**Cicero and Verres – *in Verrem* ‘Against Verres’ *-* 70 BC**

Cicero was elected quaestor in 75 BC *in his year* and was sent to serve his quaestorship in western Sicily. Read the anecdote he relates below and make notes on the questions in the boxes:

A lesson in humility?

At the time I thought that the whole of Rome was talking about my quaestorship. For I had sent a huge amount of grain to Rome when it was more expensive than ever; yet I had been civil to the businessmen, fair to the traders, generous to the tax farmers and temperate towards our allies. Everyone thought that I had been most conscientious in every aspect of my duties; some unprecedented honours were devised for me by the Sicilians.

When I left my province, then, I was wishfully thinking that the Roman people would rush forward to bestow all kinds of honours on me. But, a few days later, I happened to arrive at Puteoli on my way back from Sicily, just at the time when all the most fashionable and wealthy people generally flock there. I nearly fainted, gentlemen, when someone asked me when I had left Rome and whether there was any news to report from the city. And, when I replied that I was on my way home from my province, he said ‘Gosh, of course, you’re on your way back from Africa aren’t you?’ I swallowed my anger, and said: ‘Sicily, actually.’ At which some know-all said: ‘you mean you don’t know that Cicero has been the quaestor of Syracuse?’ What else can I say? I gave up being angry and just became the same as all the other seaside tourists.

But that whole incident, gentlemen, definitely did me more good than it would have done had everyone congratulated me. From that day on, I realised that the Roman people had deaf ears, but sharp and observant eyes. I stopped worrying what men would hear about me; I made sure that from that day, every day, on they would see me in person. I have lived in their sight; I have never left the forum; neither a closed door nor shut eyes have prevented me from seeing anyone.

Cicero *pro Plancio*

What happened instead?

Why, given his background, might Cicero feel that he had to work particularly hard to make his influence felt back in Rome and to achieve the distinguished senatorial career to which he aspired?

What lesson does Cicero say he learnt from this incident?

What did he expect to find when he returned to Rome?

How successful was Cicero’s quaestorship in Sicily?

**The trial of Verres**

Date: 70

Accused: Gaius Verres - nobilis

Presiding Judge: Manius Acilius Glabrio

Prosecution Lawyer: Marcus Tullius Cicero

Defence Lawyer: Quintus Hortensius Hortalus

Alleged Crime: Extortion of 400 000 sesterces from the province of Sicily during Verres’ governorship from 73 to 71.

Location: Extortion court, Rome

Outcome: Verres found guilty, but fled Rome before the trial was concluded and lived out his life in exile in Massilia (modern-day Marseilles) until he was proscribed and killed by Mark Antony in 43.

the trial of verres

When I returned from Sicily after my quaestorship, it seemed that whatever talent I had possessed beforehand was fully rounded and had reached a certain maturity … And so after five years of activity, in which I pleaded many cases against some of the leading advocates, I finally came head-to-head in a trial of great magnitude against Hortensius – I was an elected aedile facing an elected consul.

Cicero, *Brutus*

Why was it Cicero to whom the Sicilians turned to prosecute Verres for his crimes of theft, extortion, corruption and cruelty against them during his governorship?

Why was Cicero glad to undertake this trial?

In one stroke, if he was successful, Cicero could become Rome’s leading orator, establish a political ‘line’ and win the popularity he needed to secure his election to the aedileship. If he failed, he would make powerful enemies and jeopardise his whole career.

*Tempest*

It is difficult to put into words, citizens, just how hated we Romans are among foreign peoples, because of the greed and the damage our governors, men sent by us, have done in recent years. For in all those lands, do you think there is any shrine that our magistrates have regarded as sacred, any state they have regarded as inviolable, any private house they have regarded as locked and bolted?

Cicero *de imperio*

It was his talent as an orator, again, that enabled Cicero to push through the barriers ahead of him. Speakers gained the greatest publicity from criminal trials. And so, if you really wanted to draw attention to yourself, it did not get much better than the prosecution of a senior politician and senator. … Gaius Verres was the ideal object of Cicero’s attack. He was emblematic of the corruption for which the senate had been criticised since the time of Sulla. He was a senator of Rome who was supported by men from some of the noblest families, but, crucially, he was not an integral member of the inner clique that controlled Rome’s senatorial elite. Rather, Verres’ family was fairly new to the rank.

*Tempest*

So, beyond what was at stake for Cicero himself, what was the significance of the trial of Verres for the running of the empire and the state of the Republic?

