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THE ORATOR'S EDUCATION  
BOOKS 9-10



*Edited and Translated by*  
DONALD A. RUSSELL

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QUINTILIAN

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# QUINTILIAN

## THE ORATOR'S EDUCATION

BOOKS 9-10

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DONALD A. RUSSELL



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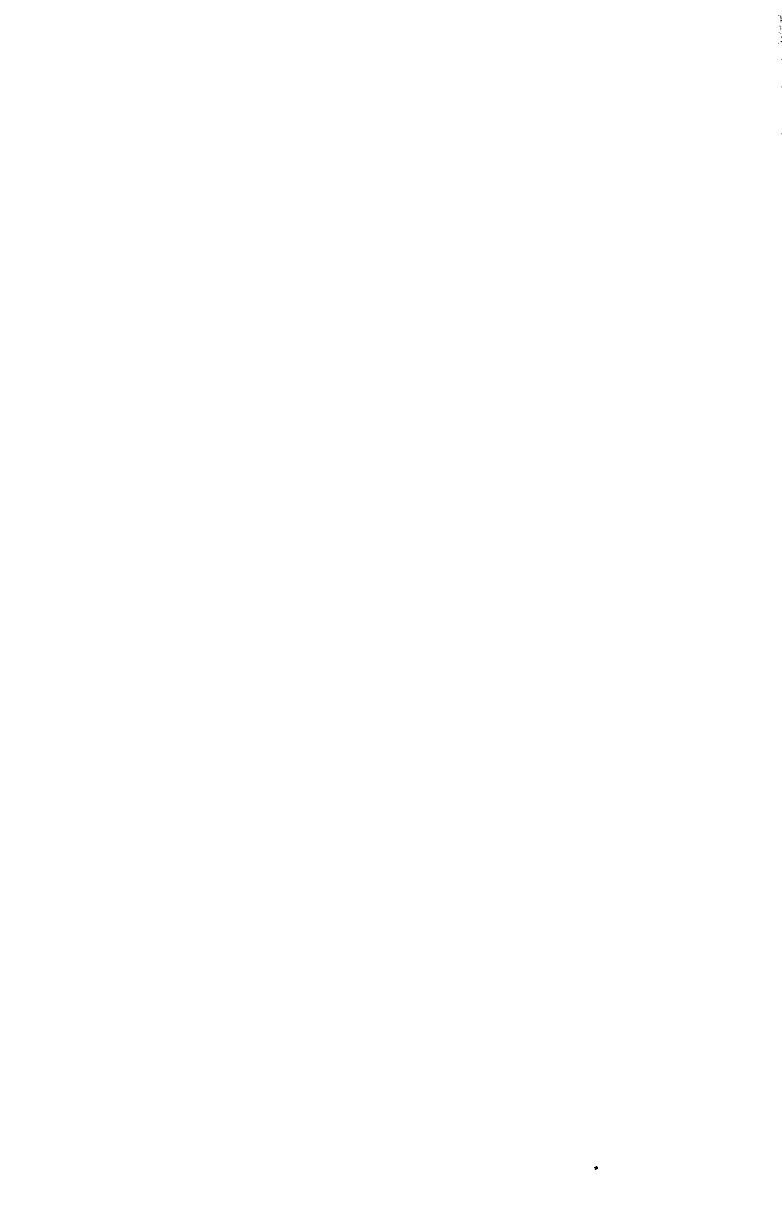
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INSTITUTIO ORATORIA  
THE ORATOR'S EDUCATION





## ABBREVIATIONS

A general Bibliography is in Volume One. Abbreviations used for journals are generally those given in the Oxford Classical Dictionary.

- Anon. Seg. Anonymus Seguierianus, ed. M. Dilts and G. A. Kennedy, in *Two Rhetorical Treatises from the Roman Empire*. Leiden, 1997.
- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini. Berlin, 1974–.
- AP G. A. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece*. London, 1963.
- ARRW G. A. Kennedy, *Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World*. Princeton, 1972.
- AS *Artium Scriptores*, ed. L. Radermacher. Vienna, 1951.
- CA D. A. Russell, *Criticism in Antiquity*. London, 1981 (ed. 2, 1995).
- CHLC *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 1, *Classical Criticism*, ed. G. A. Kennedy. Cambridge, 1989.
- CRHP *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 BC–AD 400*, ed. S. E. Porter. Leiden, 1997.
- F Gr Hist F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

- FOR H. Meyer, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, ed. 2. 1842.
- FPL *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*, ed. W. Morel. Leipzig, 1927 (1963).
- GD D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation*. Cambridge, 1983.
- GL *Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, 7 vols. Leipzig, 1855–1880.
- HRR *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, ed. H. Peter. Leipzig, 1906.
- Lampe G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford, 1961.
- Lausberg H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, ed. and trans. D. E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson. Leiden, 1998.
- LCL Loeb Classical Library.
- L–H–S Leumann–Hofmann–Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2.2.2)*. Munich, 1965.
- OCD<sup>3</sup> *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. 3, edd. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Oxford, 1996.
- OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare. Oxford, 1968–1982.
- ORF *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta liberae rei publicae*, ed. H. Malcovati. Ed. 2, Turin, 1955.
- PMG *Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page, Oxford, 1962.
- QHAR *Quintiliano: historia y actualidad de la retórica*, edd. T. Abaladejo, E. del Rio, J. A. Caballero. Calahorra, 1998.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

- RAC** *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Stuttgart, 1941–.
- RD** S. F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation*. Liverpool, 1949.
- RE** G. Wissowa, etc., *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 1893–1980.
- RLM** *Rhetores Latini Minores*, ed. C. Halm. Leipzig, 1863.
- ROL** *Remains of Old Latin*, ed. E. H. Warmington, 4 vols. LCL, 1935–1940.
- RP** R. Syme, *Roman Papers*, 7 vols. Oxford, 1979–1988.
- Spengel** *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. L. Spengel, 3 vols. Leipzig, 1853–1856.
- Spengel–Hammer** *Rhetores Graeci* 1.2, ed. L. Spengel and C. Hammer. Leipzig, 1894.
- SVF** *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. H. von Arnim. 1905 (reprint Stuttgart, 1964).
- VPH** [Plutarch] *De vita et poesi Homeri*, ed. J. F. Kindstrand, 1990. Commentary: M. Hillgruber, 1994–1999.
- Walz** *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. C. Walz, 1832–1836 (reprint Osnabruck, 1968).

## SIGLA

- A** Ambrosianus E 153 sup.
- a** Its contemporary corrections
- B** Bernensis 351
- Bg** The older part of Bambergensis M.4.14

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| <i>b</i>     | Its corrections   |
| <i>G</i>     | The later part of Bambergensis M.4.14   |
| <i>N</i>     | Parisinus lat. 18527  |
| <i>J</i>     | Cantabrigiensis Ioannensis 91   |
| <i>E</i>     | Parisinus lat. 14146 (Breviarium of Stephen of Rouen)   |
| <i>D</i>     | Parisinus lat. 7719   |
| <i>K</i>     | Parisinus lat. 7720 (corrected by Petrarch)   |
| <i>H</i>     | Harleianus 2664   |
| <i>T</i>     | Turicensis 288 (corrected (= <i>t</i> ) by Ekkehard IV of St. Gall, c. 1050)  |
| <i>X</i>     | Parisinus lat. 7696   |
| <i>Y</i>     | Parisinus lat. 7231   |
| <i>recc.</i> | One or more of the later MSS listed in Winterbottom (1970), v–vii   |
| <i>edd.</i>  | One or more of the editions listed under (a) in the Bibliography in Volume I  |
| Regius       | R. Regius, in ed. Ven. 1493, or in <i>Ducenta problemata in totidem Institutionis Oratoriae Quintiliani depravationes</i> (1492)                |
| D.A.R.       | Suggestions by the present editor   |
| M.W.         | Suggestions made in discussion with the editor by M. Winterbottom. See also <i>More Problems in Quintilian</i> , <i>BICS</i> 44 (2000) 167–177. |

## BOOK NINE



## INTRODUCTION

9. 1. discusses the distinction between Tropes and Figures. This was not clearly made in early theory (and is not made in *Ad Herennium*) but by Quintilian's time it was orthodox: Tropes are "unnatural" (i.e. abnormal) uses of words, and Figures are "unnatural" configurations of words or turns of thought. Like the theory of Tropes and Figures in general, the popularity of this distinction and of its underlying concept of "the unnatural" (*παρὰ φύσιν*) is probably due in the main to Caecilius of Caleacte. Later rhetoricians discuss it: e.g. Alexander Numeniu (3. 9–10 Spengel) and Phoebammon (3. 43–45 Spengel). See Lausberg §§ 600–602, and, for the historical development, R. Granatelli, *Rhetorica* 12 (1994) 383–425. The theory conspicuously neglects the fact that some Figures (e.g. Anaphora, Antithesis, Chiasmus) reflect the need of oral speech to articulate thoughts in a way readily understood by the hearer (see S. R. Slings, "Figures of Speech and their Lookalikes" in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *Grammar and Interpretation* (Leiden, 1997) 169–214).

Next (9.1.15–18) follows the distinction between Figures of Speech and Figures of Thought, and then (19–21) some remarks on their usefulness. Quintilian then turns to Cicero, whom he sees as taking a middle course between strict adherence to the principle of "unnaturalness" and a



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concept which makes every possible emotional attitude correspond to a different Figure. He proceeds (26–45) to quote Cicero at length (*De oratore* 3.201–208, *Orator* 134–139) and regards his own subsequent discussion as more or less a commentary on the master's (often obscure) text. This procedure (unique in Quintilian) recalls that of many later ancient and medieval rhetoricians for whom commentary on *Ad Herennium* or *De inventione*, or the works of Hermogenes, became an art form. We do not of course know whether Quintilian used this method in school.

Comparative material may be found in the texts mentioned in connection with Tropes (Book Eight), and also in Rutilius Lupus, whose work, which Quintilian cites, was based on that of Gorgias, the Athenian rhetor who taught Cicero's son. Another source of parallel material, often valuable, is "Longinus" 17–29.

Figures of Thought come first, as in *De oratore*.

In 9.2.1–5, Quintilian introduces the subject by pointing out how all rhetorical effects, though not in themselves Figures, allow or require Figures for their enhancement. Take Questions, for example (6–16; Lausberg §§ 767–770). They may of course be genuine inquiries, but often they are Figures employed to lend emotive force to the context. In this connection, Quintilian deals with a further set of devices, which he groups together as *praesumptio* (16–18; Lausberg § 785) and which consist of comments on the speaker's own approach to his theme, or anticipations of his opponent's. Their main object is to add credibility, and this is also true of pretended doubt (*dubitatio*, 19–20; Lausberg §§ 776–779) and the devices which take the form of consulting the adversary or the judge (*com-*

## INTRODUCTION

*municatio*, 20–26; Lausberg § 779). More emotional are exclamations and outbursts of frankness (26–29; Lausberg § 761, § 809); bolder still, Prosopopoeia (29–37; Lausberg §§ 826–829), Apostrophe (38–39; Lausberg §§ 762–765), and various kinds of “vividness,” which aim to make the events come alive, as if seen happening at the present moment (40–44; Lausberg §§ 810–819).

Next comes the *Figure* Irony (44–51; Lausberg §§ 902–904), to be distinguished from the Trope of the same name by being longer and less self-explanatory. Related to it (51–53) are various kinds of simulated attitudes: confessions, agreements, praise, exaggeration, all insincere. Aposiopesis (54–57; Lausberg § 887) is another way of enhancing emotion, whereas *ēthopoeia* (58; Lausberg § 820), the vivid description of persons and characteristic traits, belongs rather to the less emotive range of Figures. So do the reporting of one’s own words or actions (59), pretended recantations or fits of forgetfulness, and various kinds of appeal to the judges (59–63). Emphasis too (64–66; Lausberg § 906) can be a Figure as well as a Trope, namely when a sentence conceals a meaning which is not obvious from the words, but has to be discovered by the hearer. This is the principle behind the “figured” themes of the declaimers, in which the speaker is supposed to aim at an object different from that which he openly avers. (The principal theoretical text on these is [Dionysius of Halicarnassus], *Ars rhetorica* 8–9 (2. 295–358 Usener–Radermacher), which contains important material bearing on the interpretation of literature in the rhetorical schools; for other relevant texts, see note on 9.2.65.) Quintilian now proceeds to discuss “figured” themes at length (65–99). He adds (100–101) a footnote on Comparison (see Lausberg § 799), and a

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rather longer one (102–107) on some obscurer Figures of Thought not mentioned by Cicero, but by Rutilius and others.

9.3, on Figures of Speech, rests on the same sources as 9.2, and parallel material is to be found in the same places. Lausberg (§§ 858–910) handles most of these Figures, using the same categories as Quintilian—i.e. modification of the “natural” expression by means of Addition, Subtraction, Change, or Order; categories which go back at least to Caecilius, and are found (e.g.) in *VPH* 28–38 and Phoebammon 3.45.15 Spengel (see note on 9.3.28). Quintilian combines this classification with a comprehensive grouping of all these Figures into two sets, one consisting of innovations of language, and therefore essentially the field of the *grammaticus*, and one dependent on word arrangement, which is more the business of the rhetorician (3.1–2). (On this distinction, see D. M. Schenkeveld, *Acta Academiae Hungaricae* 40 (2000) 390–397.) The first kind is made up of deliberate oddities, which would be faults if they were not deliberate. Used in reason, and only where appropriate, they lend charm and variety (3–5). The first group of such Figures comprises, *inter alia*, apparent breaches of concord in genders or numbers and unusual constructions of various kinds (6–17). Quintilian then proceeds (or so it seems, though the lacuna in 19 obscures this) to classify his “grammatical Figures” according to the four principles of modification: Addition and Subtraction in 18, Change (e.g. comparative for positive, plural for singular or *vice versa*) in 19–22, Order (Parenthesis, Hyberbaton) in 23–26. All these give variety. The more “rhetorical” figures, it seems, begin at 28. They are naturally more important. Those which illustrate Addition (28–

## INTRODUCTION

57) include simple repetition (*geminatio*), various kinds of Anaphora and Epanaphora, *regressio* (36), all sorts of combinations of such effects, and finally Climax (54–57). Figures based on Subtraction (*detractio*) occupy less space (58–65). The interesting *paradiastolē* (65), which depends on the meanings of words, is introduced here; but, as Quintilian says, it is not a Figure in his sense.

Most sound figures (*Klangfiguren*, “Gorgianic” Figures) are clearly matters of word order. They are discussed at length in 3.66–86. Here we find Parison (76), Homoeoteuton (77), Homoeoptoton (78), and finally Antitheton (81) and its subspecies. More than enough already, says Quintilian (87); but, for the sake of completeness, he adds (as in 9.2) some others, which are not in Cicero but found in other authorities (Cornificius (see General Introduction, vol. I) and Rutilius). The chapter ends (100–102) with a plea for moderation and appropriateness: most of these Figures were meant to give pleasure, and are not suitable where sincere emotion is demanded.

*Compositio* (*σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων*, word arrangement), which is the subject of 9.4, is naturally connected with those Figures in which the patterning of the words is decisive. It is an important and complex subject which has generated a particularly vast modern literature, because the appreciation of it is extremely difficult for us, not only on account of our necessarily inadequate knowledge of Latin, but because the notion of “rhythmical” prose is unfamiliar and has been somewhat disconcerting to many readers. We have to remember that, though the Middle Ages had their accentual *cursus* based on classical models, the rules of classical Greek and Latin prose rhythm were unknown in the Renaissance and have had to be painfully, and not

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altogether successfully, reconstructed by nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars. Quintilian's account is to be taken with Cicero, *De oratore* 3.173–199 and *Orator* 168–238. These texts and others (including Quintilian's chapter) are annotated and discussed in H. Bornecque, *Les clausules métriques latines*, 1907. Quintilian does not always agree with Cicero: for example, he allows Herodotus and Thucydides to have “rhythm,” and he limits the term “foot” (*pes*) to units of not more than three syllables. Quintilian evidently knew Dionysius of Halicarnassus' treatise on the subject (*περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*, *On literary composition*, in *LCL Critical Essays* 2. 3–245), which is much the best Greek account; he cites it at 9.4.88.

For good, brief modern introductions, see J. R. F. Powell in *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Prose-rhythm, Latin; and R. G. M. Nisbet, in E. Craik, ed., *Owls to Athens: Essays Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (1990) 349–362 (reprinted in *Collected Papers in Latin Literature* (1995) 312–324).

Lausberg §§ 954–1054 is very detailed, but not illuminating.

After pointing out (4.1–2) his general agreement with Cicero, but occasional dissent, Quintilian proceeds (3–15) to explain the importance of the subject (“Longinus” 39–40 should be compared) and to give a brief sketch of its early development in Greece (16–19). He then alludes to some genre distinctions (e.g. philosophy is different from oratory), reminds us of the three basic units of discourse (comma, colon, period), and sets up his tripartite analysis of *compositio* into three parts: *ordo* (natural, or less natural, order); *iunctura* (the “linkage” or “junction” between individual words, commata, cola, or periods); and finally *numerus* (rhythm). He takes these in order: *ordo* in 23–32,

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*iunctura* in 32–44, and *numeri* (much the most complex) in 45–111. There is much obscurity in Quintilian's theory; his main point however seems to be that *oratorical* rhythm (57) is distinct not only from metre but from rhythm found in other arts (music, dancing, as well as poetry), because it admits more variety and freedom. This section includes advice on avoiding complete lines of verse (72–78) and on the uses of various metrical feet (79–111). Many of the judgements given in this section seem capricious. Characteristically, Quintilian rounds all this off by a warning against pedantic observance of rules; nature is a better guide than art to what sounds right (112–120).

All this applies generally to any kind of prose writing. Quintilian now comes to the special needs of oratory. He first (122–130) considers the use of *commata* (a staccato style), *cola* (also quite brief units), and full periods in the various parts of a speech; thus, for example, the best places for elaborate periods are Prooemium and Epilogue. Finally (130–137) we learn which metrical feet are appropriate in particular contexts or for particular levels of emotion.

There follows (137) a somewhat mysterious criticism of Celsus (see note ad loc.) and a final summary, showing the relation between *compositio* and Delivery, and (once again) the need to keep appropriateness to context constantly in mind. The reference to Delivery looks forward to 11.3; but Quintilian has much ground to cover first.

## LIBER NONUS

### 1

- 1 Cum sit proximo libro de tropis dictum, sequitur pertinens ad figuras (quae schemata Graece vocantur) locus ipsa rei natura coniunctus superiori. Nam plerique has tropos esse  
2 existimaverunt, quia, sive ex hoc duxerint nomen, quod sint formati quodam modo, sive ex eo, quod vertant orationem, unde et motus dicuntur, fatendum erit esse utrumque eorum etiam in figuris. Usus quoque est idem: nam et vim rebus adiciunt et gratiam praestant.

- 3 Nec desunt qui tropis figurarum nomen imponant, quorum est Cartorius<sup>1</sup> Proculus. Quin adeo similitudo manifesta est ut ea discernere non sit in promptu. Nam quo modo quaedam in his species plane distant, manente tamen generaliter illa societate, quod utraque res a directa

<sup>1</sup> *Syme*: C. Artorius B: Gaius Aristarchus A (-arcus b)

---

<sup>1</sup> Greek *tropos* means literally "turn," but also "way" of doing something. Greek *schēma* means "shape": see § 10 below.

<sup>2</sup> See 8.5.35.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by *Festus* for some archaic words, but otherwise unknown. *Syme's* suggestion (*Roman Papers* 5. 632) that we should read Cartorius rather than C. Artorius is supported by the fact that Q. does not normally give praenomina in references like this.

## BOOK NINE

### CHAPTER 1

#### *The difference between Figures and Tropes*

The last book having dealt with Tropes, there now follows the topic of Figures (*schēmata* as they are called in Greek), which is naturally connected with the preceding. Many in fact have held that Figures are Tropes; indeed, whether Tropes derive their name from being formed in a certain way<sup>1</sup> or from their making *changes* in speech (hence their alternative name "Moves"),<sup>2</sup> it has to be admitted that both these features are seen also in Figures. They have the same use too, for they both add force to the subject and provide charm.

There are some too who call Tropes Figures, among them Cartorius Proculus.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the resemblance is so patent that it is not an easy matter to make a distinction between them. On the one hand, some species of them are clearly different, while retaining their generic likeness,<sup>4</sup> inasmuch as both involve a rhetorically effective departure

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Figures and Tropes both come under a single *genus*, which Q. here again defines; some species of this *genus* clearly belong under one or other of its two main subdivisions, others are more difficult to classify.



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et simplici ratione cum aliqua dicendi virtute deflectitur: ita quaedam perquam tenui limite dividuntur, ut [cum]<sup>2</sup> ironia tam inter figuras sententiae quam inter tropos reperiatur, *περίφρασις* autem et *ὑπέρβατον* et *ὀνοματοποιίαν* clari quoque auctores figuras verborum potius quam tropos dixerint.

- 4 Quo magis signanda est utriusque rei differentia. Est igitur tropus sermo a naturali et principali significatione tralatus ad aliam ornandae orationis gratia, vel, ut plerique grammatici finiunt, dictio ab eo loco in quo propria est tralata in eum in quo propria non est: 'figura', sicut nomine ipso patet, conformatio quaedam orationis remota a communi et primum se offerente ratione. Quare in tropis ponuntur verba alia pro aliis, ut in *μεταφορᾶ*, *μετωννυμία*, *ἀντονομασία*, *μεταλήμψει*, *συνεκδοχῆ*, *καταχρήσει*, *ἀλληγορία*, plerumque *ὑπερβολῆ*: namque et rebus fit et verbis. *Ὄνοματοποιία* fictio est nominis: ergo hoc quoque pro aliis ponitur, quibus usuri fuimus si illud non fingere-
- 5 mus. *Περίφρασις*, etiam si frequenter et id ipsum in cuius locum adsumitur nomen complecti solet, utitur tamen pluribus pro uno. *Ἐπίθετον*, quoniam plerumque habet antonomasiae partem, coniunctione eius fit tropus. In hyperbato commutatio est ordinis, ideoque multi tropis hoc genus eximunt: transfert tamen verbum aut partem eius a suo loco in alienum.
- 6
- 7 Horum nihil in figuras cadit: nam et propriis verbis et ordine conlocatis figura fieri potest. Quo modo autem ironia alia sit tropi, alia schematis, suo loco reddam: nomen

<sup>2</sup> *del. Shackleton Bailey*

<sup>5</sup> See 8.6.67.      <sup>6</sup> 9.2.44.

## BOOK 9.1

from the normal and simple form of expression; with others, on the other hand, the distinction is very tenuous, so that Irony is found both among Figures of Thought and among Tropes, while Periphrasis, Hyperbaton,<sup>5</sup> and Onomatopoeia are treated by some distinguished authorities as Figures of Speech rather than as Tropes.

It is therefore all the more important to mark the difference between the two. A Trope, then, is language transferred from its natural and principal meaning to another for the sake of embellishment, or (as most *grammatici* define it), "an expression transferred from a context in which it is proper to one in which it is not." A Figure, on the other hand, as its very name shows, is a configuration of language distinct from the common and immediately obvious form. In Tropes, therefore, words are substituted for words, as in Metaphor, Metonymy, Antonomasia, Metalepsis, Synecdoche, Catachresis, Allegory, and in most cases Hyperbole, for this last may involve both things and words. Onomatopoeia is the invention of a word; so this too is a substitute for other words which we would have used if we had not invented this one. Periphrasis again, even if it often includes the very word which it is designed to replace, still uses a number of words in place of just one. Epithet, because it generally involves an element of Antonomasia, is a Trope in virtue of this connection. In Hyperbaton, we have a change of order, and this is why many exclude it from the list of Tropes. However, it does "transfer" a word or a part of a word from its own place to a new one.

None of these features is found in Figures. A Figure can be formed out of words used in their proper sense and in a normal order. How one sort of Irony counts as a Trope and another sort as a Figure, I will show in due course.<sup>6</sup>



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- enim fateor esse commune. Haec scio quam multiplicem habeant quamque scrupulosam disputationem, sed ea non pertinet ad praesens meum propositum. Nihil enim refert quo modo appelletur utrumlibet eorum, si quid orationi  
8 prosit apparet: nec mutatur vocabulis vis rerum. Et sicut homines, si aliud acceperunt quam quod habuerant nomen, idem sunt tamen, ita haec de quibus loquimur, sive tropi sive figurae dicuntur, idem efficient. Non enim nominibus prosunt sed effectibus, ut statum coniecturalem an infitiam an facti an de substantia nominemus nihil interest, dum idem quaeri sciamus. Optimum ergo in his sequi maxime recepta, et rem ipsam, quocumque appellabitur modo, intellegi. Illud tamen notandum, coire frequenter in eadem sententia<sup>3</sup> et tropon et figuram: tam enim tralatis verbis quam propriis figuratur oratio. ’
- 9
- 10 Est autem non mediocris inter auctores dissensio et quae vis nominis eius et quot genera et quae quam multaeque sint species. Quare primum intuendum est quid accipere debeamus figuram. Nam duobus modis dicitur: uno qualiscumque forma sententiae, sicut in corporibus, quibus, quoquo modo sunt composita, utique habitus est  
11 aliquis: altero, quo proprie schema dicitur, in sensu vel sermone aliqua a vulgari et simplici specie cum ratione muta-

<sup>3</sup> easdem sententias *B*

<sup>7</sup> As many Romans did by adoption.

<sup>8</sup> See 3.6.39.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Alexander Numeniu 3.9

Spengel: Figures are held by some to be infinite in number, by others to be “beyond enumeration.”

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 11.20–30 Spengel (trans. in *CA* 176–178): *logos* is an “imitation of the soul” and the soul is always in *some* specifiable

## BOOK 9.1

I admit they share the same name. I know too what a complicated and minute controversy there is about them, but this is not relevant to my present purpose, because it makes no difference what either of them is called so long as it is clear what their oratorical uses are. The force of things does not depend on their names. Men are the same if they acquire a different name from what they had before,<sup>7</sup> and similarly these things we are discussing will have the same effect whether they are called Tropes or Figures. It is their effectiveness, not their name, that makes them useful. In the same way, it makes no difference whether we speak of a Conjectural Issue or an Issue of Denial, of Fact, or of Substance, so long as we know that the basic Question is the same.<sup>8</sup> The best thing therefore is to follow received practice in these matters and understand the thing itself, by whatever name it is known. We must note, however, that Trope and Figure are often combined in the same sentence, because metaphorical words can contribute to a Figure just as much as literal ones.

There is however a considerable difference of opinion among authors as to the meaning of the name Figure, and the number of genera and the nature and number of species.<sup>9</sup> So the first point to consider is what we should understand by "Figure." The word is used in two senses. In one, it means any shape in which a thought is expressed—just as our bodies, in whatever pose they are placed, are inevitably in *some* sort of attitude.<sup>10</sup> In the second sense, which is the proper meaning of *schēma*, it means a purposeful deviation in sense or language from the ordinary

attitude. See also [Dionysius of Halicarnassus], *Ars rhetorica* 323.6–25 Usener–Radermacher.

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- tio, sicut nos sedemus, incumbimus, respicimus. Itaque cum in eosdem casus aut tempora aut numeros aut etiam pedes continuo quis aut certe nimium frequenter incurrit, praecipere solemus variandas figuras esse vitandae similitudinis gratia: in quo ita loquimur tamquam omnis sermo habeat figuram. Itemque eadem figura dicitur 'cursitare' qua 'lectitare', id est eadem ratione declinari. Quare illo intellectu priore et communi nihil non figuratum est. Quo si contenti sumus, non inmerito Apollodorus, si tradenti Caecilio credimus, incomprehensibilia partis huius praecepta existimavit. Sed si habitus quidam et quasi gestus sic appellandi sunt, id demum hoc loco accipi schema oportebit quod sit a simplici atque in promptu posito dicendi modo poetice vel oratorie mutatum. Sic enim verum erit aliam esse orationem ἀσχημάτιστον, id est carentem figuris, quod vitium non inter minima est, aliam ἐσχηματισμένην, id est figuratam. Verum id ipsum anguste Zoilus terminavit, qui id solum putaverit schema quo aliud simulatur dici quam dicitur, quod sane vulgo quoque sic accipi scio: unde et figuratæ controversiæ quaedam, de quibus post paulo dicam, vocantur.

Ergo figura sit arte aliqua novata forma dicendi.

<sup>11</sup> I.e. we accept that the speaker has not made any purposeful deviation from normal usage; in advising him to "vary his Figure," we use the term to include unintentional features. Compare the argument in [Dion. Hal.], loc. cit., that we cannot speak without a *schēma*: dinner invitations, or demands for repayment of debt, are couched in different ways according to the circumstances.

<sup>12</sup> These "frequentative" verbs mean "to keep running" and "to keep reading."

<sup>13</sup> Caecilius, fr. 50<sup>a</sup> Ofenloch. *Incomprehensibilia* translates ἀπερίληπτα (the word used by Alexander, loc. cit.).

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simple form; the analogy is now with sitting, bending forwards, or looking back. So when a speaker falls continually, or at least too often, into the same cases, tenses, rhythms, or even feet, we usually advise him to vary his "Figures" so as to avoid monotony. Here we are speaking as if all language had a "Figure."<sup>11</sup> Again *cursitare* and *lectitare*<sup>12</sup> are held to be in the same "Figure," that is to say, to be inflected in the same way. Thus, according to the first and usual interpretation of the word, there is nothing which is not "figured." If we are happy with this, there is merit in Apollodorus' view (if we can believe Caecilius' report of it) that the rules for this part of our subject are "beyond our power to grasp."<sup>13</sup> If on the other hand we are to give the name to specific attitudes and gestures, as it were, then we must limit the scope of *schema* in this context to that which is poetically or rhetorically varied from the simple and immediately available means of expression. It will then be true that figureless (*aschēmatistos*) style is one thing (and it is then a serious fault), and figured (*eschēmatismenē*) style another. Zoilus<sup>14</sup> however narrowed down even this definition, because he thought that a *schēma* was found only where the speaker pretends to be saying something which he is not saying. This is also, I know, a common view; it is the basis on which some *controversiae* are said to be "figured." I shall say something about these later.<sup>15</sup>

Let us then take a Figure to be an innovative form of expression produced by some artistic means.

<sup>14</sup> Phoebammon (3.44.12 Spengel) gives Zoilus' definition as "pretending one thing and meaning another": see AS xxxv.2.

<sup>15</sup> 9.2.65.

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- 15 Genus eius unum quidam putaverunt, in hoc ipso di-  
 versas opiniones secuti. Nam hi, quia verborum mutatio  
 sensus quoque verteret, omnis figuras in verbis esse dixe-  
 runt, illi, quia verba rebus accommodarentur, omnis in  
 16 sensibus. Quarum utraque manifesta cavillatio est. Nam  
 et eadem dici solent aliter atque aliter manetque sensus  
 elocutione mutata, et figura sententiae plures habere ver-  
 borum figuras potest. Illa est enim posita in concipienda  
 cogitatione, haec in enuntianda, sed frequentissime co-  
 eunt, ut in hoc: 'iam, iam, Dolabella, neque me tui neque  
 tuorum liberum—': nam oratio a iudice aversa in senten-  
 tia, 'iam iam' et 'liberum' in verbis sunt schemata.
- 17 Inter plurimos enim, quod sciam, consensum est duas  
 eius esse partes, *διανοίας*, id est mentis vel sensus vel sen-  
 tentiarum (nam his omnibus modis dictum est), et *λέξεως*,  
 id est verborum vel dictionis vel elocutionis vel sermonis  
 18 vel orationis: nam et variatur et nihil refert. Cornelius  
 tamen Celsus adicit verbis et sententiis figuras colorum,  
 nimia profecto novitatis cupiditate ductus. Nam quis ig-  
 norasse eruditum alioqui virum credat colores et [sen-  
 tentias]<sup>4</sup> sensus esse? Quare sicut omnem orationem, ita  
 figuras quoque versari necesse est in sensu et in verbis.
- 19 Ut vero natura prius est concipere animo res quam

<sup>4</sup> *del. D.A.R.: et sententias del. Winterbottom*

<sup>16</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 1.77.

<sup>17</sup> The repetition of *iam* (compare § 28) and the shorter (but not uncommon) genitive *liberum* instead of *liberorum* (compare 1.6.18).

<sup>18</sup> *Fr. rhet.* 14 Marx. It is not clear what Celsus meant: *color*

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Some have held that there was only one Genus of Figures, though they have taken various views even of this: some, on the ground that any change of words entailed also a change of sense, have said that all Figures were a matter of words; others, on the ground that words were adapted to things, have said that they were all a matter of sense. Both of these views are obvious sophistries: for (1) the same things are often said in different ways and the sense stays the same though the expression has been changed, and (2) a Figure of Thought can contain several Figures of Speech, because the former resides in the conception and the latter in the presentation of the thought; they do, however, very often come together, as in "Now, now, Dolabella, neither for you nor for your children . . ." <sup>16</sup> Here the Apostrophe, the turning away from the jury, is a Figure of Thought, and *iam iam* and *liberum* are Figures of Speech. <sup>17</sup>

Most writers in fact, so far as I know, have agreed that there are two classes of Figure: those of *dianoia*, that is thought or mind or ideas (all these terms are used) and those of *lexis*, that is words or diction or Elocution or speech or style: the names vary, and it does not matter. Cornelius Celsus <sup>18</sup> adds to words and thoughts "Figures of Colours," led astray no doubt by his craving for originality. Who would believe that an otherwise learned person would not have known that Colours are also thoughts? So, like oratory as a whole, Figures are concerned both with the sense and with the words.

However, as the conception of ideas in the mind is natu-

(*χρῶμα*) is the "spin" put on facts, and may (but need not) involve a Figure.



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- enuntiare, ita de iis figuris ante est loquendum quae ad mentem pertinent: quarum quidem utilitas cum magna tum multiplex in nullo non orationis opere vel clarissime lucet. Nam etsi minime videtur pertinere ad probationem qua figura quidque dicatur, facit tamen credibilia quae dicimus et in animos iudicum qua non observatur inrepat.
- 20 Namque ut in armorum certamine adversos ictus et rectas ac simplices manus cum videre tum etiam cavere ac propulsare facile est, aversae tectaeque minus sunt observabiles, et aliud ostendisse quam petas artis est: sic oratio, quae astu caret, pondere modo et impulsu proeliatur, simulanti variantique conatus in latera atque in terga incurrere datur
- 21 et arma avocare et velut nutu fallere. Iam vero adfectus nihil magis ducit. Nam si frons, oculi, manus multum ad motum animorum valent, quanto plus orationis ipsius vultus ad id quod efficere tendimus compositus? Plurimum tamen ad commendationem facit, sive in conciliandis agentis moribus sive ad promerendum actioni favorem sive ad levandum varietate fastidium sive ad quaedam vel decentius indicanda vel tutius.
- 22 Sed antequam quae cuique rei figura conveniat ostendo, dicendum est nequaquam eas esse tam multas quam sint a quibusdam constitutae: neque enim me movent nomina illa, quae fingere utique Graecis promptissimum
- 23 est. Ante omnia igitur illi qui totidem figuras putant quot adfectus repudiandi, non quia adfectus non sit quaedam qualitas mentis, sed quia figura, quam non communiter sed proprie nominamus, non sit simplex rei cuiuscumque

<sup>19</sup> Cousin neatly translates "écarter la botte."

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rally prior to their enunciation, we should begin by speaking of the Figures which relate to Thought. The great and manifold utility of these is patently apparent in every work of oratory. It may not seem that the Figure in which something is said is at all relevant to the validity of a Proof, but in fact it lends our words credibility and insinuates itself into the judges' minds where it is not noticed. For, just as in fencing it is easy to see, parry, and repel direct blows and simple, straightforward strokes, while sidestrokes and feints are less easy to detect, and the art lies in making a threat which is not related to your real object—so oratory which lacks guile fights only with weight and drive, whereas if you use feints and vary your approach you can attack the flanks or the rear, draw off the defence, and, as it were, duck to deceive.<sup>19</sup> Nor is there any better way to induce emotions. If face and eyes and hands can do a lot to move men's minds, how much more can the face of the spoken word, as it were, do for us, when it is set to produce the effect we want! But the main contribution of Figures is in earning approval, either by making the speaker's character attractive, or with the object of winning favour for the Cause, relieving boredom by variety, or hinting at certain points in a more seemly or less risky way.

But before I explain which Figures suit which particular situations, I must observe that they are by no means as numerous as some have made out. I am not moved by all those names, which it is very easy to make up, particularly for Greeks. And first of all I want to dispose of those who think that there are as many Figures as there are kinds of emotion—not because emotion is not a quality of mind, but because Figure (in the strict, not the general meaning) is not a simple expression of any particular thing. Anger,

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enuntiatio. Quapropter in dicendo irasci dolere misereri  
timere confidere contemnere non sunt figurae, non magis  
24 quam suadere minari rogare excusare. Sed fallit parum  
diligenter intuentes quod inveniunt in omnibus iis locis  
figuras et earum exempla ex orationibus excerpunt: neque  
enim pars ulla dicendi est quae non recipere eas possit.  
Sed aliud est admittere figuram, aliud figuram esse: neque  
enim verebor explicandae rei gratia frequentiore[m] eius-  
25 dem nominis repetitionem. Quare dabunt mihi aliquam  
in irascente deprecante miserante figuram; scio, sed non  
ideo irasci, misereri, deprecari figura erit. Cicero quidem  
omnia orationis lumina in hunc locum congerit, mediam  
quandam, ut arbitror, secutus viam: ut neque omnis sermo  
schema iudicaretur neque ea sola quae haberent aliquam  
remotam ab usu communi fictionem, sed quae essent cla-  
rissima et ad movendum auditorem valerent plurimum:  
quem duobus ab eo libris tractatum locum ad litteram  
subieci, ne fraudarem legentes iudicio maximi auctoris.

26 In tertio de Oratore ita scriptum est: 'In perpetua  
autem oratione, cum et coniunctionis levitatem et nume-  
rorum quam dixi rationem tenuerimus, tum est quasi  
luminibus distinguenda et frequentanda omnis oratio sen-  
27 tentiarum atque verborum. Nam et commoratio una in re  
permultum movet et inlustris explanatio rerumque quasi  
gerantur sub aspectum paene subiectio, quae in exponen-

<sup>20</sup> *De oratore* 3.201–208 followed by *Orator* 134–139. Q. covers much of this material in his own way in what follows, coming near to presenting a commentary on Cicero. However, Cicero's exposition is very difficult and allusive; he was not writing elementary textbooks, and professes some contempt for hackneyed detail (*De oratore* 3.200–201).

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sorrow, pity, fear, trust, contempt, expressed in speaking, are therefore not Figures, any more than persuasion, menace, entreaty, and excuse are. Superficial observers, however, are misled, because they find Figures in all these contexts and they excerpt instances of them from speeches. In fact, of course, there is no area of oratory which does not have a place for Figures. But to give scope for a Figure is not the same as being a Figure. (I am not going to be afraid of repeating the same word over and over, to make the matter clear.) They will quote me some Figure spoken in anger, entreaty, or compassion; I understand that, but it does not follow that anger, compassion, and entreaty are Figures. Cicero, indeed, includes all ornaments of oratory under this head, choosing, I imagine, the middle course, neither judging all forms of expression to be Figures, nor yet only those which involved some device foreign to normal usage, but rather everything that was really striking and had particularly great power to move the audience. I give next an exact quotation of his treatment of this subject in two of his books, so as not to deprive my readers of the judgement of the highest authority of all.<sup>20</sup>

In Book Three of *De oratore*, Cicero writes as follows: "In continuous speech, once we have secured the smoothness of construction and the rhythmical principles which I have described, our entire discourse must be studded and loaded with brilliant thoughts and words. Thus dwelling on a single point<sup>21</sup> is very effective. So is vivid description<sup>22</sup> and the process of virtually setting events before our eyes,

<sup>21</sup> Epimonē: Lausberg § 835.

<sup>22</sup> Hypotypōsis, enargeia: 8.3.61–62, Lausberg § 810.

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da re plurimum valet, ad inlustrandum id quod exponitur, et ad amplificandum, ut iis qui audient illud quod au-  
 28 videatur: et huic contraria saepe percursio est et plus ad intellegendum quam dixeris significatio et distincte con-  
 cisa brevitatis et extenuatio, et huic adiuncta inlusio, a prae-  
 ceptis Caesaris non abhorrens, et ab re digressio, in qua  
 cum fuerit delectatio, tum reditus ad rem aptus et concin-  
 nus<sup>5</sup> esse debet: propositioque quid sis dicturus et ab eo  
 29 quod est dictum seiunctio et reditus ad propositum et ite-  
 ratio et rationis apta conclusio: tum augendi minuendive  
 causa veritatis supralatio atque traiectio, et rogatio atque  
 huic finitima quasi percontatio expositioque sententiae  
 suae: tum illa, quae maxime quasi inrepat in hominum  
 mentes, alia dicentis ac significantis dissimulatio, quae est  
 30 periucunda cum orationis non contentione sed sermone  
 tractatur: deinde dubitatio, tum distributio, tum correctio  
 vel ante vel post quam dixeris, vel cum aliquid a te ipso  
 reicias. Praemunitio etiam est ad id quod adgrediare, et  
 traiectio in alium: communicatio, quae est quasi cum iis ip-

<sup>5</sup> *recc.*: concinens *B*: concinnens *A*

<sup>23</sup> Epitrochasmus: Lausberg § 881.      <sup>24</sup> Emphasis: 8.8.83,  
 Lausberg § 905.      <sup>25</sup> Brachylogia: 8.3.82, Lausberg § 881.

<sup>26</sup> Eutelismos, meiōsis: *Orator* 137, Lausberg § 259.

<sup>27</sup> Diasyrmos: *Orator* 137, Lausberg § 583.

<sup>28</sup> I.e. complying with the advice on *urbanitas* and *facetiae*  
 given by Julius Caesar Strabo in *De oratore* 2.258–274.

<sup>29</sup> Parekbasis: Lausberg § 340.      <sup>30</sup> Compare *Orator* 137  
 (= § 42 below).      <sup>31</sup> See 9.2.3.      <sup>32</sup> See 9.2.6.

<sup>33</sup> See 9.2.14–15.      <sup>34</sup> I.e. Irony: 9.2.44–51.

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which is both a powerful tool of exposition and a way of throwing light upon a topic and amplifying it, so that the audience comes to think that the point which we amplify really is as important as speech can make it. Then (to take the opposite effect) there is often the rapid review,<sup>23</sup> the hint aimed to suggest more than you say,<sup>24</sup> the concise but lucid statement,<sup>25</sup> the disparaging remark,<sup>26</sup> and the closely connected ridicule<sup>27</sup> (keeping within Caesar's rules);<sup>28</sup> then there is the digression,<sup>29</sup> after the pleasures of which the return to the subject must be apt and neat; the proposition, telling what you are going to say; the formula dismissing what you have just said; the reference back to the proposition; the repetition of this; and the duly completed argument.<sup>30</sup> Next you have exaggeration of the truth and hyperbole,<sup>31</sup> used to enhance or minimize some point; question and the related procedure of self-interrogation,<sup>32</sup> followed by the statement of one's own position;<sup>33</sup> next—most insinuating of all—dissimulation,<sup>34</sup> saying one thing and meaning another, which is so very agreeable when we find it not in the contentious atmosphere of a set speech but in conversational contexts; formulae of hesitation;<sup>35</sup> expansion by division;<sup>36</sup> self-correction, either before or after saying something, or when rejecting a suggestion.<sup>37</sup> There is the preliminary defence of your position;<sup>38</sup> the transference of blame to another;<sup>39</sup> communication,<sup>40</sup> by which I mean a sort of de-

<sup>35</sup> Diaporēsis: 9.2.19, Lausberg § 776.

