such would hardly be used in every day prose. In

Cat. 52, 32

verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse  
pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut  
hominibus umquam ullis pepercit

the pairs pudicitiae famae and dis hominibus are entirely distinct. The former two are abstract nouns



and besides being differentiated from the latter, in that they are concrete, have a good deal of connection in meaning. They are frequently connected as are dis aut hominibus.

On examining the portions of the Histories of Sallust's Catiline, outside the speeches we find two distinct styles. In one we have the plain narrative. In the other Sallust writes in a loftier vein. The sections in which we find the plain historical narrative style are Chapters XV to XX<sup>2</sup> inclusive; XXI, XXX, XXXI, ~~XXXII~~, XXXIV, XXXIX, 5, LII, LV, ~~LVI~~, LIX-LX. A comparison of the double expressions in these portions with those found in the speeches, serves to show most clearly that Sallust in his speeches is rhetorical in his use of double expressions as well as in other points of style which have been noted. The comparison of this plain historical narrative style as represented in these portions of the Catiline (we have not considered it necessary to include the plain style of the remaining works of Sallust, since it is apparently the same) brings several differences to light. Before taking up the individual pairs, however, a comparison of two representative sections will show the general difference. We cite <sup>Cat.</sup> 50, 1, 2, 3, as being representative of the plain style. The section reads

Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturicio, conprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernunter, liberti et pauci ex clientibus



Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque  
 servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant,  
 partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio  
 rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus  
 autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos,  
 lectos et exercitatos, orabat in audaciam, ut  
 grege facto cum telis ad sese inrumperent. consul  
 ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut  
 res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert,  
 quid de eis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam  
 traditi erant. sed eos paulo ante frequens  
 senatus iudicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse.

The section taken from the speeches is

Cat.52,13, 14, 15

Bene et composite C. Caesar paulo ante in  
 hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo  
 falsa existumans ea, quae de interis memorantur,  
 diverso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra in-  
 culta, foeda atque formidulosa habere. itaque  
 censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per  
 municipia in custodiis habendos, videlicet  
 timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus  
 coniurationis aut a multitudine conducta per  
 vim eripiantur. quasi vero mali atque  
 scelesti tantum modo in urbe et non per totam  
 Italiam sint, aut non ubi plus possit audacia,  
 ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt.



A first glance shows a difference in both number and nature of the pairs. But it is necessary to examine the pairs in all these sections. First in regard to the number we note that the number of double expressions in the speeches is much larger per line than the number in the plain style. Our results here can only be approximate. They show conclusively however, that there is a difference. There are a few more than eight hundred lines which we regard as representing the plain narrative style. In these lines there are approximately one hundred and twenty-five of the double expressions. In the speeches of Sallust there are a little over fourteen hundred lines. In these there are some four hundred and thirty-five double expressions that I have collected. It will be seen that the <sup>t</sup>ratio per line of double expressions of the speeches compared with plain portion is about two to one.

For a comparison as to the nature of the pairs we must take them up individually. Proceeding in the order that we observed in the discussion of the double expressions in the speeches, we consider first the alliterative couples. Of alliterative pairs I was able to find only eight all told in these sections. The first to be cited, considering them alphabetically, is not synonymous and can hardly be considered a case of alliteration, as only two of the three nouns connected form alliteration. The passage occurs



Cat. 16, 2

fidem fortunas pericula vilia habere

The three words here present each a new idea and are in no sense synonymous. The second example is a better case, comparing very well with synonymous alliterative pairs of the speeches. It occurs in

Cat. 23, 1

Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus.

The couplet flagitiis atque facinoribus are pretty closely synonymous, both conveying the idea of misdeed or crime.

Lubido atque luxuria are coupled in

Cat. 28, 4

non nullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui facerat.

Lubido and luxuria are not synonymous in their ordinary usage and can hardly be said to be so here. Lubido seems to have its regular meaning of lust or strong desire, while luxuria seems to have the idea of riotous living or living in excess.

In

Cat. 23, 3

maria montisque polliceri coepit et  
minari interdum ferro

the pair maria montisque ~~are~~ in their ordinary meaning not



synonymous, seem here to convey the one idea of everything.