Even more controversial, and central to the eventual collapse of Republican government, were questions of who could be trusted with the connamnd, control and administration of the empire. Who was to govern the provinces, to collect the taxes, to command…Rome’s armies? Was the traditional governing class, with its principles of shared and short-term power, capable of handling the vast problems, administrative and military, that the empire now threw up? …

The demands of defending, policing and sometimes extending the empire encouraged, or compelled, the Romans to hand over enormous financial and military resources to individual commanders for years on end, in a way that challenged the traditional structures of the state even more fundamentally than disputes at home between optimates and populares ever did. By the middle of the first century, riding on the back of overseas conquest, Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar had become rivals for autocratic power: they commanded what were effectively their own private armies; they had flouted Republican principles … and they had opened up the prospect of one-man rule…

*Beard*

**Cicero’s speech**

Read the summary of the trial – Tempest pages 53-58 – and answer the following questions:

1. Why was the timing of the trial ‘disastrous’ for Verres and what did his defence team try to do about it?
2. How did Cicero respond to their attempts to sabotage the trial – i) in his collection of evidence; ii) in his decisions about how to present the evidence against Verres?
3. How successful was Cicero’s strategy?
4. Assess Plutarch’s comment that Cicero won ‘not by speaking but by actually not speaking’: how true does Tempest judge this to be and why (give examples)?
5. Was there any need for all seven of Cicero’s *Verrine Orations* to be published? If not, why did he publish them?
6. Assess Tempest’s comment that Cicero’s ‘disgust at the state of the courts and the nepotism of the elite inner circle marked him out as a politician for the people, fighting against the nobility’s corruption’.

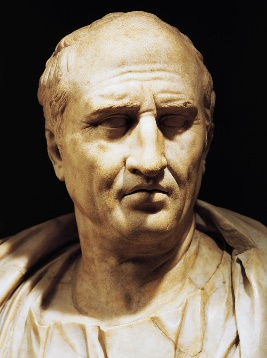
**Roman legal oratory: rhetoric and the power of persuasion**

Compare these statements contrasting the modern context of a legal trial with the context of Cicero’s Rome:

Vasaly, *The Political Impact of Cicero’s Speeches*

Cicero does conceive of the optimal function of oratory as presenting the best possible arguments on any issue to the people, who are then meant to weigh each side dispassionately and make an informed decision. Rather, oratory is a tool to manipulate an audience, most effectively by playing on their emotions. The point is not necessarily for them to understand or reason, but to respond, by thinking and acting in a way that the orator alone has determined to be most advantageous to the state.

A lawyer shall not … in trial allude to any matter that the lawyer does not reasonably believe is relevant or that will not be supported by admissible evidence, assert personal knowledge of facts in issue except when testifying as a witness, or state a personal opinion as to the justness of a cause, the credibility of a witness, the culpability of a civil litigant or the guilt or innocence of an accused.

Oratory in Rome was as much about the delivery of speeches as about their content – and Cicero was a brilliant orator. A trial such as Verres’ was public courtroom drama, attracting large audiences and winning great fame for successful lawyers. The response of the audience could have a big impact on the atmosphere in court, and possibly therefore on the result of the trial. How might Cicero manipulate this in Verres’ trial? Consider:

How will Cicero present himself and his relationship with the jury?

How will Cicero present Verres?



How will Cicero combine the need for a formal legal speech with the rhetorical flourish needed to convince the jury of Verres’ guilt?

* Importance of Verres’ crime to the senate, Rome and the gods;
* Sympathy for the affected Sicilians;
* What would happen if this crime were to go unpunished?
* We need to set an example to prevent such behaviour in the future;
* We only have one chance to make the right judgement;
* Crimes were obviously premeditated – I can prove it!
* Verres’ crimes – all of them – are really really really foul!
* No crime so far in history has been as bad as this – let’s keep it unique – never again!
* NO motive can possibly justify such wickedness;
* Let me describe Verres’ crimes – in detail – with a bit of added drama – so you can witness them for yourselves.

Rhetoric was a core subject in Roman education for many centuries. The earliest surviving Latin text on rhetoric, from the late 80s BC, called the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, identified various features common to speeches in which a speaker aimed to provoke an emotional response in his audience. Look out for these in *In Verrem*:

These rhetorical techniques and the power of Cicero’s oratory are really important for us to consider as we read *In Verrem 1* because, while Verres was ostensibly being tried for the extortion of 400 000 sesterces from the province of Sicily, Cicero doesn’t actually mention this specific crime until the final sentence. So what is the focus of the speech?