<sup>36</sup> Diairesis:

Lausberg §§ 671, 675.

<sup>37</sup> Diorthōsis with Prodiorthōsis or

Epanorthōsis: 9.3.89, Lausberg § 784–786.

<sup>38</sup> See 9.2.7.

<sup>39</sup> Metastasis: Cicero, *De inventione* 1.15.

<sup>40</sup> See 9.2.20, Lausberg § 779.

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- sis apud quos dicas deliberatio: morum ac vitae imitatio vel in personis vel sine illis, magnum quoddam ornamentum orationis et aptum ad animos conciliandos vel maxime,
- 31 saepe autem etiam ad commovendos: personarum ficta inductio, vel gravissimum lumen augendi: descriptio, erroris inductio, ad hilaritatem impulsio, anteoccupatio: tum duo illa quae maxime movent, similitudo et exemplum: digestio,
- 32 interpellatio, contentio, reticentia, commendatio: vox quaedam libera atque etiam effrenatior augendi causa, iracundia, obiurgatio, promissio, deprecatio, obsecratio, declinatio brevis a proposito, non ut superior illa digressio,
- 33 purgatio, conciliatio, laesio, optatio atque execratio. His fere luminibus inlustrant orationem sententiae.

‘Orationis autem ipsius tamquam armorum est vel ad usum comminatio et quasi petitio vel ad venustatem ipsa tractatio. Nam et geminatio verborum habet interdum vim, leporem alias, et paulum inmutatum verbum atque deflexum, et eiusdem verbi crebra tum a primo repetitio, tum in extremum conversio, et in eadem verba impetus et concursio, et adiunctio et progressio, et eiusdem verbi cre-

<sup>41</sup> Ethopoeia, *notatio morum*: 9.2.58, Lausberg § 820.

<sup>42</sup> Prosōpopoeia: 9.2.29–37, Lausberg §§ 826–829.

<sup>43</sup> Charaktērismos? Lausberg § 818.

<sup>44</sup> A form of Apostrophe: see 9.2.39, Lausberg § 765, § 848.

<sup>45</sup> Prolēpsis or prokatalēpsis: 4.1.49, Lausberg § 854.

<sup>46</sup> Aposiōpēsis: 9.2.54, Lausberg § 887.

<sup>47</sup> Anadiplōsis: 9.3.28–29, Lausberg §§ 617–619.

<sup>48</sup> Paronomasia: 9.3.66; Lausberg § 637.

<sup>49</sup> Epanaphora: Lausberg § 629.

<sup>50</sup> Enigmatic: perhaps *symplokē*, *complexio* (*Ad Herennium* 4.20, Lausberg § 633). *Concursio* may be a separate Figure.

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bate with the members of the court; representation of character and life, with or without reference to specific persons<sup>41</sup>—a very great ornament of speech, adapted particularly to securing good-will, but often also to rousing emotions; the imaginary introduction of persons<sup>42</sup> (a very weighty and effective way of enhancing a subject); the description of a person;<sup>43</sup> the inducement of error;<sup>44</sup> the stimulus to mirth; the anticipation of hostile arguments.<sup>45</sup> Comparisons and examples are a pair of specially effective features; and then you have division into parts, interruption, antithesis, deliberate silence,<sup>46</sup> complimentary remarks. Language can be free and even unbridled in the interests of amplification; and there can be anger, reproach, promises of proof, entreaty, supplication, a brief divergence from the main theme (but not like the digression mentioned above), self-exculpation, conciliation, personal attacks, prayers, and execrations. These, roughly speaking, are the highlights by which *thoughts* lend distinction to our speech.

“As to *language*, like weapons, it can be used for menace and attack or handled with a view to elegance. Duplication of words<sup>47</sup> is sometimes powerful, sometimes merely pretty. So are small changes or modifications in words;<sup>48</sup> the repetition of the same word either at the beginning of the sentence or coming back to it at the end;<sup>49</sup> starting and coming together at the end with the same words;<sup>50</sup> attaching a word to several clauses;<sup>51</sup> progression;<sup>52</sup> giving a different sense to a word when it occurs re-

<sup>51</sup> Perhaps Epezeugmenon: 9.3.62, Demetrius 50–51, Lausberg §§ 697, 746.

<sup>52</sup> Obscure: perhaps *incrementum*, 8.4.3.



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brius positi quaedam distinctio, et revocatio verbi, et illa  
 quae similiter desinunt aut quae cadunt similiter aut quae  
 34 paribus paria referuntur aut quae sunt inter se similia. Est  
 etiam gradatio quaedam et conversio et verborum concin-  
 na transgressio et contrarium et dissolutum et declinatio et  
 reprehensio et exclamatio et inminutio et quod in multis  
 casibus ponitur et quod de singulis rebus propositis duc-  
 tum refertur ad singula, et ad propositum subiecta ratio et  
 35 item in distributis supposita ratio, et permissio et rursus  
 alia dubitatio et inprovisum quiddam, et dinumeratio et  
 alia correctio et dissipatio, et continuatum et interruptum,  
 et imago et sibi ipsi responsio et inmutatio et diiunctio et  
 36 ordo et relatio et digressio et circumscriptio. Haec enim  
 sunt fere atque horum similia, vel plura etiam esse pos-  
 sunt, quae sententiis orationem verborumque conforma-  
 tionibus inluminent.'

<sup>53</sup> See 9.3.68 (*antanaklasis* if the reading is correct): Lausberg § 663. <sup>54</sup> Perhaps the repetition of a single word, not of a whole group: Lausberg § 616. <sup>55</sup> Homoeoptōton and homoeoteleuton: 9.3.77–78, Lausberg §§ 725–731.

<sup>56</sup> Isocōla, parisa: 9.3.76, 80, Lausberg §§ 719–754.

<sup>57</sup> See 9.3.55, Lausberg § 623. <sup>58</sup> Perhaps *commutatio*, *antimetabolē*, *Ad Herennium* 4.39, Lausberg §§ 800–803.

<sup>59</sup> Hyperbaton: 9.3.23, Lausberg §§ 716–718.

<sup>60</sup> Q.'s *contrapositum*: 9.3.81, Lausberg § 787.

<sup>61</sup> *Praeteritio* (paraleipsis): Lausberg §§ 882–886; see *Orator* 135 (below, § 39). <sup>62</sup> See 9.2.18. <sup>63</sup> Perhaps simply contraction of words (9.1.16); alternatively, the use of a derogatory word to disparage something. At 9.3.90, Q. lists it among Cicero's Figures "which belong to Thought rather than to Speech."

<sup>64</sup> Polyptōton: 9.3.37, Lausberg § 643.

<sup>65</sup> See 9.3.83.

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peatedly;<sup>53</sup> recalling a word again and again;<sup>54</sup> similarity in endings or rhythm;<sup>55</sup> balancing or nearly balancing clauses.<sup>56</sup> Again, there is climax,<sup>57</sup> conversion,<sup>58</sup> elegant transposition of words,<sup>59</sup> opposition,<sup>60</sup> asyndeton, 'declination,'<sup>61</sup> self-correction,<sup>62</sup> exclamation, diminution,<sup>63</sup> the use of words in various inflections;<sup>64</sup> the referral of individual terms in the proposition to individual items in turn,<sup>65</sup> the addition of a reason for a statement and again the assignment of a reason for each separate statement;<sup>66</sup> the concession,<sup>67</sup> a second sort<sup>68</sup> of hesitation, the unexpected turn,<sup>69</sup> enumeration,<sup>70</sup> a second sort of self-correction,<sup>71</sup> the separation of details,<sup>72</sup> continuity, interruption,<sup>73</sup> the image,<sup>74</sup> the self-response,<sup>75</sup> immutation,<sup>76</sup> disjunction,<sup>77</sup> order, relation,<sup>78</sup> digression, and circumscription.<sup>79</sup> These and others like them—there may well be more—are the features which embellish oratory, by thoughts and by the forms of the words."

<sup>66</sup> Aetiologia and Prosapodosis: Rutilius Lupus 2.19, Lausberg §§ 867–871.      <sup>67</sup> Epitropē: Lausberg §§ 856–857.

<sup>68</sup> I.e. (here and below) with reference to words, not thoughts.

<sup>69</sup> See 9.2.22.      <sup>70</sup> I.e. marking off points by "first," "second," etc.      <sup>71</sup> I.e. with reference to words, not thoughts: compare 9.2.60.      <sup>72</sup> See 9.3.39.      <sup>73</sup> Obscure: Cicero perhaps means to contrast continuous periods with a more staccato structure.

<sup>74</sup> See 5.11.24. Compare *Ad Herennium* 4.62, with Caplan's note.      <sup>75</sup> See 9.2.14, Lausberg § 772.

<sup>76</sup> Unclear: *immutatio* is a very general term for the replacement of a word (or part of a word) by another: Lausberg § 462 (and see his Index). But at 9.3.92 Q. apparently offers another interpretation.      <sup>77</sup> See 9.3.45: Lausberg §§ 739–742.

<sup>78</sup> Obscure even to Q. (9.3.97).      <sup>79</sup> Periphrasis: but compare 9.3.91, where again Q. is uncertain what Cicero meant.

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Eadem sunt in Oratore plurima, non omnia tamen et paulo magis distincta, quia post orationis et sententiarum figuras tertium quendam subiecit locum ad alias, ut ipse ait, quasi virtutes dicendi pertinentem: 'Et reliqua ex conlocatione verborum quae sumuntur quasi lumina magnum adferunt ornatum orationi. Sunt enim similia illis quae in amplo ornatu scaenae aut fori appellantur insignia, non quia sola ornent, sed quod excellent. Eadem ratio est horum, quae sunt orationis lumina et quodam modo insignia, cum aut duplicantur iteranturque verba aut leviter<sup>6</sup> commutata ponuntur, aut ab eodem verbo ducitur saepius oratio aut in idem conicitur aut utrumque, aut adiungitur idem iteratum aut idem ad extremum refertur, aut continenter unum verbum non eadem sententia ponitur, aut cum similiter vel cadunt verba vel desinunt, aut multis modis contrariis relata contraria, aut cum gradatim sursum versum<sup>7</sup> reditur, aut cum demptis coniunctionibus dissolute plura dicuntur, aut cum aliquid praetereuntes cur id faciamus ostendimus, aut cum corrigimus nosmet ipsos quasi reprehendentes, aut si est aliqua exclamatio vel admirationis vel questionis, aut cum eiusdem nominis casus saepius commutantur.

40 'Sententiarum ornamenta maiora sunt: quibus quia frequentissime Demosthenes utatur, sunt qui putent idcirco eius eloquentiam maxime esse laudabilem. Et vero nullus fere ab eo locus sine quadam conformatione sententiae di-

<sup>6</sup> *Gesner*: breviter *AB*; *Cic. MSS*      <sup>7</sup> versus *A, Cic.*

<sup>80</sup> 134–139: see Hubbell in LCL, pp. 406–414, who identifies the Figures and gives references to *De oratore*.

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Most of this is repeated in the *Orator*,<sup>80</sup> but not all, and somewhat more clearly; because after the Figures of Speech and Thought he adds a third section concerned, as he says, with the other "virtues" of speech:

"The other highlights, as it were, which are based on word arrangement supply important decoration to oratory. They are like what, in the rich ornamentation of the stage or the forum, are called 'special features,' not because they are the only form of ornament there, but because they are the outstanding form. The highlights and 'special features' of oratory work in the same way. Words are doubled or repeated, or given in a slightly changed form.<sup>81</sup> The sentences often begin or end (or both) with the same word; the same word is repeated at the beginning of a clause or at the end; a word is used immediately in a different sense; words have similar terminations or endings; contraries respond to contraries in many ways; the sentence rises and falls step by step; conjunctions are removed and several sentences are unconnected; we pass over something and point out why we do so; we correct and as it were criticize ourselves; there are exclamations of surprise or complaint; we ring the changes on the cases of the same noun.

"But the ornaments of thought are more important. Some people think the merits of Demosthenes' oratory are due to his frequent use of these.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, he hardly has a passage in which the thought is not figured in some fash-

<sup>81</sup> The Figures meant seem to be *geminatio*, polyptoton, and other verbal ornaments. In what follows, homoeoptoton, homoeoteleuton, antithesis, climax, asyndeton, paraleipsis, diorthosis, and polyptoton can be identified.

<sup>82</sup> See *Brutus* 140-141.

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- citur, nec quicquam est aliud dicere nisi omnes aut certe  
 41 plerasque aliqua specie inluminare sententias. Quas cum  
 tu optume, Brute, teneas, quid attinet nominibus uti aut  
 exemplis? Tantum modo notetur locus. Sic igitur dicet ille  
 quem expetimus ut verset saepe multis modis eadem et in  
 42 una re haereat in eademque commoretur sententia: saepe  
 etiam ut extenuet aliquid, saepe ut inrideat, ut declinet a  
 proposito deflectatque sententiam, ut proponat quid dic-  
 turus sit, ut, cum transegerit iam aliquid, definiat, ut se  
 ipse revocet, ut quod dixerit iteret, ut argumentum ratione  
 concludat, ut interrogando urgeat, ut rursus quasi ad inter-  
 rogata sibi ipse respondeat, ut contra ac dicat accipi et sen-  
 43 tiri velit, ut addubitet quid potius aut quo modo dicat, ut  
 dividat in partis, ut aliquid relinquat et neglegat, ut ante  
 praemuniat, ut in eo ipso in quo reprehendatur culpam  
 44 in adversarium conferat, ut saepe cum iis qui audiunt,  
 nonnumquam etiam cum adversario quasi deliberet, ut  
 hominum mores sermonesque describat, ut muta quae-  
 dam loquentia inducat, ut ab eo quod agitur avertat ani-  
 mos, ut saepe in hilaritatem risumve convertat, ut ante  
 occupet quod videat opponi, ut comparet similitudines, ut  
 utatur exemplis, ut aliud alii tribuens dispertiat, ut inter-  
 pellatorem coerceat, ut aliquid reticere se dicat, ut denun-  
 45 tiet quid caveant, ut liberius quid audeat, ut irascatur  
 etiam, ut obiurget aliquando, ut deprecetur, ut supplicet,  
 ut medeatur, ut a proposito declinet aliquantum, ut optet,  
 ut excretur, ut fiat iis apud quos dicet familiaris. Atque  
 alias etiam dicendi quasi virtutes sequetur: brevitatem si

<sup>83</sup> I take the antecedent of *quas* to be *species*, taken out of *aliqua specie*. The list of Figures of Thought, like that of Figures

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ion. Eloquence is really nothing else than the power of giving a distinctive look to all, or at any rate most, of our thoughts. You have such a good grasp of these patterns,<sup>83</sup> Brutus, that there is no point in giving names or examples. Let us just outline the subject. Here is how our ideal orator will speak. He will cast the same thought in many forms, concentrate on one point, and dwell on the same thought. He will often play down something, ridicule something, diverge from his plan and deflect his argument, tell us what he is going to say, indicate when he has finished a point, recall himself to the matter in hand, repeat what he has said, complete his argument logically, press a point by questions, pretend to answer his own questions, expect to be understood in a different sense from the literal meaning of his words, hesitate as to what he should say and how he should say it, divide his material into sections, abandon or neglect some matters, prepare his way, transfer the guilt of the charge to his opponent, often consult the audience (as it were) and sometimes even his adversary, describe characters and conversations, introduce inanimate objects speaking, divert his hearers from the subject, often invite cheerfulness and laughter, anticipate objections that he sees, find similes, use examples, distribute his material, put pressure on an interrupter, claim to 'say nothing about' something, issue warnings, take risks boldly, show anger even, sometimes chide, plead, beg, palliate, diverge from his plan to some extent, pray, curse, and become the familiar friend of his audience. He will also pursue the other 'virtues' of oratory: brevity when required, often making

of Speech, is easier to understand than that in *De oratore* and largely repeats the same material.

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res petet, saepe etiam rem dicendo subiciet oculis, saepe supra feret quam fieri possit: significatio saepe erit maior quam oratio, saepe hilaritas, saepe vitae naturarumque imitatio. Hoc in genere (nam quasi silvam vides) omnis eluceat oportet eloquentiae magnitudo.'

### 2

- 1 Ergo cui latius complecti conformationes verborum ac sententiarum placuerit habet quod sequatur, nec adfirmare ausim quicquam esse melius; sed haec ad propositi mei rationem legat: nam mihi de iis sententiarum figuris dicere in animo est quae ab illo simplici modo indicandi recedunt, quod idem multis doctissimis viris video placuisse.
- 2 Omnia tamen illa, etiam quae sunt alterius modi lumina, adeo sunt virtutes orationis ut sine iis nulla intellegi vere possit oratio. Nam quo modo iudex doceri potest si desit inlustris explanatio, propositio, promissio, finitio, seiunctio, expositio sententiae suae, rationis apta conclusio, praemunitio, similitudo, exemplum, digestio, distributio, interpellatio, interpellantis coercitio, contentio, purgatio,
- 3 laesio? Quid vero agit omnino eloquentia detractis amplificandi minuendique rationibus? Quarum prior desiderat illam plus quam dixeris significationem, id est *ἔμφασιν*, et supralationem veritatis et traiectionem, haec altera extenuationem et deprecationem. Qui adfectus erunt vel

<sup>84</sup> *Silva* (like Greek *ῥλη*) means both "wood" or "forest" and "material": see Coleman (1988) xxii–xxiii.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. not Figures, but features of Invention and Arrangement.

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the facts seem to be present to our eyes, often using hyperbole, often hinting at more than he says, often employing humour, and often imitating life and nature. In all this—you see what a mass of material<sup>84</sup> he has—the greatness of his eloquence should shine through.”

## CHAPTER 2

### *Figures of Thought*

Anyone who wishes to acquire a broader grasp of these patterns of words and thoughts thus has a model to follow, and I do not think he could have a better. But let him read what I have to say in the light of my own purpose: this is to discuss those Figures of Thought which form a departure from simple ways of making a statement. It is an approach which I see many scholars have taken. But all highlights, even those which belong to a different kind,<sup>1</sup> are valuable features of oratory to the point that one cannot really conceive of oratory without them. For how can a judge be instructed without the Clear Explanation, the Proposition, the Promise, the Definition, the Separation, the Exposition of one's own opinion, the Formal Argument, the Preparation, the Simile, the Example, the Disposition, the Distribution, the Interruption, the Repression of the Interruption, the Antithesis, the Exculpation, and the Personal Attack? What can eloquence do at all if it is deprived of its procedures of Amplification and Disparagement? The first of these requires the power of hinting at more than one says, namely Emphasis, and exaggeration and overstatement of the truth; the second calls for extenuation and palliation. What emotions of the stronger kind will



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concitati detracta voce libera et effrenatiore, iracundia, obiurgatione, optatione, execratione? vel illi mitiores nisi adiuvantur commendatione, conciliatione, ad hilaritatem  
 4 impulsione? Quae delectatio aut quod mediocriter saltem docti hominis indicium nisi alia repetitione, alia commoratione infigere, digredi a re et redire ad propositum suum scierit, remove a se, in alium traicere, quae relinquenda, quae contemnenda sint iudicare? Motus est in his orationis  
 5 spiritu caret. Quae cum adesse debent, tum disponenda atque varianda sunt, ut auditorem, quod in fidibus fieri videmus, omni sono mulceant. Verum ea plerumque recta sunt, nec se fingunt sed confitentur. Admittunt autem, ut dixi, figuras, quod vel ex proxima doceri potest.

6 Quid enim tam commune quam interrogare vel percontari? Nam utroque utimur indifferenter, quamquam alterum noscendi, alterum arguendi gratia videtur adhiberi. At ea res, utrocumque dicitur modo, etiam multiplex habet schema: incipiamus enim ab iis quibus acrior ac vehementior fit probatio, quod primo loco posuimus.

7 Simplex est sic rogare:

sed vos qui tandem? quibus aut venistis ab oris?

figuratum autem quotiens non sciscitandi gratia adsumi-

<sup>2</sup> See 9.1.23–25.      <sup>3</sup> Demetrius 279, “Longinus” 18, *Ad Herennium* 4.22, Caecilius frs. 58–59 Ofenloch: Lausberg §§ 767–770. Greek sources distinguished between a question which can be answered by “yes” or “no” (erōtēma) and one which needs a longer answer (pysma). Q.’s *percontari* (compare *De oratore* 3.203) corresponds to πύσμα, but he does not develop the distinction.      <sup>4</sup> *Aeneid* 1.369.

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there be in the absence of free and unbridled speech, anger, reproach, earnest prayers, and curses? What milder emotions will there be without the help of compliments, conciliation, and stimulus to cheerfulness? What pleasure, what proof of even a modest degree of expertise can one give, unless one knows how to fix some points in the mind by repetition and others by dwelling on them, to digress and return from digression, to divert a charge from oneself and turn it to another, and to judge what points are to be abandoned and what disregarded? This is where the movement and action of oratory are to be found; without these things it is dead, and there is no breath, as it were, to animate the corpse. But these things must not only be present, they must be deployed and varied (like the notes of a lyre) so as to charm the hearer with their combined music. Generally, indeed, these procedures are open and direct; they do not falsify themselves, they confess what they are. But they do give scope for Figures, as I said,<sup>2</sup> as the very next Figure can teach us.

### *Rhetorical Questions*

For what is so common as interrogation or questioning?<sup>3</sup> We use the two terms indiscriminately, although the latter is designed to obtain information and the former to prove a point. Whichever name it is given, the process involves a positive multiplicity of Figures. Let us begin with those which make the proof more pointed and cogent (the type I put first). A simple question goes like this:

But who are you? From what shore have you come?<sup>4</sup>

A figured question arises: (1) whenever we ask not in order

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- tur, sed instandi: 'quid enim tuus ille, Tubero, destrictus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat?' et 'quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?' et 'patere tua consilia non sentis?' et totus denique hic locus. Quanto enim magis ardet quam si diceretur 'diu abuteris patientia nostra', et 'patent tua consilia'. Interrogamus etiam quod negari non possit: 'dixitne tandem causam C. Fidiculanus Falcula?' aut ubi respondendi difficilis est ratio, ut vulgo uti solemus: 'quo modo? qui fieri potest?' aut invidiae gratia, ut Medea apud Senecam: 'quas peti terras iubes?' aut miserationis, ut Sinon apud Vergilium:

heu quae me tellus, inquit, quae me aequora possunt accipere?

- aut instandi et auferendae dissimulationis, ut Asinius: 'Audisne? Furiosum, inquam, non inofficiosum testamentum reprehendimus.' Totum hoc plenum est varietatis: nam et indignationi convenit:

et quisquam numen Iunonis adoret?

et admirationi:

quid non mortalia pectora cogis,  
auri sacra fames?

- 11 Est interim acrius imperandi genus:

non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur?

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<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *Pro Ligario* 9.      <sup>6</sup> *In Catilinam* 1.1.

<sup>7</sup> *Pro Cluentio* 103.

<sup>8</sup> 453 (Q.'s only quotation from Seneca's tragedies).

<sup>9</sup> *Aeneid* 2.69-70.

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to acquire information but to emphasise a point: "What was that sword of yours doing, Tubero, which you drew on the field of Pharsalus?"<sup>5</sup> or "How long, Catiline, will you abuse our patience?" or "Do you not realise that your plans are exposed?" and that whole passage.<sup>6</sup> For how much more fire there is in this than if he had said "You have been abusing our patience a long time" and "Your plans are exposed"! We also ask (2) something that cannot be denied ("Was Gaius Fidiculanus Falcula really made to stand trial?")<sup>7</sup> and (3) something difficult to answer (as in the common expressions "How?" "How can that happen?"). Other objectives include: (4) odium, like Medea in Seneca—"What lands would you have me seek?"<sup>8</sup> (5) pity, like Sinon in Vergil:

"Alas, what land, what seas," he said,  
"can now receive me?"<sup>9</sup>

(6) putting on pressure and stopping our opponent from pretending to misunderstand: "Do you hear me? The will we impugn is a mad will, not just an inequitable one" (Asinius).<sup>10</sup> The whole procedure is full of variety. It suits both (7) indignation ("Can anyone still worship Juno's power?");<sup>11</sup> and (8) amazement ("To what can you not force the hearts of men, accursed love of gold?").<sup>12</sup> Sometimes (9) it is equivalent to a brusque command: "Will they not arm and from the whole town follow?"<sup>13</sup> (10) We even

<sup>10</sup> See *ORF* p. 521. This probably comes from Asinius Pollio's defence of Liburnia (see 9.2.34, 10.1.24). *Testamentum inofficiosum* is an inequitable, but legally valid, will.

<sup>11</sup> *Aeneid* 1.48.

<sup>12</sup> *Aeneid* 3.56–57.

<sup>13</sup> *Aeneid* 4.592.

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Et ipsi nosmet rogamus, quale est illud Terentianum: 'quid igitur faciam?'

- 12 Est aliqua etiam in respondendo figura, cum aliud interroganti ad aliud, quia sic utilius sit, occurritur, tum augendi criminis gratia, ut testis in reum, rogatus an ab reo fustibus vapulasset, 'innocens' inquit: tum declinandi, quod est frequentissimum: 'quaero an occideris hominem', respondetur 'latronem': 'an fundum occupaveris', respondetur 'meum', ut confessionem praecedat defensio:
- 13 ut apud Vergilium in Bucolicis dicenti

non ego te vidi Damonis, pessime, caprum  
excipere insidiis?

occurritur:

an mihi cantando victus non redderet ille?

- 14 Cui est confinis dissimulatio, non alibi quam in risu posita ideoque tractata suo loco: nam serio si fiat, pro confessione est.

Ceterum et interrogandi se ipsum et respondendi sibi solent esse non ingratae vices, ut Cicero pro Ligario: 'Apud quem igitur hoc dico? Apud eum qui, cum hoc sciret, tamen me, antequam vidit, rei publicae reddidit.'

- 15 Aliter pro Caelio ficta interrogatione: 'dicet aliquis: haec igitur est tua disciplina? sic tu instituis adolescentis?' et totus locus. Deinde: 'ego, si qui, iudices, hoc robore animi atque hac indole virtutis ac continentiae fuit', et cetera.

<sup>14</sup> *Eumuchus* 46.      <sup>15</sup> *Eclogues* 3.17-18, 21.

<sup>16</sup> 6.3.68.      <sup>17</sup> 7.

<sup>18</sup> 39.

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put questions to ourselves, like Terence's "So what shall I do?"<sup>14</sup>

There is a Figure also in replies, when we answer a different question from that which was asked, (1) because it serves our interest better; (2) in order to aggravate the charge, as when the prosecution witness, asked whether he had been flogged by the defendant, answered, "Yes, and I was innocent"; or (3) to divert a charge (this is the commonest use), as when "I ask you if you killed the man" is answered by "A robber," or "Did you take over the farm?" by "*My* farm," so that the Defence comes before the Confession. Thus in Vergil, in the *Bucolics*, when one speaker says,

"Did I not see you, villain, snaring Damon's goat?"

the other answers,

"He lost at singing; should he not give it to me?"<sup>15</sup>

Akin to this is Dissimulation, which is found only in connection with the laughable, and so is discussed in that context.<sup>16</sup> If it is serious, it amounts to a Confession.

Moreover, to question yourself and then to answer yourself can produce variety that is not unattractive. Thus Cicero in *Pro Ligario*:<sup>17</sup> "In whose presence am I saying this? In the presence of the man who, although he knew this, restored me to my country before he even saw me."

A different type of imaginary interrogation is seen in *Pro Caelio*:<sup>18</sup> "Someone will say, 'Is this your system of education? Is this how you bring up young men?'" and that whole passage. Then follows: "If, members of the jury, there has ever been a man of such strength of mind and such natural virtue and self-control" and so on.

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Cui diversum est, cum alium rogaveris, non expectare responsum, sed statim subicere: 'Domus tibi deerat? At habebas. Pecunia superabat? At egebas.' Quod schema quidam 'per suggestionem' vocant.

- 16 Fit et comparatione: 'uter igitur facilius suae sententiae rationem redderet?' et aliis modis tum brevius tum latius, tum de una re tum de pluribus.

- Mire vero in causis valet praesumptio, quae *πρόληψις* dicitur, cum id quod obici potest occupamus. Id neque in aliis partibus rarum<sup>1</sup> est et praecipue prohoemio  
 17 convenit. Sed quamquam generis unius diversas species habet. Est enim quaedam praemunitio, qualis Ciceronis contra Q. Caecilium quod ad accusandum descendat qui semper defenderit: quaedam confessio, ut pro Rabirio Postumo, quem sua quoque sententia reprehendendum fatetur quod pecuniam regi crediderit: quaedam praedictio, ut 'dicam enim non augendi criminis gratia': quaedam emendatio, ut 'rogo ignoscatis mihi, si longius sum evectus': frequentissima praeparatio, cum pluribus verbis vel quare facturi quid simus vel quare fecerimus dici solet.  
 18 Verborum quoque vis ac proprietas confirmatur [vel] praesumptione, <aut correctione>:<sup>2</sup> 'quamquam illa non poena

<sup>1</sup> *Anon.*, reported by *Burman*: parum AB      <sup>2</sup> [vel] praesumptione <aut correctione> *D.A.R.* after *Winterbottom*

<sup>19</sup> *Pro Scauro* 45 M = *Orator* 223–224; compare 9.4.122.

<sup>20</sup> *Subiectio* (*Ad Herennium* 4.33): Greek *ὑποφορά* (*hypophora*): Lausberg § 772.      <sup>21</sup> *Pro Cluentio* 106.

<sup>22</sup> In Latin, *anticipatio* or *anteoccupatio*: *Rutilius Lupus* 2.4, *Carmen de figuris* 124 (Halm, *RLM* p. 68); Lausberg § 855.

<sup>23</sup> *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium* 1.

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It is different again if you ask a question and then, without waiting for the answer, supply one yourself: "Did you lack a house? No, you had one. Had you money to spare? No, you were short of it."<sup>19</sup> This Figure is sometimes called Suggestion.<sup>20</sup>

Another form involves Comparison: "Which of the two could more easily give a reason for his opinion?"<sup>21</sup> There are other forms too, some shorter, some longer, some covering a single point, some a number of points.

### *Anticipation*

Anticipation, otherwise called *prolēpsis*,<sup>22</sup> the forestalling of possible objections, is a wonderfully powerful weapon in a Cause. It is not rare in other parts of the speech, but it is particularly appropriate in the Prooemium. It is a single genus with several species: (1) a Preparatory Defence, such as Cicero uses against Quintus Caecilius,<sup>23</sup> to explain why, having always been for the defence, he now appears as prosecutor; (2) a Confession, as in the defence of Rabirius Postumus,<sup>24</sup> where Cicero admits he himself regards his client as blameworthy for having lent the king money; (3) a Prediction, as "I shall say, without any intention of aggravating the charge . . ."; (4) a sort of Self-correction,<sup>25</sup> as in "Please forgive me if I have been carried too far"; (5) most frequent of all, a Preparation, in which we state at length why we are going to do, or have done, something. Prolepsis may even be used to establish the force and propriety of words, either (1) <by means of a correction> ("Although this was not a punish-

24 1.      25 Lausberg § 786.



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sed prohibitio sceleris fuit', aut reprehensione: 'cives, inquam, si hoc eos nomine appellari fas est.'

- 19 Adfert aliquam fidem veritatis et dubitatio, cum simulamus quaerere nos unde incipiendum, ubi desinendum, quid potissimum dicendum, an omnino dicendum sit. Cuius modi exemplis plena sunt omnia, sed unum interim sufficit: 'Equidem, quod ad me attinet, quo me vertam nescio. Negem fuisse infamiam illam iudicii corrupti?' et
- 20 cetera. Hoc etiam in praeteritum valet: nam et dubitasse nos fingimus.

- A quo schemate non procul abest illa quae dicitur communicatio, cum aut ipsos adversarios consulimus, ut Domitius Afer pro Cloatilla: 'nescit trepida quid liceat feminae, quid coniugem deceat: forte vos in illa solitudine obvios casus miserae mulieri optulit: tu, frater, vos, paterni
- 21 amici, quod consilium datis?' aut cum iudiciis quasi deliberamus, quod est frequentissimum: 'quid suadetis?' et 'vos interrogo' et 'quid tandem fieri oportuit?' ut Cato: 'cedo, si vos in eo loco essetis, quid aliud fecissetis?' et alibi: 'communem rem agi putatote ac vos huic rei prae-

<sup>26</sup> Cicero, *Fr. orat.* 82 Schoell, p. 296 Crawford (1994); compare Julius Rufinianus 42.30 Halm (*RLM*).

<sup>27</sup> *Pro Murena* 80.

<sup>28</sup> Diaporēsis, aporia, *dubitatio*: Rutilius Lupus 2.10, *Ad Herennium* 4.40, Apsines 258.10, 328.15 Spengel-Hammer (134, 236 Dilts-Kennedy): Lausberg §§ 776-778.

<sup>29</sup> *Pro Cluentio* 4. Cicero continues: "Shall I deny that the matter was canvassed in the public assemblies, tossed around in the courts, mentioned in the senate? Shall I try to remove from men's minds so deeply ingrained, so long established an opinion?"

<sup>30</sup> anakoinōsis, koinōnia: Lausberg § 779. <sup>31</sup> See 8.5.16.

<sup>32</sup> *ORF* p. 94: from an unknown speech or speeches.

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ment, but a prevention of crime")<sup>26</sup> or (2) by means of a self-criticism ("Citizens, I say, if I may call them by that name").<sup>27</sup>

### *"Being at a loss"*

Hesitation<sup>28</sup> too gives a certain guarantee of sincerity: we pretend to be asking ourselves where to begin and where to stop, what it is best to say, or whether to speak at all. All the texts are full of examples of this sort. One is enough for the moment: "For my part, I do not know which way to turn. Shall I deny that there was a scandal about bribery of the court?" and so on.<sup>29</sup> This device works also for the past, because we can pretend that we did once hesitate.

### *Communication and related Figures*

The Figure called Communication<sup>30</sup> is not very different from this. It is found (1) when we consult our opponents themselves (as Domitius Afer does in his defence of Cloatilla:<sup>31</sup> "She is so agitated that she does not know what a woman may do, or what a wife ought to do; maybe chance has brought you into contact with this unhappy woman in that isolation; what counsel do you give her, you, her brother, you, her father's friends?"); (2) when (and this is the commonest form) we conduct a sort of discussion with the judges: "What do you advise?" "I ask you," "What ought to have been done?"; Cato<sup>32</sup> provides examples: "Come now, if you people had been in that situation, what would you have done?" and in another passage: "Imagine this to be a matter of common concern, and that you

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- 22 positos esse.' Sed nonnumquam communicantes aliquid inexpectatum subiungimus, quod et per se schema est, ut in Verrem Cicero: 'quid deinde? quid censetis? furtum fortasse aut praedam aliquam?' deinde, cum diu suspendisset iudicum animos, subiecit quod multo esset improbius.
- 23 Hoc Celsus sustentationem vocat. Est autem duplex: nam et contra frequenter, cum expectationem gravissimorum fecimus, ad aliquid quod sit leve aut nullo modo criminis descendimus. Sed quia non tantum per communicationem fieri solet, *παράδοξον* alii nominarunt, id est inopinatum.
- 24 Illis non accedo qui schema esse existimant etiam si quid nobis ipsis dicamus inexpectatum accidisse, ut Pollio: 'numquam fore credidi, iudices, ut reo Scauro ne quid in eius iudicio gratia valeret precarer.'
- 25 Paene idem fons est illius quam 'permissionem' vocant qui communicationis, cum aliqua ipsis iudicibus relinquimus aestimanda, aliqua nonnumquam adversariis quoque, ut Calvus Vatinius: 'perfrica frontem et dic te digniorem qui praetor fieres quam Catonem.'
- 26 Quae vero sunt augendis adfectibus accommodatae figurae constant maxime simulatione. Namque et irasci

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<sup>33</sup> hypomonē (*sustentatio*, "suspense") or paradoxon, Julius Rufinianus 46.24 Halm (not in Lausberg). The term *paradokian*, common in modern discussions, is first found in Demetrius 152. <sup>34</sup> 5.10. The "worse" offence is the corrupt release of condemned prisoners at the moment of public execution. <sup>35</sup> *Fr. rhet.* 15 Marx.

<sup>36</sup> *ORF* pp. 519–520. See 6.1.21. <sup>37</sup> Epitropē: Rutilius 2.17, *Ad Herennium* 4.39; Lausberg § 857.

<sup>38</sup> *ORF* p. 497, from Calvus, *In Vatinius*: see on 6.3.60.

people have been put in charge of it." Sometimes, on the other hand, when we are sharing a thought with the audience, we add an unexpected item—this is a Figure in itself<sup>33</sup>—as Cicero did in *In Verrem*:<sup>34</sup> "What then? What do you think? Some theft, maybe, or plunder?" And then, having kept the judges' minds in suspense for a long time, he put in something much worse. Celsus calls this *sustentatio*.<sup>35</sup> It has two forms, for we often use it also in the opposite way, creating an expectation of something very grave, and then descending to some trivial or quite innocent matter. However, since this can be done by other means than Communication, it is called by others Paradox, that is "the unexpected."

I do not agree with those who say there is a Figure also when we claim that something unexpected has happened to ourselves: "Members of the jury," says Pollio, "I never thought it would happen that, with Scaurus as the accused, I should find myself pleading that influence should have no weight in his trial."<sup>36</sup>

What is called "Permission"<sup>37</sup> comes from much the same source as Communication; it is found when we leave some points to the judgement of the jury, and some occasionally also to our opponents, as when Calvus said to Vatinius "Hide your blushes and tell us that you have a better claim to be praetor than Cato."<sup>38</sup>

### *Emotive Figures*

The Figures adapted to intensifying emotions consist chiefly in pretence. We pretend that we are angry, happy,

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nos et gaudere et timere et admirari et dolere et indignari et optare quaeque sunt similia his fingimus. Unde sunt illa: 'liberatus sum, respiravi', et 'bene habet', et 'quae amentia est haec?' et 'o tempora, o mores!' et 'miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis infixus tamen pectori haeret dolor', et

magnae nunc hiscite terrae.

- 27 Quod exclamationem quidam vocant ponuntque inter figuras orationis. Haec quotiens vera sunt, non sunt in ea forma de qua nunc loquimur: adsimulata<sup>3</sup> et arte composita procul dubio schemata sunt existimanda. Quod idem dictum sit de oratione libera, quam Cornificius licentiam vocat, Graeci *παρησίαν*. Quid enim minus figuratum quam vera libertas? Sed frequenter sub hac facie latet adulatio. Nam Cicero cum dicit pro Ligario: 'suscepto bello, Caesar, gesto iam etiam ex parte magna, nulla vi coactus consilio ac voluntate mea ad ea arma profectus sum quae erant sumpta contra te', non solum ad utilitatem Ligari respicit, sed magis laudare victoris clementiam non potest.
- 28 In illa vero sententia: 'quid autem aliud egimus, Tubero, nisi ut quod hic potest nos possemus?' admirabiliter utriusque partis facit bonam causam, sed hoc eum demeretur cuius mala fuerat.
- 29

<sup>3</sup> at simulata *Spalding*

<sup>39</sup> For these examples, see Cicero, *Pro Milone* 47, *Pro Murena* 14, *In Verrem* 1.54, *In Catilinam* 1.2, *Philippics* 2.64.

<sup>40</sup> From an unknown poet (*fr. incert.* 41 Morel = Courtney (1993) p. 461); based on *Iliad* 4.182.

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frightened, surprised, grieved, indignant, desirous of something, or the like. Hence: "I am free, I breathe again," "It is well," "What madness is this?" "O, these times, these manners!" "O wretched me! My tears are all shed, but my grief is set deep in my heart,"<sup>39</sup> and "Gape now, wide earth!"<sup>40</sup> Some people call this Exclamation,<sup>41</sup> and count it among Figures of Speech. When these expressions are sincere, they do not come under our present topic; but if they are feigned and artificially produced they are undoubtedly to be regarded as Figures. The same may be said of Free Speech,<sup>42</sup> which Cornificius calls Licence, and the Greeks *parrhesia*. For what is less "figured" than true freedom? Yet flattery is often concealed under this cover. When Cicero says in *Pro Ligario*,<sup>43</sup> "After the war had started, Caesar, indeed when it was largely over, I deliberately, of my own free will, and under no compulsion, joined the forces raised against you," he is not only thinking of the interests of Ligarius; he can give no higher praise to the victor's clemency. On the other hand, in the sentence "What was our object, Tubero, except to get the power which *he* has?"<sup>44</sup> he succeeds, remarkably, in representing the cause of both sides in the war as good, but in the process courts the favour of the man whose cause had been bad.

<sup>41</sup> Ekphōnesis (Fortunatianus 112.24 Halm, *RLM*): *Ad Herennium* 4.22; Lausberg § 808.

<sup>42</sup> *Licentia* in *Ad Herennium* 4.48. See also Rutilius 2.18; Lausberg § 761.

<sup>43</sup> 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 10.

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- Illa adhuc audaciora et maiorum, ut Cicero existimat, laterum, fictiones personarum, quae *προσωποποιίαι* dicuntur: mire namque cum variant orationem tum excitant.
- 30 His et adversariorum cogitationes velut secum loquentium protrahimus (qui tamen ita demum a fide non abhorrent si ea locutos finxerimus quae cogitasse eos non sit absurdum), et nostros cum aliis sermones et aliorum inter se credibiliter introducimus, et suadendo, obiurgando, querendo, laudando, miserando personas idoneas damus.
- 31 Quin deducere deos in hoc genere dicendi et inferos excitare concessum est. Urbes etiam populique vocem accipiunt. Ac sunt quidam qui has demum *προσωποποιίας* dicant in quibus et corpora et verba fingimus: sermones hominum adsimulatos dicere *διαλόγους* malunt, quod
- 32 Latinorum quidam dixerant sermocinationem. Ego iam recepto more utrumque eodem modo appellavi: nam certe sermo fingi non potest ut non personae sermo fingatur. Sed in iis quae natura non permittit hoc modo mollior fit figura: ‘etenim si mecum patria mea, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica sic loquatur: Marce Tulli, quid agis?’ Illud audacius genus: ‘quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: nullum iam aliquot annis facinus extitit nisi per te.’

<sup>45</sup> *Orator* 85.

<sup>46</sup> Rutilius 2.6; Alexander 3.19 Spengel; Phoebammon 3.52 Spengel; Lausberg §§ 826–829. Compare 2.1.2, 3.8.49–54.

<sup>47</sup> So *Ad Herennium* 4.55, 46.5; this is commonly called *ἔθωποία* (e.g. Tiberius 3.63 Spengel), a term used by Q. in a different sense, 9.2.58. See Lausberg §§ 1131–1136.

<sup>48</sup> *Persona* represents *prosōpon* (“face, mask, person”) as in *prosopopoeia*. <sup>49</sup> *In-Catilinam* 1.27.

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### *Prosopopoeia*

Bolder, and needing (as Cicero<sup>45</sup> puts it) stronger lungs, are Impersonations, or *prosōpopoiiai*<sup>46</sup> as they are called in Greek. These both vary and animate a speech to a remarkable degree. We use them (1) to display the inner thoughts of our opponents as though they were talking to themselves (but they are credible only if we imagine them saying what it is not absurd for them to have thought!), (2) to introduce conversations between ourselves and others, or of others among themselves, in a credible manner, and (3) to provide appropriate characters for words of advice, reproach, complaint, praise, or pity. We are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven or raise the dead; cities and nations even acquire a voice. Some confine the term *Prosopopoeia* to cases where we invent both the person and the words; they prefer imaginary conversations between historical characters to be called Dialogues, which some Latin writers have translated *sermocinatio*.<sup>47</sup> I follow the now established usage in calling them both by the same name, for we cannot of course imagine a speech except as the speech of a person.<sup>48</sup> When we transcend the bounds of nature, however, the Figure can be made less harsh like this: "If my country, which is much dearer to me than my life, if all Italy, if the whole commonwealth, were to say to me 'Marcus Tullius, what are you doing?'"<sup>49</sup> Or, to take a bolder example: "She pleads with you, Catiline, and somehow, without uttering a word, cries, 'For some years past, no crime has been committed except by your doing.'"<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 18.