In Cat. 49, 4

seu periculi magnitudine seu animi  
mobilitate impulsu

we have two more nouns which form alliteration, namely magnitudine and mobilitate. However, this is hardly a case of the pairing of the two words, it is more a pairing of the two phrases.

periculi magnitudine and animi mobilitate

hence, perhaps we should not call them an alliterative pair.

The double expression mansuetudine atque misericordia which we have noted in the speech of Sallust as occurring twice in Cato's speech, Cat. 52, 11, Cat. 52, 27, occurs in Cat. 34, 1

Ad haec Q. Marcus respondit, si quid ab  
senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant,  
Roman supplices profiscantur: ea mansuetudine  
atque misericordia senatum populi Romani  
semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra  
auxilium petiverit.

I have quoted this section in full to show that this allit-  
erative pair, which is certainly closely synonymous,  
occurs in an indirect speech and can hardly be  
used as an example of alliterative pairs found in the plain  
prose portions.



In

Cat. 15, 4

namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque  
infestus neque vigiliis neque quietibus  
sedari poterat,

two adjectives compounded with in are connected. Impurus and infestus here do not seem to indicate any striving for alliteration from their position. They at least do not, it seems to me, give the effect of alliteration. I can only cite one more case of alliteration in the plain historical portions; it occurs in

Cat. 16, 5

tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea  
prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

Tutae tranquillaeque forms a very good example of alliterative adjective pairs. While they are not exactly synonymous, used as they are they are felt to be so. It is well to note that three of the alliterative pairs which we have quoted occur in chapters 15 and 16 before Catiline has really started on his history proper. This section might almost be considered part of the introduction. The pairs referred to are

animus impurus dis hominibusque infestus

in Cat. 15, 4, fidem fortunas in Cat. 16, 2, and tutae tranquillaeque which we have just mentioned in Cat. 16, 1.



We find then that when we have used all the pairs which we have cited, both those that are hardly alliterative and those in the section above mentioned, we have a much smaller percentage of alliterative pairs in this portion of Catiline under consideration than we have in the speeches of Sallust.

We will notice next the difference in non-alliterative pairs. As before, they will be considered alphabetically as regards the first member of the couplet.

In

Cat. 28, 4

quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque  
omnia amiserat,

agros bonaque are coupled. The second member of the pair is plainly an added fact and is not used apparently for any extra rhetorical force that it will give. Three times appello is connected with hortor or its compounds. The pair occurs in

Cat. 20, 1

tamen in rem fore credens universos  
appellare et cohortari;

Cat. 17, 1

primo singulos appellare, hortari alios  
alios temptare.

Cat. 59, 5

ipse equo circumiens unum quemque  
nominans appellat hortatur rogat.



In none of these cases, however, does the expression seem to be rhetorical. Amicus is connected with socius in

Cat. 16, 4

Eis amicis sociisque confisus Catilina.

A double expression such as this is plainly not rhetorical.

It is a common every day expression. Amicus is connected with cliens in about the same fashion as it is connected with socius, in

Cat. 26, 4

Circum se praesidia amicorum atque  
clientum occulte habebat.

In Cat. 41, 2

in altera parte erat aes alienum, studium  
merces  
belli, magna in spe victoriae, at in altera  
maiores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe  
certa praemia

we have a balanced sentence such as we might have in the speeches. There is no mere repetition of words, but on the one side three separate things are lined up, on the other three more. Aperit is twice connected with another verb, but in each case there seems clearly to be two ideas brought out.

In Cat. 40, 6

eo praesente coniurationem aperit,  
nominat socios,



coniurationem aperit is connected with nominat socios.

The connection here is of clauses rather than of separate verbs. In the second case aperit with the rest of its clause is connected with docet.

Cat. 47, 1

post ubi fide publica dicere iussus est,  
omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit docetque  
se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et  
Caepario socium adscitum nihil amplius  
scire quam legatos.

Asperus seems to be connected with another adjective which is, in the connection in which it is used, synonymous with asperus.

Cat. 26, 5

quoniam quae occulte temptaverat, aspera  
foedaque everant.