* Cicero wants the jury to feel morally and politically obliged to judge Verres guilty;
* So, he will create an urgent sense of moral and political crisis facing Rome:
* The senatorial order is under threat of collapse from corruption within – by characters such as Verres;
* The future stability of the senate and of the Roman Republic depends on your making the right decision: I appeal, senators and jurors, to your high moral principles;
* He needs to portray himself (the prosecutor) as the champion of the Republic and its values – moral, legal and political:
* He is the defender of the senate’s prestige, of the rights of Rome’s allies and provinces and of the traditional systems and values of Roman law, justice and upright character (very much in line with his conservative political idealism).
* With the importance of his case thus set out, he will show just how wicked Verres is – and he has an overwhelming arsenal of evidence to secure his success!

As we read Cicero’s speech, we will fill in details on these themes in the table below – starting with the sections filled in already to get you going.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Chapter** | **Brief Summary** | **Crisis** | **Defender of the State** | **Verres** | **Rhetorical techniques** |
| **1** | Urgency for jury to ‘fix’ Rome | *- unpopularity of your order;*  *- dishonour of the courts;*  *- both destructive for the republic and dangerous for you*  - language of imminent threat;  *- rumour that no wealthy man can possibly be convicted.* |  | (not named; no direct mention of crime of extortion) | - importance of crime to senate;  - **apostrophe** (direct address to jury);  - **hyperbole** – *crucial time for the republic;* international scale of rumour; *no wealthy man, however guilty he may be, can possibly be convicted.* |
| **2** | Naming of Verres as criminal, Cicero sets out his stall as prosecutor and rescuer of the senate, of which he is part. | *- in this time of crisis for your order and your judgements* | *- not so that I might increase the unpopularity of the senate, but so that I might relieve it from the dishonour which I share with it* | *- Gaius Verres has been brought to trial as a criminal;*  *- he is a man already condemned in everyone’s opinion by his life and actions, yet acquitted by the magnitude of his wealth;*  *- a man, the embezzler of public funds, the abuser of Asia and Pamphyliae, the thief of the city’s rights, and the shame and ruin of the province of Sicily.* | - not merely chiding: Cicero includes himself in the stakes for the senatorial order;  - delayed naming and then repeated reference to Verres as ‘that man’ – gesturing in court. |
| **3** |  |  |  |  |  |
| **4** | Verres is a danger not only to Cicero, but to judges, Roman people, senate and empire. | *- that man’s wicked plans, which he endeavours to plot simultaneously against me, against you, Manius Glabrio, and against the Roman people; he plots against the allies, against foreign nations, against the senate and against the very name of senator.* |  | Verres is unrelenting and utterly corrupt – proud of his crime:  *- the man who frequently says that “he who has only stolen enough for himself should be afraid, but this man has stolen enough to satisfy everyone; nothing is so holy that it cannot be corrupted, nor anything so fortified that it cannot be conquered by money”.* | - **hyperbole** – extent of crisis and who is affected;  - **anaphora** – repetition of *against* to hammer home the extent of the crisis. |
| **5** | Verres is as stupid as he is bold – he hasn’t taken any trouble to hide his corrupt activities! |  |  | *- a remarkable stupidity has been joined to his incredible audacity.* |  |
| **6** | Attempts of the prosecution to corrupt the trial by rushing through another trial so as to delay Verres’ |  | *- not that he would do the same with the diligence and industry that I have accomplished by my labour, and constant vigilance, by day and night.*  *- in just fifty days, I attended to the whole of Sicily in order to examine the records and injustices of all of the tries and private individuals.* |  |  |
| **7** | Cicero appeals to his audience as witnesses (and a huge number of them!) to Verres’ crimes – and Verres knows what harm he has done to them all! | *- numerous citizens and allies, to whom he himself has done notable harm.*  *- numerous, important embassies from the cities of our closest allies have convened, armed with public authority and evidence from their respective states.* | *- he knows that I have come into court so well prepared and equipped, so that I might fix his thefts and crimes not only in your ears, but in the very eyes of all.* | *- that most audacious and insane man;*  - alienation of Verres by use of ‘he’ rather than his name. | - **apostrophe** – direct address to the jury and to his audience;  - **colourful vocabulary, especially insults!** |
| **8** | Verres is so corrupt that he tried to buy his way out of being tried by ‘you good men’ – you, jurors, will see through this, of course! |  |  | *- he still thinks so badly of all good men … that he keeps boasting openly that he was not greedy for money for not reason … and that he has bought the time of his trial itself.* | - **flattery of the jury** – implies they are the ‘good men’ by whom Verres is trying to avoid being tried by postponing the trial. |
| **9** | If Verres were innocent, he wouldn’t be going to such lengths to disrupt the proceedings of the court. |  |  |  |  |