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- 33 Commode etiam aut nobis aliquas ante oculos esse rerum personarum vocum imagines fingimus, aut eadem adversariis aut iudicibus non accidere miramur: qualia sunt 'videtur mihi' et 'nonne videtur tibi?' Sed magna quaedam vis eloquentiae desideratur. Falsa enim et incredibilia natura necesse est aut magis moveant, quia supra vera sunt, aut pro vanis accipiuntur, quia vera non sunt.
- 34 Ut dicta autem quaedam, ita scripta quoque fingi solent, quod facit Asinius pro Liburnia: 'mater mea, quae mihi cum carissima tum dulcissima fuit, quaeque mihi vixit bisque eodem die vitam dedit' et reliqua, deinde 'exheres esto'. Haec cum per se figura est, tum duplicatur quotiens, sicut in hac causa, ad imitationem alterius scripturae componitur. Nam contra recitabatur testamentum: 'P. Novanius Gallio, cui ego omnia meritissimo volo et debeo pro eius animi in me summa voluntate', et adiectis deinceps aliis 'heres esto': incipit esse quodam modo *παρωδή*, quod nomen ductum a canticis ad aliorum similitudinem modulatis abusive etiam in versificationis ac sermonum imitatione servatur.
- 36 Sed formas quoque fingimus saepe, ut Famam Vergilius, ut Voluptatem ac Virtutem, quem ad modum a Xenophonte traditur, Prodicus, ut Mortem ac Vitam, quas contententes in satira tradit, Ennius. Est et incerta persona ficta oratio: 'hic aliquis' et 'dicat aliquis'. Est et iactus sine persona sermo:
- 37

<sup>51</sup> *ORF* p. 521.

<sup>52</sup> For the concept in Latin literature, see P. G. and D. P. Fowler in *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s.v.

<sup>53</sup> *Aeneid* 4.173–188.

<sup>54</sup> Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.1.21–34.

<sup>55</sup> See Warmington, *ROL* 1. p. 394; Courtney (1993) p. 13.

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It may be convenient also to pretend to have before our own eyes images of things, persons, or utterances, or to express surprise that this is not happening to our opponents or to the judges; "It seems to me . . ." or "Does it not seem to you . . . ?" But great powers of eloquence are needed for this, since things which are false or in their nature unbelievable must either strike the hearer with special force, because they surpass the truth, or else be taken as empty nothings, because they are not true.

Writings as well as words are sometimes made up, as by Asinius in his defence of Liburnia:<sup>51</sup> "My mother, who was very dear and very close to me, who lived for me and gave me life twice on the same day . . ." and so on, and then: "shall have no part in my estate." This is both a Figure in itself and is doubly so when, as in the present case, it is based on a document submitted by the other side. The opponent's case here involved the reading of a will which ran "Publius Novanius Gallio, to whom, as my benefactor, I will and owe everything, in recognition of his good will towards me . . ." and so on, with other provisions, and finally "shall be my heir." We thus have what begins to be a sort of Parody.<sup>52</sup> (This is a term derived from songs made up to imitate others, and so used by Catachresis for imitations in verse or prose.)

We also often invent Personifications, as Vergil invented Rumour,<sup>53</sup> Prodicus (according to Xenophon's report)<sup>54</sup> Pleasure and Virtue, and Ennius<sup>55</sup> Death and Life, whom he represents in a Satire as debating with each other. One can also have an imaginary speech with an undefined speaker: "At this point someone says" or "Someone may say." One can even have speech without any person:

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hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles.

Quod fit mixtura figurarum, cum *προσωποποιία* accedit illa quae est orationis per detractionem: detractum est enim quis diceret.

Vertitur interim *προσωποποιία* in speciem narrandi. Unde apud historicos reperiuntur obliquae adlocutiones, ut in Titi Livi primo statim: 'urbes quoque ut cetera ex infimo nasci, deinde, quas sua virtus ac di iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere.'

- 38 Aversus quoque a iudice sermo, qui dicitur apostrophe, mire movet, sive adversarios invadimus: 'quid enim tuus ille, Tubero, in acie Pharsalica?' sive ad invocationem aliquam convertimur: 'vos enim iam ego, Albani tumuli atque luci', sive ad invidiosam inplorationem: 'o leges Porciae
- 39 legesque Semproniae!' Sed illa quoque vocatur aversio quae a proposita quaestione abducit audientem:

non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem  
Aulide iuravi.

Quod fit et multis et variis figuris, cum aut aliud expectasse

<sup>56</sup> *Aeneid* 2.29. Aeneas imagines what the Trojans said when they visited the abandoned Greek camp; he does not specify who said it. <sup>57</sup> 1.9.3: the indirect speech (represented in the translation by past tenses) states arguments supposed to be advanced by envoys sent by Romulus to neighbouring communities in order to recruit women for his new city.

<sup>58</sup> *Ad Herennium* 4.22 (*exclamatio*); Tiberius 3.61–62 Spengel; Alexander 3.23–24 Spengel; Lausberg §§ 762–765.

<sup>59</sup> *Pro Ligario* 9. <sup>60</sup> *Pro Milone* 85.

<sup>61</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 5.163. These laws enforced the right of a Roman citizen to *provocatio* (appeal) against scourging or execu-

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“Here camped the Dolopes, fierce Achilles here.”<sup>56</sup>

This involves a combination of Figures, since a Figure of Speech based on Subtraction is combined with the Proso-  
popoeia; what is left out is who was talking.

Sometimes Proso-  
popoeia takes the form of Narrative. Thus we find indirect speeches in the historians, as at the beginning of the first book of Livy:<sup>57</sup> “Cities, like other things, sprang from humble beginnings; then, if helped by their own valour and by the gods, they made great wealth and a great name for themselves.”

### *Apostrophe*

Speech “averted” from the judge, which is called Apo-  
strophe,<sup>58</sup> is also remarkably effective, whether (1) we turn on the adversary (“What was that sword of yours doing, Tubero, on the field of Pharsalus?”)<sup>59</sup> or (2) proceed to some kind of invocation (“On you I call, ye hills and groves of Alba”)<sup>60</sup> or (3) to an appeal designed to create odium (“O Porcian and Sempronian laws!”).<sup>61</sup> The term Apostrophe is also applied to anything which serves to distract the hearer from the question at issue:

“I never swore at Aulis with the Greeks  
to uproot the race of Troy.”<sup>62</sup>

But this effect can be achieved by many different Figures,

tion. *Leges Semproniae* are those of C. Gracchus; for the three *leges Porciae* (date not known), which dealt with *provocatio* (appeal to the people), see Cicero, *De republica* 2.54.

<sup>62</sup> *Aeneid* 4.425–426.

- nos aut maius aliquid timuisse simulamus aut plus videri posse ignorantibus, quale est prohoemium pro Caelio.
- 40 Illa vero, ut ait Cicero, sub oculos subiectio tum fieri solet cum res non gesta indicatur sed ut sit gesta ostenditur, nec universa sed per partis: quem locum proximo libro subiecimus evidētiaē. Et Celsus hoc nomen isti figurae dedit: ab aliis ὑποτύπωσις dicitur, proposita quaedam forma rerum ita expressa verbis ut cerni potius videantur quam audiri: 'ipse inflammatus scelere et furore in forum venit, ardebant oculi, toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat.'
- 41 Nec solum quae facta sint aut fiant sed etiam quae futura sint aut futura fuerint imaginamur. Mire tractat hoc Cicero pro Milone, quae facturus fuerit Clodius si praetoram invasisset. Sed haec quidem tralatio temporum, quae proprie μεταστάσις<sup>4</sup> dicitur, in diatyposi<sup>5</sup> verecundior apud priores fuit (praeponebant enim talia: 'credite vos intueri', ut Cicero: 'haec, quae non vidistis oculis, animis cernere
- 42 potestis'): novi vero et praecipue declamatores audacius nec mehercule sine motu quodam imaginantur, ut Seneca

<sup>4</sup> *μετάθεσις* Schindel

<sup>5</sup> in diatyposi *del. Winterbottom*

<sup>63</sup> See above, 4.1.31, 39.

<sup>64</sup> *De oratore* 3.202 = Q. 9.1.27.

<sup>65</sup> 8.3.68. <sup>66</sup> *Fr. rhet.* 15 Marx.

<sup>67</sup> Also *diatyposis* (so apparently below, 9.2.41): e.g. Tiberius 3.79 Spengel. Latin *demonstratio*: *Ad Herennium* 4.68. See Lausberg § 814.

<sup>68</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 5.161.

<sup>69</sup> *Pro Milone* 88ff.

<sup>70</sup> Lausberg § 814 accepts this term in this sense, but there is

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whenever we pretend either that we expected something else, or that we feared something worse, or that the ignorant may think that the matter in hand is more important than it is: compare the Prooemium of *Pro Caelio*.<sup>63</sup>

As for what Cicero<sup>64</sup> calls "putting something before our eyes," this happens when, instead of stating *that* an event took place, we show *how* it took place, and that not as a whole, but in detail. In the last book<sup>65</sup> I classified this under *evidentia*. Celsus<sup>66</sup> actually calls the Figure *evidentia*, but others prefer *hypotyposis*,<sup>67</sup> that is, the expression in words of a given situation in such a way that it seems to be a matter of seeing rather than of hearing: "He came into the forum, ablaze with criminal madness; his eyes were afire, cruelty showed in his whole expression."<sup>68</sup>

We can form a picture not only of the past and the present, but also of the future or of what might have happened. Cicero in *Pro Milone* gives a marvellous account of what Clodius would have done if he had secured the praetorship.<sup>69</sup> But this time shift, strictly called *metastasis*,<sup>70</sup> was more cautiously used as a mode of vivid description<sup>71</sup> by the earlier orators, who commonly prefaced it by "Imagine that you see" or (as Cicero says) "These things, which you have not seen with your eyes, you can see with your mind."<sup>72</sup> Modern orators, on the other hand, especially declaimers, produce such pictures more boldly, and not without emotional effect, as Seneca does in a *contro-*

no other evidence. Schindel (1993) plausibly suggests *metathesis*, used in the sense required here in Isidore, *Etymologiae* 2.21.34, but also a word with many meanings.

<sup>71</sup> Lausberg § 810; but the phrase is suspect (see text note).

<sup>72</sup> Cicero, *Fr. orat.* B 26 Schoell (Crawford (1994) p. 296).

in controversia, cuius summa est quod pater filium et novercam inducente altero filio in adulterio deprensos occidit: 'duc, sequor: accipe hanc senilem manum et quocumque vis inprime.' Et post paulo: 'Aspice, inquit, quod diu non credidisti. Ego vero non video, nox oboritur et crassa caligo.' Habet haec figura manifestius aliquid: non enim narrari res sed agi videtur.

44 Locorum quoque dilucida et significans descriptio eadem virtuti adsignatur a quibusdam, alii *τοπογραφίαν* dicunt.

*Εἰρωνείαν* inveni qui dissimulationem vocaret: quo nomine quia parum totius huius figurae vires videntur ostendi, nimirum sicut in plerisque erimus Graeca appellatione contenti. Igitur *εἰρωνεία* quae est schema ab illa quae est tropus genere ipso nihil admodum distat (in utroque enim contrarium ei quod dicitur intellegendum est), species vero prudentius intuenti diversas esse facile est de-  
45 prendere: primum quod tropus apertior est et, quamquam aliud dicit ac sentit, non aliud tamen simulat: nam et omnia circa fere recta sunt, ut illud in Catilinam: 'a quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, Metellum demigrasti'; in duobus demum verbis est ironia. Ergo etiam

<sup>73</sup> Fr. 1, p. 613 Winterbottom (LCL). The blind father is trying to shift the blame on to his son. In this instance, the Figure occurs in the context of a *metastasis* in the sense of *remotio criminis* (Lausberg § 183), and this coincidence raises the suspicion that Q. has become confused in applying the term to *trahatio temporum* (unless his text should be emended, see n. 70).

<sup>74</sup> I.e. *evidentia*. (For this use of *virtus*, almost as a synonym of Figure or Trope, see, e.g., 8.6.61.)

<sup>75</sup> So Emporius 569.28 Halm (RLM); Lausberg § 819.

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*versia*<sup>73</sup> the gist of which is that a father, guided by one of his sons, catches his other son and the stepmother in adultery, and kills them: "Lead me, I am following; take this aged hand, and guide it where you will." And a little later: "See, (he says) what you long did not believe. For my part, I cannot see: night and thick darkness rise before me." This Figure has something particularly vivid about it; the facts seem not to be told us, but to be happening.

Clear and vivid descriptions of places are by some assigned to this excellence;<sup>74</sup> others call it *topographia*.<sup>75</sup>

### *Irony as a Figure*

I have found authority for calling *eironeia* "Dissimulation";<sup>76</sup> but as that word is an inadequate description of the power of this Figure as a whole, I shall, as usual, be content with the Greek name. The Figure Irony, then, is not very different in its generic character from the Trope Irony.<sup>77</sup> In both, we are asked to understand the opposite of what is said. But a more careful look easily shows that they are different species. In the first place, the Trope is more open and, although it says something different from what it means, it does not *pretend* something different, for the whole context is generally quite straightforward: an example is the passage of the speech against Catiline<sup>78</sup> which runs "Rejected by him, you migrated to your bosom friend, that excellent person, Metellus." The Irony here is con-

<sup>76</sup> See 9.1.7, and Cicero quoted in 9.1.29. On Irony as a Figure, see Lausberg § 902.

<sup>77</sup> See 8.6.54.

<sup>78</sup> *In Catilinam* 1.19.



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- 46 breviar est tropos. At in figura totius voluntatis fictio est, apprens magis quam confessa, ut illic verba sint verbis diversa, hic sensus sermoni: <recipiunt autem> et loci<sup>6</sup> et tota interim causae conformatio, cum etiam vita universa ironiam habere videatur, qualis est visa Socratis (nam ideo dictus *εἴρων*, agens imperitum et admiratorem aliorum tamquam sapientium), ut, quem ad modum *ἀλληγορίαν* facit continua *μεταφορά*, sic hoc schema faciat tropos ille contextus.
- 47 Quaedam vero genera huius figurae nullam cum tropis habent societatem, ut illa statim prima quae ducitur a negando, quam nonnulli *ἀντίφρασις* vocant: ‘non agam tecum iure summo, non dicam quod forsitan optinerem’, et ‘quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditarium possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam?’ et ‘mitto illam primam libidinis iniuriam’, et ‘ne illa quidem testimonia recito quae dicta sunt de sestertiis sescentis<sup>7</sup> milibus’, et
- 48 ‘possum dicere.’ Quibus generibus per totas interim quaestiones decurrimus, ut Cicero: ‘hoc ego si sic agerem tamquam mihi crimen esset diluendum, haec pluribus dicerem.’

<sup>6</sup> sensus sermoni: <recipiunt autem> et loci *D.A.R. after Winterbottom*: sensus sermonis et loci (ioci *B*) *AB*

<sup>7</sup> septingentis *A*

<sup>79</sup> See, e.g., Plato, *Republic* 1. 337A, *Symposium* 216E; Guthrie (1969) 3. 446–448.

<sup>80</sup> For antiphrasis as a species of Irony, see Lausberg § 904; but what is meant here seems rather to be *praeteritio*, paraleipsis: Lausberg § 855. <sup>81</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 5.4.

<sup>82</sup> *Philippics* 2.62.

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fined to two words. So the Trope is also *shorter* than the Figure. In the Figure, on the other hand, the pretence involves the whole meaning, and is transparent rather than openly avowed, so that, whereas in the Trope the contrast is between words and words, here it is between the meaning and the words, <and the Figure can cover> whole passages and sometimes the entire shape of the Cause. Indeed a whole life may be held to illustrate Irony, as was thought of Socrates,<sup>79</sup> who was called *eiron* because he played the part of an ignoramus who marvelled at the supposed wisdom of others. Thus, just as a continued series of Metaphors produces Allegory, so a sustained use of the Trope Irony will give rise to the Figure.

Nevertheless, some types of this Figure have no connection with Tropes, for example the primary type, which derives from negation, and which some call *antiphrasis*:<sup>80</sup> "I will not plead against you in strict law, I will not press a point which I might perhaps win"<sup>81</sup> or "Why should I mention his decrees, his acts of plunder, his acquisition of estates by gift or by robbery?"<sup>82</sup> or "I pass over the first wrong wrought by his lust" or "I am not going to read out the evidence about the 600,000 sesterces"<sup>83</sup> or "I might say . . ." <sup>84</sup> We sometimes cover whole Questions by these types of Irony: "If I pleaded this case," says Cicero, "as if I had a charge to refute, I should say more about these things."<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Fr. orat.* B. 5, 6 Schoell, Crawford (1994) p. 296. Unknown speeches; but probably from Cicero, like the other examples in the context. <sup>84</sup> E.g. *Pro Caelio* 53.

<sup>85</sup> Cicero continues (*Pro Cluentio* 166) *per quae nunc paucis percurrit oratio mea* ("which my speech now briefly runs over"). For *percurso*, "running through," see Lausberg § 881.

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*Εἰρωνεία* est et cum similes imperantibus vel permittentibus sumus:

i, sequere Italiam ventis,

- 49 et cum ea quae nolumus videri in adversariis esse concedimus eis. Id acrius fit cum eadem in nobis sunt et in adversario non sunt:

meque timoris  
argue tu, Drance, quando tot caedis acervos  
Teucrorum tua dextra dedit.

Quod idem contra valet cum aut ea quae a nobis absunt aut etiam quae in adversarios reccidunt quasi fatemur:

me duce Dardanius Spartam expugnavit adulter.

- 50 Nec in personis tantum sed et in rebus versatur haec  
contraria dicendi quam quae intellegi velis ratio, ut totum  
pro Q. Ligario prohoemium et illae elevationes: 'videlicet',  
51 'o di boni!', 'scilicet is superis labor est', et ille pro Oppio  
locus: 'o amorem mirum! o benivolentiam singularem!'

Non procul autem absunt a b hac simulatione res inter se similes, confessio nihil nocitura, qualis est: 'habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maxime optandum, confitentem reum', et concessio, cum aliquid etiam inicum videmur causae fiducia pati: 'metum virgarum nauarchus

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<sup>86</sup> *Aeneid* 4.381 (Dido speaks). For *i* or *eat* in Irony, see *OLD* s.v. *eo* 10b.      <sup>87</sup> *Aeneid* 11.383–385 (Turnus speaks).

<sup>88</sup> *Aeneid* 10.92 (Juno speaks). This is certainly a *question* in Vergil, but Q. must take it (however implausibly) as a statement, since he claims it as a "confession."

<sup>89</sup> *Fr. orat.* III 6 Schoell, Crawford (1994) p. 30.

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It is Irony (1) when we pretend to be giving orders or permissions:

“Go, make for Italy with the wind!”<sup>86</sup>

and (2) when we concede that our opponents have qualities which we do not want them to seem to have. This is more pointed when we have the quality and they do not:

“Prove me a coward, Drances, since your arm has made such heaps of Trojan dead.”<sup>87</sup>

The same effect is produced by the reverse procedure, in which we pretend to confess to acts which are not ours or even rebound upon our opponents:

“It was I, of course, who led the adulterer from Troy, when he stormed Sparta!”<sup>88</sup>

This principle, of saying the opposite of what you want to be understood, applies to things as well as to persons, as throughout the Prooemium of the *Pro Ligario* and in disparaging phrases like “To be sure” and “O ye gods!” and “No doubt, this is work for the gods!”—or the passage from the *Pro Oppio*: “What wonderful love! What singular benevolence!”<sup>89</sup>

Akin to this form of pretence is a group of similar Figures:<sup>90</sup>

(1) Harmless Confession, such as: “You have what every accuser prays for, Tubero, a defendant who confesses.”<sup>91</sup>

(2) Concession, in which we seem to allow something damaging, just to show our confidence in the Cause: “A ship’s captain from a distinguished city bought off the fear

<sup>90</sup> Lausberg § 856.

<sup>91</sup> *Pro Ligario* 2.

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- nobilis nobilissimae civitatis pretio redemit: humanum est', et pro Cluentio de invidia: 'dominetur in contionibus, iaceat in iudiciis': tertia consensio, ut pro eodem: 'iudicium
- 52 esse corruptum.' Haec<sup>8</sup> evidentior figura est cum alicui rei adsentimur quae est futura pro nobis, verum id accidere sine adversarii vitio non potest. Quaedam etiam velut laudamus, ut Cicero in Verrem circa crimen Apolloni Drepanitani: 'gaudeo etiam si quid ab eo abstulisti, et abs te
- 53 nihil rectius factum esse dico.' Interim augemus crimina quae ex facili aut diluere possimus aut negare, quod est frequentius quam ut exemplum desideret. Interim hoc ipso fidem detrahimus illis, quod sint tam gravia, ut pro Roscio Cicero, cum inmanitatem parricidii, quamquam per se manifestam, tamen etiam vi orationis exaggerat.
- 54 Ἀποσιώπησις, quam idem Cicero reticentiam, Celsus obticentiam, nonnulli interruptionem appellant, et ipsa ostendit adfectus, vel irae, ut

quos ego—sed motos praestat componere fluctus,  
vel sollicitudinis et quasi religionis: 'An huius ille legis, quam Clodius a se inventam gloriatur, mentionem facere ausus esset vivo Milone, non dicam consule? De nostrum

<sup>8</sup> Hac *Spalding* ('*than this*')

<sup>92</sup> *In Verrem* 5.117.      <sup>93</sup> 5.

<sup>94</sup> 63.

<sup>95</sup> *In Verrem* 4.37.

<sup>96</sup> Cicero, *De oratore* 3.205 (= Q. 9.1.31); Celsus, *Fr. rhet.* 16 Marx; there seems to be no other evidence for *interruptio*. In *Ad Herennium* 4.41 the term used is *praecisio*. Lausberg § 887.

<sup>97</sup> *Aeneid* 1.135 (Neptune speaks).

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of a flogging at a price: that is humane."<sup>92</sup> Again, in *Pro Cluentio*,<sup>93</sup> on the subject of prejudice: "Let it rule in the assemblies, but be as nothing in the law courts."

(3) Agreement: for example, in the same speech, the admission that the jury was bribed.<sup>94</sup>

(4) This Figure is more striking when we agree to something which is going to help us; but this can only occur through some failing on our opponent's part.

(5) We may also make a show of praising something, as Cicero does in *In Verrem* in connection with the charge concerning Apollonius of Drepanum: "It is a real pleasure to me to think that you took something from him, and I say that you never did anything more justifiably."<sup>95</sup>

(6) Sometimes, we exaggerate charges which we could easily refute or deny. This is too common to need illustration.

(7) Sometimes, we detract from the credibility of charges simply on the ground that they are so grave: so Cicero in *Pro Roscio* exaggerates the horror of parricide, obvious as it is, by the force of his eloquence.

### *Aposiopesis*

Aposiopesis too—Cicero calls it *reticentia*, Celsus *obticentia*, others *interruptio*<sup>96</sup>—itself displays emotions: either anger—as in

"Whom I—but better first to calm the waves"<sup>97</sup>—

or anxiety and, as it were, scruple: "Would he have dared to mention this law, of which Clodius boasts of being the author, in Milo's lifetime, let alone in Milo's consulship? All

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- omnium—non audeo totum dicere' (cui simile est in prohoemio pro Ctesiphonte Demosthenis); vel alio trans-  
eundi gratia: 'Cominius autem—tametsi ignoscite mihi,  
55 iudices.' In quo est et illa, si tamen inter schemata numeri-  
ri debet, cum aliis etiam pars causae videatur, digressio;  
abit enim causa<sup>9</sup> in laudes Cn. Pompei, idque fieri etiam  
sine ἀποσωπήσει potuit.
- 56 Nam brevior illa, ut ait Cicero, a re digressio plurimis fit  
modis. Sed haec exempli gratia sufficient: 'tum C. Varenus,  
is qui a familia Anchariana occisus est—hoc quaeso, iudi-  
ces, diligenter attendite', et pro Milone: 'et aspexit me illis  
quidem oculis quibus tum solebat cum omnibus omnia  
minabatur.'
- 57 Est alia non quidem reticentia, quae sit imperfecti ser-  
monis, sed tamen praecisa velut ante legitimum finem ora-  
tio, ut illud: 'nimis urgeo, commoveri videtur adulescens',  
et 'quid plura? ipsum adulescentem dicere audistis.'

<sup>9</sup> augusta A: actutum Watt 1998 ('immediately': cf. 4.3.13)

<sup>98</sup> Not in the extant *Pro Milone*, and so presumably in the orig-  
inal, unsuccessful speech, also known to Q.

<sup>99</sup> *De corona* 3: "It is not at all the same thing for me to fail to  
win your good will, as for him to fail in his suit. For me—I don't  
want to say a hard thing at the beginning of my speech, but he is  
accusing me when he has nothing to lose."

<sup>100</sup> Cicero, *Fr. orat.* II 8 Schoell (*Pro Cornelio*): Crawford  
(1994) p. 86.

<sup>101</sup> 4.3.1ff.; by "that digression" Q. refers to that mentioned by  
Cicero (see 9.1.28) and distinguished (9.1.32) from the shorter  
form.

<sup>102</sup> See above 9.1.32.

our—but I dare not finish the sentence.”<sup>98</sup> (There is something similar in the Prooemium of Demosthenes’ speech for Ctesiphon.)<sup>99</sup> It is also used to contrive a transition: “Cominius however—but pardon me, members of the jury . . .”<sup>100</sup> In this passage there is also “that Digression” (if indeed this should be counted as a Figure, when others treat it also as a part of a Cause),<sup>101</sup> because the speech now passes into an encomium of Pompey, and this could have been managed even without an Aposiopesis.

What Cicero<sup>102</sup> calls the “shorter” form of Digression can be effected in many ways. The following examples will suffice: (1) “Then Gaius Varenus, the man who was killed by Ancharius’ slaves—observe this point, members of the jury, carefully . . .”;<sup>103</sup> (2) in *Pro Milone*:<sup>104</sup> “He looked at me with the look he used to have in the days when he was threatening everybody with everything.”

There is another Figure, not indeed an Aposiopesis (which would involve an unfinished sentence) but a cutting short, as it were, of a passage before its proper end: “I press too hard, the young man seems to be upset”<sup>105</sup> or “What more? You have heard the young man himself say . . .”<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Cicero, *Fr. orat.* II 8 Schoell (*Pro Vareno*): Crawford (1994) p. 14. See also 4.1.73, 9.3.49. Lausberg § 674 interprets the whole passage (as given at 9.3.49) as drawing a contrast between “coordinating accumulation of different *res*” and “increasing synonymy.”

<sup>104</sup> 33.

<sup>105</sup> *Pro Ligario* 9.

<sup>106</sup> *In Verrem* 5.116.



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- 58 Imitatio morum alienorum, quae ἠθοποιία vel, ut alii malunt, μίμησις dicitur, iam inter leniores adfectus numerari potest: est enim posita fere in eludendo. Sed versatur et in factis et in dictis: in factis, quod est ὑποτυπώσεις vicinum, in dictis quale est apud Terentium:

Aut ego nescibam quorsum tu ires? Parvola  
hinc est abrepta, eduxit mater pro sua.  
Soror dicta est: cupio abducere, ut reddam suis.

- 59 Sed nostrorum quoque dictorum factorumque similis imitatio est per relationem, nisi quod frequentius adseverat quam eludit: 'dicebam habere eos actorem Q. Caecilium.'

- Sunt et illa iucunda et ad commendationem cum varietate tum etiam ipsa natura plurimum prosunt, quae simplicem quandam et non praeparatam ostendendo orationem minus nos suspectos iudici faciunt. Hinc est quasi paenitentia dicti, ut pro Caelio: 'sed quid ego ita gravem personam introduxi?' et quibus utimur vulgo: 'inprudens incidi'; vel cum quaerere nos quid dicamus fingimus: 'quid relicum est?' et 'num quid omisi?' et cum ibidem invenire, ut

<sup>107</sup> See, e.g., Rutilius Lupus 1.21, *Ad Herennium* 4.63, 65. At 9.3.99 Q. will regard this as a Figure admitted by Rutilius but not by himself. It is defined by Hermogenes (p. 20.7 Rabe) as μίμησις ἠθους ὑποκειμένου προσώπου, "representation of the character of a person who is the subject." Lausberg § 820: 9.1.31, above.

<sup>108</sup> *Eunuchus* 155–157. Q. draws attention to the attractive naïveté of the narrative.

<sup>109</sup> Cicero, *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium* 4: Caecilius had been quaestor in Sicily after Cicero, and it was the Sicilians' knowledge of him that made them insist on having Cicero as their defender.

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### *Ethopoeia*

With the representation of the characters of others, which is called Ethopoeia<sup>107</sup> or, as some prefer, Mimesis, we come to the gentler emotions, because this usually involves humour. It operates both with actions and with words. The form with actions is akin to Hypotyposis; the form with words is illustrated by this passage of Terence:

Or did I not know your drift? "A little girl was stolen from here, my mother brought her up as hers; she was called my sister; now I want to take her off and return her to her people."<sup>108</sup>

We can also represent our own words and deeds in like manner, by a reference back, though this is more often used to make an assertion than in the interests of humour: "I said they had Quintus Caecilius to defend them."<sup>109</sup>

There are other procedures too which give pleasure and serve greatly to attract sympathy, both by providing variety and also by their own nature; they make us less suspect to the judge by exhibiting a certain simple and spontaneous style. They include: (1) pretended repentance for what is said: thus in *Pro Caelio*,<sup>110</sup> "But why have I introduced such an authoritative character?" (compare also common remarks like "I slipped into this without realizing it");<sup>111</sup> (2) pretended uncertainty about what to say: "What remains?" or "Have I left anything out?"; (3) pretended discovery of something on the spot; as in Cicero's "I have

<sup>110</sup> 35.

<sup>111</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 4.43.

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- 61 ait Cicero: 'unum etiam mihi relicum eius modi crimen est', et 'aliud ex alio succurrit mihi'—unde etiam venusti transitus fiunt (non quia transitus ipse sit schema), ut Cicero narrato Pisonis exemplo, qui anulum sibi cudi ab aurifice in tribunali suo iusserat, velut hoc in memoriam inductus adiecit: 'Hoc modo me commonuit Pisonis anulus quod totum effluxerat. Quam multis istum putatis hominibus honestis de digitis anulos aureos abstulisse?'; et cum aliqua velut ignoramus: 'Sed earum rerum artificem quem?—quemnam? Recte admones, Polyclitum esse dicebant.' Quod quidem non in hoc tantum valet; quibusdam enim, dum aliud agere videmur, aliud efficimus, sicut <et><sup>10</sup> hic Cicero consequitur ne, cum morbum in signis atque tabulis obiciat Verri, ipse quoque earum rerum studiosus esse credatur, et Demosthenes iurando per interfectos in Marathone et Salamine id agit ut minore invidia cladis apud Chaeroneam acceptae laboret.
- 63 Faciunt illa quoque iucundam orationem, aliqua mentione habita differre et deponere apud memoriam iudicis et reposcere quae deposueris et iterare quaedam schemate aliquo (non enim est ipsa per se iteratio schema) et excipere aliqua et dare actioni varios velut vultus. Gaudet enim res varietate, et sicut oculi diversarum aspectu rerum magis detinentur, ita semper animis praestat in quod se velut novum intendant.

<sup>10</sup> *add. D.A.R.*

<sup>112</sup> *Pro Cluentio* 169.

<sup>113</sup> *In Verrem* 4.57.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* 4.5.

<sup>115</sup> *De corona* 208: compare "Longinus" 16.2–4.

one more charge of this kind still left"<sup>112</sup> or "One thing suggests another." (4) These methods also provide elegant transitions (not that transition is itself a Figure!), as when Cicero<sup>113</sup> tells the story of Piso, who had given orders to a goldsmith to make a ring for him, and then pretends to have been reminded by this of something else, and goes on: "This ring of Piso's has reminded me of something which had entirely escaped me. How many honourable men do you think have had their gold rings stripped off their fingers by Verres?" (5) Pretended ignorance: "But the sculptor—who was it? Who? Thank you for reminding me, they said it was Polyclitus."<sup>114</sup> This trick has other uses too, for it sometimes enables us to achieve another object from that which we seem to aim at, as Cicero here <also> contrives, while taunting Verres with his obsession with statues and pictures, to avoid being thought an enthusiast for such things himself, and Demosthenes, by means of his oath "by those who fell at Marathon and Salamis," contrives to lessen the odium attaching to him from the disaster sustained at Chaeronea.<sup>115</sup>

Other ways of making a speech attractive include: (1) deferring the discussion of some points after mentioning them, thus entrusting them to the judge's memory for safe keeping, and later calling in your deposit; (2) repeating some points with some Figure (repetition itself is not a Figure); (3) picking out some points and, as it were, putting different faces on the pleading. For oratory delights in variety and, just as the eye is held more by the sight of different things, so it always offers the mind some fresh object for its attention.

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- 64 Est emphasis etiam inter figuras, cum ex aliquo dicto latens aliquid eruitur, ut apud Vergilium:

non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam  
degere more ferae;

quamquam enim de matrimonio queritur Dido, tamen huc erumpit eius adfectus ut sine thalamis vitam non hominum putet sed ferarum. Aliud apud Ovidium genus, apud quem Zmyrna nutrici amorem patris sic confitetur:

o, dixit, felicem coniuge matrem!

- 65 Huic vel confinis vel eadem est qua nunc utimur plurimum. Iam enim ad id genus quod et frequentissimum est et expectari maxime credo veniendum est, in quo per quandam suspicionem quod non dicimus accipi volumus, non utique contrarium, ut in *εἰρωνεία*, sed aliud latens et auditori quasi inveniendum. Quod, ut supra ostendi, iam fere solum schema a nostris vocatur, et unde controversiae figuratae dicuntur. Eius triplex usus est: unus si dicere palam parum tutum est, alter si non decet, tertius qui venustatis modo gratia adhibetur et ipsa novitate ac varietate
- 66

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<sup>116</sup> I.e. as well as a Trope; see 8.3.83–86: Lausberg §§ 905–906.

<sup>117</sup> *Aeneid* 4.550–551.

<sup>118</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.422: Myrrha (= Zmyrna) is in love with her father Cinyras.

<sup>119</sup> 9.1.14.

<sup>120</sup> As well as [Dionysius of Halicarnassus] *Art of rhetoric* VIII–IX (pp. 295–358 Usener–Radermacher), see Demetrius 287–298, [Hermogenes] 204–210 Rabe, Apsines 330–339 Spengel–Hammer, Julius Victor 434–435 Halm (*RLM*) = 86–88

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### *Emphasis*

Emphasis is a Figure too,<sup>116</sup> when a hidden meaning is extracted from a phrase, as in Vergil's

Could I not have lived  
a life unwedded, free of any crime,  
like some wild beast?<sup>117</sup>

For, though Dido complains of marriage, her feelings nevertheless break out at this point, so that she thinks an unwedded life fit for beasts rather than for humans. There is a different type in Ovid, where Zmyrna confesses to her nurse her love for her father:

She cried, "O mother happy in your husband!"<sup>118</sup>

Related to, or identical with, this is a Figure which we use a lot nowadays. For it is time now to come to the very common device, which I am sure the reader is specially waiting for, in which we drop a hint to show that what we want to be understood is not what we are saying—not necessarily the opposite (as in Irony) but something hidden and left to the hearer to discover. As I pointed out above,<sup>119</sup> this is almost the only form that our people call a Figure, and it is from this that Figured Controversies are so called.<sup>120</sup> There are three uses of this device: (1) if it is unsafe to speak openly, (2) if it is unseemly to do so, (3) when it is employed simply for elegance and gives more pleasure

Giomini-Celentano; Fortunatianus 84–86 Halm; Martianus Capella 5.470–472. Lausberg § 906. I take it that in this passage Q. means "our contemporaries," not "our Roman colleagues"; but there is some ambiguity.

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magis quam si relatio<sup>11</sup> sit recta delectat.

- 67 Ex his quod est primum frequens in scholis est. Nam et pactiones deponentium imperium tyrannorum et post bellum civile senatus consulta finguntur, et capital est obicere ante acta, ut quod in foro non expedit illic nec liceat; sed schematum condicio non eadem est: quamlibet enim apertum, quod modo et aliter intellegi possit, in illos tyrannos bene dixeris, quia periculum tantum, non etiam offensa
- 68 vitatur; quod si ambiguitate sententiae possit eludi, nemo non illi furto favet. Vera negotia numquam adhuc habuerunt hanc silentii necessitatem, sed aliam huic similem verum multo ad agendum difficiliorem, cum personae potentes obstant sine quarum reprehensione teneri causa non
- 69 possit. Ideoque hoc parcius et circumspectius faciendum est, quia nihil interest quo modo offendas, et aperta figura perdit hoc ipsum quod figura est. Ideoque a quibusdam tota res repudiatur, sive intellegatur sive non intellegatur. Sed licet modum adhibere, in primis ne sint manifestae. Non erunt autem si non ex verbis dubiis et quasi duplicibus

<sup>11</sup> oratio *Capperonnier*

<sup>121</sup> In a *controversia* mentioned below, 9.2.97, and known also from Seneca, *Controversiae* 5.8, a tyrant abdicates, having covenanted that anyone who subsequently charges him with tyranny shall be held guilty of a capital offence. He then stands for office as a magistrate. A rival candidate opposes him. The rival, in speaking on his own behalf, has to avoid exposing himself to the capital charge of directly mentioning the ex-tyrant's past; he can say anything about the man, so long as it cannot be interpreted as amounting to a charge of tyranny. His danger (*periculum*) is that of being charged himself. It does not matter if he gives offence. In

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by its freshness and variety than the straightforward statement would have done.

(1) The first of these uses is common in the schools. Here there are fictions involving conditions laid down by abdicating tyrants,<sup>121</sup> or decrees of the senate following a civil war; it is made a capital offence to upbraid a defendant with his past, so that what is inexpedient in court is actually forbidden in the schools. But the conditions for the use of Figures are not the same in both. For you can speak with success against those declamation tyrants as openly as you please, so long as what you say can be given a different interpretation, because it is only the risk of conviction, not also offence that has to be avoided. If this danger can be eluded by an ambiguous remark, everybody is in favour of the trick. Real life, on the other hand, has never (so far) had this necessity for silence; but it is subject to an analogous necessity, one however which is much more difficult for the speaker to handle, when there are powerful personages presenting an obstruction, and the Cause cannot be maintained without blaming them. Consequently, one must be more wary and circumspect in using such Figures, since *how* you give offence makes no difference, and a Figure which is seen through loses its value as a Figure. The whole procedure is therefore rejected by some, whether the Figure is understood or not. But one can adopt it in moderation. The first requirement is that the Figures should not be obvious. This will be achieved if they are not based either on words of doubtful or double meaning, like

real life, says Q., one does not have situations in which such "silence" is obligatory; one *does* have to cope with the risk of giving offence.



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- 70 petentur, quale est in suspecta nuru: 'duxi uxorem quae patri placuit'; aut, quod est multo ineptius, compositionibus ambiguis, ut in illa controversia in qua infamis amore filiae virginis pater raptam eam interrogat a quo vitiata sit:
- 71 'Quis te, inquit, rapuit?' Tu, pater, nescis?' Res ipsae perducant iudicem ad suspicionem, et amoliamur cetera ut hoc solum supersit: in quo multum etiam adfectus iuvant et interrupta silentio dictio et cunctationes. Sic enim fiet ut iudex quaerat illud nescio quid ipse quod fortasse non crederet si audiret, et ei quod a se inventum existimat credat.
- 72 Sed ne si optimae quidem sint esse debent frequentes. Nam densitate ipsa figurae aperiuntur, nec offensae minus habent sed auctoritatis, nec pudor videtur quod non palam obicias, sed diffidentia. In summa sic maxime iudex credit
- 73 figuris si nos putat nolle dicere. Equidem et in personas incidi tales, et in rem quoque, quod est magis rarum, quae optineri nisi hac arte non posset. Ream tuebar quae subiecisse dicebatur mariti testamentum: ea dicebat<sup>12</sup> chiro-

<sup>12</sup> ea dicebat *Winterbottom*: et dicebatur *AB*: et dicebantur *b*

<sup>122</sup> Compare Libanius, *Declamation* 39.9–11 (Russell (1996) 171); the theme here also involves a father who is in love with the woman he wishes his son to marry. Compare also Calpurnius Flaccus 49.

<sup>123</sup> Libanius, *op. cit.*, closes (§ 45) with a very similar verbal ambiguity: *καὶ φανέντος ποθὲν μοιχοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς δεήσομαι βοηθεῖν*, "if an adulterer appears, my father, I shall ask for help," where *τοῦ πατρὸς* may be taken either with the preceding or the following words, just as *tu, pater*, in Q.'s example, can be taken either on its own or with the following *nescis*.

<sup>124</sup> The situation is unclear. If the marriage was *iniustum* (e.g.

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the phrase in *The Suspected Daughter-in-Law*, "I married the wife my father chose,"<sup>122</sup> or (and this is much sillier) an ambiguous word-arrangement, as in the *controversia* in which a father, accused of a passion for his virgin daughter, who has been raped, asks her who ravished her, and she replies "Father, don't you know?"<sup>123</sup> Let the facts themselves lead the judge to form suspicions; let us put everything else out of the way, leaving only the one point. Emotional appeals also are a great help here, as are hesitations and words interspersed with silences. This will ensure that the judge himself searches for something which perhaps he would not believe if he heard it, and then believes what he thinks he has found out for himself.

However good our Figures, they must not be thick on the ground. Their very frequency makes them transparent and diminishes not their offensiveness but their power to convince, while any failure to make an open attack gives the impression not of modesty, but of lack of confidence. In a word, the judge believes Figures most if he thinks we are reluctant to use them. I have personally had to deal with people like this, and indeed with a situation (though this is rarer) which could not be successfully handled except by this device. I was defending a woman who was alleged to have forged her husband's will.<sup>124</sup> She alleged

with a noncitizen), it would be illegal for the wife to be the heir. The *fidei commissum*, devised to ensure that she should effectively inherit, would, if made known, be reported to the *fiscus*, which could then claim the estate. Q. does not tell us what his Figure was. For the view that such a private arrangement was an evasion of the law, see *Digest* 49.14.3,4; for the general legal background, Treggiari (1991) 379–393, Crook (1967) 125–127.