The couplet aspera foedaque here seem to give the clause the meaning of affairs turning out wretchedly for the conspirators.

In Cat. 40, 4

nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile  
esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent

asperum and difficile are in a sense synonymous. There is another case among the words beginning with a wherein the two seem synonymous



In

Cat. 42, 2

nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum  
portationibus, festinando agitando omnia  
plus timoris quam periculi effecerant,

arma atque tela are coupled. We have noted this couple amongst the double expressions of the speeches. It occurs frequently enough to become almost a stock expression. The two gerunds festinando and agitando are connected here, as well as timoris and periculi. These are in no sense synonymous. Among eleven double expressions of which the first member of the pair begins with c, I am able to cite only one caedes incendia that appears to be synonymous. Two forms of destruction are portrayed. It is found in

Cat. 32, 2

caedum incendia aliaque belli facinora  
parent.

In

Cat. 60, 2

maximo clamore cum infestis signis  
concurrunt

clamore and infestis signis present two different ideas and are necessary to the description of the battle which takes place. The pair which occurs in

Cat. 59, 1

signa canere iubet atque instructos ordines  
in locum aequom deducit



is rather a doubling of clauses than of verbs, and manifestly presents two different ideas to the reader

In

Cat. 48, 2

incendium vero crudele immoderatum  
ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat

the three adjectives crudele immoderatum ac calamitosum present perhaps respectively the idea of cruel, excessive and ruinous. The three may be used for rhetorical effect, but they are not in the least synonymous. The words cura atque laetitia which almost approach opposites are connected in

Cat. 46, 2

at illum ingens cura atque laetitia  
simul occupavere.

Cura here seems to mean anxiety, while laetitia means joy.

The following words are also connected.

Cat. 17, 4

ex coloniis et municipiis

Cat. 48, 4

de caede bonorum de itinere hostium

Cat. 26, 2

dolus aut astutiae

Cat. 25, 3

decus atque pudicitia

Cat. 23, 2

neque decere neque facere



The following pairs are found in what is practically an indirect decree of the senate

Cat. 29, 3

exercitum parare, bellum gerere coercere  
socios atque civis domi militaeque imperium  
atque iudicium

Again we have a group of pairs in a bit of vivid description

Cat. 27, 2

intenti paratique  
dies noctisque  
festinare vigilare  
insomniis neque labore

Gerundives and gerunds are connected respectively in

Cat. 31, 5

dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi

Cat. 43, 3

dubitando et (dies) prolatando

Further we note

Cat. 48, 5

maxumis divitiis summa potentia

Cat. 44, 3

data atque accepta (fide)

Cat. 21, 4

periculi aut ignominiae

Cat. 15, 5

color ei exanguis, foedi oculi, citus



modo modo tardus.

Cat. 28, 4

gestate simulac dolore (iniuriae)

agros bonaque (omnia)

Cat. 15, 5

facie voltuque

Cat. 16, 2

famam atque pudorem

Cat. 43, 4

natura ferox vehemens manu promptus

Cat. 47, 1

fingere (alia) dissimulare de coniuratione

Cat. 25, 5

versus facere, locum movere, sermone uti  
vel modesto vel molli vel procaci

Cat. 26, 5

bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri

Cat. 36, 1

cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus

Cat. 50, 2

familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et  
exercitatos

Cat. 48, 1

gaudium atque laetitiam

In a bit of description in regard to Sempronia we find the following pairs in no case synonymous:

Cat. 25, 2

genere atque forma,



viro atque liberis  
litteris Graecis et Latinis  
psallere et saltare

Cat. 60, 7

generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis

Cat. 31, 8

hostem atque parricidam

Cat. 61, 8

hospitem aut cognatum

Cat. 42, 2

inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam

Cat. 15, 2

ius fasque

Cat. 31, 7

ipsius atque maiorum

Cat. 17, 5

inopia aut alia necessitudo

Cat. 18, 4

inopia atque mali mores

Cat. 19, 4

iniusta superba crudelia

Cat. 23, 6

invidia atque superbia

Cat. 55, 4

incultu tenebris odore

Cat. 55, 4

foeda atque terribilis



- Cat. 59, 3  
lectos et evocatos
- Cat. 61, 9  
laetitia maeror, luctus atque gaudia
- Cat. 61, 7  
laetam aut incruentam
- Cat. 29, 1  
pro loco atque copiis
- Cat. 31, 6  
luculentam atque utilem
- Cat. 16, 3  
manus aut animus  
manus atque crudelis
- Cat. 57, 5  
montibus atque copiis
- Cat. 55, 6  
moribus factisque
- Cat. 40, 2  
Umbrenus.... plerisque principibus  
civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat
- Cat. 25, 3  
pecuniae an famae
- Cat. 26, 5  
neque petitio neque insidiae
- Cat. 28, 1  
perterritis ac dubitantibus
- Cat. 59, 5  
pro patria pro liberis pro aris atque  
focis suis



- Cat. 43, 3  
parata atque decreta
- Cat. 49, 1  
neque precibus, neque gratia, neque pretio
- Cat. 24, 3  
quaestui neque luxuriae
- Cat. 30, 5  
pro tempore atque periculo
- Cat. 48, 2  
usu cotidiano et cultu corporis
- Cat. 56, 2  
voluntarius aut ex sociis
- Cat. 19, 5  
veteres fidosque
- Cat. 31, 6  
sive praesentiam eius timens sive ira  
conmotus
- Cat. 16, 2  
testis signatoresque
- Cat. 61, 8  
visundi aut spoliandi
- Cat. 56, 3  
sparos aut lanceas
- Cat. 29, 3  
socios atque civis
- Cat. 24, 4  
servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem  
incendere, viros earum vel adiungere  
sibi vel interficere



Cat. 24, 2

sua aut amicorum fide

Cat. 57, 1

rapinarum aut novarum rerum

Cat. 21, 1

neque res neque spes

The following contrasting words are found

Cat. 30, 4

honestataque inhonestata

Cat. 25, 4

luxuria atque inopia

Cat. 61, 5

neque in proelio neque in fuga

Cat. 39, 6

per se aut per alios

This completes the list of double expressions to be found in the plain historical prose sections of Sallust's *Catiline*. Practically everything that could be called a double expression has been cited. Of these we have noticed that very few could lay claim to having any especial rhetorical force, and that a large percentage of these occur



in chapters 15 and 16. They show conclusively that there is a difference between the plain prose portions and the speeches. There are other portions of Sallust's *Catiline* which we find strikingly similar in style to the speeches. The double expressions here are of the same character and occur with the same frequency as the double expressions in the speeches. In chapters I-XIV inclusive; XXX, 1, 2, 3; XXXVI, 4-XXXIX, 5; LIII and LIV, Sallust seems to rise to the rhetorical style of the speeches. It is perhaps to be expected that he should in these places, for the first fourteen chapters are introductory, and he wants to display himself to the greatest advantage. XXXVI, 4 to XXXIX, 5 is a summing up of the conditions at Rome. Here a good deal of the personal enters in. Fifty-three and four is a bit of descriptive work, a comparison between the characters of Cato and Cicero, and the style may be compared with that found in chapters I-XIV, and in the speeches.

Following the general lines of the first portion of the paper, we compare a representative section of this with one from the speeches. A comparison of chapter XIV with chapter XX, 5-11, which we have already quoted as showing the large number of double expressions that Sallust uses in his speeches, will serve our purpose.



## Chapter IV reads

In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tanquam stipatorum catervas habebat. nam quicumque inpudicus adulter ganeo manu ventre pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique parricidae sacrilegi convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua periurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium egestas conscius animus exagitabat, ei Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant. quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam eius inciderat, cotidiano usu atque inlecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat; eorum animi molles et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. nam ut cuiusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari. postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fixi fidosque sibi faceret etc.

A precursory comparison of this chapter with Chapter XX, 5<sup>11</sup>, will show that there <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ about the same number of pairs and they appear at first glance to be similar in character.

Taking the sections up as a whole, we find that in regard to the number of pairs, these more dignified passages of the narratives have practically the same proportion of pairs



as are found in the speeches. In round numbers there are about three hundred lines of the former, while there are over a hundred double expressions of the sort that we have taken notice of in the speeches. There are about 1412 lines of the speeches, and here we have collected about 450 double expressions. This of course can only be an approximate result, but it shows that the number of double expressions in the two cases are about equal.