| **10** |  |  |  | *- he would place all his chances of safety in money.* | - **rhetorical question** – *for what genius is so great, what ability or means of speaking is able in any way to defend the life of that man, convicted as he is of so many vices and crimes, and long since condemned by the will and judgement of all?* – extended to point of **hyperbole** – the jury can have no doubt that they must convict him! |
| **11** |  |  |  | - crimes while holding offices of responsibility to the Roman state – *what else happened in his quaestorship, except the Gnaeus Carbo was robbed of public money by his own quaestor? That the consul was plundered and betrayed? His army deserted? His province abandoned? The religious duties and rites assigned to him by lot were violated?* | - build-up of **rhetorical questions**  - **praeteritio** – *to say nothing of the dishonours and disgraces of his youth…* - effect? |
| **12** | Verres’ crimes as praetor in Rome were extensive – but it was his governorship of Sicily from 73-71 that crowned Verres’ criminal achievements and best illustrated his disrespect for Roman values. |  |  |  | - **pleonasm** – build-up of similar words to emphasise the point – *vast and numerous monuments and proofs of all his vices.* |
| **13** |  |  |  | - *when this man was praetor, the Sicilians held neither their own laws, nor the decrees of our senate, nor common rights;*  *- the most faithful allies were included in the number of enemies; Roman citizens were tortured and killed like slaves.* |  |
| **14** | Having spelt out Verres’ political crimes, Cicero goes on to denigrate Verres’ character further by casting his private life in an equally abhorrent light. |  |  | - *I am prevented by shame from mentioning the criminal lust of that man, shown by his sexual activities and scandals. At the same time, by recalling such acts, I do not wish to increase the damage done to those men who were unable to keep their wives and children untouched by that man’s wanton lust.* | - **praeteritio** – discuss effect in painting himself and audience as morally superior. |
| **15** | Cicero adds further drama and relevance to the trial for the jury by dedicating a significant proportion of the rest of his speech to the lengths to which Verres tried to corrupt and disrupt the trial itself. | Cicero highlights the fear he has of being thought to have missed out a crime rather than any fear of being accused of making them up. |  |  |  |
| **16** |  |  |  | - *he made an attempt to bribe this court with large amounts of money.* | - **apostrophe** – *Now I will briefly explain to you, O Judges,…* |
| **17** |  |  |  |  | - **tricolon** – *no mark, or colour or dirt…*  *-* **apostrophe** – *But look! … These facts, O Judges, …* |
| **18** | Election of Hortensius to the consulship for 69, through Verres’ corruption of the elections, … |  |  |  |  |
| **19** | … ensures that he, as defence counsel and consul, can ‘acquit’ Verres – as pointed out by Gaius Curio. |  |  | - *“I tell you,” he says, “that you have been acquitted by today’s comitia.”*  *- ridiculous to those who thought that this case depended on the credibility of witnesses, the reasoning of the charges, and the power of the judges, rather than on the consular comitia.* | - use of **direct speech** reporting Curio’s words to create drama and draw jury in |
| **20** | The threat to the harmony of orders is the focus again here: if the senatorial jury in this instance find Verres innocent when everyone knows that he is not, then the senate’s privileged position in the law courts will be grasped by the equites. Cicero is highlighting not only the crimes of Verres but the crimes apparent In the Roman justice system in this chapter. | - *Will the judges not follow the charges, the witnesses, or the opinion of the Roman people? No. Everything will be decided by the power and guidance of one man.*  *- we will not hold our jurisdiction for much longer;* |  |  | - extended **tricolon** of **rhetorical questions**;  - **apostrophe** to judges to emphasise that Cicero trusts them but Verres is attempting to bypass them |
| **21** |  |  |  |  |  |
| **22** | Cicero sets out in chs.22-25 how Sicilian money was used to bribe the comitia to ensure that he would fail to be made aedile. |  |  |  |  |
| **23** |  |  |  |  |  |
| **24** |  |  |  |  |  |
| **25** |  |  | - *the Roman people with their most generous good will ensured that I would not be deprived of my honour by the money of that man, whose wealth had been unable to make me abandon my good faith.* | - attempts to prevent Cicero’s election to aedileship: *my comitia had begun, of which that man thought himself to be master … That influential man … those taking part in the bribery.* | - continued depersonalisation of Verres: *that man* instead of his name. |
| **26** | Cicero outlines the attempts of Verres and his goons to protract the trial to the following year, when his friends Marcus Metellus as praetor and Hortensius and Quintus Metellus as consuls would be in charge and on his side. |  |  | - *I found that these plans were set up to protract matters, by whatever means possible, and end up pleading their case before Marcus Metellus as praetor.* |  |
| **27** |  | - *Did you think that I would remain silent on matters as important as these?* | - *That, at a time of such danger to the republic and to my reputation, I would consult anything rather than my duty and my dignity?* |  | - **rhetorical questions** |
| **28** |  | *- I ask you, Metellus, what is perverting the course of justice if not this?* |  | - *Frightening the witnesses, not only with your authority but also with fear of the consul and the power of two praetors?*  - *What would you do for an innocent man or relative, when for this most corrupt man … you depart from your duty and dignity?* | - **apostrophe** (address to Metellus, praetor elect)  - **rhetorical questions** |