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- graphum marito expiranti heredes dedisse, et verum erat.
- 74 Nam, quia per leges institui uxor non poterat heres, id fuerat actum ut ad eam bona per hoc tacitum fideicommissum pervenirent. Et caput quidem tueri facile erat si hoc diceremus palam, sed peribat hereditas. Ita ergo fuit nobis agendum ut iudices illud intellegerent factum, delatores non possent adprehendere ut dictum; et contigit utrumque. Quod non inseruissem veritus opinionem iactantiae nisi probare voluissem in foro quoque esse his figuris locum.
- 75 Quaedam etiam quae probare non possis figura potius spargenda sunt. Haeret enim nonnumquam telum illud occultum, et hoc ipso quod non apparet eximi non potest: at si idem dicas palam, et defenditur et probandum est.
- 76 Cum autem obstat nobis personae reverentia, quod secundum posuimus genus, tanto cautius dicendum est quanto validius bonos inhibet pudor quam metus. Hic vero tegere nos iudex quod sciamus et verba vi quadam veritatis erumpentia credat coercere. Nam <quid obstat> quominus<sup>13</sup> aut ipsi in quos dicimus aut iudices aut adsistentes oderint hanc maledicendi lasciviam si velle nos credant?
- 77 Aut quid interest quo modo dicatur cum et res et animus intellegitur? Quid [dicendo]<sup>14</sup> denique proficimus nisi ut palam sit facere nos quod ipsi sciamus non esse faciendum? Atqui praecipue prima quibus praecipere coeperam

<sup>13</sup> *Winterbottom*: Nam qui minus *Kiderlin*

<sup>14</sup> *om. B*

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that the heirs had given a bond to the husband on his deathbed. This was true. Since the wife could not legally be the heir, this procedure had been adopted in order to allow the property to come to her by this tacit *fidei commissum*. It was easy to save the woman from conviction if we said this openly, but the inheritance was then lost. I therefore had to plead in such a way that the judges understood what had happened, but the informers could not seize on any explicit statement. I succeeded on both counts. I should not have put this in, for fear of being thought to boast of it, if I had not been anxious to prove that there is a place for these Figures even in the courts.

Some ideas which you could not actually make good should be sown in the mind with the help of a Figure. The hidden dart sometimes sticks; it cannot be removed, because it cannot be seen; but if you were to say the same thing openly, the defence can justify it and it needs to be proved.

(2) When our problem is respect for persons (the second possibility I envisaged), we have to be all the more cautious because good men are more inhibited by shame than by fear. In these cases, the judge should believe that we are trying to hide something that we know and are keeping back words which are bursting out of us by the force of truth. For <what is to prevent> either our opponents or the judges or the audience from being disgusted by such indulgence in malice, if they thought it was deliberate? And what difference does it make how the thing is said, so long as the facts and our feelings are understood? What finally do we achieve except to make it obvious that we are doing something we ourselves know ought not to be done? The period when I started teaching suffered par-

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- tempora hoc vitio laborarunt: dicebant enim libenter tales controversias, quae difficultatis gratia placent, cum sint
- 78 multo faciliores. Nam rectum genus adprobari nisi maximis viribus non potest: haec deverticula et anfractus suffugia sunt infirmitatis, ut qui cursu parum valent, flexu eludant—cum haec quae adfectatur ratio sententiarum non procul a ratione iocandi abhorreat. Adiuvat etiam quod auditor gaudet intellegere et favet ingenio suo et alio dicente
- 79 se laudat. Itaque non solum si persona obstaret rectae orationi, quo in genere saepius modo quam figuris opus est, decurrebant ad schemata, sed faciebant illis locum etiam ubi inutiles ac nefariae essent, ut si pater qui infamem in matrem<sup>15</sup> filium secreto occidisset reus malae tractationis
- 80 iacularetur in uxorem obliquis sententiis. Nam quid impurius quam retinuisse talem? Quid porro tam contrarium quam eum, qui accusetur quia summum nefas suspicatus de uxore videatur, confirmare id ipsa defensione quod diluendum est? At si iudicum sumerent animum, scirent quam eius modi actionem laturo non fuissent, multoque etiam minus cum in parentis abominanda crimina spargerentur.<sup>16</sup>
- 81 Et quatenus huc incidimus, paulo plus scholis demus: nam et in his educatur orator, et in eo quo modo declamatur positum est etiam quo modo agatur. Dicendum ergo de

<sup>15</sup> matre B

<sup>16</sup> spargentur A

<sup>125</sup> A similar theme (*Infamis in matrem*) is treated in *Declamationes maiores* 18 and 19. "A father tortures and kills a son whom he suspects of incest with his mother; the mother asks what the son has said; the father will not tell her, and *she* now accuses him of 'wrongful treatment' (*mala tractatio*)."

ticularly from this fault. Declaimers liked this sort of *controversia*, which attracts because of its apparent difficulty, though it is in fact much easier, because a straightforward case needs great powers if it is to win approval, while these tortuous byways are the refuge of weakness—those who cannot run fast escape by dodging aside—and the sort of *sententiae* which are the object of so much effort are not very different from jokes. The Figure offers the further advantage that the hearer enjoys understanding it, thinks well of his own cleverness, and praises himself for someone else's speech. Consequently, it was not only where personality presented a problem for a straightforward treatment (this calls for moderation more often than for Figures) that they had recourse to Figures: they made room for them even where they were useless or downright immoral, for example, if the father, who had secretly killed a son suspected of incest with his mother, was accused of ill-treating his wife, and now launched indirect insinuations against her.<sup>125</sup> What could be more discreditable than keeping a wife like that? What could be more damaging to his case than that a man who is accused because he is held to have had the darkest suspicions of his wife should confirm by his line of defence the very charge which has to be refuted? If they imagined themselves in the judges' place, the speakers would realize how intolerable they would have found such a pleading—and how even more intolerable when parents were the target of such abominable charges.

Having lighted on this topic, let us pay a little more attention to the schools. This is where the orator is brought up, and the style of pleading depends on the style of declamation. I must therefore say something about the cases

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- iis quoque in quibus non asperas figuras sed palam contrarias causae plerique fecerunt: Tyrannidis adfectatae damnatus torqueatur ut conscios indicet:<sup>17</sup> accusator eius optet quod volet. Patrem quidam damnavit, optat ne is torqueatur: pater ei contra dicit. Nemo se tenuit agens pro patre quin figuras in filium faceret, tamquam illum conscium in tormentis nominaturus. Quo quid stultius? Nam cum hoc iudices intellexerint, aut non torquebitur, cum ideo torqueri velit, aut torto non credetur. At credible est hoc eum velle. Fortasse: dissimulet ergo ut efficiat. Sed nobis, declamatoribus dico, quid proderit hoc intellexisse nisi dixerimus? Ergo, si vere ageretur, similiter consilium illud latens prodidissemus? Quid si neque utique verum est et habere alias hic damnatus contradicendi causas potest, vel quod legem conservandam putet, vel quod nolit accusatori debere beneficium, vel, quod ego maxime sequerer, ut se in tormentis innocentem esse pertendat? Quare ne illud quidem semper succurret sic dicentibus: patrocinium hoc voluit qui controversiam finxit. Fortasse enim noluit, sed esto voluerit: continuone, si ille stulte cogitavit, nobis quoque stulte dicendum est? At ego in causis agendis frequenter non puto intuendum quid litigator velit.
- 85 Est et ille in hoc genere frequens error, ut putent aliud

<sup>17</sup> ut . . . indicet *om. A*

<sup>126</sup> For these "declamation laws," see, e.g., Calpurnius Flaccus 6, *Declamationes minores* 267, 345; *GD* 32–33; Bonner, *RD* 27, 104.

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in which many have adopted Figures which are not only harsh but patently damaging to their Cause. "A man condemned for Attempt at Tyranny shall be tortured to make him reveal his accomplices; his accuser shall choose what reward he pleases.<sup>126</sup> A man has secured his father's conviction, and demands as his reward that his father shall not be tortured. The father speaks against this." In pleading for the father, no one omits to indulge in Figures against the son, on the assumption that the father, when tortured, would name him as an accomplice. What could be stupider? Once the judges have grasped this point, either he will not be tortured (because this is why he wants to be tortured) or his evidence under torture will not be believed. "But it is possible to believe that this is what the father wants." Maybe; then let him disguise his purpose in order to achieve it. "But what will it profit us (us declaimers, I mean) to understand this, unless we put it into words?" So if this was a case in real life, should we have betrayed the hidden motive in this sort of way? And what if it is not true anyway, and the condemned man may have other reasons for opposing the son's reward, either that he thinks the law ought to be observed, or that he does not want to be obliged to his accuser, or (the line I personally should prefer to follow) so as to persist in declaring under torture that he is innocent? People who make speeches like this will not always have the excuse that "the inventor of the *controversia* wanted this defence to be made." Very likely he didn't, but let us suppose he did: does it follow that, if he had a stupid idea, we have to make a stupid speech? Even in pleading actual Causes, I often think we should not consider what the litigant wants.

Another common error in this type of work is to think



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quosdam dicere, aliud velle, praecipue cum in themate est aliquem ut sibi mori liceat postulare, ut in illa controversia: 'Qui aliquando fortiter fecerat et alio bello petierat ut militia vacaret e lege, quod quinquagenarius esset, adversante filio ire in aciem coactus deseruit. Filius, qui fortiter eodem proelio fecerat, incolumitatem eius optat: contra dicit pater.' Non enim, inquit, mori vult, sed invidiam filio facere. Equidem rideo, quod isti<sup>18</sup> sic timent tamquam ipsi morituri et in consilium suos metus ferunt, obliti tot exemplorum circa voluntariam mortem, causarum quoque quas habet factus ex viro forti desertor.

87 Sed de una controversia loqui supervacuum est: ego in universum neque oratoris puto esse umquam praevaricari, neque litem intellego in qua pars utraque idem velit, neque tam stultum quemquam qui, si vivere vult, mortem  
88 potius male petat quam omnino non petat. Non tamen nego esse controversias huius modi figuratas, ut est illa: 'Reus parricidii quod fratrem occidisset damnatus<sup>19</sup> iri videbatur: pater pro testimonio dixit eum se iubente fecisse: absolutum abdicat.' Nam neque in totum filio parcat, nec quod priore iudicio adfirmavit mutare palam potest, et, ut

<sup>18</sup> *Castiglioni*: ipsi AB      <sup>19</sup> damnatum t

<sup>127</sup> This case is not strictly an application to be allowed to commit suicide (the *prosangelia* theme, *GD* 35–37), but the principle is the same: he cannot *really* want to die. For the laws involved, see Bonner, *RD* 88, Calpurnius Flaccus 15.

<sup>128</sup> This theme seems unparalleled. The point is probably that the scenario compels the son, in defending himself against *abdicatio*, to make insinuations against his father which go too far, while the father says less than he might against the son.

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that some people say one thing but mean another, especially when the theme involves a character asking permission to die, as in the following *controversia*:<sup>127</sup> "A man who had once been a war hero, and in a later war asked for exemption from service in accordance with the law, on the ground that he was fifty years old, was nevertheless forced to serve, because his son opposed his exemption. He deserted. His son, who had fought as a hero in the same battle, then asked for his father's pardon as his reward. The father opposes." "He does not want to die," they say, "but only to cause prejudice against his son." I merely laugh, because these declaimers are as frightened as if they were going to die themselves, and they transfer their own fears to their plan of campaign; they forget all the examples of voluntary death, and the motives of a war hero who has turned deserter.

But it is a waste of time to discuss a single *controversia*. In general, I do not think it is ever right for an orator to put forward a collusive plea; I do not see that there is a dispute when both sides have the same object, and I do not think there is anyone stupid enough to make an ineffective plea to die, when he wants to stay alive, rather than make no such plea at all. However, I am not denying that there are figured *controversiae* of this kind, for example: "A man accused of parricide for having killed his brother seemed about to be condemned; his father said in evidence that he had done it on his instructions. The son is acquitted, the father seeks to disown him."<sup>128</sup> He does not, it seems, pardon his son entirely, nor can he openly change the evidence he gave at the first trial; his severity does not go beyond the

89 non durat ultra poenam abdicacionis, ita abdicat tamen: et alioqui figura in patrem plus facit quam licet, in filium minus. Ut autem nemo contra id quod vult dicit, ita potest melius aliquid velle quam dicit: quo modo ille abdicatus, qui a patre ut filium expositum et ab eo educatum solutis alimentis recipiat postulat, revocari fortasse mavult, non tamen quod petit non vult.

90 Est latens et illa significatio qua, cum ius asperius petitur a iudice, fit tamen spes aliqua clementiae, non palam, ne paciscamur, sed per quamdam credibilem suspicionem, ut in multis controversiis, sed in hac quoque: 'Raptor nisi intra tricesimum diem et raptae patrem et suum exoraverit pereat: qui exorato raptae patre suum non exorat agit cum  
91 eo dementiae.' Nam si promittat hic pater, lis tollitur: si nullam spem faciat, ut non demens, crudelis certe videatur et a se iudicem avertat. Latro igitur optime: 'Occides ergo?—Si potero.' Remissius et pro suo ingenio pater Galio: 'Dura, anime, dura: here fortior fuisti.'

92 Confinia sunt his celebrata apud Graecos schemata, per quae res asperas mollius significant. Nam Themistocles suasisse existimatur Atheniensibus ut urbem apud deos

<sup>129</sup> I.e. the cost of bringing up the child. A natural father wishing to take back a child who has been fostered is expected to pay this: Bonner, *RD* 125 (Seneca, *Controversiae* 9.3; Q. 7.1.14; *Declamationes minores* 278).

<sup>130</sup> Compare Seneca, *Controversiae* 2.3, *Declamationes minores* 349.

<sup>131</sup> See especially Seneca, *Controversiae* 1 *praef.* 13–24; Kaster (1995) 329–331.

<sup>132</sup> The remark is from Seneca, *Controversiae* 2.3.6. It alludes

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penalty of disowning, but he does disown him. Anyway, the Figure works too much against the father, and too little against the son. But while no one ever speaks against what he wants, a man may want a better result than he says—like the disowned son who asks his father to pay the maintenance<sup>129</sup> and take back into the family another son whom he (the disowned son) had brought up; he may perhaps really want to be reinstated himself, but he also wants what he is asking for.

Another kind of tacit hint is one by which, though the full rigour of the law is demanded from the judge, some hope of clemency is held out, not openly (we must not make bargains) but by some plausible hint. This occurs in many *controversiae*, including the following:<sup>130</sup> “A rapist shall be put to death unless he secures pardon within thirty days both from his victim’s father, and from his own. A man who has secured pardon from his victim’s father, but not from his own, accuses the latter of unsound mind.” If the father were to give a promise, the case collapses; if he were to give no hope, he may not seem mad, but he would certainly seem cruel and prejudice the judge against himself. Latro<sup>131</sup> handled this very well: “You will kill me then?” “Yes, if I can.” The elder Gallio, in accordance with his nature, handled it less vigorously: “Be firm, my heart, be firm. Yesterday you were stronger.”<sup>132</sup>

Akin to these are the Figures of which the Greeks are so fond, by which they soften the impact of unpleasant facts. Themistocles is thus believed to have persuaded the Athenians to make an offering of their city to the gods, because

to *Odyssey* 20.18: τέταθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ’ ἔτλης, “Bear up, my heart: you bore worse once before.”

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deponerent, quia durum erat dicere ut relinquerent; et qui Victorias aureas in usum belli conflari volebat ita declinavit, victoriis utendum esse. Totum autem allegoriae simile est aliud dicere, aliud intellegi velle.

- 93 Quaesitum etiam est quo modo responderi contra figuras oporteret. Et quidam semper ex diverso aperiendas putaverant, sicut latentia vitia rescinduntur. Idque sane frequentissime faciendum est: aliter enim dilui obiecta non possunt, utique cum quaestio in eo consistit quod figurae petunt. At cum maledicta sunt tantum, et non
- 94 intellegere interim bonae conscientiae est. Atque etiam si fuerint crebriores figurae quam ut dissimulari possint, postulandum est ut nescio quid illud quod adversarii obliquis sententiis significare voluerint, si fiducia sit, obiciant palam, aut certe non exigant ut, quod ipsi non audent dicere, id iudices non modo intellegant sed etiam credant.
- 95 Utilis aliquando etiam dissimulatio est, ut in eo (nota enim fabula est) qui, cum esset contra eum dictum 'iura per patris tui cineres', paratum se esse respondit, et iudex condicione usus est, clamante multum advocato schemata de rerum natura tolli: ut protinus etiam praeceptum sit eius modi figuris utendum temere non esse.
- 96 Tertium est genus in quo sola melius dicendi petitur

<sup>133</sup> See esp. Plutarch, *Themistocles* 10.4. Themistocles proposed to "deposit the city in the care of Athena," while all the men took to the ships.

<sup>134</sup> Same story about statues of Victory (Nikē) in Demetrius 281, as an instance of euphemism.

<sup>135</sup> Seneca, *Controversiae* 7 *praef.* 6, Suetonius, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* 30.5, with Kaster (1995). If the defendant

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it was too brutal to tell them to abandon it.<sup>133</sup> And the man who wanted the golden Victories to be melted down for war purposes toned down his words into "We must make use of our victories."<sup>134</sup> But the whole process of saying one thing while wishing something else to be understood is akin to Allegory.

The question has also been asked, how Figures ought to be countered. Some think they should always be exposed by the opponent, as hidden sores are opened up. This is indeed the right course on most occasions; there is no other way of refuting charges, at any rate when the Question hangs on the point targeted by the Figures. On the other hand, when they are merely abuse, it sometimes shows a good conscience simply to show no sign of understanding. Even if the Figures are too numerous to pass unnoticed, we should ask our opponents, if they have any confidence in their Cause, to put into plain words whatever it was that they intended to suggest by their oblique remarks—or at any rate not to require the judges not only to understand something which they themselves dare not say, but also to believe it. A pretence of misunderstanding may also prove useful on occasion, as in the well-known story<sup>135</sup> of the man who, when his opponent said to him "Swear by the ashes of your father," answered that he was ready to do so; whereupon the judge took up the proposal, despite the advocate's loud protest that this meant "the end of Figures throughout the world." Indeed, it is a basic rule that Figures of this kind should not be used rashly.

(3) There remains the third category, in which the sole

took the oath as invited, he would automatically win his case (*Digest* 12.2).

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- occasio, ideoque id Cicero non putat esse positum in  
 contentione. Tale est illud quo idem utitur in Clodium:  
 ‘quibus iste, qui omnia sacrificia nosset, facile ab se deos  
 97 placari posse arbitrabatur.’ *Εἰρωνεία* quoque in hoc  
 genere materiae frequentissima est. Sed eruditissimum  
 longe si per aliam rem alia indicetur, ut cum adversus  
 tyrannum, qui sub pacto abolitionis dominationem depo-  
 suerat, agit competitor: ‘mihi in te dicere non licet: tu in  
 98 me dic, et potes; nuper te volui occidere.’ Frequens illud  
 est nec magno opere captandum, quod petitur a iure iu-  
 rando, ut pro exheredato: ‘ita mihi contingat herede filio  
 mori.’ Nam et in totum iurare, nisi ubi necesse est, gravi  
 viro parum convenit, et est a Seneca dictum eleganter non  
 patronorum hoc esse sed testium. Nec meretur fidem qui  
 sententiolae gratia iurat, nisi si potest tam bene quam De-  
 mosthenes, ut supra dixi. Levissimum autem longe genus  
 99 ex verbo, etiam si est apud Ciceronem in Clodium: ‘prae-  
 sertim quam omnes amicam omnium potius quam cuius-  
 quam inimicam putaverunt.’  
 100     Comparisonem equidem video figuram quoque

<sup>136</sup> *De oratore* 3.203 (above, 9.1.29).

<sup>137</sup> *Fr. orat.* XIV.14 Schoell (Crawford (1994) p. 241). The allusion is to Clodius' intrusion into the women's rites of the Bona Dea in 62 BC.

<sup>138</sup> Compare Seneca, *Controversiae* 5.8, *Declamationes minores* 267, and see note on 9.2.67.

<sup>139</sup> Probably from the elder Seneca (fr. 2 Winterbottom, LCL).

<sup>140</sup> 9.2.62.     <sup>141</sup> *Pro Caelio* 32.

<sup>142</sup> See 3.6.23. Calcante defends *non esse* in this passage, and argues that there is no contradiction in saying (1) that *comparatio*

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object is the opportunity to express ourselves more elegantly, and which Cicero<sup>136</sup> accordingly thinks has no place in serious dispute. An example is the device he himself uses against Clodius:<sup>137</sup> "By these means, he, who was familiar with all rituals, thought he could easily appease the gods." Irony also is very common in this sort of context. But much the most sophisticated device is to indicate one thing by alluding to another. For example: a rival candidate pleads against a man who had stepped down as tyrant on promise of an amnesty:<sup>138</sup> "I cannot speak against *you*; *you* can speak against *me*, and please do so; it is not long since I wanted to kill you." Another common device (though not one to be sought) is based on an oath: for example, in defending a disinherited person, the speaker says, "So may I die with a son to inherit from me!" An oath, in general, is not very appropriate for a person of standing, unless it is absolutely necessary: Seneca neatly observed that oaths were for witnesses, not for advocates.<sup>139</sup> A speaker who swears just for the sake of a clever epigram does not deserve to be believed, unless he can do it as well as Demosthenes, as I said before.<sup>140</sup> But the most trivial form of Figure is the one based on a word—even if we do find Cicero attacking Clodia with the words "especially a woman whom everyone regarded as everyone's friend rather than anyone's enemy."<sup>141</sup>

### *Comparison*

My own view is that Comparison is<sup>142</sup> also a Figure, al-

is not a Figure, and (2) that the *Pro Murena* passage in fact contains a Figure of Speech rather than of Thought.



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esse,<sup>20</sup> cum sit interim probationis, interim etiam causae genus; et si talis eius forma qualis est pro Murena: ‘vigilatu de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas, ille ut eo quo contendit mature cum exercitu perveniat: te gallorum, illum bucinarum cantus exsuscitatur’ et cetera, nescio an orationis potius quam sententiae sit. Id enim solum mutatur, quod non universa universis sed singula singulis opponuntur. Et Celsus tamen et non neglegens auctor Visellius in hac eam parte posuerunt, Rutilius quidem Lupus in utroque genere, idque ἀντίθετον vocat.

101  
102 Praeter illa vero quae Cicero inter lumina posuit sententiarum, multa alia et idem Rutilius Gorgian secutus, non illum Leontinum, sed alium sui temporis, cuius quattuor libros in unum<sup>21</sup> suum transtulit, et Celsus, videlicet  
103 Rutilio accedens, posuerunt schemata: consummationem, quam Graecus διαλλαγὴν vocat, cum plura argumenta ad unum effectum deducuntur: consequens (ille ἐπακολούθησιν) de quo nos in argumentis diximus: collectionem, qui apud illum est συλλογισμός: minas, id est

<sup>20</sup> quoque esse *Halm*: non esse *AB*: non esse <per se> *Kiderlin*: non <numquam> esse *Winterbottom*, *Problems*, p. 161

<sup>21</sup> usum *Ahrens*

143 22.      144 *Fr. rhet.* 17 Marx.

<sup>145</sup> Perhaps C. Visellius Rufus (c. 104–58 BC), said by Cicero (his cousin) to have been a literary man (*Brutus* 264). Mentioned again at 9.2.107, 9.3.89.

<sup>146</sup> 2.16: compare *Ad Herennium* 4.21 (*contentio*), 4.25 (*contrarium*, as in Cicero, *De oratore* 3.207). Lausberg §§ 787–807.

<sup>147</sup> But Rutilius’ work was in two books (hence Ahrens’ conjecture *in usum suum*, “for his own use”). This Gorgias taught at Ath-

though it is sometimes a form of Proof, and sometimes even a type of Cause; indeed, if its form is like that of the passage in *Pro Murena*<sup>143</sup> that runs “*You* stay awake all night to find answers for your clients, *he* to get himself and his army to their destination in time; *you* are roused by cockcrow, *he* by the bugle,” and so on—then I suspect that it is a Figure of Speech rather than of Thought, because the only change involved is that it contrasts details with details one by one, not the whole with the whole. Celsus,<sup>144</sup> however, and the careful Visellius<sup>145</sup> both classify it here, Rutilius Lupus<sup>146</sup> in both sections, calling it *antitheton*.

*Some other Figures not mentioned by Cicero*

To the Figures placed by Cicero among the ornaments of Thought, Rutilius, following Gorgias (not Gorgias of Leontini, but a contemporary of Rutilius himself), whose four books he converted into one of his own,<sup>147</sup> and also Celsus,<sup>148</sup> no doubt following Rutilius, added the following:<sup>149</sup> Consummation, called *diallage*<sup>150</sup> by the Greek author, in which a number of Arguments are deployed for a single object; Consequence (*epakolouthesis* in the Greek), which I discussed in dealing with Arguments;<sup>151</sup> Inference, which is Gorgias’ *sylogismos*; Threats, i.e.

ens (Cicero’s son knew him in 44 BC); Gorgias of Leontini is the great sophist. <sup>148</sup> *Fr. rhet.* 18 Marx.

<sup>149</sup> Our text of Rutilius (an abridgement, apparently) contains none of the Figures attributed to him here and below, except *anankaion*; this also occurs in Q.’s list of Rutilius’ innovations in 9.3.99. <sup>150</sup> See 9.3.49.

<sup>151</sup> In 5.10, 5.14.

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κατάπληξιν: exhortationem, παραινετικόν. Quorum nihil non rectum est nisi cum aliquam ex iis de quibus locuti sumus figuram accipit.

104 Praeter haec Celsus excludere, adseverare, detrectare, excitare iudicem, proverbiiis uti et versibus et ioco, et invidia et invocatione intendere crimen, quod est δείνωσις, adulari, ignoscere, fastidire, admonere, satisfacere, precari, corripere figuras putat. Partitionem quoque et propositionem et divisionem et rerum duarum cognationem, quod est ut idem valeant quae videntur esse diversa, ut non is demum sit veneficus qui vitam abstulit data potione, sed etiam qui mentem, quod est in parte finitionis.

106 Rutilius sive Gorgias ἀναγκαῖον, ἀνάμνησιν, ἀνθυποφοράν, ἀντίρρησιν, παραύξισιν, προέκθεσιν (quod est dicere quid fieri oportuerit, deinde quid factum sit), ἐναντιότητα (unde sint ἐνθυμήματα κατ' ἐναντίωσιν<sup>22</sup>), μετάλημψιν etiam, quo statu Hermagoras utitur.

107 Visellius, quamquam paucissimas faciat figuras, ἐνθύμημα tamen, quod commentum vocat, et rationem appel-

<sup>22</sup> *Kayser: the corrupt Greek in AB may also be meant for κατ' ἀντίθεσιν (Winterbottom)*

<sup>152</sup> See Apsines 10 (296 Spengel–Hammer = 192 Dilts–Kennedy); Lausberg § 258.3. <sup>153</sup> Rutilius 1.20: “when we wish to display the *necessity* of some thing, time, or person.”

<sup>154</sup> “Mentioning a thing we pretend to have forgotten,” Isidore, *Etymologiae* 2.21.37 Lindsay. (This and the following rare or unique terms are not in Lausberg.)

<sup>155</sup> Representation of an opponent’s argument for the sake of refuting it: Julius Rufinianus 60–61 Halm *RLM*; Hermogenes 134 Rabe; *Ad Herennium* 4.33 (*subiectio*).

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*kataplexis*; Exhortation, i.e. *parainetikon*. But all of these are quite straightforward procedures, unless they are given one of the Figures of which we have been speaking.

In addition, Celsus counts the following as Figures: Exclusion, Asseveration, Detraction, Judge-Stimulation; use of Proverbs, Verses, and Jokes; Prejudice and Invocation as a means of exaggerating a charge (this is *deimosis*);<sup>152</sup> Flattery, Pardon, Disdain, Admonition, Apology, Entreaty, and Rebuke. He also includes Partition, Proposition, Division, and "Cognate Pairs," by which he means that two apparently different things are to have the same significance: for example, it is not just the person who has destroyed a life by poison who is a poisoner, but also the person who has so destroyed a mind. This comes under Definition.

Rutilius (or Gorgias) gives us: *anankaion*,<sup>153</sup> *anamnēsis*,<sup>154</sup> *anthypophora*,<sup>155</sup> *antirrhēsis*,<sup>156</sup> *parauxēsis*,<sup>157</sup> *proekthesis*,<sup>158</sup> (saying what ought to have been done and then what has been done), *enantiotēs* (*the basis of Enthymemes from Incompatibles*),<sup>159</sup> and even *metalēpsis*,<sup>160</sup> which is an Issue in Hermagoras.

Visellius, though he has a very small number of Figures, includes Enthymeme (which he calls *commentum*)

<sup>156</sup> "Refutation": "an argument destroying the credibility of the opposing argument," *Rhetores Graeci* 7. 1207 Walz (Gregory of Corinth).

<sup>157</sup> "Subsidiary Amplification."

<sup>158</sup> "Preliminary Exposition": *Rhetores Graeci* 7. 1218, 1220 Walz; Fortunatianus 108, 25 Halm *RLM*.

<sup>159</sup> See 5.14.25.

<sup>160</sup> "Transference" in Hermagoras' system of Issues: see 5.14.2.

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lans ἐπιχείρημα inter eas habet. Quod quidem recipit quodam modo et Celsus: nam consequens an epichirema sit dubitat. Visellius adicit et sententiam. Invenio qui adgregent his διασκευάς, ἀπαγορεύσεις, παραδιηγήσεις. Sed ut haec non sunt schemata, sic alia vel sint forsitan ac nos fugerint vel etiam nova fieri adhuc possint, eiusdem tamen naturae cuius sunt ea de quibus dictum est.

### 3

- 1 Verborum vero figurae et mutatae sunt semper et utcumque valuit consuetudo mutantur. Itaque, si anticum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est, ut 'hac re invidere', non, ut omnes veteres et Cicero praecipue, 'hanc rem',<sup>1</sup> et 'incumbere illi', non 'in illum', et 'plenum vino', non 'vini', et 'huic', non 'hunc adulari' iam dicitur et mille alia, utinamque non peiora vincant.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> huic rei *Madvig*      <sup>2</sup> *del. Shackleton Bailey (i.e. 'if only there were no worse things!')*

<sup>161</sup> "Elaboration," exaggeration, esp. in Narrative: Hermogenes 166 Rabe, *Rhetores Graeci* 7. 791 Walz; Fortunatianus 112, 15 Halm *RLM*.      <sup>162</sup> "Rejection" or "denial." Compare John Chrysostom, *Homily on the Epistle to the Romans* 11 (525B): ἀνατρέπει τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τῇ ἀπαγορεύσει λέγων Μὴ γένοιτο, "He overturns the objection by a rejection, saying 'God forbid'" (on *Romans* 11.11).

<sup>163</sup> "Subsidiary Narrative": a narrative of events outside the Cause, introduced in order to serve it: Fortunatianus 112, 15 Halm *RLM*; Rufus in *Rhetores Graeci* 3. 453 Walz. Subdivisions

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and Epicheireme (which he calls *ratio*). This view is accepted to a certain extent by Celsus too, who is in doubt whether Consequence is an Epicheireme. Visellius adds *sententia*. I find others who add *diaskeuē*,<sup>161</sup> *apagoreusis*,<sup>162</sup> *paradiēgēsis*.<sup>163</sup> These indeed are not Figures; but there may well be Figures which have escaped me, or new ones may yet be invented; but they will be of the same nature as those described above.

### CHAPTER 3

#### *Figures of Speech*

Figures of Speech on the other hand have always been subject to change and are continually changing according to prevailing usage. So if we compare the older language with our own, almost everything we say now is a Figure. We say *hac re invidere* ("to grudge a thing") instead of *hanc rem*, as the ancients, and particularly Cicero, said;<sup>1</sup> likewise *incumbere illi* (for *in illum*),<sup>2</sup> *plenum vino* (for *vini*),<sup>3</sup> *huic adulari* (for *hunc*),<sup>4</sup> and countless others. Let us hope the worse usages do not prevail!

of *diēgēsis* were identified by earlier rhetoricians: Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3. 1414b14. <sup>1</sup> Ablative first apparently in Livy (2.40.11), often in Seneca. Dative is normal: accusative normally only found with neuter pronouns (*hoc invidere*) (*OLD* s.v.); but note Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 3.20 on its use by Accius. <sup>2</sup> "To lean on him." Cicero however has one apparent dative with this verb (*De oratore* 3.324), perhaps copied by Q. at 11.3.132.

<sup>3</sup> "Full of wine." Cicero has the ablative occasionally, but normally the genitive. <sup>4</sup> "To flatter him." Dative first in Nepos (*Atticus* 8.6), common in Livy and later.

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2 Verum schemata lexeos duorum sunt generum: alterum loquendi rationem novat, alterum maxime conlocatione exquisitum est. Quorum tametsi utrumque convenit orationi, tamen possis illud grammaticum, hoc rhetoricum magis dicere.

Prius fit isdem generibus quibus vitia: esset enim omne eiusmodi schema vitium si non peteretur sed accideret.

3 Verum auctoritate vetustate consuetudine plerumque defenditur, saepe etiam ratione quadam. Ideoque, cum sit a simplici rectoque loquendi genere deflexa, virtus est si habet probabile aliquid quod sequatur. Una tamen in re maxime utilis, ut et cotidiani ac semper eodem modo formati sermonis fastidium levet et nos a vulgari dicendi genere defendat. Quod si quis parce et cum res poscet utetur, velut adperso quodam condimento iucundior erit: at qui nimium adfectaverit, ipsam illam gratiam varietatis amittet. Quamquam sunt quaedam figurae ita receptae ut paene iam hoc ipsum nomen effugerint: quae etiam si fuerint crebriores, consuetas aures minus ferient. Nam secretae et extra vulgarem usum positae ideoque magis notabiles, ut novitate aurem excitant, ita copia satiant, et se non obvias fuisse dicenti, sed conquisitas et ex omnibus latebris extractas congestasque declarant.

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Figures of Speech (Greek: *schēmata lexeōs*), however, are of two kinds; one produces innovations in speech, the other is sought mainly in word arrangement. Although both are relevant to oratory, you could say that the former is more grammatical and the latter more rhetorical.

The first type occurs in the same forms as do faults of language. Indeed, every Figure of this kind would be a fault, if it were accidental and not deliberate. Such a Figure is generally defended by Authority, Antiquity, and Usage, and often also by some logical principle.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, although it diverges from the simple direct way of speaking, it is a valuable feature, so long as it has a respectable precedent to follow. It possesses however one great practical use, namely to relieve the tedium of everyday stereotyped language and protect us from a commonplace way of speaking. Used sparingly, and as occasion demands, it will be a sort of condiment, the addition of which will make the speaker more acceptable; but anyone who strains after it too much will sacrifice its special charm of variety. Some Figures, however, are so widely accepted that they have now almost escaped being called Figures; even if these occur quite frequently, they will make less of an impression because our ears have grown accustomed to them. At the same time, recondite Figures, outside common usage, and therefore more conspicuous, stimulate the ear by their novelty, but weary it if used to excess, and reveal that they have not come to the speaker's mind spontaneously but have been long sought for, dragged out of their various hiding places, and piled together in a heap.

<sup>5</sup> See 1.6.1.



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- 6 Fiunt ergo et circa genus figurae in nominibus, nam et 'oculis capti talpae' et 'timidi dammae' dicuntur a Vergilio, sed subest ratio, quia sexus uterque altero significatur, tamque mares esse talpas dammasque quam feminas certum est: et in verbis, ut 'fabricatus est gladium' et 'inimicum poenitus es'. Quod minus mirum est quia in natura verborum est et quae facimus patiendi modo saepe dicere, ut 'arbitror', 'suspikor', et contra faciendi quae patimur, ut 'vapulo': ideoque frequens permutatio est et pleraque utroque modo efferuntur: luxuriatur luxuriat, fluctuatur fluctuat, adsentior adsentio. Est figura et in numero, vel cum singulari pluralis subiungitur: 'gladio pugnacissima gens Romani' (gens enim ex multis), vel ex diverso:

qui<sup>3</sup> non risere parentes,<sup>4</sup>  
nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est:

- 9 ex illis enim 'qui non risere' hic quem non dignata <est. Verbo etiam pro nomine utimur, ut><sup>5</sup> in satira:

<sup>3</sup> *Politian*: cui A (and MSS of *Vergil*)

<sup>4</sup> parenti *Bonnell*

<sup>5</sup> *suppl.* (e.g.) *D.A.R.*

<sup>6</sup> *Georgics* 1.183 "blind moles," *Eclogues* 8.28 "frightened deer." The adjectives have masculine endings.

<sup>7</sup> "He fashioned a sword," "You punished an enemy": Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 7, *Pro Milone* 33. Deponent forms replace the commoner actives.

<sup>8</sup> "Luxuriate," "fluctuate," "agree." Q. does not say so, but in all these words the active form is better attested than the deponent in Cicero and in early Latin.

<sup>9</sup> "A race most warlike with the sword, the Romans."

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### *Variations of gender, number, verb form, tense, etc.*

Figures then occur (1) in the gender of nouns: Vergil says *oculis capti talpae* and *timidi dammae*;<sup>6</sup> but there is a reason for this, because both sexes are covered by one, and there are of course male *talpae* (moles) and *dammae* (deer) as well as female; (2) in the voice of verbs, as in *fabricatus est gladium* and *inimicum poenitus es*.<sup>7</sup> This is less surprising because it is in the nature of verbs often to express actions also in a passive form (e.g. *arbitror* "I think," *suspikor* "I suspect"), and passive experiences in an active form (e.g. *vapulo* "I am beaten"), with the result that there is a frequent alternation of the two forms, and many things are expressed in both ways: *luxuriatur, luxuriat; fluctuatur, fluctuat; adsentior, adsentio*.<sup>8</sup> (3) There is also a Figure in number, when (a) plural follows singular: *gladio pugnacissima gens Romani*<sup>9</sup> (a *gens* consists of many individuals), or (b) singular follows plural:

those who have not smiled upon their parents—  
 no god thinks him deserving of a feast,  
 nor goddess of her bed.<sup>10</sup>

For the "him" whom the goddess "does not think deserving of her bed" is *one* of those who "have never smiled." <(4) We may also use a verb for a noun, as> in the satire:

<sup>10</sup> Vergil, *Eclogues* 4.62–63, a much disputed passage. I accept Politian's *qui* (plural) here (and in Vergil); Bonnell's (or Schrader's) *parenti* (dative) however is not necessary, since *risēre* (= *adrisēre*) could be followed by an accusative.

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et nostrum istud vivere triste

aspexi,

cum infinito verbo sit usus pro appellatione: nostram enim vitam vult intellegi. Utimur et verbo pro participio:

magnum dat ferre talentum,

tamquam 'ferendum', et participio pro verbo: 'volo datum.'

- 10 Interim etiam dubitari potest cui vitio simile sit schema, ut in hoc:

virtus est vitium fugere:

aut enim partis orationis mutat ex illo 'virtus est fuga vitiorum', aut casus ex illo 'virtutis est vitium fugere', multo tamen hoc utroque excitatus. Iunguntur interim schemata: 'Sthenelus sciens pugnae': est enim 'scitus pugnandi'.

- 11 Transferuntur et tempora: 'Timarchides negat esse ei periculum a securi' (praesens enim pro praeterito positum est) et status: 'hoc Ithacus velit': et, ne morer, per omnia genera per quae fit soloecismus.
- 12 Haec quoque est quam *ἐτεροίωσις* vocant, cui non dissimilis *ἐξάλλαγή* dicitur, ut apud Sallustium 'neque ea res

<sup>11</sup> Persius 1.9–10. The Figure is not the same as in the previous example; hence the suggested supplement. The Latin infinitive often functions as a substantive: L–H–S p. 343.

<sup>12</sup> *Aeneid* 5.248, modelled on *Iliad* 23.512 (*δῶκε δ' ἄγειν*, "he gave (them) to take away"): the gerundive *ferendum* would be the normal construction.

<sup>13</sup> See *OLD* s.v. *volo* 6b.

<sup>14</sup> Horace, *Epistulae* 1.1.41.

<sup>15</sup> Horace, *Carmina* 1.15.24–25. Here too the model is Greek (*Iliad* 5.549).

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And I looked at this dreary living of ours,<sup>11</sup>

where the infinitive verb (*vivere*) is used as a noun; he means "our life." (5) We can also use a verb for a participle:

He gives him a great talent to carry,<sup>12</sup>

where *ferre* replaces *ferendum*; or again (6) a participle for a verb, as in *volo datum* ("I wish given").<sup>13</sup>

One may sometimes indeed doubt what the error is to which the Figure corresponds: in "It is a virtue to escape vice"<sup>14</sup> the writer either changes his parts of speech (making a variant on "virtue is escape from vices") or his cases (making a variant on "it is a mark of virtue to escape vice"); but whichever it is, the Figure is more vigorous than either of the alternatives. Figures are also sometimes combined: *Sthenelus sciens pugnae*<sup>15</sup> is for *scitus pugnandi*, "skilled in fighting."

Tenses are also changed around: "Timarchides *denies* that he is in danger of the axe"<sup>16</sup>—present for past. So are moods: "The Ithacan would like this."<sup>17</sup> To be brief: there is a Figure corresponding to every kind of solecism.

There is also what the Greeks call *heteroiosis* (what is called *exallage*<sup>18</sup> is very similar): an example is Sallust's<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 5.116.

<sup>17</sup> *Aeneid* 2.104 (the Ithacan is Ulysses). Q. apparently thinks that the present or future indicative would be more apt. Compare Servius ad loc.: *mortem suam illorum hostibus esse placituram*, "that his death would please their enemies."

<sup>18</sup> Lausberg § 509. These terms are very general, and would naturally cover substitutions like those already discussed as well as those which follow.

<sup>19</sup> *Jugurtha* 10.1.

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- falsum me habuit' et 'duci probare'. Ex quibus fere praeter novitatem brevitatem etiam peti solet. Unde eo usque processum est ut 'non paenitendum' pro non acturo paenitentiam et 'visuros' ad videndum missos idem auctor dixerit. Quae ille quidem fecerit schemata: an idem vocari possint videndum, quia recepta sunt. Nam in receptis etiam vulgo auctore contenti sumus, ut iam evaluit 'rebus agentibus', quod Pollio in Labieno damnat, et 'contumeliam fecit',<sup>6</sup> quod a Cicerone reprehendi notum est: 'adfici' enim 'contumelia' dicebant.
- 14 Alia commendatio vetustatis, cuius amator unice Vergilius fuit:

vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia iactat;

<et><sup>7</sup>

progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci audierat.

Quorum similia apud veteres tragicos comicosque sunt

<sup>6</sup> facit Cic. *Philippics* 3.22

<sup>7</sup> add. Halm (as also at § 21)

<sup>20</sup> Sallust, *Histories*, fr. incert. 34 Maurenbrecher. Meaning (and Q.'s point) uncertain: as we are dealing with usages of verbs, the choice lies between "to prove to be led" and "to be thought to prove." <sup>21</sup> Fr. incert. 35-36 Maurenbrecher.

<sup>22</sup> ORF p. 523. Perhaps "while things were going forward," or "while circumstances compelled."

<sup>23</sup> *Philippics* 3.22, ridiculing Antony's sentence: *nulla contumelia est quam facit dignus*, presumably meaning "An insult which a man deserving insult makes is no insult."

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*neque ea res falsum me habuit* ("nor did this have me deceived") and *duci probare*.<sup>20</sup> These devices seek not only novelty but brevity. It has even gone as far as *non paenitutum* ("not about to repent") for "not intending to repent" and *visuros* ("about to see") for "sent to see" in the same author.<sup>21</sup> These may indeed have been Figures when Sallust created them, but one must ask whether they can be called so, now that they have become accepted. For once a usage is accepted, we are content even with popular parlance as Authority: *rebus agentibus*, which Pollio<sup>22</sup> condemns in Labienus, and *contumeliam fecit*, which is well-known to have been stigmatized by Cicero<sup>23</sup> (in his day they said *adfici contumelia*), have come to be current.

#### *Figures authorized by Antiquity*

The second criterion of acceptability is Antiquity, for which Vergil had a unique fondness:

Or when (*vel cum*) he claims to tremble at my  
taunts,<sup>24</sup>

<and>

But in fact (*sed enim*) a race, she had heard, that  
came  
from Trojan blood.<sup>25</sup>

There are many examples of such things in the old tragic

<sup>24</sup> *Aeneid* 11.406: *vel cum* is elliptical, "or consider the time when . . ."

<sup>25</sup> *Aeneid* 1.19–20. It is a little surprising that Q. takes *sed enim*, "but in fact" (*OLD* s.v. *sed* 5) to be archaic.