Among the double expressions in these portions we notice that the number which make alliteration quite hold their own in proportion to the number of alliterative pairs in the speeches.

Of the alliterative pairs of nouns I cite the following:

Cat. 39, 4

clades atque calamitas

Cat. 14., 1

flagitiorium atque facinorum

Cat. 14, 2

flagitium aut facinus

Cat. 37, 5

flagitium aut facinus

Cat. 31, 1

laetitia atque lascivia

Cat. 54, 2

mansuetudine et misericordia



Cat. 11, 4

modum neque modestiam

Cat. 38, 4

modestia neque modus

Cat. 12, 2

pudorem pudicitiam

Cat. 37, 5

probro atque petulantia

Cat. 1, 5

vine corporis an virtute animi

The following adjective and adverbial double expressions which are alliterative are found in these portions:

Cat. 1, 4

fluxa atque fragilis

Cat. 11, 3

infinita insatiabilis

Cat. 11, 5

luxuriose nimisque liberaliter

Cat. 37, 7

privatis atque publicis

Cat. 6, 2

dispari (genere) dissimili(lingua)

The following non-alliterative double expressions are synonymous cited which are/or approach the synonym in the connection in which they are used:



Cat. 11, 5

amoena voluptaria

Cat. 7, 5

asper aut arduus

Cat. 2, 3

aequabilibus atque constantius

Cat. 8, 2

amplae magnificaeque

Cat. 38, 1

aetas animusque

Cat. 7, 4

decoris armis et militaribus equis

Cat. 54, 2

beneficiis ac munificentia

Cat. 6, 1

condidere atque habuere initio Troiani

Cat. 1, 4

clara aeternaque

Cat. 53, 1

clarus atque magnus

the phrases in

Cat. 31, 1

quibus rebus permota civitas atque inmutata

urbis facies

Cat. 11, 2

dolis atque fallaciis



Cat. 12, 3

domos atque villas

Cat. 39, 4

defessis et exanguibus

Cat. 11, 4

foeda crudeliaque

Cat. 10, 4

fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas

Cat. 13, 3

non famem aut sitim, neque frigus

neque lassitudinem

Cat. 4, 1

incepto studioque

Cat. 12, 2

luxuria atque avaritia

Cat. 2, 5

pro continentia et aequitate lubido

atque superbia invasere

Cat. 53, 5

luxu atque desidia

Cat. 6, 1

liberum atque solutum

Cat. 2, 5

pro labore (desidia) pro continentia

et aequitate



Cat. 10, 1

labore atque iustitia

Cat. 10, 2

labores pericula dubias atque asperas  
res

Cat. 38, 1

largiundo atque pollicitando

Cat. 14, 5

molles etiam et fluxi

Cat. 5, 1

malo pravoque

Cat. 53, 6

naturam et mores

Cat. 10, 6

(imperium) ex iustissimo atque optumo  
crudelē intolerandumque (factum)

Cat. 10, 2

oneri miseriaeque

Cat. 5, 8

pessuma ac divorsa

Cat. 1, 1

prona atque ventri oboedientia

Cat. 14, 3

proximi familiaresque

Cat. 4, 1

socordia atque desidia



Cat. 31, 3

superbia atque deliciis

Cat. 10, 4

superbiam crudelitatem

Cat. 14, 4

(cotidiano) usu atque inlecebris

Cat. 2, 9

vivere atque frui anima

Cat. 37, 6

victu atque cultu

The double expressions cited here clearly differ from those cited in the previous sections.

We have also noted the ordinary nature of the double expressions of the plain prose portions in contrast to the rhetorical nature of the pairs of the speeches, and have observed the loftier vein of the introductory portion of the narrative. The presence of the rhetorical pairs in such abundance in the speeches and in the more dignified portions, and their almost total absence in the plain prose portions, shows that Sallust rises to a loftier rhetorical style in his speeches, not only by means that have been pointed out ~~by~~ in other writers, but also by means of the double expression.







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