| **29** | In chapters 29-30, Cicero flatters the jury: he adopts what he claims to be Verres’ point of view, considering why it would be better for him to have a different judge and jury by delaying the trial until the following year. |  |  | - *Two consuls and a judge will hold office as a result of his will. “We shall escape having too diligent a man conduct the investigation – Manius Glabrio, who is too subservient to the will of the people …*  *- this jury, which we are trying to corrupt one way or another;* | - examine the **rhetorical effect** of Cicero taking on Verres’ **persona** in these chapters. |
| **30** |  |  |  | - *“And so, following the Kalends of January, with both the praetor and almost the entire jury having been changed, we shall elude the great threats of the prosecutor and the great expectations of this trial, which will be conducted in accordance with our will and at our pleasure.”* |  |
| **31** | Cicero lists the games and public festivals of which Verres and co. are taking advantage to delay the trial. Research these and add up the delay! |  |  | - *they think that both by making speeches and excuses they will easily draw out the process … So, when the charge has grown weak and cold, the matter will come fresh before Marcus Metellus as praetor.* |  |
| **32** | Cicero consults the judges as to whether he should follow the usual order for a trial, achieving personal success and praise, at the risk of letting ‘the criminal’ escape due to the length of the trial. | *- But as I receive this praise for my industry, there is still a great danger that the criminal may escape.* | - *Now, O Judges, I consult you as to what you think I ought to do, for you will surely give me advice …which I know I must inevitably take.*  *- no one in the memory of man is seen to have come before a court more prepared, more vigilant, or with his case better arranged.* |  | - **rhetorical question** |
| **33** | Cicero lays aside the praise he could gain from a long opening speech in favour of going straight into the evidence he has gathered against Verres. |  | *- I reserve for another time that fruit of praise which sill be learnt from a long uninterrupted speech; for now I prosecute this man with written records, witnesses…* |  | - **apostrophe** to Hortensius, Verres’ defence lawyer |
| **34** | Cicero sets out his determination to thwart the delaying tactics of Hortensius in order to get the trial completed before the end of the year. |  | - *I thought it a great and distinguished thing for me that the Sicilians, who knew of my integrity and self-control, were willing to risk it all on my loyalty and diligence.* |  |  |
| **35** |  |  |  |  |  |
| **36** |  | - *Since the whole senate is being pressured by the wickedness and audacity of a few, and is being threatened by the infamy of the courts, …* | *- I profess that as a prosecutor, I am an enemy to this type of man;*  *- I promise the Roman people that this will be the most honourable and most noble function of my aedileship.* |  | - **ascending tricolon** – *I am advising, and I am warning, before I start threatening those men…;*  - **tricolon -** *or accepting, or guaranteeing, or promising money;* |
| **37** | Cicero is proud to undertake this case as a mere aedile against the imperium of a consul (Hortensius). | - the courts have become corrupt since the office of judge was transferred from the equites to the senate. | - Cicero can stand up as and for the private citizen against the corrupt power of the senate. |  |  |
| **38** | Cicero asserts that there was never the ‘faintest suspicion’ of bribery to influence a judicial decision when judges were equites. Now that judges are senators, bribery is common – he hints at the 500,000 sesterces offered by Verres to any agent prepared to bribe the electorate not to vote for Cicero as aedile. |  |  |  |  |
| **39** |  | *- Why is it that a senator was found who, when he was a judge, in one and the same trial, took money not only from the defendant – which he divided among the judges – but also from the prosecutor to condemn the defendant?* |  |  |  |
| **40** |  | *- But in what way shall I lament that stain, that disgrace, that disaster of the whole senatorial order…?* | *- I promise that I will deal with all of these things diligently and severely.* | - *I am able to show clearly, and with many witnesses, that Gaius Verres often said in Sicily … that he had a powerful friend in whose confidence he was plundering his province;*  *- the profits of the second year were given to his patrons and defenders, and he reserved the whole of the third year, the most fruitful and profitable, for the judges.* | - **ascending tricolon** |
| **41** | Corruption in trials has reached such a crisis, suggests Cicero, that foreign nations will seek to have trials stopped, merely to prevent greedy governors from needing to plunder enough from their provinces to bribe the judges. Without trials, they will only need to plunder enough for their own more modest needs. |  |  |  |  |
| **42** |  | *- O, when the allies of the Roman people do not wish to have trials for extortion take place; trials which were established by our ancestors for the sake of our allies!*  *- would that man ever have had such good hopes for himself if he had not formed in his mind such a dreadful opinion of you?* |  |  | - **tricolon** in **exclamation**;  - **sarcasm** |