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- 15 plurima. Illud et in consuetudine remansit 'enimvero'. His amplius apud eundem:

nam quis te, iuvenum confidentissime,

quo sermonis initium fit; et

tam magis illa fremens<sup>8</sup> et tristibus effera flammis,  
quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae.

Quod est versum ex illo:

quam magis aerumna urget, tam magis ad  
malefaciendum viget.

- 16 Pleni talibus antiqui sunt. Initio Eunuchi Terentius 'quid igitur faciam?' inquit. Alias:<sup>9</sup> 'ain tandem leno?' Catullus in epithalamio:

dum innupta manet, dum cara suis est,

cum prius 'dum' significet 'quoad', sequens 'usque eo'.

- 17 Ex Graeco vero tralata vel Sallusti plurima, quale est:

<sup>8</sup> *edd.*, from *Vergil*: tremens A

<sup>9</sup> *D.A.R.*: alius A

<sup>26</sup> In Q. 1.8.16, 3.8.51, 9.4.118.

<sup>27</sup> *Georgics* 4.445. "Nam introduces an impatient question . . . the effect is stronger than that of *quisnam* with which Servius equates it" (Mynors (1990) ad loc.).

<sup>28</sup> *Aeneid* 7.787-788.

<sup>29</sup> *Trag. incert.* 89 Klotz = 109 Warmington (*ROL* 2. 616).

<sup>30</sup> 46.

<sup>31</sup> Unless A's *alius* conceals the name of a poet (Woelfflin

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and comic poets. *Enimvero* ("to be sure") has actually remained in use.<sup>26</sup> Compare also Vergil's

So *who* (*nam quis*), most confident of  
youths . . . ?<sup>27</sup>

as a way of beginning a sentence; or

So much more (*tam magis*) roaring, fierce with  
baleful flames,  
as much more (*quam magis*) bleeds the battle's flood  
of gore.<sup>28</sup>

which is an inversion of

As much more (*quam magis*) as calamity bears down,  
so much more (*tam magis*) does its strength to do  
some mischief.<sup>29</sup>

The ancients are full of such things. At the beginning of his *Eunuchus*<sup>30</sup> Terence writes: "So (*igitur*) what shall I do?" while elsewhere<sup>31</sup> he has *ain tandem, leno?* ("You say so, do you (*tandem*), pimp?"). Catullus in his *Epi-thalamium*<sup>32</sup> writes

As long as (*dum*) she remains unmarried, just so long  
(*dum*) is she dear to her own,

where the first *dum* means "as long as" and the second "just so long."

Idioms transferred from Greek are common in Sallust,

suggested Atilius, Radermacher Quintius Atta), this seems to be an inexact reference to *Phormio* 373, *ain tandem, carcer* ("jail-bird")?

<sup>32</sup> 62.45.



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[vulgus]<sup>10</sup> ‘amat fieri’, vel Horati, nam id maxime probat:

nec ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,

vel Vergili:

Tyrrhenum navigat aequor,

et iam vulgatum actis quoque: ‘saucius pectus.’

- 18 Ex eadem parte figurarum (priore dico) et adiectio est illa quae videri potest supervacua, sed non sine gratia est:

nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi

(potest enim deesse alteram ‘nam’): et apud Horatium illud:

Fabriciumque,

hunc et intonsis Curium capillis;

et detractiones quae in complexu sermonis aut vitium habent aut figuram:

accede ad ignem, iam calesces plus satis:

- 19 ‘plus’ enim ‘quam satis’ est. Nam de altera quae <fit><sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *del. Radermacher*: illud *Woelfflin*

<sup>11</sup> *add. Happel*

<sup>33</sup> “Is wont to happen” (φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι): see *Jugurtha* 34.1. R. G. Mayer in Adams and Mayer (1999) 161–166 discusses this and some other examples of “grecisms” in Q.

<sup>34</sup> *Satires* 2.6.83–84. The use of the genitive is a grecism.

<sup>35</sup> *Aeneid* 1.67. This accusative (“over the sea”) is normal in Greek (πλεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν), and not uncommon in Latin, especially in poetry.

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such as *amat fieri*;<sup>33</sup> in Horace, who particularly sanctions this:

Grudged not of vetch or long-eared oat,<sup>34</sup>

and in Vergil:

Sails the Tyrrhenian sea.<sup>35</sup>

*Saucius pectus*, "wounded in the breast,"<sup>36</sup> has even become normal in official reports.

To the same class (I mean the first class)<sup>37</sup> of Figures belong also: (1) a type of Addition, which may seem superfluous but is not without charm:

For neither (*nam neque*) Parnassus' ridges, nor yet  
(*nam neque*) Pindus' . . .<sup>38</sup>

(The second *nam* can be omitted.) Compare Horace:

And Fabricius,  
*him* and Curius of the unshorn hair.<sup>39</sup>

(2) Subtractions, which in any given context may be either a fault or a Figure:

Come to the fire, you'll soon be warmer enough.<sup>40</sup>

*Plus satis* is for *plus quam satis*, "warmer *than* enough." Of

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 12.5. Accusative of respect after an adjective: a usage developed under Greek influence, as Q. says (L-H-S 37).

<sup>37</sup> I.e. the "grammatical" type, which produces an innovation in speech: 9.3.2.

<sup>38</sup> Vergil, *Eclogues* 10.11.

<sup>39</sup> *Carmina* 1.12.40-41.

<sup>40</sup> Terence, *Eunuchus* 85: OLD s.v. *plus* 1d.

## QUINTILIAN

detractione pluribus dicendum est.

Utimum vulgo et comparativis pro absolutis, ut cum se quis infirmiore esse dicet. Duo inter se comparativa committimus: 'si te, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo erit verendum mihi ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat.'

- 20 Sunt et illa non similia soloecismo quidem, sed tamen numerum mutantia, quae et tropis adsignari solent, ut de uno pluraliter dicamus:

sed nos inmensum spatii confecimus aequor,  
et de pluribus singulariter:

haud secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis.

- 21 Specie diversa sed genere eadem et haec sunt:

neve tibi ad solem vergant vineta cadentem,

<et>

ne mihi tum mollis sub divo carpere somnos,  
neu dorso nemoris libeat iacuisse per herbas:

non enim nescio cui alii prius, nec postea sibi uni, sed omnibus praecipit.

Et de nobis loquimur tamquam de aliis: 'dicit Servius,

<sup>41</sup> In §§ 58–65, where the "other," i.e. more rhetorical, category is discussed.

<sup>42</sup> Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.5.

<sup>43</sup> Vergil, *Georgics* 2.541. See also 8.6.45. "We" here means "I," that is the poet himself: *OLD* s.v. *nos* 3.

### BOOK 9.3

the other <form which derives> from a Subtraction, we need to speak more fully.<sup>41</sup>

We frequently use comparatives for positives, as when one says that one is *infirmior* ("rather unwell"). Sometimes two comparatives are combined: "If I order you to be arrested or killed, Catiline, I shall have to fear, I suppose, that all good men might fail to say I had acted too late (*serius*) rather than that anyone should say I had acted too cruelly (*crudelius*)."<sup>42</sup>

There are other devices, not indeed like solecisms, but involving a change of number, which are often reckoned also as Tropes: (1) speaking of a single thing in the plural:

But *we* have travelled over boundless spaces.<sup>43</sup>

(2) or of a number of things in the singular:

Like the fierce Roman with his father's weapons.<sup>44</sup>

Of a different species but the same genus are:

Let not *your* vineyards slope towards the West,<sup>45</sup>

<and>

May *I* not choose that moment to snatch sleep  
in the open, or lie on the wood's ridge in the grass!<sup>46</sup>

The poet is not giving advice (in the first passage) to some particular person, or (in the second) exclusively to himself, but to people in general.

We sometimes speak of ourselves in the third person—

<sup>44</sup> *Georgics* 3.346.

<sup>45</sup> *Georgics* 2.298.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 3.435.

- 22 negat Tullius,' et nostra persona utimur pro aliena, et alios pro aliis fingimus. Utriusque rei exemplum pro Caecina. Pisonem, adversae partis advocatum, adloquens Cicero dicit: 'restituiste te dixti: nego me ex edicto praetoris restitutum esse': verum enim est, illud 'restituiste' Aebutius dixit, 'nego me' Caecina [ex edicto praetoris restitutum esse].<sup>12</sup> et ipsum 'dixti', excussa syllaba, figura in verbo.
- 23 Illa quoque ex eodem genere possunt videri: unum quod interpositionem vel interclusionem dicimus, Graeci *παρένθεσις* sive *παρέμπτωσις* vocant, cum continuationi sermonis medius aliqui sensus intervenit: 'ego cum te (mecum enim saepissime loquitur) patriae reddidissem': cui adiciunt hyperbaton qui id inter tropos esse noluerunt:
- 24 alterum quod est ei figurae sententiarum quae *ἀποστροφή* dicitur simile, sed non sensum mutat verum formam eloquendi:

Decios Marios magnosque Camillos,  
Scipiadas duros bello, et te, maxime Caesar.

- 25 Acutius adhuc in Polydoro:

Fas omne abrumpit, Polydorum obruncat et auro  
vi potitur. Quid non mortalia pectora cogis  
auri sacra fames?

<sup>12</sup> *del. Winterbottom*

<sup>47</sup> Cicero, *Fr. orat.* B 19 Schoell (Crawford (1994) p. 297): Servius Sulpicius was one of the prosecutors of Murena; the passage may therefore have to do with that case.

<sup>48</sup> *Pro Caecina* 82. *Dixti* (with a syllable lost by haplogy: Lindsay (1894) 508; Sihler (1995) 584) is found in Plautus and Terence, and occasionally later.

“Servius says yes, Tullius says no”<sup>47</sup>—and also use the first person instead of another or substitute one person for another. There are examples of both in *Pro Caecina*, where Cicero, addressing the opposing advocate, Piso, says “You said you reinstated me; I deny that I was reinstated in accordance with the praetor’s edict.”<sup>48</sup> The truth is, Aebutius said: “I have reinstated you,” and Caecina said “I deny that I was reinstated.” “You said” (*dixti*), with its omitted syllable, is itself a verbal Figure.

The following may also be thought to belong to the same genus: (1) What we call *interpositio* or *interclusio*, and the Greeks *parenthesis* or *paremptosis*,<sup>49</sup> namely the insertion of a phrase in the middle of a continuous utterance: “when I restored you (for he very often talks with me) to your country.”<sup>50</sup> Hyperbaton is added here by those who do not reckon it as a Trope. (2) A device similar to the Figure of Thought called Apostrophe, but differing in that it changes the linguistic form and not the sense:

The Decii, Marii, and great Camilli,  
Scipios, stout warriors, and you, mighty Caesar.<sup>51</sup>

There is a more striking example in the Polydorus episode:

He breaks all law, and butchers Polydorus,  
seizing the gold by force. Cursed greed for gold,  
what can you not make mortal hearts commit?<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> So in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thucydides* 24 (1.528 Usher, LCL): more often *parembolē* (*VPH* 31, Caecilius fr. 76 Ofenloch), less often *parenthesis* (Rutilius Lupus 1.17). Lausberg § 860. <sup>50</sup> Cicero, *Pro Milone* 94.

<sup>51</sup> Vergil, *Georgics* 2.169–170.

<sup>52</sup> *Aeneid* 3.55–57.

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Hoc, qui tam parva momenta nominibus discreverunt, *μετάβασις* vocant, quam et aliter fieri putant:

quid loquar? aut ubi sum?

- 26 Coniunxit autem *παρένθεσις* et *ἀποστροφήν* Vergilius illo loco:

haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae distulerant (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!) raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus.

- 27 Haec schemata, aut his similia quae erunt per mutationem adiectionem detractioem ordinem, et convertunt in se auditorem nec languere patiuntur subinde aliqua notabili figura excitatum, et habent quandam ex illa vitii similitudine gratiam, ut in cibus interim acor ipse iucundus est. Quod continget si neque supra modum multae fuerint nec eiusdem generis aut iunctae aut frequentes, quia satietaem ut varietas earum, ita raritas effugit.

- 28 Illud est acrius genus quod non tantum in ratione positum est loquendi, sed ipsis sensibus cum<sup>13</sup> gratiam tum etiam vires accommodat.

Ex quibus primum sit quod fit adiectione. Plura sunt

<sup>13</sup> *edd.*: tum A

<sup>53</sup> Rutilius 2.1 uses this term both of Apostrophe and of the return to the main theme after a digression. Lausberg § 848.

<sup>54</sup> *Aeneid* 4.595.      <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 8.642–644.

<sup>56</sup> Lausberg (§§ 888–910) follows this traditional arrangement (compare 1.5.38), which is found (e.g.) in *VPH* 39 and in Phoebammon (3.45.15ff. Spengel). Thus for Phoebammon, “defect” (endeia) produces Asyndeton, apo koinou (see Lausberg

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Scholars who have tried to mark small differences by different names, call this *metabasis*,<sup>53</sup> and think there is a different form of it in

“What shall I say? Where am I?”<sup>54</sup>

Vergil combined Parenthesis and Apostrophe in:

Near by, the chariots, driven apart, had pulled  
Mettus to pieces (*you* should have kept your word,  
Alban!)—and Tullus tugged at the liar’s guts.<sup>55</sup>

These and similar Figures, produced by Change, Addition, Subtraction, and Order,<sup>56</sup> both attract the attention of the hearer, not allowing him to relax but repeatedly rousing him by some Figure, and also acquire some charm from their resemblance to faults, just as bitterness in food is sometimes agreeable in itself. This will happen only if the Figures are not excessive in number, nor all of the same kind, continuous, or frequent; economy, like variety, is a way of escaping surfeit.

#### *Rhetorical Figures of Speech: those based on Addition*

More potent is the type of Figure which does not wholly depend on the linguistic form, but gives both charm and also force to the thought itself.

(I) Of these, let us take first the type based on Addi-

§ 698), and Ellipse; “excess” (pleonasm) gives eleven different Figures; metathesis (i.e. Q.’s *ordo*) four more, including Hyperbaton; and enallage (Q.’s *mutatio*) another eight, including Apostrophe and changes of number, case, and tense.



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genera. Nam et verba geminantur, vel amplificandi gratia, ut 'occidi, occidi non Spurium Maelium' (alterum est enim quod indicat, alterum quod adfirmat), vel miserandi, ut

a Corydon, Corydon.

- 29 Quae eadem figura nonnumquam per ironiam ad elevandum convertitur. Similis geminationis post aliquam interiectionem repetitio est, sed paulo etiam vehementior: 'bona <Cn. Pompei—miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis infixus tamen pectori haeret dolor—bona, ><sup>14</sup> inquam, Cn. Pompei acerbissimae voci subiecta praeconis'; 'vivas, et vivis non ad deponendam sed ad confirmandam audaciam.' Et ab isdem verbis plura acriter et instanter incipiunt: 'nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt?' et in isdem desinunt: 'Quis eos postulavit? Appius. Quis produxit? Appius.'
- 30
- 31 Quamquam hoc exemplum ad aliud quoque schema pertinet, cuius et initia inter se et rursus inter se fines idem sunt ('quis' et 'quis', 'Appius' et 'Appius')—quale est: 'Qui sunt

<sup>14</sup> *suppl. Winterbottom after Emlein (cf. 9.2.26)*

<sup>57</sup> Lausberg §§ 607–622; but there is much confusion in the names given to these Figures.

<sup>58</sup> Cicero, *Pro Milone* 72. This is anadiplosis or palilogia (VPH 32); also *conduplicatio* (*Ad Herennium* 4.38).

<sup>59</sup> Vergil, *Eclogues* 2.69.

<sup>60</sup> Cicero, *Philippics* 2.64. A vital part of Q.'s quotation has fallen out, and must therefore be supplied.

<sup>61</sup> Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.4 (not an apt example).

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tion.<sup>57</sup> There are many kinds of this: (1) words are doubled, either for Amplification (as in "I have killed, I have killed, not Spurius Maelius,"<sup>58</sup> where the first "I have killed" states the fact and the second emphasises it), or for pathos ("Ah! Corydon, Corydon!"),<sup>59</sup> while the same Figure can sometimes be used, with Irony, to express disparagement. (2) Related to this doubling but somewhat stronger is repetition following a parenthesis; "The property <of Gnaeus Pompeius—alas, alas, my tears have been exhausted, but the grief of it lies deep in my heart—the property, > I say, of Gnaeus Pompeius, was put up for sale by the strident bawling of the public auctioneer!"<sup>60</sup> or again, "You are still alive, and alive not to shed your audacity but to confirm it."<sup>61</sup> (3) A series of clauses may either begin with the same words, with great effect and urgency: "Were you unmoved by the nightly guard on the Palatine, unmoved by the watch kept in the city, unmoved by the panic of the people, unmoved by the unanimity of all loyal citizens, unmoved by our holding the Senate in this well-protected place, unmoved by the looks and faces of those present?"<sup>62</sup> or (4) end with the same words: "Who asked for them? Appius. Who produced them? Appius."<sup>63</sup> This example, however, is relevant to (5) another Figure also,<sup>64</sup> in which both the beginnings and the endings are the same ("who . . . who; Appius . . . Appius"). Compare: "Who are the people who

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 1.1. These examples illustrate Anaphora or Epanaphora, an important ornament in all rhetoric: Lausberg §§ 629–630, Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3. 1414a, *Ad Herennium* 4.19, *VPH* 33, 36, "Longinus" 20. <sup>63</sup> *Pro Milone* 59.

<sup>64</sup> Epiphora. Lausberg §§ 631–632; *Ad Herennium* 4.19, *Rutilius* 1.8.

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- qui foedera saepe ruperunt? Carthaginienses. Qui sunt qui crudelissime bellum gesserunt? Carthaginienses. Qui sunt qui Italiam deformarunt? Carthaginienses. Qui sunt qui sibi ignosci postulant? Carthaginienses.' Etiam in contrapositionis vel comparativis solet respondere primorum verborum alterna repetitio, quod modo huius esse loci potius dixi: 'vigilas tu de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas, ille ut eo quo intendit mature cum exercitu perveniat: te gallorum, illum bucinarum cantus exsuscitatur: tu actionem instituis, ille aciem instruit: tu caves ne consultores tui, ille ne urbes aut castra capiantur.' Sed hac gratia non fuit contentus orator; vertit in contrarium eandem figuram: 'ille tenet et scit ut hostium copiae, tu ut aquae pluviae arceantur: ille exercitatus in propagandis finibus, tu in regendis.' Possunt media quoque respondere vel primis, ut

te nemus Angitia, vitrea te Fucinus unda,

- vel ultimis, ut: 'haec navis onusta praeda Siciliensi, cum et ipsa esset ex praeda.' Nec quisquam dubitabit idem fieri posse iteratis utrimque mediis. Respondent primis et ultima: 'multi et graves dolores inventi parentibus et propinquis, multi.' Est et illud repetendi genus quod semel proposita iterat et dividit:

<sup>65</sup> This example is given as *complexio* (= *symplokē*, Lausberg § 633) in *Ad Herennium* 4.20. Source not known: presumably a speech—real or imaginary—on the elder Cato's theme of *delenda est Carthago*.

<sup>66</sup> 9.2.100.

<sup>67</sup> Cicero, *Pro Murena* 22.

<sup>68</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.759.

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have often broken treaties? The Carthaginians. Who are the people who have waged war with the utmost cruelty? The Carthaginians. Who are the people who have ruined the face of Italy? The Carthaginians. Who are the people who demand to be forgiven? The Carthaginians."<sup>65</sup> (6) Again, in Antitheses and Comparisons there is commonly an alternating pattern of repetition of first words, which, as I said,<sup>66</sup> really belongs under the present head: "*You* stay awake all night to find answers for your clients, *he* to get himself and his army to their destination in time; *you* are roused by cockcrow, *he* by the bugle; *you* are setting up proceedings, *he* is drawing up an army; *you* are taking care that your clients should not be caught out, *he* that cities and camps should not be captured."<sup>67</sup> But Cicero was not content with this elegance; he proceeded to turn the Figure round: "*He* understands and knows how to keep off the enemy, *you* know how to keep off the rainwater; *he* is trained to extend boundaries, *you* are trained to fix them." (7) Again, the middle can respond to either (a) the beginning:

*Thee* Angitia's grove, Fucinus, *thee*, with glassy wave<sup>68</sup>

or (b) the end: "The ship, laden with *spoils* of Sicily, though it was itself part of those *spoils*."<sup>69</sup> (c) It will be obvious that the repetition of the middle of both clauses can have the same effect. (8) The end may also echo the beginning: "*Many* dire afflictions were devised for parents and for kinsfolk, *many*."<sup>70</sup> (9) Another type of repetition consists in reiterating things which have been said once and separating them:

<sup>69</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 5.44.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 119.

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Iphitus <et Pelias mecum, quorum Iphitus><sup>15</sup> aevo  
iam gravior, Pelias et vulnere tardus Ulixei.

Ἐπάνοδος dicitur Graece, nostri regressionem vocant.

- 36 Nec solum in eodem sensu sed etiam in diverso eadem  
verba contra sumuntur: 'principum dignitas erat paene  
par, non par fortasse eorum qui sequebantur.' Interim  
variatur casibus haec et generibus retractatio: 'magnus est  
dicendi labor, magna res.' Est et apud Rutilium longa  
περίοδος, sed<sup>16</sup> haec initia sententiarum sunt: 'Pater hic  
37 tuus? Patrem nunc appellas? Patris tui filius es?' Constat  
et<sup>17</sup> casibus modo hoc schema (quod πολύπτωτον vocant),  
[constat]<sup>18</sup> et aliis etiam modis, ut pro Cluentio: 'Quod  
autem tempus veneni dandi illo die, illa frequentia? Per  
quem porro datum? Unde sumptum? Quae porro inter-  
38 ceptio poculi? Cur non de integro autem datum?' Hanc re-  
rum coniunctam diversitatem Caecilius μεταβολήν vocat,  
qualis est pro Cluentio locus in Oppianicum: 'illum tabulas

<sup>15</sup> *add. rec.*, from Vergil      <sup>16</sup> περίοδος sed Radermacher,  
after Regius and Spalding: περιόδοις et A

<sup>17</sup> Constat et D.A.R.: fit A      <sup>18</sup> *del.* D.A.R.

<sup>71</sup> *Aeneid* 2.435-436.      <sup>72</sup> Lausberg § 798. The Latin term  
is in Julius Rufinianus 53 Halm *RLM*. For the Greek, see espe-  
cially *VPH* 34, Caecilius fr. 73 Ofenloch.

<sup>73</sup> Cicero, *Pro Ligario* 19.      <sup>74</sup> *Pro Murena* 29.

<sup>75</sup> 1.10 (as an instance of polyptoton; see Lausberg § 642). The  
example is a translation of the late fourth-century Greek orator  
Charisius (see 10.1.70): *PATER hic tuus nunc denique est, ut  
egestatem tuam debere alere videatur? PATREM nunc appellas,  
quem prius egentem auxilio tuo ut alienum deseruisti? PATRIS tui  
filius es ad potiundas opes, cuius ad senectutem violandam*

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Iphitus <and Pelias with me, Iphitus> burdened with age,  
Pelias slowed down by the wound Ulysses gave him.<sup>71</sup>

In Greek this is called *epanodos*, in Latin *regressio*.<sup>72</sup>

(10) Words may be opposed in this way not only when the sense is the same but when it is different: "The standing of the leaders was nearly equal; not equal, perhaps, that of their followers."<sup>73</sup> (11) Sometimes the repetition involves change of case or gender: "Great (*magnus*) is the labour of speaking, great (*magna*) the task . . ." <sup>74</sup> There is a long period in Rutilius<sup>75</sup>—I quote only the beginnings of the sentences: "*Pater hic tuus? Patrem nunc appellas? Patris tui filius es?*" This Figure is formed both with cases alone (it is then called *polyptoton*) and (12) in other ways also, as in *Pro Cluentio*:<sup>76</sup> "What time was there for giving the poison on that day, with all these people around? Where was it obtained? How was the cup intercepted? Why was it not given a second time?" (13) This combination of different details Caecilius calls *metabole*;<sup>77</sup> it is illustrated by the attack on Oppianicus in *Pro Cluentio*:

*crudelissimus hostis fuisti?* ("Your father is he, at last, so as to be thought obliged to supply your needs? Father you call him now, do you, the man whom you abandoned as a stranger when he needed your help in the past? Your father's son, are you, for the purpose of acquiring his wealth, when you were the cruellest enemy to ruin his old age?") To call this a single "period" is to use the term more widely than usual; but note § 43 below. <sup>76</sup> 167.

<sup>77</sup> Fr. 69 Ofenloch, Lausberg § 645. The following example (*Pro Cluentio* 41) hardly seems parallel, but neither does Demosthenes, *De corona* 311, the example used, e.g., by Tiberius (3.35 Spengel) and presumably by Caecilius himself.

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publicas Larini censorias corrupisse decuriones universi iudicaverunt, cum illo nemo rationem, nemo rem ullam contrahebat, nemo illum ex tam multis cognatis et adfinibus tutorem umquam liberis suis scripsit', et deinceps adhuc multa.

- 39 Ut haec in unum congeruntur, ita contra illa dispersa sunt, quae a Cicerone 'dissupata' dici puto:

hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae,  
arborei fetus alibi,

et deinceps.

- 40 Illa vero apud Ciceronem mira figurarum mixtura deprehenditur, in qua et primo verbo longum post intervallum redditum est ultimum, et media primis et mediis ultima congruunt: 'vestrum iam hic factum deprehenditur, patres conscripti, non meum, ac pulcherrimum quidem  
41 factum, verum, ut dixi, non meum, sed vestrum.' Hanc frequentiore repetitionem *πλοκῆν* vocant, quae fit et permixtis figuris, ut supra dixi, utque se habet epistula ad Brutum: 'ego cum in gratiam redierim cum Appio Claudio, et redierim per Cn. Pompeium, ego ergo cum  
42 redierim', et in isdem sententiis crebrioribus mutata declinationibus iteratione verborum, ut apud Persium:

usque adeone  
scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?

---

<sup>78</sup> *De oratore* 3.207 (above, 9.1.35).

<sup>79</sup> Vergil, *Georgics* 1.54–55. But Q. intends us to think also of 56–59.

<sup>80</sup> *Fr. orat.* XII. 5 Schoell (*Contra contionem Q. Metelli*, 62 BC), Crawford (1994) p. 223.

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“Him the decurions unanimously believed to have falsified the public records of the censors at Larinum; with him no one made contracts; him not one of his many relatives and kinsmen even named as guardian of his children,” and much more in the same vein.

(14) While in this case the details are concentrated on a single situation, they may also be divided among many (I think this is what Cicero<sup>78</sup> means by “dissipated”):

Here corn, there richer comes the vine,  
elsewhere the fruits of trees,<sup>79</sup>

and so on.

(15) A remarkable mixture of Figures can be found in Cicero, where the last word answers to the first after a long interval, while the middle answers to the beginning and the end to the middle: “*Yours* is the *work* which we find here, conscript fathers, *not mine*, a very fine *work* too, but, as I said, *not mine* but *yours*.”<sup>80</sup> This more frequent repetition is called *plokē* in Greek;<sup>81</sup> it is produced both (a), as I said above, by a mixture of Figures (compare the letter to Brutus,<sup>82</sup> “When I was reconciled with Appius Claudius, and reconciled with the help of Gnaeus Pompeius, anyway when I was reconciled . . .”) and also (b) within the same sentence, by means of repetition of words with frequent changes of inflection, as in Persius:

Is your knowing nothing, if nobody knows you  
know?<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Lausberg § 801.

<sup>82</sup> *Fr. epist.* VII. 11 Watt.

<sup>83</sup> 1.26–27.



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et apud Ciceronem: 'neque enim poterat <non damnari><sup>19</sup> indicio et his damnatis qui indicarant.'<sup>20</sup>

- 43 Sed sensus quoque toti quem ad modum coeperant desinunt: 'Venit ex Asia. Hoc ipsum quam novum! Tribunus plebis venit ex Asia.' In eadem tamen perihodo et verbum ultimum primo refertur, tertium iam †sermone†;<sup>21</sup> adiectum<sup>22</sup> est enim: 'verumtamen venit.'

Interim sententia quidem repetitur, <sed non eodem><sup>23</sup> verborum ordine: 'Quid Cleomenes facere potuit? Non enim possum quemquam insimulare falso. Quid, inquam, facere Cleomenes potuit?'

- 44 Prioris etiam sententiae verbum ultimum ac sequentis primum frequenter est idem, quo quidem schemate utuntur poetae saepius:

Pierides, vos haec facietis maxima Gallo,  
Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas,

sed ne oratores quidem raro: 'hic tamen vivit: vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit.'

- 45 Aliquando, sicut in geminatione verborum diximus,

<sup>19</sup> *add. Schoell*      <sup>20</sup> *Winterbottom: indicabantur A*

<sup>21</sup> *sequitur D.C. Innes ('follows')*

<sup>22</sup> *edd.: abiectum A*      <sup>23</sup> *suppl. Meister*

<sup>84</sup> *Fr. orat. B 4 Schoell, Crawford (1994) p. 297. Text and interpretation uncertain.*

<sup>85</sup> *Fr. orat. XII.6 Schoell, Crawford (1994) p. 221. Lausberg § 626. Q.'s comment is obscure: *sermone*, if he wrote this, means "in a separate sentence" and is in contrast with "period." As in § 36, Q. seems prepared to treat a series of sentences as forming a single period. But *sermone* is very probably corrupt, and may conceal,*

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or in Cicero's "He could not <fail to be condemned> on information when these people, who had given information, were condemned."<sup>84</sup>

(16) However, whole phrases may form both beginning and ending: "He has come from Asia. How strange! A tribune of the plebs has come from Asia."<sup>85</sup> Moreover, in the same period the last word echoes the first, and it makes its third appearance . . . , for "But all the same he *has* come" has been added.

(17) A sentence is sometimes repeated but with <a different> order of words: "What could Cleomenes have done? I cannot accuse anyone falsely. Cleomenes—what, I say, could he have done?"<sup>86</sup>

(18) Again, the last *word* of one phrase is often the same as the first *word* of the next, a Figure which poets frequently use—

Pierides, you shall do these great things for Gallus,  
for Gallus, for whom my love grows hour by hour<sup>87</sup>—

and even the orators not rarely: "But he still lives. Lives? He even comes into the Senate."<sup>88</sup>

(19) Sometimes (as we said<sup>89</sup> in regard to doubling of

e.g., *summum* ("the third repetition marks the climax because . . . is added") or (as D. C. Innes suggests) *sequitur* ("follows"). The conjecture *adiectum* is generally accepted: *abiectum* would mean "low" or "thrown away."<sup>86</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 5.107. Q.'s quotation is not exact: he omits *magno opere* before the second *potuit*: "what could he possibly have done?"

<sup>87</sup> Vergil, *Ecloques* 10.72–73.

<sup>88</sup> Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.2.

<sup>89</sup> 9.3.30.

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initia quoque et clausulae sententiarum aliis sed non alio tendentibus verbis inter se consonant. Initia hoc modo: 'dediderim periculis omnibus, optulerim insidiis, obiecerim invidiae.' Rursus clausulae ibidem statim: 'vos enim statuistis, vos sententiam dixistis, vos iudicastis.' Hoc alii *συνωνυμίαν*, alii diiunctionem vocant, utrumque, etiam si est diversum, recte: nam est nominum idem significantium separatio.

46 Congregantur quoque verba idem significantia: 'quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo coepisti, egredere aliquando ex urbe: patent portae, proficiscere.' Et in eundem alio libro: 'abiit, excessit; erupit, evasit.' Hoc Caecilio pleonasmos videtur, id est abundans super necessitatem oratio, sicut illa:

vidi oculos ante ipse meos:

47 in illo enim 'vidi' inest 'ipse'. Verum id, ut alio quoque loco dixi, cum supervacua oneratur adiectione, vitium est, cum auget aut manifestat sententiam, sicut hic, virtus: 'vidi', 'ipse', 'ante oculos' totidem sunt adfectus. Cur tamen haec proprie nomine tali notarit non video: nam et geminatio et repetitio et qualiscumque adiectio *πλεονασμός* videri potest.

Nec verba modo sed sensus quoque idem facientes acervantur: 'perturbatio istum mentis et quaedam scelerum offusa caligo et ardentes furiarum faces excitaverunt.'

<sup>90</sup> Cicero, *Fr. orat.* XII. 7 Schoell (Crawford (1994) p. 223), clearly the closing sentence of *Contra contionem Q. Metelli*, from which Q. quotes also below (see notes 102, 104).

<sup>91</sup> See Läusberg §§ 630, 739; Caecilius fr. 65 Ofenloch.

<sup>92</sup> *In Catilinam* 1.10.

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words) the beginnings and ends of sentences show a uniformity of sound in words which are different but make the same point. (a) Beginnings: "I might have surrendered to all sorts of dangers, I might have encountered treacherous attacks, I might have incurred odium." (b) Endings (in the same immediate context): "You decided, you voted, you judged."<sup>90</sup> Some call this "Synonymy," others "Disjunction";<sup>91</sup> different as these terms are, both are right, for it is a separation of words meaning the same.

(20) Words with the same meaning are also found massed together: "Since this is so, Catiline, proceed where you have begun to go; leave the city at last; the gates are open; go!"<sup>92</sup> Or, in another speech against Catiline: "He went off, he departed; he broke out, he got away."<sup>93</sup> Caecilius<sup>94</sup> sees this as Pleonasm, that is to say, language fuller than is necessary, like "I saw it myself before my own eyes,"<sup>95</sup> where "myself" is implicit in "I saw." But, as I said elsewhere,<sup>96</sup> when a phrase is overweighted by a superfluous addition, this is a fault, but when it amplifies or makes the sense clear, as here, it is a virtue. "I saw," "myself," and "before my eyes" make three distinct emotive points. But I do not see why he denoted it specifically by this name, because Reduplication, Repetition, and any kind of Addition may all be thought of as Pleonasm.

(21) Not only words, but phrases of the same purport are also grouped together: "The confusion of his mind, a blindness arising from his crimes, the blazing torches of the Furies, all drove him on."<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. 2.1.      <sup>94</sup> Fr. 64 Ofenloch.

<sup>95</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* 12.638.      <sup>96</sup> 8.3.55.

<sup>97</sup> Cicero, *In Pisonem* fr. 4 Nisbet.

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- 48 Congeruntur et diversa: 'mulier, tyranni saeva crudelitas, patris amor, ira praeceps, temeritatis dementia,' et apud Ovidium:

sed grave Nereidum numen, sed corniger Ammon,  
sed quae visceribus veniebat belua ponti  
exsaturanda meis

- 49 (inveni qui et hoc *πλοκήν* vocaret: cui non adsentior, cum sit unius figurae); mixta quoque et idem et diversum significantia, quod et ipsum diallagen vocant: 'quaero ab inimicis, sintne haec investigata comperta [id est]<sup>24</sup> patefacta sublata [delata]<sup>25</sup> extincta per me.' [Et 'investigata comperta id est patefacta' aliud ostendunt, 'sublata delata extincta' sunt inter se similia, sed non etiam prioribus.]<sup>26</sup>

- 50 Et hoc autem exemplum et superius aliam quoque efficiunt figuram, quae quia coniunctionibus caret dissolutum<sup>27</sup> vocatur, apta cum quid instantius dicimus: nam et singula inculcantur et quasi plura fiunt. Ideoque utimur hac figura non in singulis modo verbis, sed sententiis etiam, ut Cicero dicit contra contionem Metelli: 'qui indi-

<sup>24</sup> *om. edd.*      <sup>25</sup> *del. Halm: deleta edd.*      <sup>26</sup> *del. D.A.R.*

<sup>27</sup> *D.A.R.: dissolutio A*

<sup>98</sup> Source unknown; it sounds like a declamation.

<sup>99</sup> *Metamorphoses* 5.17–19.      <sup>100</sup> See § 41.      <sup>101</sup> For

another sense of the word, as a Figure of Thought, see 9.2.103.

<sup>102</sup> Cicero, *Fr. orat.* XII. 8 Schoell (Crawford (1994) p. 222).

Text unsure: I think it probable that the bracketed sentence is an interpolation.

<sup>103</sup> I.e. Asyndeton. Lausberg §§ 709–711. Note especially Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3. 1413b9, *Ad Herennium* 4.41, Caecilius frs. 70–70a Ofenloch, "Longinus" 20, *VPH* 40.

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One can also mass together *either* (22) phrases of quite different meanings—"The woman, the tyrant's savage cruelty, love for his father, desperate anger, a frenzy of daring . . .";<sup>98</sup> or again in Ovid:

But the dread Nereids' power,  
horned Ammon and the monster of the sea  
that came to sate itself upon my body . . ."<sup>99</sup>

(I know of a scholar who calls this *plokē*,<sup>100</sup> but I do not agree, as it is only a single Figure), or (23) a mixture of phrases of identical and different meanings (this too is called *diallage*):<sup>101</sup> "I ask my enemies: were these plots investigated, known, [that is to say] disclosed, removed, [destroyed,] extinguished by my work?"<sup>102</sup> [In this sentence, "investigated," "known," that is to say "disclosed," have different meanings, whereas "removed," "destroyed," and "extinguished" are like one another, but not like the previous group.]

(24) However, this example and the preceding one involve another Figure also, which, since it dispenses with conjunctions, is called "Dissolution";<sup>103</sup> it is in place when we are particularly insistent on something because our points are thus driven home one at a time and also, as it were, made more numerous. We therefore use this Figure not only with individual words, but with phrases, as Cicero does in his attack on Metellus' address to the people:<sup>104</sup>

<sup>104</sup> *Fr. orat.* XII. 9 Schoell (Crawford (1994) p. 222). Becher's deletion of *si* allows the Asyndeton to continue, but the corruption may well be more extensive, and the sense of the last clause remains obscure: perhaps simply "I made the senate a party to the affair," see *OLD s.v. interpono* 8.

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cabantur, eos vocari, custodiri, ad senatum adduci iussi: senatum [si]<sup>28</sup> interposui', et totus hic locus talis est. Hoc genus et βραχυλογίαν vocant, quae potest esse copulata.

Dissoluto<sup>29</sup> contrarium [ut]<sup>30</sup> est schema quod conjunctionibus abundat: illud ασύνδετον, hoc πολυσύνδε-  
51 τον dicitur. Sed hoc est vel isdem saepius repetitis, ut

tectumque laremque  
armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque  
pharetram,

52 vel diversis: 'arma virumque . . . multum ille et terris . . .  
53 multa quoque.' Adverbia quoque et pronomina variantur: 'hic illum vidi iuvenem . . . bis senos cui nostra dies . . . hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti.' Sed utrumque horum acervatio est aut<sup>31</sup> iuncta aut dissoluta.

54 Omnibus scriptores sua nomina dederunt, sed varia et ut cuique fingenti placuit: fons quidem unus, qui acriora facit et instantiora quae dicimus et vim quandam prae se ferentia velut saepius erumpentis adfectus.

Gradatio, quae dicitur κλίμαξ, apertioem habet artem

<sup>28</sup> del. Becher

<sup>29</sup> Punctuation due to Gertz: others punctuate after dissoluto

<sup>30</sup> om. edd. <sup>31</sup> est aut Halm: et tantum A

<sup>105</sup> Lausberg § 881. <sup>106</sup> Lausberg §§ 686–687; note especially Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3. 1413b17; Demetrius 194, 269; "Longinus" 21. <sup>107</sup> Vergil, *Georgics* 3.344–345.

<sup>108</sup> *Aeneid* 1.1–5: see 11.3.37 for Q.'s reading of this passage.

<sup>109</sup> From *Eclogues* 1.42–44: "Here; Meliboeus, I beheld that young man for whom our altars smoke twelve days every year; here he gave me an answer first to my petition."

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"Those who were informed against, I ordered to be sent for, put under guard, brought before the senate; I summoned a special meeting of the senate (?)." The whole passage is like this. They also call this Brachylogy,<sup>105</sup> but a Brachylogy can include Conjunctions.

(25) The opposite of Asyndeton is the Figure which has a surplus of Conjunctions; it is called Polysyndeton,<sup>106</sup> as the other is Asyndeton. It may (a) repeat the same conjunctions—

house *and* home  
*and* arms *and* Spartan hound *and* Cretan quiver<sup>107</sup>—

or (b) vary them: *arma virumQUE*, then *multum ille ET terris* and then *multa QUOQUE*.<sup>108</sup> (26) Adverbs and pronouns may also be varied: *hic ILLUM vidi iuvenem*, then *bis senos CUI NOSTRA dies*, then *hic MIHI responsum primus dedit ILLEpetenti*.<sup>109</sup> Both these are accumulations, either with or without conjunctions.

Writers have given special names to all these devices, but variously and according to the whim of the inventor. They all spring from a single source, which makes our words more vigorous, more insistent, and able to display a force that seems to come from repeated outbursts of emotion.

### *Climax*

Gradation, called in Greek Climax,<sup>110</sup> has a more obvi-

<sup>110</sup> Lausberg § 623: note "Longinus" 23.1, Demetrius 270 (with Q.'s example from Demosthenes), *Ad Herennium* 4.34.



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- 55 et magis adfectatam, ideoque esse rarior debet. Est autem ipsa quoque adiectionis: repetit enim quae dicta sunt, et priusquam ad aliud descendat in prioribus resistit. Cuius exemplum ex Graeco notissimo transferatur: 'non enim dixi quidem haec, sed non scripsi, nec scripsi quidem, sed non obii legationem, nec obii quidem legationem, sed non
- 56 persuasi Thebanis.' Sunt tamen tradita et Latina: 'Africano virtutem industria, virtus gloriam, gloria aemulos comparavit.' Et Calvi: 'non ergo magis pecuniarum repetundarum quam maiestatis, neque maiestatis magis quam Plautiae legis, neque Plautiae legis magis quam ambitus, neque ambitus magis quam omnium legum <iudicia perierunt>'.<sup>32</sup> Invenitur apud poetas quoque, ut apud Homerum de sceptro, quod a Iove ad Agamemnonem usque deducit, et apud nostrum etiam tragicum:

Iove propagatus est, ut perhibent, Tantalus,  
ex Tantalos ortus Pelops, ex Pelope autem satus  
Atreus, qui nostrum porro propagat genus.

<sup>32</sup> *add. recc., cf. Aquila Romanus 40 Halm: est A*

111 Demosthenes, *On the crown* 179.

112 From *Ad Herennium* 4.34.

113 *ORF* p. 497 (speech against Vatinius): also quoted by Aquila Romanus (35 Halm *RLM*), who supplies the last two words of the sentence. The *Lex Plautia* (89 BC) provided for some changes in the selection of juries—each tribewas to elect 15, and these might be of any order—which were to the disadvantage of the *equites*: Asconius, *In Cornelianam* 79 Clark.

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ous and conscious art about it, and accordingly should be used less often. It too is a Figure of Addition, since it repeats what has been already said, and pauses on each earlier step before it proceeds to the next. Let me translate an example from a very famous Greek original: "I did not say this, and then not make a proposal; I did not make a proposal, and then not undertake the embassy; I did not undertake the embassy, and then not persuade the Thebans."<sup>111</sup> There are traditional Latin instances as well: "Africanus' energy gave him his excellence, his excellence gave him his glory, his glory gave him his rivals."<sup>112</sup> So Calvus: "So this no more <means the end> of extortion <trials> than it does of treason trials, nor of treason trials than of trials under the Lex Plautia, nor of trials under the Lex Plautia than of trials for electoral bribery, nor of trials for electoral bribery than of trials under any of our laws."<sup>113</sup> It is to be found in the poets too, as in Homer's passage about the sceptre, which he traces from Jupiter down to Agamemnon,<sup>114</sup> and in our own tragic poet:

From Jove, or so they say, came Tantalus,  
from Tantalus sprang Pelops, and from Pelops  
Atreus, who fathered all our family.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>114</sup> *Iliad* 2.101–108, often used to illustrate climax: Caecilius fr. 62–62a Ofenloch. Q. quotes only the beginning of the relevant passage.