| **43** | Cicero presents the trial as an opportunity for the senate, with him as its champion, to uphold its good name – picking up a point he made in ch.2. | *- this opportunity has been given to you by divine influence, so that you might liberate your whole order from hatred, unpopularity, infamy and shame.*  *- we are held in contempt and despised by the Roman people: we are branded with a heavy, and now longstanding, infamy.* | *- I advise and I warn of that which I know.* |  | - **apostrophe**  - **appeal to the gods** |
| **44** | In chapters 44-45, Cicero cites the hero of the people, Pompey, lamenting the corruption of the courts in his first public speech as consul elect. His championing of the power of the tribunes to eliminate this corruption was greeted ‘with the greatest uproar’ by the people. | *- [Pompey] said that the conscript fathers oversaw the courts badly and shamefully;* |  |  | How might it have benefitted Cicero to ally his cause with these declarations by Pompey? |
| **45** | The threat, Cicero is arguing, posed by this case is potentially damaging to the very structure of Republican society and to the mutual respect and order that had enabled the Republican political system privileging the Senate to run so well for so long. The crime to be judged by the jury, then, has moved from simply being one of extortion to one of corruption and bribery, the appalling condition of the Roman justice system and a threat to the stability of the very fabric of the Roman state. | *- [Pompey] said that the provinces were plundered and plagued; that the law courts had become disgraceful and wicked;* |  |  |  |
| **46** |  |  |  |  |  |
| **47** | Cicero pushes the point even further by stating that the trial will effectively also stand for posterity as a trial of the senate and jury itself. Cicero has dedicated the best part of his opening speech defining the case as a symbolic enormity for the Roman state, rendering the role of this jury more pivotal than any before and placing them firmly under the spotlight of the whole Roman world both now and in the future. Provided they make the correct decision to convict Verres, no politician will be able to get away with or to justify such vices ever again. | *- This is a trial in which you will be judging the defendant, and the Roman people will be judging you.*  *- In the case of this man, it will be established whether very guilty and very rich men are able to be condemned when senators are acting as judges.* |  | *- he is a criminal of such a sort, that there is nothing in his character except for the worst crimes and excessive riches.* |  |
| **48** |  |  | *- I have a reliable path and method by which I am able to investigate and follow all the attempts made by those men. The matter will be conducted by me so that not only the ears, but even the eyes of the Roman people will seem to be present at all their meetings.* |  | - **anaphora/tetracolon** – *so well known, so well supported by witnesses, so important and so evident* |
| **49** |  | *- You are now able to remove and destroy the shame and infamy which have been attached to your order.* |  |  | - **flattery of the jury** |
| **50** | In chapters 50-52 we can clearly see that Cicero – an ‘outsider’ in almost every way – needed to create an authority for himself within the ranks of the senate he so wished to join. He does this by appealing to a shared code of values of patriotic love and duty. His own self-styled role as ‘defender of the state’ is clear here. |  | *- I promise, by Hercules, my life shall fail before my strength and perseverance in prosecuting their wickedness.* |  | - **oath** |
| **51** | Cicero encourages Glabrio, the judge, to set a good example and live up to his noble ancestry by prosecuting Verres. Cicero flatters Glabrio by suggesting that his successful prosecution of Verres will benefit the Roman people in the same way as the Acilian law passed by Glabrio’s father. | *- Accept the cause of the senate, that by its conduct in this court, it may return to favour and regain influence over the Roman people.* |  |  | - **tricolon** of commands with **anaphora** to Glabrio in the proper conduct of the case: *accept the cause…*  - **moral/religious significance** |
| **52** |  |  |  |  | - **tricolon** of ‘if’ clauses to stress to Glabrio the importance of remembering his duty to his principled ancestors;  - **asyndeton** to give heightened intensity to listing of important qualities |
| **53** |  |  | *- I am resolved that in this case I will not permit our praetor or jury to be changed. I will not permit the matter to be delayed…* |  |  |
| **54** | Cicero sets out again the importance of proceeding immediately with the trial and not allowing it to be postponed into the following year. |  |  |  | - **apostrophe** draws in the audience to unite in the knowledge of Verres’ guilt |
| **55** | Cicero sets out how he will reorganise the usual procedure of the trial so as to enable the witnesses to start presenting their testimony, and to be cross-examined by both sides, immediately, rather than waiting for him as prosecutor and Hortensius as defence to present a long opening speeches. |  | *- what we are doing now is unavoidable. We are doing it this way so that we might resist their malice with our own strategy.* |  |  |
| **56** | Cicero finally sums up the actual crime for which he is prosecuting Verres. He will prove that there is no need for long speeches: the evidence against him is clear and overwhelming. |  |  | *- We say that Gaius Verres has done many licentious deeds, many cruel ones against Roman citizens and allies, and many wicked acts against gods and men; but especially that he has stolen 400 000 sesterces from Sicily contrary to the laws.* |  |

**General Questions**

1. “The speech itself is not about the sum of 400 000 sesterces, but focuses upon the character of Verres, his history of crime and his absolute belief in the ultimate power of money.” Discuss.
2. “In short, Verres’ history, painted in so much detail by Cicero, pointed to a man who had led a life of greed and illegality, safely cocooned, he believed, by enough money to bribe any court that might try to prosecute him for his unacceptable and un-Roman behaviour.” How far do you agree with this as a summary of *in Verrem* I?
3. Cicero is prosecuting an established member of the nobiles, with a jury made up of senators. How does he gain a sympathetic hearing, given Verres’ existing ties of amicitia with powerful senators?
4. “At the same time as damning Verres, Cicero paints himself and the audience as morally superior.” What examples – explicit and implied – can you find of this?
5. Set out how Cicero goes about setting out, from ch.15 onwards, how Verres tried to corrupt and disrupt the trial itself. Use the following headings:

**Cicero’s proof that Verres and his henchmen tried to use bribery to prevent Cicero’s election to the aedileship**

**Cicero’s change to the usual running order of the trial to ensure that Verres was convicted quickly**

**Cicero’s rapid gathering of evidence in Sicily to ensure he ‘beat’ the 108 days requested for the trumped-up charge which was to have been tried before Verres**

**Corruption of elections to ensure friends and supporters were elected to key offices to influence outcome of trial**

**Attempts to postpone trial until the following year (69) to ensure Marcus Metellus as praetor would be president of the extortion court**

**Bribery of important individuals**

1. “This is courtroom theatre at its best, and Cicero knew that entertainment and flattery was an extremely effective form of persuasion.” Consider this as an assessment of the speech in general, and of chapters 29-30 in particular.
2. What does Cicero say about the bribery and corruption of the law courts and the implications of this for this case? What impact did his reference to Pompey in chapters 44-45 have, do you think?
3. How does Cicero stress to Manius Glabrio the importance of how he conducts this trial?
4. Explain the meaning and rhetorical impact of the end of chapter 54: *I think that both the potential reward of praise (should you decide justly) and the potential danger of unpopularity (should you decide unjustly) ought to be yours; the labour and anxiety ought to be mine; and the knowledge of what has been done and the memory of what has been said by each person ought to belong to everyone.*
5. Explain the change to the normal running order of the trial which Cicero sets out in chapter 55. Why did he see this as necessary, and why might he have been reluctant to do it?
6. Hortensius advised Verres after this speech that the case was over and that he should flee Rome and go into voluntary exile, which he did. (Cicero nevertheless delivered his second speech against Verres, and published five further speeches!) Summarise how Cicero succeeded in condemning Verres so quickly and conclusively.
7. What impact do you think Cicero’s successful prosecution of Verres had on his subsequent political career?
8. Assess the political significance of this speech, including how Cicero appealed to both optimate and populares senators.
9. How important to Cicero are his ideals of devotion to the Roman state and Roman values? Refer directly to the text for your evidence.

**Study Question**

Read the source quotation aloud (what difference does this make?) and answer the questions below.

and if anything should befall me then you will be able to make provisions for it, Manius Glabrio, with your authority, wisdom and diligence. Accept the cause of the law courts. Accept the cause of severity, integrity, loyalty and religion. Accept the cause of the senate, that by its conduct in this court, it may return to favour and regain influence over the Roman people. Think who you are, in what position you are placed, what you ought to give to the Roman people, what you ought to repay to your ancestors. Call to mind the Acilian law passed by your father, by which the Roman people enjoyed the very best decisions, and the most severe judges in cases of extortion.