<sup>115</sup> *Fr. trag. incert.* 54 Klotz = 47–49 Warmington (*ROL* 2.608). This is the opening of a play on Iphigenia, taken from Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1–4.

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- 58 At quae per detractionem fiunt figurae, brevitatis novitatisque maxime gratiam petunt: quarum una est ea quam libro proximo in figuras ex *συνεκδοχή* distuli, cum subtractum verbum aliquod satis ex ceteris intellegitur, ut Caelius in Antonium: 'stupere gaudio Graecus': simul enim auditur 'coepit'; Cicero ad Brutum: 'Sermo nullus scilicet nisi de te: quid enim potius? Tum Flavius, Cras, inquit, tabellarii, et ego ibidem has inter cenam exaravi.'
- 59 Cui similia sunt illa meo quidem iudicio, in quibus verba decenter pudoris gratia subtrahuntur:

novimus et qui te, transversa tuentibus hircis,  
et quo, sed faciles Nymphae risere, sacello.

- 60 Hanc quidam aposiopesin putant, frustra: nam illa quid taceat incertum est aut certe longiore sermone explicandum, hic unum verbum et manifestum quidem desideratum: quod si aposiopesis est, nihil non in quo deest aliquid
- 61 idem appellabitur. Ego ne illud quidem aposiopesin semper voco, in quo res quaecumque relinquitur intellegenda, ut ea quae in epistulis Cicero: 'data Lupercalibus, quo die Antonius Caesari.' Non enim optucuit: lusit, quia nihil
- 62 aliud intellegi poterat quam hoc: 'diadema imposuit.' Altera est per detractionem figura, de qua modo dictum est,

<sup>116</sup> 8.6.21.

<sup>117</sup> *ORF* p. 483. See on 8.6.21.

<sup>118</sup> *Fr. epist.* VII. 12 Watt.

<sup>119</sup> Vergil, *Eclogues* 3.8-9.

<sup>120</sup> See 9.2.54-57.

<sup>121</sup> *Fr. epist.* XVII. 1 Watt. The date is 15 February 44 BC. Compare Cicero, *Philippics* 2.84-87.

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### *Rhetorical Figures based on Subtraction*

(II) As regards Figures generated by Subtraction, they aim principally at the charm of brevity and novelty. (1) One of these is the Figure I postponed in the last book<sup>116</sup> when I spoke of Synecdoche. It is found when some omitted word is understood well enough from the others: thus in Caelius' phrase in his attack on Gaius Antonius, *stupere gaudio Graecus*, we understand *coepit*—"The Greek began to be amazed with joy."<sup>117</sup> So Cicero to Brutus:<sup>118</sup> "No talk except of you: what better? Then Flavius: 'Post tomorrow,' and I wrote this then and there during dinner." Similar in my view are passages in which words are decently omitted for modesty's sake:

You—while the goats looked sideways—we know  
who,  
and in what chapel (but the kind Nymphs  
laughed).<sup>119</sup>

Some think this is an Aposiopesis,<sup>120</sup> but this is wrong. For in Aposiopesis what is left unsaid is either uncertain or at least needs to be explained at some length, whereas here only one word, and that an obvious one, is missing. If this is an Aposiopesis, then any expression in which something is left out will have to be so called. Neither do I personally call it Aposiopesis in all cases in which something is left to be understood; for example, the thing left to be understood in Cicero's letter: "Written on the Lupercalia, the day when *Antonius Caesari*,"<sup>121</sup> where Cicero has not suppressed anything, but made a joke, because the only words that could be understood are "put the diadem on his head."

(2) Another Figure of Subtraction, of which I spoke just

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- cui coniunctiones eximuntur. Tertia, quae dicitur ἐπεξεργασμένον, in qua unum ad verbum plures sententiae referuntur, quarum unaquaeque desideraret illud si sola poneretur. Id accidit aut praeposito verbo ad quod reliqua respiciant: 'vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia', aut inlato quo plura cluduntur: 'neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut  
 63 metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocaverit.' Medium quoque potest esse quod et prioribus et sequentibus sufficiat: iungit autem et diversos sexus, ut cum marem feminamque 'filios' dicimus, et singularia pluralibus mis-  
 64 cet. Sed haec adeo sunt vulgaria ut sibi artem figurarum adserere non possint. Illud plane figura est, quo diversa sermonis forma coniungitur:

sociis tunc arma capessant  
 edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum.

Quamvis enim pars posterior participio insistat, utrique convenit illud 'edico'.

<Est et><sup>33</sup> non utique detractionis gratia facta coniunc-

<sup>33</sup> *add. Winterbottom*

<sup>122</sup> 9.3.50.

<sup>123</sup> Lausberg § 697; *Ad Herennium* 4.37-38.

<sup>124</sup> Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 15: "Lust prevailed over shame, rashness over fear, madness over reason."

<sup>125</sup> *In Catilinam* 1.22: "You are not the man, Catiline, whom shame can recall from baseness, fear from danger, or reason from madness."

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now,<sup>122</sup> is the removal of conjunctions. (3) A third, called *epezeugmenon*,<sup>123</sup> is that in which several clauses, each of which would require a verb if it was by itself, are governed by the same verb. The verb may be (a) at the beginning, for all the other clauses to look back to it: *Vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia*,<sup>124</sup> or (b) at the end, the clauses being brought to a conclusion by it: *Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocaverit*.<sup>125</sup> It may even be (c) in the middle, so as to serve both what precedes and what follows. This figure may join different sexes (as when we call both male and female children *fili*)<sup>126</sup> or combine singular with plurals. But these devices are so ordinary that they can scarcely lay claim to the art of the Figure. What plainly is a Figure is the case when two constructions are combined:

I order my companions, they should take up arms,  
and war to be waged against a savage race.<sup>127</sup>

Although the second part ends with a participle, the verb *edico* ("I order") fits both parts of the sentence.

<There is> also a type of Connection not necessarily intended to produce a Subtraction (the Greeks call it

<sup>126</sup> I.e. the masculine plural *fili* covers both sexes: as, e.g., in Calpurnius Flaccus, *Declamations* 12, where it is used of a son and a daughter. *OLD* s.v. 2.

<sup>127</sup> *Aeneid* 2.234–235. Here *edico* is constructed (1) with a subjunctive, without *ut*, as an indirect command, (2) with a gerundive (Q.'s term is *participium*, compare 1.4.19, 9.3.9), understanding *esse*, as an indirect statement.

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tio (συνοικείωσιν vocant), quae duas res diversas colligat:  
 tam deest avaro quod habet quam quod non habet.

65        Huic diversam volunt esse distinctionem, cui dant nomen παραδιαστολήν, qua similia discernuntur: 'cum te pro astuto sapientem appelles, pro confidente fortem, pro inliberali diligentem.' Quod totum pendet ex finitione, ideoque an figura sit dubito. Cui contraria est ea qua fit ex vicino<sup>34</sup> transitus ad diversa ut similia: 'brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio' et quae secuntur.

66        Tertium est genus figurarum quod aut similitudine aliqua vocum aut paribus aut contrariis convertit in se aures et animos excitat. Hinc est παρονομασία, quae dicitur adnominatio. Ea non uno modo fieri solet: ex vicinia quadam praedicti nominis ducta, casibus declinatis, ut Domitius Afer pro Cloatilla: 'mulier omnium rerum imperita, in om-

<sup>34</sup> ex vicino *Halm*: ex vicina *A*: *del. Spalding*

<sup>128</sup> Lausberg §§ 783–784 (*conciliatio*), Martin 293. But this is essentially a device for using an opponent's argument in one's own interest; if it is a Figure, it is a Figure of Thought. In *Carmen de Figuris* 141–143 (68 *Halm RLM*), the example is "The miser and the spendthrift are the same, for neither knows how to use wealth, they are both wrong, their behaviour disgraces them both." (This is from Rutilius 2.9, quoting the Greek orator Hyperides.) It is odd that Q.'s instance is also about a miser; and he clearly thinks of *synoikeiosis* as a verbal Figure. <sup>129</sup> Publilius Syrus 694 Duff (*LCL Minor Latin Poets*, p. 106): see 8.5.6.

<sup>130</sup> Lausberg § 805, Rutilius 1.4 (with a similar example), *Ad Herennium* 4.35 (*definitio*). For the significance of this in Renaissance thought, see Q. Skinner, "Moral ambiguity and the Renaissance art of eloquence," *Essays in Criticism* 44 (1994) 267–292.

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*synoikeiosis*),<sup>128</sup> which is such as to connect two contrasting things:

The miser lacks what he has no less than what he has not.<sup>129</sup>

Regarded as the opposite of this is Distinction, to which they give the name Paradiastole,<sup>130</sup> by which similar ideas are distinguished: "When you call yourself wise instead of cunning, brave instead of over-confident, careful instead of mean."<sup>131</sup> This is wholly a matter of Definition, and so I doubt whether it is a Figure at all. Its converse is the Figure in which a transition is made in a very short space to a different word which is regarded as similar: "I labour to be brief, but I become obscure," and what follows.<sup>132</sup>

### *Rhetorical Figures depending on sound*

(III) There is a third class of Figures which appeals to the ear and arouses attention by some resemblance, equality, or contrast of sounds. To this class belongs Paronomasia, which we call *adnominatio*.<sup>133</sup> This may be produced in more than one way: (1) from some approximation to a preceding word, with a change of case: for example, Domitius Afer, defending Cloatilla,<sup>134</sup> says "A woman of all things ignorant, in all things unfortunate"; (2)

<sup>131</sup> Rutilius 1.4 gives something very like this as from Hyperides.

<sup>132</sup> Horace, *Ars Poetica* 25-30.

<sup>133</sup> Lausberg §§ 637-639; *Ad Herennium* 4.29; *VPH* 38.

<sup>134</sup> See on 8.5.16.



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- 67 nibus rebus infelix,' et cum verbo idem verbum plus significans subiungitur: 'quando homo hostis, homo.' Quibus exemplis sum in aliud usus, sed in uno <hoc> ἔμφασις est <et> geminatio <et> παρονομασία. <Huic><sup>35</sup> contrarium est quod eodem verbo quasi falsum arguitur: 'quae lex privatis hominibus esse lex non videbatur.'
- 68 Cui confinis est quae ἀντανάκλασις<sup>36</sup> dicitur, eiusdem verbi contraria significatio. Cum Proculeius quereretur de filio quod is mortem suam expectaret, et ille dixisset 'se vero non expectare', 'immo', inquit, 'rogo expectes'.  
Non ex eodem sed ex vicino diversum accipitur cum supplicio adficiendum dicas quem supplicatione dignum iudicaris.
- 69 Aliter quoque voces aut eadem diversa in significatione ponuntur aut productione tantum vel correptione mutatae: quod etiam in iocis frigidum equidem tradi inter praecepta miror, eorumque exempla vitandi potius quam imitandi gratia pono: 'amari iucundum est, si curetur ne quid insit amari', 'avium dulcedo ad avium ducit', et apud Ovidium ludentem:
- 70

<sup>35</sup> in uno . . . <Huic> D.A.R. after *Woelfflin and Gertz*: in uno φάσις est geminatio παρονομασία ei A

<sup>36</sup> ἀνάκλασις *Radermacher*

<sup>135</sup> Interpretation uncertain. The enemy is "human," i.e. *either* he is to be treated humanely *or* he is just as vulnerable as we are. · <sup>136</sup> Cicero, *In Pisonem* 30.

<sup>137</sup> Lausberg § 663. The word means "reflection" (of light), and Q. seems the only writer to use it as a name for a Figure (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.746, cited in LSJ, is not relevant). As Rutilius 1.5 has *anaklasis*, with the Proculeius story as in Q., Radermacher

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from a repetition of the same word with a deeper meaning: "Since our enemy is a human being, he is human."<sup>135</sup> (I have used these examples for another purpose, but note that Emphasis, Reduplication, and Paronomasia are all present in this passage.) The contrary <of this> occurs when the use of the same word almost proves something to be false: "This law did not seem a law to private persons."<sup>136</sup>

Akin to this is *antanaklasis*,<sup>137</sup> the same word used in contrary meanings. When Proculeius complained of his son that he was "waiting for" his death, and the son replied that he was not waiting, he retorted "Well, please do wait."

Sometimes the difference is understood not in relation to the same word but to one close to it, as if you were to say that someone whom you previously judged worthy of a public thanksgiving (*supplicatio*) should be subjected to punishment (*supplicium*).

There are other ways in which words are used with different meanings, either as they are, or altered merely by lengthening or shortening a vowel. This is a feeble device even as a joke, and I am surprised to see that instructions are given for it. I add examples, to be avoided rather than copied. "It is good to be loved (*amari*), if one takes care that there is no bitterness (*amari*) in it."<sup>138</sup> "The sweetness of birds (*āvium*) attracts us into the wilderness (*āvium*)."<sup>139</sup> In Ovid it is a joke:

may be right to read *anaklasis* here. For Proculeius, friend of Augustus, see Horace, *Carmina* 2.2.5.

<sup>138</sup> Plautus, *Cistellaria* 66; *Ad Herennium* 4.21 (as *tractio*).

<sup>139</sup> Vergil, *Georgics* 2.328, has *avia tum resonant avibus*; *Ad Herennium* 4.29 (*adnominatio*).

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cur ego non dicam, Furia, te furiam?

- 71 Cornificius hanc traductionem vocat, videlicet alterius intellectus ad alterum. Sed elegantius quod est positum in distinguenda rei proprietate: 'hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse'; et quae praepositionibus in contrarium mutantur: 'non emissus ex urbe, sed inmissus in urbem esse videatur.' Melius atque acrius quod cum figura iucundum est, tum etiam
- 72 sensu valet: 'emit morte immortalitatem.' Illa leviora: 'non Pisonum sed pistorum' et 'ex oratore arator'. Pessimum vero: 'ne patres conscripti videantur circumscripti'.

- Raro evenit, sed vehementer iuvat si<sup>37</sup> contigit, ut aliqui sensus vehemens et acer venustatem aliquam non eadem ex voce <sed><sup>38</sup> non dissona accipiat.<sup>39</sup> Et cur me prohibeat pudor uti domestico exemplo? Pater meus contra eum qui se legationi inmortituum dixerat, deinde vix paucis diebus insumptis re infecta redierat: 'non exigo uti immoriaris legationi: inmorare.' Nam et valet sensus ipse et
- 73

<sup>37</sup> iuvat si *D.A.R.* after Gertz: venit sic A

<sup>38</sup> non eadem ex voce (*Christ*) <sed> (*Gertz*): non eadem eo verbo A      <sup>39</sup> *Christ*: accipit A

<sup>140</sup> Ovid fr. 4 Morel = 4 Courtney (1993) p. 309.

<sup>141</sup> *Ad Herennium* 4.20, where Caplan translates "transplacement."      <sup>142</sup> Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.30.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* 27.      <sup>144</sup> Source not traced, but an obvious funerary cliché: compare Hyperides, *Epitaphios* 24: "They won immortal glory at the cost of their mortal bodies."

<sup>145</sup> Cicero, *Philippics* 3.22 has *ex oratore arator* as a "triviality" (*sed haec leviora*). The name Piso suggests the verb *pinso/piso*, "to crush grain," from which *pistor* is derived.

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Fūria, why should I not call you a Fury (*fūriam*)?<sup>140</sup>

Cornificius calls this *tractio*,<sup>141</sup> meaning a shift from one meaning to another. It is more elegant when it is used to distinguish exact meanings: “This plague on the state could be repressed for a time, not suppressed for ever.”<sup>142</sup> Changes of meaning due to prefixes are also more elegant: “He seems to have been not so much let out of the city (*emissus*) as let into it (*immissus*).”<sup>143</sup> Better still, and more pointed, are remarks in which the charms of a Figure are combined with some force of meaning: “By his death he bought deathlessness.”<sup>144</sup> More trivial examples<sup>145</sup> are *non Pisonum sed pistorum* (“Bakers, not Pisos”) and *ex oratore arator* (“orator turned ploughman”). Worst of all is “that the conscript fathers should not be *circumscripti* (‘cheated’).”<sup>146</sup>

It rarely happens, though it is exceedingly helpful if it does, that a vigorous and telling idea gains charm not from the same word but from one which sounds similar. Why should modesty prevent me from illustrating this by an example from my own family? My father, speaking against the man who had said he would die on his embassy but had returned within a very few days with nothing accomplished,<sup>147</sup> said “I don’t ask that you should die on the embassy (*immoriaris*); just stay on it (*immorare*).” Here the

<sup>146</sup> *Ad Herennium* 4.30.

<sup>147</sup> This sounds like a declamation theme rather than a real diplomatic occasion. Q.’s father’s pun is remembered by Erasmus (*Colloquia: Domestica confabulatio*): “Mihī vero vel immori chartis dulce est”; “Equidem immorari probo, non immori” (“I am happy to die with my books,” “I approve of staying with them, not dying with them”).

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in verbis tantum distantibus iucunde consonat vox, praesertim non captata sed velut oblata, cum altero suo sit usus, alterum ab adversario acceperit.

74 Magnae veteribus curae fuit gratiam dicendi et <similibus et><sup>40</sup> paribus et contrariis acquirere. Gorgias in hoc inmodicus: copiosus, aetate utique prima, Isocrates fuit. Delectatus est his etiam M. Tullius, verum et modum adhibuit non ingratae nisi copia redundet voluptati, et rem alioqui levem sententiarum pondere implevit. Nam per se frigida et inanis adfectatio, cum in acris incidit sensus innatam <gratiam><sup>41</sup> videtur habere, non arcessitam.

75 Similium fere quadruplex ratio est. Nam est primum quotiens verbum verbo aut non dissimile valde quaeritur, ut

puppaeque tuae pubesque tuorum,

et 'sic in hac calamitosa fama quasi in aliqua perniciosissima flamma', et 'non enim tam spes laudanda quam res est', aut certe par et extremis syllabis consonans: 'non verbis  
76 sed armis.' Et hoc quoque quotiens in sententias acris incidit pulchrum est: 'quantum possis, in eo semper experire ut prosis.' Hoc est *πάρισον*, ut plerisque placuit; Theon

<sup>40</sup> *add. D.C. Innes, cf. 9.3.66*

<sup>41</sup> *add. Halm*

<sup>148</sup> See Lausberg §§ 719–734. Note especially Demetrius 25–29, *Ad Herennium* 4.27–28, Rutilius 2.12–15, *VPH* 35–38. On "Gorgianic" figures in Latin, see L–H–S 699–714.

<sup>149</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.399.

<sup>150</sup> Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 4.

<sup>151</sup> See Cicero, *De republica* fr. 5 Ziegler, Servius on *Aeneid* 6.875.

<sup>152</sup> Same example in Rutilius 2.12.

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sense is strong and the echoing of one word by the other, so distinct in meaning, is pleasing, especially as it was not sought but as it were handed to him, one of the words being his own and the other taken from the opponent.

It was of great concern to the ancients to seek elegance of speech by means of <similar,> equal, and balancing words. Gorgias went too far in this, and Isocrates used the device abundantly, at least in his early period. Even Cicero took delight in it, but he applied restraint to a pleasure which is indeed attractive unless it is used in excess, and gave substance to what is otherwise a trivial device by the weightiness of his thoughts. In itself a feeble and empty affectation, it seems to acquire a natural and not just an artificial <charm> if it occurs in a sentence which has a real point.

#### *Parison, Homoeoptoton, Homoeoteleuton, Isocolon*

There are in effect four kinds of Similarities of Sound:<sup>148</sup>

(1) When we choose a second word (a) not unlike the first: "Your ships (*puppēs*) and the youth (*pubēs*) of your people";<sup>149</sup> "In this disastrous defamation (*fama*) as in some dangerous conflagration (*flamma*)";<sup>150</sup> "It is not the expectation (*spēs*) but the realization (*res*) that deserves our praise";<sup>151</sup> (b) of equal *length*, at least, and with similar final syllables: "not with words (*verbis*) but with arms (*armis*)."<sup>152</sup> This too is attractive when it coincides with a pointed idea: "In whatever you *can* do (*possis*), try always to do good (*prosis*)." Most scholars call this *parison*;

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Stoicus *πάρισον* existimat quod sit e membris non dissimilibus.

- 77 Secundum ut clausula similiter cadat, syllabis isdem in ultimam partem conlatis; *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* <vocant, id est><sup>42</sup> similem duarum sententiarum vel plurium finem: 'non modo ad salutem eius extinguendam, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam.' Ex quibus fere fiunt, non tamen ut semper utique ultimis consonent, quae *τρίκωλα* dicuntur: 'vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia.' In quaternas quoque ac plures haec ratio ire sententias potest. Fit etiam singulis verbis:

Hecuba hoc dolet<sup>43</sup> pudet piget,

et 'abiit excessit, erupit evasit.'

- 78 Tertium est quod in eosdem casus cadit: *ὁμοιόπτωτον* dicitur. Sed neque, quod finem habet similem, utique in eundem venit finem *ὁμοιόπτωτον*, quia *ὁμοιόπτωτον* est tantum casu simile etiam si dissimilia sint quae declinentur, nec tantum in fine deprehenditur, sed respondentibus vel primis inter se vel mediis vel extremis vel etiam permu-  
tatis his, ut media primis et summa mediis accommoden-

<sup>42</sup> *add. Winterbottom after Capperonnier*

<sup>43</sup> dolet <miseret> *Bergk*

<sup>153</sup> I.e. whole *cola*, not just short phrases or single words, must balance. In this sense *parison* and *isocolon* are the same (Lausberg § 719), though some rhetors made a distinction (§ 722). The "Stoic Theon" may be the author of the extant *Progymnasmata*.

<sup>154</sup> *Pro Milone* 5: "not only to put an end to his safety, but to damage his reputation by means of such men."

<sup>155</sup> Lausberg § 733, § 933. For this common, and much fa-

though the Stoic Theon thinks that in *parison* the cola must be similar.<sup>153</sup>

(2) Similarity of cadence, the same syllables being placed at the end of each clause; this is called *homoeoteleuton*, that is to say, the similar ending of one or more clauses: *non modo ad salutem eius EXTINGUENDAM, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros INFRINGENDAM*.<sup>154</sup> From such clauses (though not necessarily with similarity of endings) are commonly formed what are called *tricola*:<sup>155</sup> "Lust prevailed over shame, rashness over fear, madness over reason."<sup>156</sup> The same principle can extend to four or more clauses. It can also happen with individual words: "This grieves, shames, disgusts Hecuba,"<sup>157</sup> or "He went off, he left, he broke out, he got away."<sup>158</sup>

(3) Thirdly, similarity of case endings: this is called *homoeoptoton*.<sup>159</sup> But (a) Homoeoptoton, because it has *similar* endings, does not necessarily have the *same* ending, since the word means simply similarity of *case*, even if the actual inflections are dissimilar; nor (b) is it confined to endings, but may come from internal correspondences of beginnings or middles or ends, or even of permutations of these, middles answering to beginnings and ends to middles; in fact any arrangement of correspondences is

voured, structure of three cola, see *Ad Herennium* 4.26, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On literary composition* 9 (2.66 Usher, LCL); L. P. Wilkinson (1963) 174–178.

<sup>156</sup> Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 15.      <sup>157</sup> *Fr. trag. incert.* 9 Klotz (not in ROL). The context in Q. does not require Bergk's addition of a fourth verb (*miseret*, i.e. Hecuba also "feels pity"). The *personal* construction of *puget* and *piget* is unusual.

<sup>158</sup> Cicero, *In Catilinam* 2.1.      <sup>159</sup> Lausberg §§ 729–731.



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- 79 tur; et quocumque modo accommodari potest: nec enim  
semper paribus syllabis constat, ut est apud Afrum: 'amisso  
nuper infelicis filii si<sup>44</sup> non praesidio inter pericula, tamen  
solacio inter adversa.' Eius fere videntur optima in quibus  
initia sententiarum et fines consentiunt (ut hic 'praesidio,  
solacio', 'pericula, adversa'<sup>45</sup>) <ut><sup>46</sup> et similia sint verbis  
80 et pariter<sup>47</sup> cadant et eodem modo desinant: etiam quae  
sunt,<sup>48</sup> quod est quartum, membris aequalibus, quod  
*ἰσόκωλον* dicitur. 'Si, quantum in agro locisque desertis  
audacia potest, tantum in foro atque iudicii impudentia  
valeret' *ἰσόκωλον* est et *ὁμοιόπτωτον* habet; 'non minus  
nunc in causa cederet Aulus Caecina Sexti Aebutii impu-  
dentiae quam tum in vi facienda cessit audaciae' *ἰσό-  
κωλον, ὁμοιόπτωτον, ὁμοιοτέλευτον*. Accedit et ex illa  
figura gratia qua nomina dixi mutatis casibus repeti: 'non  
minus cederet quam cessit.' Adhuc *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* et *παρ-  
ονομασία* est 'neminem alteri posse dare in matrimonium  
nisi penes quem sit patrimonium.'

44 filii si Watt 1988: auleis A: Auli si Norden: aviae si Rader-  
macher <sup>45</sup> pericula, adversa Laubmann: pedem A: hic . . .  
pedem del. Radermacher <sup>46</sup> add. Winterbottom

<sup>47</sup> pariter Hirt: a paribus A <sup>48</sup> quae sunt D.A.R.: ut sint A

<sup>160</sup> FOR p. 569. "Having lately lost his poor son's if not protec-  
tion in danger, yet at least consolation in adversity." The phrases  
*non . . . pericula* and *tamen . . . adversa* are both eleven syllables  
long (assuming no elision). Watt's *filii*, "son," Radermacher's  
*aviae*, "grandmother," and Norden's *Auli*, "Aulus," are all specula-  
tive emendations. <sup>161</sup> Cicero, *Pro Caecina* 1: "if shameless-  
ness were as powerful in the forum and in the courts as audacity is  
powerful in the countryside and the wilderness."

possible. For again (c) it does not always involve an equal number of syllables. Consider this sentence of Domitius Afer: *amisso nuper infelicis filii si non praesidio inter pericula, tamen solacio inter adversa*.<sup>160</sup> The best examples of this Figure are those in which the beginnings and the ends of the clauses correspond (as in this case *praesidio* with *solacio* and *pericula* with *adversa*), <in such a way that> they are verbally similar, have a balancing rhythm, and terminate in the same way.

(4) Excellent also are the examples in which the cola are equal. This is called Isocolon. The sentence *si quantum in agro locisque desertis audacia potest, tantum in foro atque iudiciis impudentia valeret*<sup>161</sup> illustrates both Isocolon and Homoeoptoton. *Non minus nunc in causa cederet Aulus Caecina Sexti Aebutii impudentiae quam tum in vi facienda cessit audaciae*<sup>162</sup> combines Isocolon, Homoeoptoton, and Homoeoteleuton, and has the further elegance I discussed above<sup>163</sup> of repeating words with a change of inflexion: *non minus cederet . . . quam . . . cessit*. We also find a combination of Homoeoteleuton and Paronomasia, as in *neminem alteri posse dare in matrimonium nisi penes quem sit patrimonium*.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Ibid. "Aulus Caecina would now be giving way in his Cause to the shamelessness of Sextus Aebutius, no less than he then gave way to his audacity in that act of violence." This opening sentence was thought a model period: Aquila Romanus 181 (27 Halm), Lausberg § 924. The concealed Isocolon seems to be *non . . . cederet* and *quam . . . cessit*, each 10 syllables.

<sup>163</sup> 9.3.36, 66.

<sup>164</sup> "That no one can give a person in matrimony unless he has the power of paternity."

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- 81      Contrapositum autem vel, ut quidam vocant, contentio (*ἀντίθετον* dicitur) non uno fit modo. Nam et singula singulis opponuntur, ut in eo quod modo dixi: ‘vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia’, et bina binis: ‘non nostri ingeni, vestri auxili est’, et sententiae sententiis: ‘dominetur in contionibus, iaceat in iudiciis.’
- 82      Cui commodissime subiungitur et ea species quam distinctionem diximus: ‘odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit’, et quae sunt simili casu dissimili sententia in ultimo locata: ‘ut quod in tempore mali fuit nihil obsit, quod in causa boni fuit prosit.’
- 83      Nec semper contrapositum subiungitur, ut in hoc: ‘est igitur haec, iudices, non scripta sed nata lex’, verum, sicut Cicero dicit, de singulis rebus propositis refertur ad singula, ut in eo quod sequitur: ‘quam non didicimus accepimus legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus hausimus expressimus.’
- 84      Nec semper quod adversum est contra ponitur, quale est apud Rutilium: ‘nobis primis di immortales fruges dederant, nos quod soli accepimus in omnes terras distribuimus.’

<sup>165</sup> This basic ornament of formal speech attracted attention from the beginnings of theoretical rhetoric: Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.1409b33, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 26. Later discussions include *Ad Herennium* 4.21, 25, 58; Cicero, *Partitiones oratoriae* 21; Demetrius 22–24. Lausberg §§ 787–807.

<sup>166</sup> Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 15.      <sup>167</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.* 5. The subject is *falsa invidia*, “unfair prejudice.”

<sup>169</sup> *Pro Murena* 76. Compare 9.3.65; what we have here is an antithesis involving the near synonyms “luxury” and “magnificence.”

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### *Antithesis*

*Contrapositum* or, as some say, *contentio*—in Greek it is called *antitheton*—occurs in various forms.<sup>165</sup> The antithesis may be (1) between single words, as in the passage quoted above, “Lust prevailed over shame, rashness over fear”;<sup>166</sup> (2) between pairs of words as in “not a matter of my talent, but of your aid”;<sup>167</sup> or (3) between sentence and sentence, as in “Let it dominate in the assemblies, but collapse in the courts.”<sup>168</sup>

We may most conveniently take next (1) the species we called Distinction (“the Roman people hates private luxury; public magnificence it loves”)<sup>169</sup> and (2) the Figure in which words of similar terminations but different meanings come at the end: “so that what evil there was in the circumstances should do no harm (*nihil obsit*), and what good there was in the Cause should do positive good (*prosit*).”<sup>170</sup>

The contrasted phrase does not always follow immediately (as in “So this law, members of the jury, is not written but natural”)<sup>171</sup> but, as Cicero says,<sup>172</sup> there may be correspondences between the individual terms, as in the passage which follows the last: “which we have not learned, received, and read, but, from Nature herself, taken up, absorbed, and expressed.”

Again the Antithesis does not always involve opposites: so in the example in Rutilius,<sup>173</sup> “To, us first of all did the immortal gods give corn; we distributed to all lands what we alone received.”

<sup>170</sup> *Pro Cluentio* 80.

<sup>171</sup> *Pro Milone* 10.

<sup>172</sup> *De oratore* 3.207.

<sup>173</sup> 2.16, from Demetrius of

Phalerum (fr. 185 Wehrli). Part of a speech in praise of Athens.

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- 85 Fit etiam adsumpta illa figura qua verba declinata reperiuntur, quod ἀντιμεταβολή dicitur: 'non ut edam vivo, sed ut vivam edo.' [et]<sup>49</sup> Quod apud Ciceronem conversum ita est ut, cum mutationem casus habeat, etiam similiter designat: 'ut et sine invidia culpa plectatur et sine culpa invidia ponatur.'
- 86 Et eodem eluditur verbo, ut quod dicit de Roscio: 'etenim cum artifex eius modi est ut solus videatur dignus esse <qui in scaena spectetur, tum vir eiusmodi est ut solus dignus esse><sup>50</sup> videatur qui non accedat.'
- Est et in nominibus ex diverso conlocatis sua gratia: 'si consul Antonius, Brutus hostis, <si conservator rei publicae Brutus, hostis><sup>51</sup> Antonius.'
- 87 Olim plura de figuris quam necesse erat, et adhuc erunt qui putent<sup>52</sup> esse figuram 'incredibile est quod dico sed verum' (ἀνθυποφοράν vocant) et 'aliquis hoc semel tulit, nemo bis, ego ter' (διέξοδον) et 'longius evectus sum, sed redeo ad propositum' (ἄφοδον).
- 88 Quaedam verborum figurae paulum a figuris sententia-

<sup>49</sup> del. Halm      <sup>50</sup> suppl. rec. from Cicero

<sup>51</sup> suppl. rec. from Cicero

<sup>52</sup> Halm, after Regius: putant A

<sup>174</sup> Lausberg § 801. *Ad Herennium* 4.39 (*commutatio*) gives the same example, a thought ascribed to Socrates (Stobaeus 3.17.21, *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 479; Caplan on *Ad Herennium* loc. cit.).

<sup>175</sup> *Pro Cluentio* 5.

<sup>176</sup> *Pro Quinctio* 78 (Q.'s text incomplete).

<sup>177</sup> Cicero, *Philippics* 4.8 (Q.'s text incomplete).

<sup>178</sup> See on 9.2.106.

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Antithesis may also be produced by the Figure called *antimetabole*<sup>174</sup> in which words are repeated with different inflections: "I do not live to eat, but eat to live"; this is adapted in Cicero in such a way that, though it involves a change of case, the similarity of terminations remains: "so that without ill-feeling an offence is punished (*plectatur*), and without an offence ill-feeling is laid aside (*ponatur*)."<sup>175</sup>

Again, there may be a play on the same word, as in what he says about Roscius:<sup>176</sup> "For he is both an artist who seems to be the only one worthy <of being seen on the stage, and a man who seems to be the only one worthy> of not being required to appear there."

Antithetically placed names also have their charm: "If Antonius is consul, Brutus is an enemy; <if Brutus is the saviour of the state,> Antonius <is an enemy>."<sup>177</sup>

#### *Some other supposed Figures*

For a long time now I have been saying more than I need about Figures: but there will still be those who think that there is a Figure to be found in "What I say is unbelievable but true" (they call this *anthypophora*),<sup>178</sup> and in "Someone bore this once, no one twice, I three times" (*diexodos*),<sup>179</sup> and "I have digressed too far, but I now return to the subject" (*aphodos*).<sup>180</sup>

There are some Figures of Speech which are only slight

<sup>179</sup> This term generally means *percursio*, the rapid dismissal of a theme (Lausberg § 299), but is also found as a type of antithesis between word groups (Lausberg § 793).

<sup>180</sup> A "return formula": Lausberg § 340.

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rum declinantur, ut dubitatio. Nam cum est in re, priori  
 89 parti adsignanda est, cum in verbo, sequenti: 'sive me mali-  
 tiam sive stultitiam dicere oportet.' Item correctionis  
 eadem ratio est [nam quod illic dubitat, hic emendat].<sup>53</sup>  
 Etiam in personae fictione accidere quidam idem puta-  
 verunt, ut in verbis esset haec figura: 'crudelitatis mater est  
 avaritia', et apud Sallustium in Ciceronem 'o Romule Ar-  
 pinas': quale est apud Menandrum 'Oedipus Thriasius'.  
 Haec omnia copiosius sunt executi qui non ut partem ope-  
 ris transcurrerunt, sed proprie libros huic operi dedica-  
 verunt, sicut Caecilius, Dionysius, Rutilius, Cornificius,  
 Visellius aliique non pauci (sed non minor erit eorum  
 qui vivunt gloria).

90 Ut fateor autem verborum quoque figuras posse pluris  
 reperiri a quibusdam, ita his, quae ab auctoribus claris tra-  
 duntur, meliores non adsentior. Nam in primis M. Tullius  
 multas in tertio de Oratore libro posuit quas in Oratore  
 postea scripto transeundo videtur ipse damnasse: quarum  
 pars est quae sententiarum potius quam verborum sit, ut  
 inminutio, inprovisum, imago, sibi ipsi responsio, digres-  
 sio, permissio, contrarium (hoc enim puto quod dicitur

<sup>53</sup> *del. M.W.*: dubitatur . . . emendatur *Halm*

<sup>181</sup> Diaporēsis, aporia: see 9.1.35, 9.2.19. *Ad Herennium* 4.40  
 has Q.'s example. Lausberg §§ 776-778.

<sup>182</sup> Compare Terence, *Phormio* 659-660.

<sup>183</sup> Epanorthōsis, epidiorthōsis: *Ad Herennium* 4.36, Rutilius 1.16 (*μεράνοια*); Lausberg §§ 784-786.

<sup>184</sup> Rutilius 2.6 gives *Nam crudelitatis mater est avaritia et pater furor*, "For Cruelty's mother is Avarice, its father is Madness." Q.'s version could be a line of dramatic verse; it is included in Ribbeck's *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*<sup>2</sup>, p. 372.

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modifications of Figures of Thought, for example Hesitation:<sup>181</sup> when this relates to content it belongs to the first category, when to a word, to the second: "whether I ought to call it malice or stupidity."<sup>182</sup> The same principle applies to Correction.<sup>183</sup> [For what one doubts in the former Figure one corrects in this.] Some have thought that the same ambivalence applies also to Personifications, so that we have a Figure of Speech in "Avarice is the mother of Cruelty"<sup>184</sup> or in Sallust's address to Cicero as "Romulus of Arpinum"<sup>185</sup> or Menander's "Oedipus of Thria."<sup>186</sup> These questions have been discussed at length by those who have devoted books specially to this subject, instead of treating it cursorily as a part of a larger work; these are Caecilius, Dionysius,<sup>187</sup> Rutilius, Cornificius, Visellius,<sup>188</sup> and many others—some now living will be no less famous.

Now though I admit that more Figures of Speech too may be discovered by some, I do not agree that they can be better than those which are taught us by the highest authorities. I observe, in the first place, that Cicero included many in Book Three of *De oratore* which he seems to have rejected in his later *Orator*, where he passes over them. Some of these are to be reckoned as Figures of Thought rather than of Speech: Diminution, the Unexpected, Image, Self-response, Digression, Permission, Opposites (I

<sup>185</sup> [Sallust], *In Ciceronem* 7: "Sallust" ridicules the claim of "the man from Arpinum" to be a second founder of Rome.

<sup>186</sup> Fr. 888 Koerte: the speaker makes fun of a clever person (a riddle-solver, like Oedipus) from the Attic village of Thria.

<sup>187</sup> *Demosthenes* 39 (1.388 Usher, LCL) seems to imply that Dionysius treated Figures in a separate work.

<sup>188</sup> See on 9.2.107.



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- 91 *ἐναντιότης*, sumpta ex adverso probatio): quaedam omnino non sunt figurae, sicut ordo, dinumeratio, circumscriptio, sive hoc nomine significatur comprehensa breviter sententia sive finitio: nam et hoc Cornificius atque Rutilius schema λέξεως putant. Verborum autem concinna transgressio hyperbaton est, quod Caecilius quoque putat schema, a nobis est inter tropos posita. Sed immutatio,<sup>54</sup> si ea est quam Rutilius ἀλλοίωσιw vocat, dissimilitudinem ostendit hominum rerum factorum: quae si latius fiat, figura non est, si angustius, in ἀντίθετον cadet; si vero haec appellatio significat ὑπαλλαγὴν, satis de ea dictum est.
- 92 Quod vero schema est ad propositum subiecta ratio, quod Rutilius αἰτιολογίαν vocat?<sup>93</sup> Nam de illo dubitari possit, an schema sit in distributis subiecta ratio, quod apud eundem
- 93 primo loco positum est: προσαπόδοσιw dicit, quae, ut maxime, servetur sane in pluribus propositis, cum<sup>55</sup> aut singulis statim ratio subiciatur, ut est apud Gaium Antonium: ‘sed neque accusatorem eum metuo, quod sum innocens, neque competitorem vereor, quod sum Antonius,
- 94 neque consulem spero, quod est Cicero’: aut positis duo-
- 95

<sup>54</sup> *Halm*: mutatio et A

<sup>55</sup> *Winterbottom*: quia A

<sup>189</sup> These Figures are in the passages quoted in 9.1. Translators mostly take “Proof from the Contrary” as a separate Figure, but there is nothing in Cicero to correspond to this. <sup>190</sup> *Ad Herennium* 4.35, Rutilius 2.5. <sup>191</sup> Fr. 67 Ofenloch.

<sup>192</sup> 2.2, with lengthy passages of contrasting descriptions from Hegesias and Hyperides. <sup>193</sup> At 8.6.23 this is a synonym for Metonymy; but here it seems to be much the same as the exallagē or heteroiosis of 9.3.12, a type of grammatical change (Lausberg § 509). <sup>194</sup> Rutilius 2.19, Lausberg §§ 869–870.

think he means what is called *enantiotes*, Proof from the Contrary).<sup>189</sup> Others are not Figures at all, such as Order, Enumeration, and Circumscription (whether this means the concise expression of a thought, or Definition, which Cornificius and Rutilius<sup>190</sup> also regard as a Figure of Speech). The “elegant transposition of words” is Hyperbaton, which Caecilius<sup>191</sup> also treats as a Figure, though I place it among the Tropes. “Immutation,” if it means what Rutilius calls *alloiosis*,<sup>192</sup> points out the differences between persons, things, and actions. If this is used on an extended scale, it is not a Figure; if it is in a narrower compass, it will turn into Antithesis. If on the other hand it means Hypallage,<sup>193</sup> we have said enough about this. And what sort of Figure is this “reason added to a proposition” which Rutilius calls *aitiologia*?<sup>194</sup> One may even doubt whether “reason assigned to each point severally,” with which Rutilius begins his discussion, is a Figure.<sup>195</sup> He calls it Prosapodosis. Let us grant that it can be kept up, at most, in “a number” of propositions, when either (1) the reason is given instantaneously for each one, as in Gaius Antonius<sup>196</sup> “But I do not dread him as an accuser, because I am innocent; I do not fear him as a rival candidate because I am Antonius; I do not expect to see him consul, because he is Cicero”; or (2) the reasons are given continu-

<sup>195</sup> Rutilius l.1, Lausberg § 864; compare *Ad Herennium* 4.52.

<sup>196</sup> *FOR* p. 395. This is C. Antonius Hybrida, Cicero’s consular colleague in 63 BC (*ORF* p. 371). Asconius (pp. 93–94 Clark = *ORF* p. 368) tells us that Catiline and Antonius both spoke against Cicero’s speech *In toga candida*, and that speeches claiming to be theirs were extant, but in fact were written by enemies of Cicero and “probably best ignored.” Q.’s citation may come from one of these.

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bus vel tribus eodem ordine singulis continua reddatur, quale apud Brutum de dictatura Cn. Pompei: 'praestat enim nemini imperare quam alicui servire: sine illo enim vivere honeste licet, cum hoc vivendi nulla condicio est.'

- 96 Sed et uni rei multiplex ratio subiungitur, ut apud Vergilium:

sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae  
pinguia concipiunt, sive illis omne per ignem  
excoquitur vitium,

et totus locus,

seu pluris calor ille vias . . . seu durat magis.

- 97 Relationem quid accipi velit non liquet mihi: nam si *ἀντανάκλασιν*<sup>56</sup> aut *ἐπάνοδον* aut *ἀντιμεταβολήν* dicit, de omnibus his locuti sumus. Sed quidquid est, nec hoc nec superiora in Oratore repetit. Sola est in eo libro posita inter figuras verborum exclamatio quam sententiae potius puto (adfectus enim est); de<sup>57</sup> ceteris omnibus consentio.

- 98 Adicit his Caecilius *περίφρασιν*, de qua dixi, Cornificius interrogationem ratiocinationem subiectionem transitionem occultationem, praeterea sententiam membrum articulos interpretationem conclusionem. Quorum priora alterius generis sunt schemata, sequentia schemata omnino non sunt.

<sup>56</sup> *Winterbottom*: ANANKACIN A: *ἀνάκλασιν Spalding* (cf. 9.3.68)

<sup>57</sup> *Halm*: et A

<sup>197</sup> *ORF* p. 463, a speech of 52 BC, probably not delivered.