High authorities surround you which will not permit you to forget the renown of your family; which will remind you that by day and night your father was a most brave man, your grandfather most wise, and your father-in-law most serious. If, in this regard, you have inherited the strength and vigour of your father in resisting most audacious men; if you have inherited the prudence of your grandfather, Scaevola, in foreseeing plots which are prepared against your reputation and that of these men; if you have any share in the steadfastness of your father-in-law, Scaurus, so that no one can move you from your genuine and fixed opinion; the Roman people will understand that with a most upright and honourable praetor and a well-chosen jury, large amounts of money are more likely to bring a criminal into suspicion, rather than provide a means for his safety.

Cicero, *in Verrem* I*,* chs.51-52

1. Make a list of all the adjectives you can think of to describe the tone of this passage.

Rhetorical techniques

**apostrophe** a direct address to a third party to break up the narrative voice

**hyperbole** exaggeration

**anaphora** a word or phrase that is repeated at the start of successive clauses for emphatic effect

1. Identify five commands in the first paragraph. What effect do these have on the tone of the speech?
2. Identify an example of **anaphora** in the first paragraph. What effect does it have?
3. How does the tone change in the second paragraph?
4. By addressing Manius Glabrio directly, Cicero turns this part of his prosecution of Verres into a direct speech to the judge alone. How do you think Cicero would have spoken and stood while delivering these paragraphs?
5. What qualities does Cicero highlight in Glabrio’s family? What effect do you think he is trying to have on Glabrio by discussing these members of his family?
6. What effect does Cicero’s naming of these famous men have on his portrayal of himself as a patriotic speaker?
7. In the second paragraph, Cicero appeals to a number of things of which Glabrio should be mindful. List them. Why might these things have been particularly effective when trying to appeal to an optimate?

Rhetorical techniques

**tricolon** a series of three clearly defined words, phrases or clauses. An **ascending tricolon** is one in which each word, phrase or clause is successively more powerful *(e.g. veni vidi vici – I came, I saw, I conquered – Julius Caesar in a report to the senate on his swiftly won victory in 47 at the Battle of Zela).*

**asyndeton** a lack of conjunctions in a list to give the description intensity

**polysyndeton** the use of an unnecessarily large number of conjunctions in a list to emphasise the number of things being listed

**rhetorical question** a question asked in order to create a dramatic effect, emphasise a particular idea or persuade the audience of a point rather than to get an answer

**pleonasm** a build-up of similar words to emphasise the point

**praeteritio** saying you will not mention something and in so doing deliberately drawing attention to it

1. Identify three **tricolons** in this extract. What effect does offering examples of three have in each case?
2. Identify an example of **asyndeton**. How different would be the effect of the sentence if conjunctions were added (**polysyndeton**)?
3. Try to rewrite this extract without directing it at Glabrio, but instead using third-person narrative. Read it out loud. What effects on the audience (and indeed on Glabrio) do you think are lost?

Practise defining these rhetorical techniques using this Quizlet set:

<https://quizlet.com/gb/740513020/rhetorical-techniques-in-cicero-flash-cards/?new>

**Practice Source A Question**

The thing which was desired most of all, O Judges, and which alone was thought to be the foremost factor in allaying the unpopularity of your order and the dishonour of the courts, seems, at this crucial time for the republic, to have been offered to and bestowed upon you; not by human counsel, but almost by divine influence. For now, a belief has become established, which is both destructive for the republic, and dangerous for you. The rumour is spreading, not only among the Roman people, but also among foreign nations, that in these courts as they exist now, no wealthy man, however guilty he may be, can possibly be convicted.

Now, in this time of crisis for your order and your judgements, when there are men prepared to try to kindle the unpopularity of the senate even further with speeches and the proposal of new laws, Gaius Verres has been brought to trial as a criminal. He is a man already condemned in everyone’s opinion by his life and actions, yet acquitted by the magnitude of his wealth, according to his own hope and public boast. I have undertaken this case as prosecutor, O Judges, with the greatest good will and expectation of the Roman people; not so that I might increase the unpopularity of the senate, but so that I might relieve it from the dishonour which I share with it. For I have brought a man before you whose case will enable you to restore the lost reputation of your courts, return to favour with the people of Rome, and satisfy foreign nations: a man, the embezzler of public funds, the abuser of Asia and Pamphyliae, the thief of the city’s rights, and the shame and ruin of the province of Sicily.

Cicero, *in Verrem* I, chs.1-2

1. What official position had Cicero held in Sicily? [1]
2. How does Cicero create a sense of crisis in these opening lines of *in Verrem* I? Explain your answer using evidence from the passage. [10]