<sup>198</sup> *Georgics* 1.86–93.

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ously in the same order after two or three propositions have been stated, as in Brutus' words about the dictatorship of Pompey:<sup>197</sup> "For it is better to rule no man than to be the slave of any, for one may live honourably without ruling, but there is no way of living as a slave"; or again (3) a multiple reason is attached to a single statement, as in Vergil:<sup>198</sup>

Whether the earth draws hidden strength from this  
and rich nutrition, or the badness is  
baked out by fire . . .

and the whole passage:

whether heat opens up new paths . . .  
or hardens more.

What Cicero means by Relation<sup>199</sup> is not clear to me. If it is Antanaclasis, Epanodos, or Antimetabole, we have spoken of all of these. Whatever it is, he does not mention it, or the others just mentioned, in the *Orator*. The only Figure of Speech named there, which I regard rather as a Figure of Thought (it is an appeal to emotion), is Exclamation:<sup>200</sup> with the rest of that list I agree.

Caecilius<sup>201</sup> adds Periphrasis, of which I have spoken; Cornificius adds Interrogation, Reasoning, Hypophora, Transition, Paralipsis, and also *sententia*, Colon, Comma, Interpretation, and Conclusion.<sup>202</sup> Of these the first group are Figures of Thought, the second not Figures at all.

<sup>199</sup> See 9.1.35.      <sup>200</sup> 9.1.34.

<sup>201</sup> Fr. 66 Ofenloch: see 8.6.59–61.

<sup>202</sup> All these are in *Ad Herennium* 4.22–41 (on which see Caplan).

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- 99 Item Rutilius, praeter ea quae apud alios quoque sunt, *παρομολογίαν, ἀναγκαῖον, ἠθοποιίαν, δικαιολογίαν, πρόληψιν, χαρακτηρισμόν, βραχυλογίαν, παρασιώπησιν, παρρησίαν*, de quibus idem dico.
- Nam eos quidem auctores qui nullum prope finem fecerunt exquirendis nominibus praeteribo, qui etiam quae sunt argumentorum figuris adscripserunt.
- 100 Ego illud de iis etiam quae vere sunt adiciam breviter, sicut ornet orationem oportune positae, ita ineptissimas esse cum inmodice petantur. Sunt qui, neglecto rerum pondere et viribus sententiarum, si vel inania verba in hos modos depravarunt summos se iudicent artifices, ideoque non desinant eas nectere, quas sine substantia sectari tam est ridiculum quam quaerere habitum gestumque sine
- 101 corpore. Sed ne eae quidem quae recte fiunt densandae sunt nimis: nam et vultus mutatio oculorumque coniectus multum in actu valet, sed si quis ducere os exquisitis modis et frontis ac luminum inconstantia trepidare non desinat, rideatur. Et oratio habet rectam quandam velut faciem, quae ut stupere immobili rigore non debet, ita saepius in
- 102 ea quam natura dedit specie continenda est. Sciendum vero in primis quid quisque in orando postulet locus, quid persona, quid tempus: maior enim pars harum figurarum posita est in delectatione. Ubi vero atrocitate invidia mise-

<sup>203</sup> Rutilius 1.19, 1.20, 1.21, 2.3, 2.4, 2.7, 2.8, 2.11, 2.18. These Figures are: Concession leading to an argument for our cause; Plea of Necessity; Description of Thoughts and Feelings; Justification; Anticipation of opponent's or judge's thoughts; Characterization; Brief Anticipation of audience's reactions; Dark Hint; and Plain Speaking to the judge.

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Rutilius gives, in addition to those in other authors, the following: Paromologia, Anankaion, Ethopoeia, Dikaialogia, Prolepsis, Characterismos, Brachylogia, Parasiope-sis, and Parrhesia.<sup>203</sup> I make the same comment on these.

Authors who have effectively set no bounds to their search for technical terms I shall pass over; they have even counted forms of Argument as Figures.

#### *Conclusion*

With regard even to the genuine Figures, I will briefly add that these too, though they are an ornament of oratory when deployed at the right moment, are utterly inept when they are too much sought after. Some people, neglecting weight of matter and strength of ideas, think themselves supreme masters of our art if they have distorted even meaningless words to fit these patterns; they therefore never stop stringing them together, though it is as absurd to hunt for Figures without substance as it is to look for postures and gestures with no body! Even correctly employed Figures must not be too thick on the ground. After all, changes of expression and glances of the eyes are powerful elements in pleading; but if a speaker never stopped pulling extraordinary faces and showing his nervousness by constantly varying his expression and eye movement, he would be a laughing-stock. Oratory too has, as it were, its natural face, which must of course not be fixed in motionless rigidity, but still should normally be kept looking as nature intended it. The first thing is to know what demands are made upon the speech by a particular place, person, and occasion. Most of these Figures, you see, are means of giving pleasure; when outrage,

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ratione pugnandum est, quis ferat contrapositis et pariter cadentibus et consimilibus irascentem flentem rogantem, cum nimia in his rebus cura verborum deroget adfectibus fidem, et ubicumque ars ostentatur, veritas abesse videatur?

### 4

- 1 De compositione non equidem post M. Tullium scribere auderem, cui nescio an ulla pars operis huius sit magis elaborata, nisi et eiusdem aetatis homines scriptis ad ipsum etiam litteris reprehendere id conlocandi genus ausi fuissent, et post eum plures multa ad eandem rem pertinentia
- 2 memoriae tradidissent. Itaque accedam in plerisque Ciceroni, atque in his ero quae indubitata sunt brevior, in quibusdam paulum fortasse dissentiam. Nam etiam cum iudicium meum ostendero, suum tamen legentibus relinquam.
- 3 Neque ignoro quosdam esse qui curam omnem compositionis excludant, atque illum horridum sermonem, ut forte fluxerit, modo magis naturalem, modo etiam magis virilem esse contendant. Qui si id demum naturale esse dicunt quod natura primum ortum est et quale ante cultum
- 4 fuit, tota haec<sup>1</sup> ars orandi subvertitur. Neque enim locuti sunt ad hanc regulam et diligentiam primi homines, nec

<sup>1</sup> *recc.*: hic A

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<sup>1</sup> See *Ad Atticum* 14.20, 15.1, for the criticisms of Calvus and Brutus.

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hatred, and pity are the weapons called for, who will tolerate the speaker who rages, weeps, and pleads in Antitheses, Homoeoteleuta, and Parisa, when the fact is that excessive care for words in this way detracts from the credibility of emotions, and, wherever art is put on show, truth seems to be absent?

### CHAPTER 4

#### *Composition*

I should not venture to write about Composition after Cicero (there is perhaps no aspect of rhetoric which he treated more thoroughly) if his own contemporaries had not ventured, in their letters to him, to criticize his principles of word arrangement,<sup>1</sup> and if many later writers had not put much on record on the same subject. On most questions, then, I shall be in agreement with Cicero, and I shall deal more briefly with these, because they are uncontroversial; on some points, however, I may perhaps express a slightly different opinion. Even when I make my own view clear, I shall leave my readers free to hold theirs.

#### *The importance of the subject*

I know that some teachers rule out any care for Composition, and argue that raw language, just as it comes out, is sometimes more "natural" and sometimes also more "masculine." If they confine the term "natural" to what develops first by nature, in the state in which it is before cultivation, then that undermines our whole art of oratory. Primitive men did not of course speak with our rules and standards



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- prohoemiis praeparare, docere expositione, argumentis probare, adfectibus commovere scierunt. Ergo his omnibus, non sola compositione caruerunt: quorum si fieri nihil melius licebat, ne domibus quidem casas aut vestibus pellicium tegmina aut urbibus montes ac silvas mutari oportuit.
- 5 Quae porro ars statim fuit? Quid non cultu mitescit? Cur vites coercemus manu? Cur eas fodimus? Rubos arvis excidimus: terra et hos generat. Mansuefacimus animalia: indomita nascuntur. Verum id est maxime naturale quod fieri natura optime patitur.
- 6 Fortius vero qui incompositum potest esse quam vincitum et bene conlocatum? Neque, si pravi pedes vim detrahunt rebus, ut sotadeorum et galliamborum et quorundam in oratione simili paene licentia lascivientium, <id vitium><sup>2</sup>
- 7 compositionis est iudicandum. Ceterum quanto vehementior fluminum cursus est prono alveo ac nullas moras obiciente quam inter obstantia saxa fractis aquis ac reluctantibus, tanto quae conexa est et totis viribus fluit fragosa atque interrupta melior oratio. Cur ergo vires ipsa specie solvi putent, quando res nec ulla sine arte satis valeat et
- 8 comitetur semper artem decor? An non eam quae missa optime est hastam speciosissime contortam ferri videmus,

<sup>2</sup> *add. Winterbottom after Halm and Kuehnert*

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<sup>2</sup> Q.'s position recalls Aristotle: *Politics* 1252b31, "the nature of a thing is what it is when its development has been completed," or *Poetics* 1449a15 (of tragedy). <sup>3</sup> A metre named after the Alexandrian poet Sotades, and thought to be effeminate. It is an Ionic verse, basically -- u u | -- u u | -- u u -, but allowing great freedom. See Demetrius 189, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On literary composition* 4 (2.36 Usher, LCL).

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of care. They knew nothing about preparing the ground with a Prooemium, giving information in a Narrative, proving by Arguments, or moving by Emotion. They lacked all these skills, not only that of Composition. But if no improvements were to be allowed, neither ought we to have exchanged huts for houses, skins for clothes, or mountains and woods for cities. What art has ever come into being in an instant? What is not tamed by cultivation? Why do we prune our vines? Why do we dig around them? We chop out the brambles from our fields, but the brambles too are products of the earth. We domesticate animals, but they are born wild. No; what is truly natural is the greatest perfection that Nature allows.<sup>2</sup>

But how can the unstructured be stronger than the coherent and well organized? If decadent rhythms weaken the force of thoughts, like Sotadeans<sup>3</sup> and Galliambics<sup>4</sup> and some prose rhythms which are almost equally loose and licentious, this is not to be thought the fault of Composition. Indeed, just as rivers flow with a stronger current where the bed is shelving and presents no obstacles than they do where their waters are broken and baffled by barriers of rocks, so speech which is linked together and flows in full strength is better than that which is broken and interrupted. Why then should they think that beauty itself leads to the breakup of strength, when in fact nothing can be really strong without art, and elegance always goes with art? Do we not see that the best-thrown spear is the one that was launched with most grace, and that the truer the ar-

<sup>4</sup> Also an Ionic metre, best known from Catullus 63 (*Attis*):  $\cup \cup$   
 $- \cup | - \cup - - | \cup \cup - \cup | \cup \cup \cup -$ .

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- et arcu deripientium tela quo certior manus, hoc est habitus ipse formosior? Iam in certamine armorum atque in omni palaestra quid satis recte cavetur ac petitur cui non artifex
- 9 motus et certi quidam pedes adsint? Quare mihi compositione velut ammentis quibusdam nervisve intendi et concitari sententiae videntur. Ideoque eruditissimo cuique persuasum est valere eam plurimum, non ad delectationem modo sed ad motum quoque animorum: primum
- 10 quia nihil intrare potest in adfectus quod in aure velut quoddam vestibulo statim offendit, deinde quod natura ducimur ad modos. Neque enim aliter eveniret ut illi quoque organorum soni, quamquam verba non exprimunt, in alios
- 11 tamen atque alios motus ducerent auditorem. In certaminibus sacris non eadem ratione concitant animos ac remittunt, non eosdem modos adhibent cum bellicum est canendum et cum positogenu supplicandum est, nec idem signorum concentus est procedente ad proelium exercitu,
- 12 idem receptui carmen. Pythagoreis certe moris fuit et cum evigilassent animos ad lyram excitare, quo essent ad agendum erectiores, et cum somnum peterent ad eandem prius lenire mentes, ut si quid fuisset turbidiorum cogitationum componerent. Quod si numeris ac modis inest quaedam tacita vis, in oratione ea vehementissima, quantumque interest sensus idem quibus verbis efferatur, tantum
- 13

<sup>5</sup> The *ammentum* is a strap or thong attached to the spear, which gave it some rotation when thrown.

<sup>6</sup> Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean life* 25.114: "When they went to bed, they purified their minds of the day's confusions and noises by certain songs and special kinds of melody, and thus ensured that their sleep would be quiet and beset by few dreams, or

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cher's aim with the bow, the more graceful is the position of his body? To turn to armed combat, and gymnastics generally, what well-executed defence or attack does not demand skilled movement and disciplined footwork? Composition, therefore, as it seems to me, plays the part of a sort of throwing-strap<sup>5</sup> or bowstring in giving direction and force to our thoughts. This is why the best scholars are all convinced of its great value, not only for pleasure but also for its emotional impact, first because nothing can penetrate to the emotions if it stumbles at the ear—at the threshold, as you might say; and, secondly, because we are naturally attracted by harmony. For there is no other way in which it could happen that the sounds of musical instruments, without articulating any words, could also excite a succession of varied emotions in the listener. In festival competitions, musicians use different means to excite and to calm the feelings; they have different modes for the call to arms and for the entreaty on bended knee, nor is the signal heard when the army goes into battle the same as the call that sounds the retreat. The Pythagoreans, indeed, had the custom of rousing their souls on waking with the music of the lyre, so as to be more alert for action, and of using the same instrument, when they retired to sleep, to calm their souls first, so as to lay to rest any turbulent thoughts they may have had.<sup>6</sup> But if there is some latent power in rhythm and melody, this is strongest in oratory, and the Composition by which any given words are linked in a passage or rounded off at the end matters just as much

only good ones; then, when they arose from their beds, they again used different songs to dispel their sloth and heaviness, and sometimes even music unaccompanied by words.”

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- verba eadem qua compositione vel in textu iungantur vel in fine cludantur: nam quaedam et sententiis parva et elocutione modica virtus haec sola commendat. Denique quod cuique visum erit vehementer dulciter speciose dictum, solvat et turbet: abierit omnis vis iucunditas decor. Solvit quaedam sua in Oratore Cicero: 'Neque me divitiae movent, quibus omnis Africanos, Laelios multi venalicii mercatoresque <superarunt. Inmuta paululum, ut sit "multi superarunt mercatores"><sup>3</sup> venaliciiue";' et insequentis deinceps perihodos, quas si ad illum modum turbes, velut fracta aut transversa tela proieceris. Idem corrigit quae a Graccho composita durius putat. Illum decet: nos hac simus<sup>4</sup> probatione contenti, quod in scribendo quae se nobis solutiora optulerunt componimus. Quid enim attinet eorum exempla quaerere quae sibi quisque experiri potest? Illud notasse satis habeo, quo pulchriora et sensu et elocutione dissolveris, hoc orationem magis deformem fore, quia negligentia conlocationis ipsa verborum luce deprenditur.
- 16 Itaque ut confiteor paene ultimam oratoribus artem compositionis, quae quidem perfecta sit, contigisse, ita illis

<sup>3</sup> *suppl. edd. from Cicero*

<sup>4</sup> *edd.: sumus A*

<sup>7</sup> 232–233, quoting *Pro Cornelio* (*Fr. orat.* VIII 9 Schoell, Crawford (1994) p. 92). The change destroys the clausula (– ∪ ∪ ∪ – –), and produces instead a clumsy hexameter ending (– ∪ ∪ – ×).

as the words in which any given sense is expressed; for there are works, trivial in sense and mediocre in language, which are commended solely for excellence in this. Finally, you have only to break up and disarrange any sentence which you find to be vigorously, sweetly, or elegantly spoken, and all its force, attraction, and grace will have vanished. Cicero in the *Orator*<sup>7</sup> does this with some phrases of his own: "I am not moved by wealth, which is something in which people like Africanus and Laelius <have been surpassed> by many slave dealers and merchants (*multi venalicii mercatoresque superarunt*)."  
 <"Make a small change," he says, "and read *multi superarunt mercatores* > *venaliciique*." He does this with the following periods also; and if you disarrange them like this, it will be like having thrown a broken weapon or thrown askew. He proceeds to correct passages of Gracchus which he thinks too stiffly composed. This is quite a proper thing for a Cicero to do; let us content ourselves with the convincing argument that, in our own writing, we try to give a compositional structure to words that came to mind unstructured. Why should we search for examples of what we can each experience for ourselves? I think it is enough to observe that the more beautiful, in sense and in language, is the passage which you break up, the more hideous will be the result, because the neglect of Composition is exposed by the very brilliance of the words.

*The history of Composition and its generic range*

Admitting, as I do, therefore, that the art of Composition, at any rate in its perfect state, was almost the last skill to be mastered by orators, I still hold that even the early

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quoque priscis habitam inter curas, in quantum adhuc profecerant, puto. Neque enim mihi quamlibet magnus auctor Cicero persuaserit, Lysian Herodotum Thucydiden  
 17 parum studiosos eius fuisse. Genus fortasse sint secuti non idem quod Demosthenes aut Plato, quamquam et hi ipsi inter se dissimiles fuerunt. Nam neque illud in Lysia dicendi textum tenue atque rasum laetioribus numeris corrumpendum erat: perdidisset enim gratiam, quae in eo maxima est, simplicis atque inadfectati coloris, perdidisset fidem quoque. Nam scribebat aliis, non ipse dicebat, ut oporteret esse illa rudibus et incompositis similia: quod  
 18 ipsum compositio est. Et historiae, quae currere debet ac ferri, minus convenissent insistentes clausulae et debita actionibus respiratio et cludendi inchoandique sententias ratio. In contionibus quidem etiam similiter cadentia quaedam et contrapositione deprehendas. In Herodoto vero cum omnia, ut ego quidem sentio, leniter fluunt, tum ipsa dialectos habet eam iucunditatem ut latentes etiam<sup>5</sup> numeros complexa videatur. Sed de propositorum diversitate  
 19 post paulum: nunc quae prius iis qui recte componere volent discenda sunt.

Est igitur ante omnia oratio alia vineta atque contexta, soluta alia, qualis in sermone et epistulis, nisi cum aliquid

<sup>5</sup> *Regius*: in A

<sup>8</sup> See *Orator* 186 (Herodotus and his contemporaries), 219 (Herodotus, Thucydides, and their contemporaries). Cicero does not mention Lysias in this connection.

<sup>9</sup> A less positive view in 10.1.78. See also Cicero, *Brutus* 35, *Orator* 110, *De oratore* 3.28.

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orators attached importance to it, so far as their progress had gone. Cicero, great authority as he is, cannot persuade me that Lysias, Herodotus, and Thucydides had little interest in this.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps they did not have the same principles as Demosthenes and Plato—but then even these were different from each other. Lysias' delicate, clean-shaven texture was not to be spoilt by richer rhythms. He would have lost the exceptional charm of his simple, unaffected tone; he would also have lost his credibility.<sup>9</sup> He wrote in fact for others, and did not deliver the speeches himself; his words, therefore, had to have a rough, unstructured look; yet this itself is a type of Composition.<sup>10</sup> History too, which has to move rapidly and with a swing, would have been less well-suited by the rests imposed by the clausulae, the pauses for breath inevitable in a pleading, and the procedures for completing and introducing thoughts. You can of course find even Homoeoteleuta and Antitheses in the speeches in historians. In Herodotus, however, not only does everything (or so I think) flow smoothly, but the very dialect possesses a sweetness that makes it seem the vehicle also of concealed rhythm.<sup>11</sup> But I will speak of different purposes later; for the moment I turn to the preliminaries which must be mastered by those who aim at correctness in Composition.

In the first place, formal speech is either bound and woven together, or of a looser texture, like that of dialogues or letters (except when these deal with matters above their

<sup>10</sup> See Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lysias* 8 (1.34 Usher, LCL).

<sup>11</sup> Compare Lucian, *Herodotus* 1–2 for the advantages of Herodotus' Ionic dialect.



20 supra naturam suam tractant, ut de philosophia, de re publica similibusque. Quod non eo dico quia non illud quoque solutum habeat suos quosdam et forsitan difficiliore etiam pedes: neque enim aut hiare semper vocalibus aut destitui temporibus volunt sermo atque epistula, sed non fluunt nec cohaerent nec verba verbis trahunt, ut potius  
21 laxiora in his vincla quam nulla sint. Nonnumquam in causis quoque minoribus decet eadem simplicitas, quae non nullis sed aliis utitur numeris, dissimulatque eos et tantum concludit<sup>6</sup> occultius.

22 At illa conexa series tris habet formas: incisa, quae comata dicuntur, membra, quae κῶλα, περίοδον quae est vel ambitus vel circumductum vel continuatio vel conclusio.

In omni porro compositione tria sunt genera necessaria: ordo, iunctura, numerus.

23 Primum igitur de ordine. Eius observatio in verbis est singulis et contextis. Singula sunt quae ἀσύνδετα diximus. In his cavendum ne decreseat oratio et fortiori subiungatur aliquid infirmius, ut sacrilego fur aut latroni petulans: augeri enim debent sententiae et insurgere, et optime Cicero 'tu', inquit, 'istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate': aliud enim maius alii

<sup>6</sup> D.C. Innes: communit A

<sup>12</sup> Compare Demetrius 228–234 (on letters).

<sup>13</sup> See Demetrius 1–35, with Schenkeveld (1964) 35–39 and Innes in LCL Demetrius, pp. 316–318.

<sup>14</sup> See Cicero, *Orator* 181. But Q.'s organization under these three heads (*Orator* 219 has *compositio, concinnitas, numeri*) seems to be independent.

<sup>15</sup> 9.3.50.

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normal scope, like philosophy, public affairs, or the like).<sup>12</sup> I do not mean to imply that this looser texture does not have its own metrical feet, which are perhaps even more difficult to master; dialogue and letters do not always deliberately seek hiatus between vowels or absence of marked rhythm, but neither do they have any steady flow or coherence, or make one word bring others with it; consequently, the bonds do exist, but they are looser. The same simplicity is sometimes appropriate also in the less serious legal Causes; it employs rhythms, but different ones, and it conceals them and is less obtrusive in the way it rounds off its sentences.

The connected type of discourse has three elements:<sup>13</sup> “cuts” or *Commata*, “limbs” or *Cola*, and the *Period*, which we call *ambitus*, *circumductus*, *continuatio*, or *conclusio*.

Further, in all Composition, there are three necessary elements: Order, Linkage, and Rhythm.<sup>14</sup>

### *Order*

First, Order. This has to be considered in relation to words taken singly and in context. By words taken singly I mean what I called “asyndeta.”<sup>15</sup> In these, we must be careful to avoid creating a diminishing effect and making a weaker word follow a stronger, “thief” after “sacrilegious villain,” or “rude fellow” after “brigand.”<sup>16</sup> Sentences should grow and rise. Cicero does it very well: “You, with your throat, your lungs, your gladiator’s physique.”<sup>17</sup> Here the phrases are in increasing order of impressiveness. If he

<sup>16</sup> Compare Demetrius 50–52.

<sup>17</sup> *Philippics* 2.63.

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- supervenit. At si coepisset a toto corpore, non bene ad latera faucesque descenderet. Est et alius naturalis ordo, ut 'viros ac feminas', 'diem ac noctem', 'ortum et occasum'
- 24 dicas potius, quamquam et<sup>7</sup> retrorsum. Quaedam ordine permutato fiunt supervacua, ut 'fratres gemini': nam si 'gemini' praecesserit,<sup>8</sup> 'fratres' addere non est necesse. Illa nimia quorundam fuit observatio, ut vocabula verbis, verba rursus adverbis, nomina adpositis et pronomina nominibus<sup>9</sup> essent priora: nam fit contra quoque frequenter non
- 25 indecore. Nec non et illud nimiae superstitionis, uti quaeque sint tempore, ea facere etiam ordine priora, non quin frequenter sit hoc melius, sed quia interim plus valent ante gesta ideoque levioribus superponenda sunt.
- 26 Verbo sensum cludere multo, si compositio patiat, optimum est: in verbis enim sermonis vis est. Si id asperum erit, cedit haec ratio numeris, ut fit apud summos Graecos Latinosque oratores frequentissime. Sine dubio erit omne quod non cludet hyperbaton, sed ipsum hoc inter tropos
- 27 vel figuras, quae sunt virtutes, receptum est. Non enim ad pedes verba dimensa sunt, ideoque ex loco transferuntur in locum, ut iungantur quo congruunt maxime, sicut in structura saxorum rudium etiam ipsa enormitas invenit cui adplicari et in quo possit insistere. Felicissimus tamen sermo est cui et rectus ordo et apta iunctura et cum his nu-
- 28 merus oportune cadens contigit. Quaedam vero transgres-

<sup>7</sup> quamquam et A: quam *recc.* ('rather than')

<sup>8</sup> *recc.*: praecesserint A

<sup>9</sup> pronomina nominibus *Naylor*: pronominibus A

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<sup>18</sup> Dionysius, *On literary composition* 5 (2.47–53 Usher) also

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had begun with the whole physique, it would have been an anticlimax to come down to the lungs and the throat. There is also a natural order: "men and women," "day and night," "rising and setting," though the reverse does occur also. Some words become superfluous when you change the order. Take *fratres gemini*, "twin brothers": if *gemini* has come first, there is no need to add *fratres*. The rule given by some theorists, that nouns should precede verbs, verbs adverbs, nouns adjectives, and pronouns nouns, is much too rigid, for the contrary order is often excellent.<sup>18</sup> Another piece of gross superstition is the idea that as things come first in time, so they should also come first in order. It is not that this is not frequently the better course, but earlier events are sometimes more important and so have to be given a position of climax over the less significant.

If Composition allows, it is much best to end with a verb, for the force of language is in the verbs. If this proves harsh, the principle will give way to Rhythm, as often happens in the greatest orators, both Greek and Latin. Of course, every verb which does not come at the end will give us a Hyperbaton; but this itself counts as a Trope or a Figure, and these are good features.<sup>19</sup> The point is that words are not measured according to metrical feet; they are therefore moved from one place to another so as to join where they fit best, just as, in constructions made of unhewn stones, the irregularity itself suggests the right stones which each piece can fit or rest upon. However, the most successful style is that in which natural Order, well-fitting Linkage, and appropriate Rhythm are all found.

discusses and dismisses the idea which Q. rejects, and which is probably Stoic. <sup>19</sup> See 8.6.62, 9.3.23.

siones et longae sunt nimis, ut superioribus diximus libris, et interim etiam compositione vitiosae, quae in hoc ipsum petuntur, ut exultent atque lasciviant, quales illae Maece-natis: 'sole et aurora rubent plurima'; 'inter sacra movit aqua fraxinos'; 'ne exequias quidem unus inter miserrimos viderem meas' (quod inter haec pessimum est, quia in re tristi ludit compositio).

- 29 Saepe tamen est vehemens aliquis sensus in verbo, quod si in media parte sententiae latet, transire intentionem et obscurari circumiacentibus solet, in clausula positum adsignatur auditori et infigitur, quale illud est Cicero-nis: 'ut tibi necesse esset in conspectu populi Romani
- 30 vomere postridie.' Transfer hoc ultimum: minus valebit. Nam totius ductus hic est quasi mucro, ut per se foeda vomendi necessitas iam nihil ultra expectantibus hanc quoque adiceret deformitatem, ut cibus teneri non posset
- 31 postridie. Solebat Afer Domitius traicere in clausulas verba tantum asperandae compositionis gratia, et maxime in prohoemiis, ut pro Cloatilla: 'gratias agam continuo', et pro Laelia: 'eis utrisque apud te iudicem periclitatur Laelia.' Adeo refugit teneram delicatamque modulandi voluptatem ut currentibus per se numeris quod eos inhiberet obiceret.

<sup>20</sup> See 8.6.67.

<sup>21</sup> Fr. 16 Lunderstedt: cf. Seneca, *Epistulae* 114.4-5 for some similar specimens. The sense of the passages quoted is very uncertain. I take *movit* as possibly intransitive (*OLD* s.v. 2, 3), so as to give the most violent hyperbaton as well as an unusual usage.

<sup>22</sup> *Philippics* 2.63.

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Some Hyperbata, however, are both too long (as I said in the preceding Books)<sup>20</sup> and sometimes also faulty in Composition. I mean those which are sought solely to achieve an effect of extravagance and licence, like the ones in Maecenas:<sup>21</sup> "With sun and dawn they blush full," "The water moved holy between the ash trees," "Not even funeral would I, one among the most wretched, see my own." (This last is the worst of the lot, because the Composition trivializes a serious subject.)

However, there is often a powerful significance in a single word; if this is then concealed in the middle of a sentence, it tends to escape attention and be overshadowed by its surroundings, whereas if it is placed at the end it is impressed upon the hearer and fixed in his mind, as in Cicero's<sup>22</sup> "so that you were obliged to vomit in the sight of the Roman people *the day after*." Move the last word and it will lose its force. This is the sharp end of the whole passage, as it were: Antony's need to vomit, disgusting in itself, acquires the further hideousness—not expected by the audience—that he could not keep his food down *the day after*. Domitius Afer<sup>23</sup> used to transfer words to sentence-ends solely to roughen his Composition. He did this especially in Prooemia, as in *Pro Cloatilla* ("I will give thanks *at once*") and in *Pro Laelia* ("because of both these facts, before you as a judge, the person at risk is *Laelia*"). He avoided the voluptuousness of soft and delicate rhythm so conscientiously that, when his rhythms ran on spontaneously, he would put obstacles in to check them.

<sup>23</sup> FOR pp. 566–568. For the Cloatilla case, see 8.5.16, 9.2.20, 9.3.66. We know nothing of Laelia. Q.'s point is that Afer had no reasons connected with the sense for choosing this order.

32 Amphiboliam quoque fieri vitiosa locatione verborum nemo est qui nesciat.

Haec arbitror, ut in brevi, de ordine fuisse dicenda: qui si vitiosus est, licet et vincta ac sit apte cadens oratio, tamen merito incomposita dicatur.

33 Iunctura sequitur. Est in verbis, incisus, membris, perihodis: omnia namque ista et virtutes et vitia in complexu habent. Atque ut ordinem sequar, primum sunt quae imperitis quoque ad reprehensionem notabilia videntur, id est, quae commissis inter se verbis duobus ex ultima prioris ac prima sequentis syllaba deforme aliquod nomen efficiunt. Tum vocalium concursus: quod cum accidit, hiat et insistit et quasi laborat oratio. Pessime longae<sup>10</sup> quae easdem inter se litteras committunt sonabunt: praecipuus tamen erit hiatus earum quae cavo aut patulo maxime ore efferuntur. E planior littera est, I angustior, ideoque obscurius in his vitium. Minus peccabit qui longis breves subiciet, et adhuc qui praeponet longae brevem. Minima est in duabus brevibus offensio. Atque cum aliae subiunguntur aliis, proinde asperiores <aut leviores><sup>11</sup> erunt prout oris habitu simili aut diverso pronuntiabuntur.

34

<sup>10</sup> longae *del. Winterbottom*

<sup>11</sup> *add. Ammon: aut leniores add. Christ*

<sup>24</sup> Cacemphaton: see 8.3.45.

<sup>25</sup> Cicero, *Orator* 150, is in fact stricter than Q. about hiatus. Greek writers (from Isocrates onwards) had paid much attention to avoiding clashes of vowels. Latin practice is less clear: for the whole question of elision at vowel junctions, see W. S. Allen (1965) ch. 4.

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That faulty positioning of words can also lead to Ambiguity is common knowledge.

This is, I think, what needed to be said in a brief account of Order. If the Order is faulty, however good and apt the links and cadences, our speech would deserve to be called "ill-composed."

### *Linkage*

Next follows Linkage. This concerns words, Commata, Cola, and Periods, because all these have good or bad qualities which depend on their combinations.

Let me take them in the natural order. (1) In the first place, there is a feature observed and censured even by the untrained, namely when two consecutive words generate an indecent expression out of the last syllable of the first word and the first of the second.<sup>24</sup> (2) Then there is the clash of vowels; when this occurs, the speech gapes (*hiat*), pauses, and, as it were, labours.<sup>25</sup> The worst sound will be produced by long vowels which produce a clash of the same letters; but the most notable "hiatus" will occur with letters which are pronounced from the back of the mouth or with the mouth open. *E* is flatter, *I* narrower, and so the fault is less obvious with these. It is less serious to let a short vowel follow a long, and less serious again to have a short vowel preceding a long. The least offence of all is caused by the clash of two short vowels. Again, when the vowels which come together are different, the roughness <or smoothness> of the combination depends on whether the mouth is differently or similarly shaped in forming them.



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- 35 Non tamen id ut crimen ingens expavescendum est, ac nescio negligentia in hoc an sollicitudo sit peior. Inhibeat enim necesse est hic metus impetum dicendi et a potioribus avertat. Quare ut negligentiae est passim<sup>12</sup> hoc pati, ita humilitatis ubique perhorrescere, nimiosque non inmerito in hac cura putant omnis Isocraten secutos praecipueque Theopompum. At Demosthenes et Cicero modice respexerunt ad hanc partem. Nam et coeuntes litterae, quae συναλιφαί dicuntur, etiam leviolem faciunt orationem quam si omnia verba suo fine cludantur, et nonnumquam hiulca etiam decent faciuntque ampliora quaedam, ut 'pulchra oratione acta [oratio] iacta te',<sup>13</sup> cum longae per se et velut opimae syllabae aliquid etiam medii temporis
- 36
- 37 inter vocales quasi intersistatur adsumunt. Qua de re utar Ciceronis potissimum verbis. 'Habet' inquit 'ille tamquam hiatus et concursus vocalium molle quiddam et quod indicet non ingrati negligentiam de re hominis magis quam de verbis laborantis.'

- Ceterum consonantes quoque, earumque praecipue quae sunt asperiores, in commissura verborum rixantur, ut s ultima cum x proxima, quarum tristior etiam si binae collidantur stridor est, ut 'ars studiorum'. Quae fuit causa et
- 38 Servio Sulpicio<sup>14</sup> subtrahendae s litterae quotiens ultima

<sup>12</sup> *Christ*: pars A: semper *Winterbottom*

<sup>13</sup> acta (ista *Halm*) [oratio] iacta te *D.A.R.* after *Halm*: acta oratio iactatae A

<sup>14</sup> *Leo*, after *Bergk*: ut dixi A

<sup>26</sup> "Show pride in yourself, having delivered a beautiful speech." Text unsure: quotation (if it is one) unidentified.

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However, hiatus is not to be dreaded as a really heinous crime; indeed I am not sure which is worse, carelessness in this respect or obsessive observance. Anxiety about it is certain to inhibit the flow of speech and distract us from more important things. It is no doubt careless to tolerate hiatus indiscriminately, but to be afraid of it everywhere is to make a slave of oneself. There is good reason for the view that all the followers of Isocrates, and Theopompus in particular, took excessive trouble over this. Demosthenes and Cicero, on the other hand, viewed the matter more moderately. For one thing, the coalescence of letters (*synaloephe*, as it is called) makes the language run even smoother than if all words kept their full endings; for another, hiatus is sometimes actually appropriate and adds a certain grandeur: in *pulchra oratione acta iacta te*,<sup>26</sup> the inherently long and rich syllables also take up a certain amount of time in the intervals between the vowels, as though there was a pause there. On this point, the best thing is for me to quote Cicero:<sup>27</sup> "This 'hiatus' or coming together of vowels has a certain softness in it, a sign of an agreeable carelessness on the part of a man who is more concerned for his matter than for his words."

(3) Consonants also, and especially the harsher ones, clash violently where words meet, for example a final *s* with a following initial *x*; the hiss produced by the collision of *s* with *s* (as in *ars studiorum*, "art of studies") is even more disagreeable. This is why Servius Sulpicius<sup>28</sup> dropped the final *s* whenever it was followed by another

<sup>27</sup> Cicero, *Orator* 77.

<sup>28</sup> Presumably the lawyer, consul 51 BC.

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- esset aliaque consonante susciperetur, quod reprehendit Luranius, Messala defendit. Nam neque Lucilium putat uti eadem ultima, cum dicit 'Aeserninus fuit' et 'dignus locoque', et Cicero in Oratore plures antiquorum tradit sic
- 39 locutos. Inde 'belligerare',<sup>15</sup> 'pomeridiam'<sup>16</sup> et illa Censori Catonis 'dicae' 'faciae'que, M littera in E mollita. Quae in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent, et dum librariorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur.
- 40 Atqui eadem illa littera, quotiens ultima est et vocalem verbi sequentis ita contingit ut in eam transire possit, etiam si scribitur, tamen parum exprimitur, ut 'multum ille' et 'quantum erat', adeo ut paene cuiusdam novae litterae sonum reddat. Neque enim eximitur sed obscuratur, et tantum in hoc aliqua inter duas vocales velut nota est, ne ipsae coeant.
- 41 Videndum etiam ne syllaba verbi prioris ultima et prima sequentis sit eadem:<sup>17</sup> quod ne quis praecipere miretur,

<sup>15</sup> t: pelligerere A

<sup>16</sup> Regius: pomeridiam A: posmeridiam Ritschl

<sup>17</sup> sit eadem Meister: idem nec A: idem sonet Watt (Ciceronis *Epistulae III*, p. 166)

<sup>29</sup> Unknown; the name has been variously emended, but Syme (*Roman Papers* 5. 633) judges that it should be kept.

<sup>30</sup> See on 1.5.15.

<sup>31</sup> Frs. 172–173 Warmington (*ROL* 3. 56), 149–150 Marx.

<sup>32</sup> 161, giving a fuller text of the second passage of Lucilius. Suppression of final s is common in early literature, down to Lucretius. See in general Allen (1965) 37; Lindsay (1894) 108; Coleman in Adams–Mayer (1999) 33–34.

<sup>33</sup> Puzzling examples, and an uncertain text. I assume t's correction is right: A's *pelligerere*, "to wear skins," is an unattested

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consonant. Luranius<sup>29</sup> criticized him for this, but Mesala<sup>30</sup> stood up for him. He thinks that Lucilius<sup>31</sup> does not pronounce the final *s* in *Aeserninus fuit* and *dignus locoque*, and certainly Cicero in the *Orator*<sup>32</sup> reports that many of the ancients spoke like this. Compare *belligerare*, *pomeridiam*,<sup>33</sup> and Cato the Censor's famous *dicae* and *faciae*,<sup>34</sup> *M* in this case being softened into *E*. Unlearned readers tend to change these things when they find them in old books, thereby admitting their own ignorance in their eagerness to correct that of the scribes. Yet the same letter *M*, when it is in final position and is in close contact with the initial vowel of the following word in such a way that it can pass over into it, is not pronounced, even if it is written: thus *multum ille* and *quantum erat*.<sup>35</sup> It comes almost to produce the sound of a new letter, for it is not elided, but muffled, and forms as it were simply a sort of mark between the two vowels, to prevent them from actually coalescing.

One should also take care that the last syllable of the preceding word and the first of the following word should not be the same. There is no need to be surprised at this

word. *Belligerare* ("to wage war") seems then to be thought of as derived from *bellum gerere*, with (in effect) suppression of *M*; but *pomeridiam* suppresses either *s* (*pos* = *post*, see *OLD* s.v.) or *ST*—or indeed just *T* if we accept *posmeridiam* as Q.'s text). Perhaps however Q. is here illustrating the suppression of final consonants in general (*inde* then would look further back, to the beginning of the section); if so, it is not essential that the suppressed consonant should be the same in all the examples.

<sup>34</sup> See 1.7.23.

<sup>35</sup> See Allen (1965) 30–31. *Multum ille* is from *Aeneid* 1.3.

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Ciceroni in epistulis excidit: 'res mihi invisae visae sunt, Brute', et in carmine:

o fortunatam natam me consule Romam.

- 42 Etiam monosyllaba, si plura sunt, male continuabuntur, quia necesse est compositio multis clausulis concisa subsultet. Ideoque etiam brevium verborum ac nominum vitanda continuatio et ex diverso quoque longorum: adfert enim quandam dicendi tarditatem. Illa quoque vitia sunt eiusdem loci, si cadentia similiter et desinentia et eodem
- 43 modo declinata multa iunguntur. Ne verba quidem verbis aut nomina nominibus similiaque his continuari decet, cum virtutes etiam ipsae taedium pariant nisi gratia varietatis adiutae.
- 44 Membrorum incisorumque iunctura non ea modo est observanda quae verborum, quamquam et in his extrema ac prima coeunt, sed plurimum refert compositionis quae quibus anteponas. Nam et 'vomens frustis esculentis gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit' <recte se habet, cum maius sit quod tribunal implevit,><sup>18</sup> et contra (nam frequentius utar isdem diversarum quoque rerum exemplis, quo sint magis familiaria) 'saxa atque solitudines voci respondent, bestiae saepe inmanes cantu flectuntur atque

<sup>18</sup> *suppl. Halm; e.g.*

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<sup>36</sup> *Fr. epist. VII. 13* Watt: "Things unseen (or hated) have been seen by me, Brutus."

<sup>37</sup> *Fr. 17* Morel = 8 Courtney (1993). "O fortunate Rome, born in my consulship." From Cicero's poem on his consulship, probably from a speech (compare *In Catilinam* 2.7: *O fortunatam rem*

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piece of advice, seeing that Cicero failed to stop himself writing in his letters *Res mihi <invisae> visae sunt, Brute*,<sup>36</sup> and in a poem

*O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.*<sup>37</sup>

It is bad also to have a continuous run of monosyllables, because the Composition is inevitably broken up by the numerous word endings, and becomes extremely jerky. For the same reason we should avoid a succession of short verbs and nouns, and, at the opposite extreme, a succession of long words, for this produces a certain slowing down. Under the same head comes the fault of having a long series of words with similar cadences, terminations, and inflections. It is also inartistic to have verbs following verbs and nouns nouns, and so on, in continuous series, because even good features produce boredom unless they are supported by the charms of variety.

The Linkage of Cola and Commata requires care in ways beyond those which apply to words, though here too there is a link between the end of one unit and the beginning of the next. What matters most for Composition, however, is what you put in front of what. On the one hand, "In vomiting, he filled with gobbets of food both his own lap and the whole tribunal"<sup>38</sup> <is correct, because the filling of the tribunal is the more significant fact>; on the other hand (I shall regularly use the same examples, even to illustrate different phenomena, so as to make them more familiar) "Rocks and lonely places respond to the voice, savage beasts are often moved and brought to a stand by the

*publicam!*) suggesting that Cicero could claim to be Rome's new founder. <sup>38</sup> Cicero, *Philippics* 2.63.

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consistunt' magis insurgebat si verteretur: nam plus est saxa quam bestias commoveri; vicit tamen compositionis decor.

Sed transeamus ad numeros.

- 45 Omnis structura [ac dimensio]<sup>19</sup> et copulatio vocum constat aut numeris (numeros *ῥυθμούς* accipi volo) aut *μέτροις*, id est dimensione quadam.<sup>20</sup> Quod, etiam si constat utrumque pedibus, habet tamen non simplicem differentiam. Nam primum numeri spatio temporum constant, metra etiam ordine, ideoque alterum esse quantitatis videtur, alterum <et><sup>21</sup> qualitatis. Rhythmos est aut par, ut dactylicus, una enim syllaba <longa duabus><sup>22</sup> par est brevibus (est quidem vis eadem et aliis pedibus, sed nomen illud tenet: longam esse duorum temporum, brevem unius etiam pueri sciunt)<sup>23</sup> aut sescuplex, ut paeanicus: is est ex longa et tribus brevibus <aut ex tribus brevibus><sup>24</sup> et longa (vel alio quoque modo, ut tempora tria ad duo relata sescuplum faciant) aut duplex, ut iambos (nam est ex brevi et
- 47
- 48 longa) quique est ei contrarius. Sunt hi et metrici pedes,

<sup>19</sup> del. D.A.R., after Gertz      <sup>20</sup> id est . . . quadam del. Winterbottom      <sup>21</sup> add. D.A.R.      <sup>22</sup> add. Radermacher  
<sup>23</sup> longam . . . sciunt del. Christ (Halm, *Addenda*, p. 368)  
<sup>24</sup> suppl. Halm

<sup>39</sup> *Pro Archia* 19.

<sup>40</sup> "Dactylic rhythm" could include any foot which, as it were, falls into two equal parts: *υυ, υυυυ, -υυ, υυ-, --, ----* (so Aristides Quintilianus 15, p. 35 Winnington-Ingram). But Q. is unclear here, and may include only Dactyl, Anapaest, and Spondee. Moreover, *longam . . . sciunt* looks suspiciously like an interpolation.

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power of song"<sup>39</sup> would rise to a better climax if it were reversed, because it is a bigger thing to move rocks than to move wild beasts; but elegance of Composition won the day.

Let us now pass to Rhythm.

### *Rhythm*

(3) Every structure and combination of sounds involves either Numbers (by which I mean Rhythms) or Metres (that is measure of some kind). Now although both are made up of feet, there are various differences between them. (1) In the first place, Rhythms depend on time spaces, Metres also on the order of these: the former seem thus to be a matter of Quantity, the latter <also> of Quality. (2) Rhythm is either (a) equal, like dactylic rhythm,<sup>40</sup> one long syllable being equivalent to two shorts (other feet also have the same characteristic, but the name is valid for all; even schoolboys know that a long syllable occupies two "times," and a short syllable one); or (b) in the proportion 3:2, as in the Paean, which consists of a long and three shorts or three shorts and a long, or any other pattern in which the relation of three "times" to two produces this proportion;<sup>41</sup> or (c) in the proportion 2:1, like the Iambus (consisting of a short and a long) and its opposite.<sup>42</sup> These are also metrical feet, but the difference is that, in

41 - ∪ ∪ ∪ , ∪ ∪ ∪ - ("first" and "fourth" Paeans) and - ∪ - (Cretic) are the common form. Q. allows the theoretical possibility of ∪ - ∪ ∪ , ∪ ∪ - ∪ .

42 I.e. the choreus ("trochee" as we call it), - ∪ .



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sed hoc interest, quod rhythmo indifferens dactylicusne ille priores habeat breves an sequentes: tempus enim solum metitur, ut a sublacione ad positionem idem spatii sit. Prorsus<sup>25</sup> alia dimensio<sup>26</sup> versuum: pro dactylico poni non poterit anapaestos aut spondius, nec paeon eadem ratione  
 49 brevis incipiet ac desinet. Neque solum alium pro alio pedem metrorum ratio non recipit, sed ne dactylum quidem aut forte spondium alterum pro altero. Itaque si quinque continuos dactylos, ut sunt in illo

panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi

confundas, solveris versum.

50 Sunt et illa discrimina, quod rhythmis libera spatia, metris finita sunt, et his certae clausulae, illi quo modo coeperant currunt usque ad metabolen, id est transitum ad aliud rhythmici genus, et quod metrum in verbis modo, rhythmos  
 51 etiam in corporis motu est. Inania quoque tempora rhythmici facilius accipient; quamquam haec et in metris accidunt, maior tamen illic licentia est, ubi tempora et<sup>27</sup> animo metiuntur et pedum et digitorum ictu, intervalla signant quibusdam notis, atque aestimant quot breves illud spatium habeat: inde tetrasemoe, pentasemoe, deinceps longiores sunt percussiones (nam semion tempus est unum).

<sup>25</sup> *M.W.*: proinde A      <sup>26</sup> *Winterbottom after Spalding*: ad dimensionem A      <sup>27</sup> *Winterbottom*: etiam A

<sup>43</sup> *Aeneid* 10.1: "Meanwhile the house of all-powerful Olympus is opened."

<sup>44</sup> A musical term (e.g. Aristides Quintilianus 1.19, 40.1 *Winnington-Ingram*), but also used of prose rhythm; see especially *Dionysius*, op. cit. 19 (2.148-154 *Usher*), who also draws a contrast between prose and verse.

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Rhythm, it does not matter whether the dactylic foot has its short syllables before or after the long, because Rhythm only measures the time, to ensure that there is the same interval between the rise and the fall of the foot. (3) The measure of verse is quite different: an Anapaest or Spondee cannot replace a Dactyl, nor can a Paean begin or end indifferently with its short syllables or its long. (4) Further, the principle of Metre not only forbids the substitution of one foot for another, but does not even allow one Dactyl or Spondee, for example, to replace another. So if you alter the order of the five successive dactyls in *panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi*,<sup>43</sup> you will have destroyed the verse.

There are other differences also. (5) In Rhythms, the space available is unrestricted, in Metre it is limited; (6) Metre has fixed end cadences, Rhythm runs on as it began as far as its "shift" (*metabole*),<sup>44</sup> that is to say the transition to another type of Rhythm; (7) Metre is a matter of words only, Rhythm includes movements of the body. (8) Rhythm also more readily allows unoccupied time units;<sup>45</sup> these do occur also in Metre, but there is more freedom in Rhythm, where we measure time units both mentally and by the beat of foot or finger, mark the intervals by signs, and estimate the number of shorts that the space will hold. Hence we speak of "four-unit" and "five-unit" (tetrasemic, pentasemic)<sup>46</sup> Rhythms, and indeed longer ones: *semeion* means a single time unit.

<sup>43</sup> I.e. *κενὸς χρόνος*, a time unit "without sound, to fill up the rhythm" (Aristides Quintilianus 1.18, 38.28 Winnington-Ingram).

<sup>46</sup> These terms are used in a discussion of "types of foot" by Aristides Quintilianus 1.14–15 (32 ff. Winnington-Ingram).

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- 52 In compositione orationis certior et magis omnibus  
 aperta servari debet dimensio. Est igitur in pedibus, et  
 metricis quidem pedibus, qui adeo reperiuntur in oratione  
 ut in ea frequenter non sentientibus nobis omnium gene-  
 rum excidant versus, et contra nihil quod est prorsa scrip-  
 tum non redigi possit in quaedam versiculorum genera vel  
 53 in membra, si in tam molestos incidimus grammaticos  
 quam fuerunt qui lyricorum quorundam carmina in varias  
 mensuras coegerunt. At Cicero frequentissime dicit totum  
 hoc constare numeris, ideoque reprehenditur a quibus-  
 54 dam tamquam orationem ad rhythmos alliget. Nam sunt  
 numeri rhythmoe, ut et ipse constituit et secuti eum Vergi-  
 lius, cum dicit

numeros memini, si verba tenerem,

et Horatius

numerisque fertur | lege solutis.

- 55 Invadunt ergo hanc inter ceteras vocem: 'neque enim De-  
 mosthenis fulmina tantopere vibratura' dicit 'nisi numeris  
 contorta ferrentur': in quo si hoc sentit: 'rhythmis contor-  
 ta', dissentio. Nam rhythmici, ut dixi, neque finem habent  
 certum nec ullam in contextu varietatem, sed qua coepe-  
 runt sublacione ac positione ad finem usque decurrunt:  
 56 oratio non descendet ad crepitum digitorum. Idque Cice-  
 ro optime videt ac testatur frequenter se quod numerosum

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<sup>47</sup> Dionysius, op. cit. 25 (2.216 Usher) observes that "Nature often improvises verses."

<sup>48</sup> Dionysius (ibid. 26, 2.238-240 Usher) treats an example from Simonides as written like prose. Q's criticism of pedantic *grammatici* would presumably not apply to this discussion.

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In oratorical Composition, the more definite and more generally obvious measure should be maintained. It therefore consists of feet, indeed of metrical feet. These are found in oratory so often that we often unwittingly let slip verses of all kinds,<sup>47</sup> while, on the other hand, there is nothing written in prose which cannot be reduced to some types of verse or cola, if we encounter *grammatici* as pedantic as those who forced the poems of certain lyric poets into a variety of measures.<sup>48</sup> Cicero indeed often says that the whole business is a matter of Numbers, and he is therefore criticized by some as making prose the slave of Rhythms. (Numbers means Rhythms, as he asserts himself, and he is followed in this by Vergil, when he says "I remember the Numbers, if only I recalled the words,"<sup>49</sup> and by Horace, in "and moves in Numbers free from law."<sup>50</sup>) Among other remarks of Cicero, people attack his saying that "Demosthenes' thunderbolts would not have struck so hard if they had not been launched upon their way by Numbers."<sup>51</sup> Now if here he means "launched by Rhythms," I disagree. Rhythms, as I said, have no fixed limits or any variety within a given context, but run on to the end with the rise and fall with which they began:<sup>52</sup> oratory will not stoop to crack its fingers. Cicero sees this very well and frequently bears witness that he is looking for what is characterized by Number, in the sense that he pre-

<sup>49</sup> *Eclogues* 9.45.

<sup>50</sup> *Carmina* 4.2.11-12 (of Pindar).      <sup>51</sup> *Orator* 234.

<sup>52</sup> This seems to mean that "rhythms" are characterized by the same pattern of arsis and thesis (i.e. the same type of foot, e.g. "dactylic") running on till the *metabolē* which marks a shift to another kind, whereas oratory has no such restriction.

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- sit quaerere ut magis non arrhythum, quod esset inscium atque agreste, quam enrhythum, quod poeticum est, esse compositionem velit: sicut etiam quos palaestritas esse nolumus, tamen esse nolumus eos qui dicuntur apa-  
 57 laestroe. Verum ea quae efficitur e pedibus apta conclusio nomen aliquod desiderat. Quid sit igitur potius quam 'numerus', sed oratorius numerus, ut enthymema rhetoricus syllogismus? Ego certe, ne in calumniam cadam, qua ne M. quidem Tullius caruit, posco hoc mihi, ut, cum pro composito dixerio numerum et ubicumque iam dixi, oratorium dicere intellegar.
- 58 Conlocatio autem verba iam probata et electa et velut adsignata sibi debet conectere: nam vel dure inter se commissa potiora sunt inutilibus. Tamen et eligere quaedam, dum ex iis quae idem significant atque idem valeant, permiserim, et adicere dum non otiosa, et detrahere dum non necessaria, et figuris mutare casus atque numeros, quorum varietas frequenter gratia compositionis adscita etiam suo nomine solet esse iucunda.
- 59 Etiam ubi aliud ratio, aliud consuetudo poscet, utrum volet sumat compositio, 'vitavisse' vel 'vitasse', 'deprehendere' vel 'deprendere'. Coitus etiam syllabarum non nega-

<sup>53</sup> On Q.'s own use, see Winterbottom, *Problems* 58. Note *deprenditur* just below (§ 60).

fers Composition to be not unrhythmical (that would be inartistic and coarse) rather than to be rhythmical, this being a feature of poetry—just as we do not want people to be what is called “unathletic,” even if we do not want them to be professional athletes. But the pattern of a properly formed period made up of feet does need a name: and what name is more suitable than Number—*oratorical* Number, that is to say, on the same principle that we speak of Enthymeme as a *rhetorical* syllogism? For my part, to avoid the misrepresentation from which even Cicero was not exempt, I ask the reader, when I speak of Number in the sense of what is properly “composed,” and whenever I have in the past spoken like this, to understand me as meaning *oratorical* Number.

### *Words shaped to fit Rhythms*

Arrangement has the task of linking together words already approved, chosen, and as it were allotted to it. Even words which combine harshly are preferable to words which are useless. Nevertheless, I am inclined to allow some choice here, so long as it is among words which have the same meaning and force, and also some additions, so long as these are not otiose, and some omissions, though not of essential words. I would allow also the use of Figures to vary case and number; variety in these, frequently introduced for the sake of the Composition, tends to be attractive also on its own account.

Again, where Analogy demands one form and Usage another, let Composition choose which it will: *vitavisse* or *vitasse* (“to have avoided”), *deprehendere* or *deprendere* (“to catch”).<sup>53</sup> I shall not veto coalescence of syllables

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60 bo et quidquid sententiis aut elocutioni non nocebit. Praecipuum tamen in hoc opus est, scire quod quoque loco verbum<sup>28</sup> maxime quadret. Atque is optime componet qui hoc non solum componendi gratia facit.

Ratio vero pedum in oratione est multo quam in versu difficilior: primum quod versus paucis continetur, oratio longiores habet saepe circumitus, deinde quod versus semper similis sibi est et una ratione decurrit, orationis compositio, nisi varia est, et offendit similitudine et in ad-  
61 fectatione deprenditur. Et in omni quidem corpore totoque, ut ita dixerim, tractu numerus insertus est: neque enim loqui possum nisi e syllabis brevibus ac longis, ex quibus pedes fiunt. Magis tamen et desideratur in clausulis et apparet, primum quia sensus omnis habet suum finem poscitque naturale intervallum quo a sequentis initio dividatur, deinde quod aures continuam vocem secutae, ductaeque velut prono decurrentis orationis flumine, tum magis iudicant cum ille impetus stetit et intuendi tempus  
62 dedit. Non igitur durum sit neque abruptum quo animi velut respirant ac reficiuntur. Haec est sedes orationis, hoc auditor expectat, hic laus omnis exclamat.<sup>29</sup>

63 Proximam clausulis diligentiam postulant initia: nam et in haec intentus auditor est. Sed eorum facilior ratio est; non enim cohaerent aliis nec praecedentibus serviunt:

<sup>28</sup> *edd.*: verborum A

<sup>29</sup> *Rollin*: declamat A: declaratur *Winterbottom*: detonabit *D.A.R.* ('*will thunder out*, cf. 12.9.4) (detonat *Watt* 1998)

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either, or indeed anything which is not going to damage the thought or the diction. The main job here, however, is to know what word squares best in each place. And the best practitioner of Composition will be the man who practises it not solely for its own sake.

### *Rhythm throughout a text*

The principles relating to feet are much more difficult in prose than in verse, first because a verse is limited to a few feet, whereas prose often has quite long periods, and secondly because verse is always uniform and proceeds on a single principle, whereas oratorical Composition, unless it is varied, gives offence by its uniformity, and is seen to be contrived. Rhythm of course pervades every text, one might say, over its whole area, for I cannot speak at all except in short and long syllables, which are the constituents of feet. But it is more expected, and more apparent, at endings (*clausulae*), firstly, because every thought has its own end and requires a natural interval to divide it from the beginning of the next; and, secondly, because the ear, after following the unbroken sound of the voice and being carried along, as it were, down the stream of oratory, prefers to form its own judgement at the point when the movement has stopped and provided a moment for reflection. So there should be no harshness or abruptness where the mind, as it were, takes breath and recovers. This is where the speech rests, this is what the audience is waiting for, this is where all the applause becomes vociferous.

Next to the *clausula*, it is the beginning that requires most care, for here too the listener is alert. But beginnings are easier: they are not attached to anything else and are



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exordium sumunt. Clausula<sup>30</sup> <enim>,<sup>31</sup> quamlibet sit [enim]<sup>32</sup> composita ipsa, gratiam perdet si ad eam rupta via venerimus. Nam quo<sup>33</sup> fit ut cum Demosthenis severa videatur compositio τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, et illa quae ab uno, quod sciam, Bruto minus probatur, ceteris placet καὶ μήπω βάλλη μηδὲ τοξέη, Ciceronem 64 carpant in his 'familiaris coeperat esse balneatori' et 'non nimis dura archipiratae'? Nam 'balneatori' et 'archipiratae' idem finis est qui πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις et qui μηδὲ τοξέη, 65 sed priora sunt severiora. Est in eo quoque nonnihil, quod hic singulis verbis bini pedes continentur, quod etiam in carminibus est praemolle, nec solum ubi quinae, ut in his, syllabae nectuntur, 'fortissima Tyndaridarum', sed etiam quaternae, cum versus cluditur 'Appennino' et 'armamentis' et 'Orione'. Quare hic quoque vitandum est ne plurium 66 syllabarum verbis utamur in fine.

Mediis quoque non ea modo cura sit, ut inter se cohaereant, sed ne pigra, ne longa sint, ne, quod nunc maxime vitium est, brevium contextu resultent ac sonum reddant

<sup>30</sup> *Winterbottom, after Spalding*: cum ea A

<sup>31</sup> *add. D.A.R.*

<sup>32</sup> *del. Regius*

<sup>33</sup> *Namque eo Halm*

<sup>54</sup> *Gratia* seems here to be contrasted with "austerity" or "severity," as a less noble quality; Demosthenes' sentences are thus "severe," Cicero's tend to the other extreme.

<sup>55</sup> *On the crown* 1: "I pray to all the gods and goddesses." Compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus, op. cit. 18 (2. 138-140 Usher).

<sup>56</sup> *Philippics* 3.17: "even if he is not yet throwing or shooting anything." Cf. Dionysius, op. cit. 9 (2. 64 Usher).

<sup>57</sup> *Pro Caelio* 62: "began to be friendly with the bath keeper."

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not determined by what comes before; they make a fresh start. The clausula, for its part, however well composed, will lose its gracefulness<sup>54</sup> if the road to it has been broken up. For how else does it happen that Demosthenes' *tois theois euchomai pāsi kai pāsais*<sup>55</sup> and *kān mēpō ballēi mēde toxeuēi*<sup>56</sup> (which only Brutus disapproves of, so far as I know, everyone else approving) are thought to illustrate "austere" Composition, while Cicero is criticized for *familiaris esse coeperat balneatori*<sup>57</sup> and *non nimis dura archipiratae*?<sup>58</sup> For *balneatori* and *archipiratae* make the same ending<sup>59</sup> as *pāsi kai pāsais* and *mēde toxeuēi*, but the first examples are the more "austere." There is something too in the point that here two feet are contained within a single word, which even in poetry gives a very soft effect, not only when a five-syllable word is concerned (as in *fortissima Tyndaridarum*)<sup>60</sup> but also when the line ends with a quadrisyllable like *Appennino*, *armamentis* or *Orione*.<sup>61</sup> We must therefore avoid using polysyllabic words at the end in oratory also.

In the middle part of a period too we must not only take care to ensure internal cohesion, but also avoid anything slack or dragging or (a particularly common fault nowa-

<sup>58</sup> Compare *In Verrem* 5.60: "not too harsh for the pirate chief."

<sup>59</sup> - u - - -, cretic + spondee.

<sup>60</sup> Horace, *Sermones* 1.1.100, "bravest of Tyndareus' children" (i.e. Clytemnestra).

<sup>61</sup> These hexameter endings are found, respectively, in Persius 1.95 (parody; but compare Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.226, *Appenninus*), Ovid, *Met.* 11.456, Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.517 (also Germanicus, *Aratea* 343).

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- 67 paene puerilium crepitaculorum. Nam ut initia clausulaeque plurimum momenti habent quotiens incipit sensus aut desinit,<sup>34</sup> sic in mediis quoque sunt quidam conatus<sup>35</sup> iique leviter insistunt, ut currentium pes, etiam si non moratur, tamen vestigium facit. Itaque non modo membra atque incisa bene incipere atque cludi decet, sed etiam in
- 68 sunt illi vel occulti gradus. Quis enim dubitet unum sensum in hoc et unum spiritum esse: 'animadverti, iudices, omnem accusatoris orationem in duas divisam esse partis'; tamen et duo prima verba et tria proxima et deinceps duo
- 69 rursus ac tria suos quasi numeros habent: spiritum sustinemus sicut rhythmis aestimatur.<sup>36</sup> Hae particulae prout sunt graves acres, lentae celeres, remissae exultantes, proinde id quod ex illis conficitur aut severum aut luxuriosum aut
- 70 quadratum aut solutum erit. Quaedam etiam clausulae sunt claudae atque pendentes si relinquuntur, sed sequentibus suscipi ac sustineri solent, eoque facto vitium quod erat in fine continuatio emendat. 'Non vult populus Romanus obsoletis criminibus accusari Verrem' durum si desinas: sed cum est continuatum his quae secuntur, quamquam natura ipsa divisa sunt: 'nova postulat, inaudita
- 71 desiderat', salvus est cursus. 'Ut adeas, tantum dabis' male

<sup>34</sup> quotiens . . . 'desinit should perhaps be transposed to follow in mediis quoque (D.A.R.) or clausulaeque (G.S. Korzeniowski)

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps gradus D.A.R. (as below)      <sup>36</sup> sicut rhythmis aestimatur *Winterbottom*: sic aput rimas aestimantur A

<sup>62</sup> Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 1: "I noticed, members of the jury, that the prosecutor's entire speech was divided into three parts." See 8.6.65, and below, 9.4.74, 92.

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days) the jerky effect of a run of short syllables that sound almost like a child's rattle. For, while the beginnings and the clausulae are most important whenever a sentence begins and ends, there are also, as it were, fresh starts in the middle part, and these involve light pauses—just as the foot of a runner, even though it does not rest, still leaves a print. So not only must Cola and Commata begin and end properly, but even in parts which are unquestionably linked together and involve no pause for breath, there are these, as it were, hidden stages. Who can doubt that there is only one thought and one breath in *animadverti iudices omnem accusatoris orationem in duas divisam esse partes?*<sup>62</sup> Yet the two first words, the next three, and then again the next two and three, have their own special rhythms; and we maintain our breathing as determined by the rhythm. And as these subsections are solemn or vigorous, slow or quick, relaxed or excited, so the whole which is made up of them will be austere or lavish, compact or unstructured. Some clausulae also are lame or hang in the air if left to themselves, but are often caught up and supported by what follows, and if this happens the sequel corrects a weakness which was present in the closing phrase: *non vult populus Romanus obsoletis criminibus accusari Verrem*<sup>63</sup> is harsh if you stop at that point; but if this is taken together with the following *nova postulat, inaudita desiderat*, though these phrases are naturally separate, the smooth run of the sentence is preserved. *Ut adeas tantum dabis*

<sup>63</sup> *In Verrem* 5.117: "The Roman people does not want Verres to be accused on obsolete charges, it demands new ones, it wants something unheard of."

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- cluderet, nam et trimetri versus pars ultima est: excipit 'ut tibi cibum vestitumque intro ferre liceat, tantum': praeceps adhuc firmatur ac sustinetur ultimo 'nemo recusabat'.
- 72 Versum in oratione fieri multo foedissimum est totum, sed etiam in parte deforme, utique si pars posterior in clausula deprehendatur aut rursus prior in ingressu. Nam quod est contra saepe etiam decet, quia et cludit interim optime prima pars versus, dum intra paucas syllabas, praecipue senari atque octonari ('in Africa fuisse' initium senari est, primum pro Q. Ligario caput cludit; 'esse videatur',
- 73 iam nimis frequens, octonarium inchoat: talia sunt Demosthenis *πάσι καὶ <πάσαις et καὶ>*<sup>37</sup> *πᾶσιν ὑμῖν* et
- 74 totum paene principium) et ultima versuum initio conveniunt orationis: 'etsi vereor, iudices', et 'animadverti, iudices'. Sed initia initiis non convenient, ut T. Livius hexametri exordio coepit: 'facturusne operae pretium sim' (nam ita editum, estque<sup>38</sup> melius quam quo modo emendatur),
- 75 nec clausulae clausulis, ut Cicero: 'quo me vertam nescio',

<sup>37</sup> *suppl. D.A.R. after G and Rufinus GL 6.568*

<sup>38</sup> *recc.: est quod A*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 5.118: "To be admitted, you are to give such and such a sum; to be allowed to take in food and clothing, such and such a sum. No one refused."

<sup>65</sup> I.e. a six-foot iambic or eight-foot iambic or trochaic line.

<sup>66</sup> *Pro Ligario* 1: "to have been in Africa," υ - υ - υ - υ.

<sup>67</sup> - υ υ υ - -, paeon (= resolved cretic) + spondee: ridiculed as Cicero's favourite, Q. 10.2.18, and by Aper in Tacitus, *Dialogus* 23.1; it is not however unduly common in Cicero.

<sup>68</sup> These are the openings of *Pro Milone* ("Even though I fear, members of the jury") and *Pro Cluentio* ("I noticed, members of

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would make a poor ending, because it is also the last part of an iambic trimeter; it is followed by *ut tibi cibum vestitum-que intro ferre liceat, tantum*, but it remains abrupt, and only the final *nemo recusabat* strengthens and supports it.<sup>64</sup>

### *Complete verses to be avoided*

The occurrence of an *entire* verse in prose is more disgusting than anything, but even a *part* of a verse is disfiguring, especially if a verse close is detected at your clausula or a verse opening at your beginning. The opposite is often in fact elegant. On the one hand, a verse opening sometimes makes an excellent close, so long as it is only a few syllables long, and preferably if it is the first part of a senarius or an octonarius<sup>65</sup> (the senarius opening *in Africa fuisse*<sup>66</sup> closes the first section of *Pro Ligario*; the only too common *esse videatur*<sup>67</sup> is the beginning of an octonarius: Demosthenes' *pāsi kai pāsais* and *kai pāsin hūmīn* are similar, as is almost his whole exordium); on the other hand, verse endings are appropriate for prose beginnings: *etsi vereor iudices*, or *animadverti, iudices*.<sup>68</sup> Verse beginnings however will not suit prose beginnings (Livy<sup>69</sup> begins with a hexameter opening; *facturusne operae pretium sim* is what he published, and it is better than the way in which it is corrected) nor verse endings prose endings, like Cicero's

the jury") ; both could be scanned as second halves of *senarii*.

<sup>69</sup> *Praefatio* 1: "whether I am to attempt something worthwhile." MSS of Livy have *sim operae pretium*, corrected (perhaps wrongly) by editors in accordance with Q.'s information.

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- qui trimetri finis est. [Trimetrum et <senarium><sup>39</sup> promiscue dicere licet: sex enim pedes, tres percussiones habet.]<sup>40</sup> Peius cludit finis hexametri, ut Brutus in epistulis: 'neque illi malunt habere tutores aut defensores quam quos<sup>41</sup> sciunt placuisse Catoni.' Iambi<sup>42</sup> minus sunt notabiles, quia hoc genus sermoni proximum est. Itaque et versus hi<sup>43</sup> fere excidunt, quos Brutus ipso componendi durius studio saepissime facit, non raro Asinius, sed etiam Cicero nonnumquam, ut in principio statim orationis in L. Pisonem: 'pro di immortales, qui hic inluxit dies?' Non minore autem cura vitandum est quidquid est ἀναπαίον,<sup>44</sup> quale apud Sallustium: 'falso queritur de natura sua.' Quamvis enim vincta sit, tamen soluta videri debet oratio. Atqui Plato, diligentissimus compositionis, in Timaeo prima statim parte vitare ista non potuit. Nam et initium hexametri statim invenias, et anacreontion protinus colon efficias,<sup>45</sup> et si velis trimetron, et quod duobus pedibus et parte πενθημιμερές a Graecis dicitur, et haec omnia in tri-

<sup>39</sup> *add.* Christ

<sup>40</sup> *del.* Gesner, Radermacher

<sup>41</sup> quam quos *Winterbottom*: quamquam A

<sup>42</sup> *Halm*: illi A

<sup>43</sup> *edd.*: hic A

<sup>44</sup> *Winterbottom*, after Radermacher: enpiomon A (*i.e.*

ἔνρηθμον)

<sup>45</sup> *recc.*: efficias A

<sup>70</sup> *Pro Ligario* 1, *Pro Cluentio* 4 ("I do not know where to turn").

<sup>71</sup> Not among the few letters of Brutus included in Cicero, *Ad familiares*. The phrase scans -- u u - u u - -.

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*Quo me vertam, nescio*,<sup>70</sup> which is the end of a trimeter. [One can say "trimeter" and <"senarius"> indifferently, because the line has six feet but three beats.] The end of a hexameter is particularly bad, though there is an instance in Brutus' Letters: "Nor do they prefer to have guardians or defenders, other than those whom they know have won Cato's approval (*sciunt placuisse Catoni*)."<sup>71</sup> Iambics are less censurable, because this metre is nearest to ordinary speech.<sup>72</sup> Thus even whole iambic lines slip out: Brutus, with his deliberate cultivation of harsh Composition, often does this, Asinius not seldom, and even Cicero occasionally; for example, right at the beginning of *In Pisonem*:<sup>73</sup> *pro di immortales, qui hic illuxit dies!* And one must be just as careful about avoiding an anapaestic phrase, like Sallust's *falso queritur de natura sua*.<sup>74</sup> For however much prose is confined by rules, it must seem to be free. Yet Plato, an extremely careful practitioner of Composition, could not avoid these faults right at the beginning of the *Timaeus*, where you can at once find the beginning of a hexameter, and then make out an Anacreonteion and, if you choose, a trimeter, and what the Greeks call a *penthēmimeres* (comprising two feet and a half), and all

<sup>72</sup> So Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449a24.

<sup>73</sup> Fr. 1 Nisbet: "By the immortal gods, what a day is this that has dawned!" A perfect senarius, if we assume hiatus between *qui* and *hic*.

<sup>74</sup> *Jugurtha* 1: "(Humanity) falsely complains of its nature": --  
 ∪ ∪ - - - - , an anapaestic dimeter.



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bus versibus: et Thucydidi ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν ex mollissimo rhythmorum genere excidit.

- 79 Sed quia omnem oratoriam <compositionem pedibus><sup>46</sup> constare dixi, aliqua de his quoque: quorum nomina quia varie traduntur, constituendum est quo quemque appellemus. Equidem Ciceronem sequar (nam is eminentissimos Graecorum est secutus), excepto quod pes mihi trisyllabas non videtur excedere, quamquam ille paeane dochmioque, quorum prior in quattuor, secundus in quin-
- 80 que excurrit, utatur; nec tamen ipse dissimulat quibusdam numeros videri, non pedes, neque inmerito: quidquid est enim supra trisyllabas, id est ex pluribus pedibus. Ergo cum constant quattuor pedes binis, octo ternis, spondion longis duabus, pyrrhichium, quem alii pariambum vocant, brevibus <duabus>,<sup>47</sup> iambum brevi longaque, huic contrarium e longa et brevi choreum, non ut alii trochaeum
- 81 nominemus: ex iis vero qui ternas syllabas habent dacty-

<sup>46</sup> add. *Radermacher after Regius and Spalding* (cf. *Diomedes*, GL 1.465)      <sup>47</sup> add. *Halm*

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<sup>75</sup> Plato, *Timaeus* 17A: εἷς δύο τρεῖς· ὁ δὲ δὴ τέταρτος ἡμῶν, ὦ φίλε Τίμαιε, ποῦ τῶν χθὲς μὲν δαιτυμόνων, τὰ νῦν δὲ ἐστιατόρων; ("One, two, three—but, my dear Timaeus, where's the fourth of our yesterday's diners who are now giving us the feast?"). Here (1) εἷς . . . τρεῖς – υ υ – is the beginning of a hexameter, (2) ὁ δὲ . . . ἡμῶν υ υ – υ – υ – – is an Anacreontic, (3) δύο τρεῖς . . . ὦ φίλε υ υ – υ υ – υ – υ – – – υ x is a trimeter, (4) εἷς . . . ὁ δὲ δὴ – υ υ – υ υ – is a penthemimeres. Such analyses are found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (e.g. *On literary composition* 25, 2. 215–221 Usher), and Proclus' commentary on *Timaeus* (5c Diehl) reports discussions of the stylistic qualities of this passage by Longinus and others.

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this within three lines!<sup>75</sup> Thucydides too let slip an instance of a very effeminate rhythm in the words *huper hēmisan Kāres ephanēsan*.<sup>76</sup>

### *Various feet and their uses*

But, having stated that all oratorical <Composition> consists <of feet>, I must say something about these too. There are various traditional names for them, and we must therefore decide what to call each foot. I shall follow Cicero<sup>77</sup> (who himself followed the most eminent of the Greeks), except that I hold that no foot can exceed three syllables in length, while Cicero includes the paeon and the dochmius, the former of which runs to four syllables and the latter to five. He does not however conceal the fact that some think these are Numbers rather than feet. There is good reason for this view, since whatever exceeds three syllables consists of more than one foot. Now there are four two-syllable feet and eight three-syllable feet. Let us call them by the following names: two longs, a Spondee; two shorts, a Pyrrhic or (as some say) Pariambus; short and long, Iambus; long and short, Choreus (not Trochee, as some call it).<sup>78</sup> Of the three-syllable feet, the Dactyl has a

<sup>76</sup> Thucydides 1.8: “they appeared more than half Carian.” The phrase scans  $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup \cup - -$ , suggesting Ionic or Galliambic metre (see 9.4.6), which could be thought of as appropriate to the subject, the despised Asiatic Carians.

<sup>77</sup> *Orator* 191, *De oratore* 3.183 (paeon,  $- \cup \cup \cup$  or  $\cup \cup \cup -$ ); *Orator* 218 (dochmiac,  $\cup - - \cup -$ ). <sup>78</sup> Most modern writers call  $- \cup$  “trochee”; apart from this, Q.’s names are the familiar ones. For “pyrrhic” and “pariambus” as synonyms, see Aristides Quintilianus 1.22 (44.14 Winnington-Ingram).

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lum longa duabusque brevibus, huic temporibus parem sed retro actum appellari constat anapaeston. Media inter longas brevis faciet amphimacron (sed frequentius eius nomen est creticus); longa inter brevis amphibrachyn.<sup>48</sup>

82 <Longis duabus brevem sequentibus fit bacchius;><sup>49</sup> huic adversus longis brevem praecedentibus palimbacchius erit. Tres breves trochaeum, quem tribrachyn dici volunt qui choreo trochaei nomen imponunt, tres<sup>50</sup> longae molosson efficient. Horum pedum nullus non in orationem venit, sed quo quique sunt temporibus pleniore longisque syllabis magis stabiles, his graviorem faciunt orationem, breves celerem ac mobilem. Utrumque locis utile: nam et illud, ubi opus est velocitate, tardum et segne, et hoc, ubi pondus exigitur, praeceps ac resultans merito damnetur.

84 Sit in hoc quoque aliquid fortasse momenti, quod et longis longiores et brevibus sunt breviores syllabae: ut, quamvis neque plus duobus temporibus neque uno minus habere videantur ideoque in metris omnes breves omnesque longae inter se ipsae sint pares, lateat tamen nescio quid quod supersit aut desit. Nam versuum propria condicio

85 est, ideoque in his quaedam etiam communes; veritas vero qui patitur aequae brevem esse vel longam vocalem cum est sola quam cum eam consonantes una pluresve praecedunt?<sup>51</sup> Certe in dimensione pedum syllaba quae est

<sup>48</sup> *Spalding*: amphibrachios A

<sup>49</sup> *suppl. D.A.R. after Gertz: cf. Diomedes loc. cit.*

<sup>50</sup> *Winterbottom*: tyty A: totidem edd.

<sup>51</sup> praeccludunt *Radermacher* ('block it off')

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<sup>79</sup> Compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus, op. cit. 15 (2.105–109 Usher): "Not every short and every long has the same force, either

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long and two shorts, the Anapaest has the same time units but in the reverse order. A short between two longs will form an Amphimacron (more often called a Cretic), a long between two shorts an Amphibrach. <Two longs following a short gives a Bacchius >; its opposite, two longs preceding a short, is a Palimbacchius. Three shorts will make a Trochee, though this is called a Tribrach by those who use the term Trochee for the Choreus. Three longs will make a Molossus. All these feet come into prose; but the more time units they each occupy, and the more stability they receive from long syllables, the weightier they make the style; the short feet, on the other hand, make it rapid and nimble. Both are useful in their place; the former are properly rejected as slow and heavy when speed is wanted, the latter, equally properly, as abrupt and jerky where the need is for weight. It is also perhaps of some importance that some long syllables are longer than other longs, and some short syllables shorter than other shorts.<sup>79</sup> Thus, although syllables may be thought never to cover more than two time units or less than one, and although, in metre, all shorts and longs are equal to all other shorts and longs, there is nevertheless some concealed excess or deficiency in relation to the norm. Verse indeed has its own rules, and therefore in verse there are also some syllables which are common.<sup>80</sup> But how can the real facts allow a vowel to be short or long, both when it is on its own and when one or more consonants precede it? At any rate, in measuring

in prose or in poems or songs constructed out of rhythms or metre.”

<sup>80</sup> I.e. syllables which can be treated as long or short, as a short syllable counts as long at the end of a verse.

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- brevis, insequente alia vel brevi, quae tamen duas primas consonantes habeat, fit longa, ut 'agrestem tenui musam':  
 86 nam 'a' brevis, 'gre'<sup>52</sup> brevis, faciet tamen longam [a]<sup>53</sup> priorem. Dat igitur illi aliquid ex suo tempore; quo modo, nisi habet plus quam quae brevissima, qualis ipsa esset deductis consonantibus? Nunc unum tempus accommodat priori et unum accipit a sequente: ita duae natura breves positione sunt temporum quattuor.
- 87 Miror autem in hac opinione doctissimos homines fuisse, ut alios pedes ita eligerent aliosque damnarent quasi ullus esset quem non sit necesse in oratione deprendi. Licet igitur paeana sequatur Ephorus (inventum a Thrasymacho, probatum ab Aristotele) dactylumque, ut temperatos brevibus ac longis, fugiat <et spondeum et><sup>54</sup>
- 88 trochaeum, alterius tarditate nimia, alterius celeritate damnata; herous, qui est idem dactylus, Aristoteli amplior, iambus humilior videatur; trochaeum ut nimis currentem damnet eique cordacis nomen imponat, eademque dicant Theodectes ac Theophrastus, similia post eos Halicarnas-

<sup>52</sup> *recc.*: gres A

<sup>53</sup> *del. Spalding*

<sup>54</sup> *suppl. edd., cf. Cic. Orator 191*

<sup>81</sup> Vergil, *Eclogues* 6.8 *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam* ("I will practise rustic poetry on my slender reed"); 1.2 *silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena* ("you practise woodland poetry on your slender reed"). Q. has conflated these passages.

<sup>82</sup> So Cicero, *Orator* 191. Ephorus wrote about rhythmical prose: Theon, *Progymnasmata* p. 17, 19 Spengel (AS pp. 195–196).

<sup>83</sup> *Rhetoric* 3. 1409a2; AS p. 75; Cicero, *Orator* 175.

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feet, a short syllable becomes long when it is followed by another, even a short one, which begins with two consonants. In *agrestem tenui Musam*,<sup>81</sup> *a* is short, and *gre* is short, but will make the preceding syllable long. That means it gives it some of its own time. How can it do this, unless it occupies more time than the shortest possible syllable, such as it would be itself if its consonants were taken away? In fact, it lends one bit of time to the syllable before it, and takes one from the syllable after it. Thus two syllables short by nature occupy four units of time because of their position.

I am amazed that there have been excellent scholars whose views have led them to favour some feet and ban others, as though there was any foot which is not inevitably found in prose. Ephorus may favour the Paean,<sup>82</sup> which Thrasymachus discovered and Aristotle approved,<sup>83</sup> and also the Dactyl, regarding these as well-balanced between longs and shorts, and avoid <the Spondee and> Trochee, condemning the excessive slowness of the former and the rapidity of the latter; again, Aristotle may think the *herous*, that is to say the Dactyl, too dignified, and the Iambus too ordinary;<sup>84</sup> he may ban the Trochee as running too fast and call it a *cordax*,<sup>85</sup> Theodectes<sup>86</sup> and Theophrastus<sup>87</sup> may agree, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>88</sup> later hold similar

<sup>84</sup> *Rhetoric* 3. 1408b32; Cicero, *De oratore* 3.182.

<sup>85</sup> ὁ δὲ τροχάϊος κορδακικώτερος, Aristotle loc. cit. A *cordax* is a rude dance.

<sup>86</sup> See on 1.4.18.

<sup>87</sup> Fr. 704 Fortenbaugh (from Cicero, *Orator* 192–194, which is Q.'s main source for all this).

<sup>88</sup> Op. cit. 17 (2.122–130 Usher).

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- 89 *seus Dionysius: inrumpent etiam ad invitos, nec semper illis heroo aut paeane suo, quem quia versum raro facit maxime laudant, uti licebit. (Ut sint tamen aliis alii crebriores non verba facient, quae neque augeri nec minui nec sicut in*<sup>55</sup> *modulatione produci aut corripri possunt, sed*
- 90 *transmutatio et conlocatio; plerique enim ex commissuris eorum vel divisione fiunt pedes. Quo fit ut isdem verbis alii atque alii versus fiant, ut memini quendam non ignobilem poetam talis exarasse:*<sup>56</sup>

*astra tenet caelum, mare classes, area messem.*

*Hic retrorsum fit sotadeus, itemque <e> sotadeo*<sup>57</sup> *retro trimetros:*

*caput exeruit mobile pinus repetita.)*

- 91 *Miscendi ergo sunt, curandumque ut sint plures qui placent et circumfusi bonis deteriores lateant. Nec vero in litteris syllabisque natura mutatur, sed refert quae cum quaque optime coeat. Plurimum igitur auctoritatis, ut dixi, et ponderis habent longae, celeritatis breves: quae si miscentur quibusdam longis, currunt, si continuantur, exul-*

<sup>55</sup> *Winterbottom: sicuti A*

<sup>56</sup> *talis exarasse Winterbottom after Halm: taliter lusisse A*

<sup>57</sup> *<e> sotadeo Bonnell: sotadeo adiu A*

<sup>89</sup> "The sky holds stars, the sea fleets, the threshing-floor harvest." See Courtney (1993) p. 462 for this *versus reciprocus*, which scans in reverse — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡. A similar trick in Greek, Demetrius 189. <sup>90</sup> "The pine, struck again, thrust forth its waving head." Courtney, loc. cit., compares Seneca, *Oedipus* 582 *cupressus altis exserens silvis caput*, "the cypress

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views: all the same, these feet will force their way in even on the unwilling, and those writers will not always be able to use their *herous* or their favourite Paeon, which they praise so much because it is rarely the basis of verse. (It is not however the words which make some feet more frequent than others—words cannot be made bigger or smaller or shortened or lengthened at will as in singing—but the transposition and the arrangement of the words, for most feet are formed as a result of the way in which words are joined or separated. This is why different forms of verse can be made out of the same words. I remember a well-known poet writing lines like:

*astra tenet caelum, mare classes, area messem.*<sup>89</sup>

Read in reverse, this becomes a Sotadean; and a trimeter can also be made out of a Sotadean in reverse:

*caput exeruit mobile pinus repetita.*<sup>90)</sup>

There should therefore be a mixture of feet, and we should take care that the majority of them are pleasing and the less good hidden among the better ones with which they are surrounded. The nature of letters and syllables cannot of course be changed; what matters is which goes best with which. Thus long syllables, as I said, have most dignity and weight, and short syllables have most rapidity. Mixed with a few long ones, the short run nicely; in a con-

thrusting its head out from the lofty wood." But Q.'s line (reversed, it is the senarius *rēpētītā pīnūs mōbīl(e) ēxērūt cāpūt*) may describe (by a metonymy: *OLD* s.v. *pinus* 2) a ship battered by waves, but raising its prow above them, rather than a tree.



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- 92 tant. Acres quae ex brevibus ad longas insurgunt, leniores<sup>58</sup> quae a longis in breves descendunt. Optime incipitur a longis, recte aliquando a brevibus, ut 'novum crimen': levius <a duabus>,<sup>59</sup> ut 'animadverti, iudices', sed hoc pro Cluentio recte quia initium eius partitionis simile est, quae  
 93 celeritate gaudet. Clausula quoque e longis firmissima est, sed venit et in breves, quamvis habeatur indifferens ultima. Neque enim ego ignoro in fine pro longa accipi brevem, quia videtur aliquid vacantis temporis ex eo quod insequitur accedere: aures tamen consulens meas intellego multum referre verene longa sit quae cludit an pro longa; neque enim tam plenum est 'dicere incipientem timere'  
 94 quam illud 'ausus est confiteri'. Atqui si nihil refert brevis an longa sit ultima, idem pes erit, verum nescio quo modo sedebit hoc, illud subsistet. Quo moti quidam longae ultimae tria tempora dederunt, ut illud tempus quod brevis ex loco accipit huic quoque accederet.

- Nec solum refert quis cluda<t pes, sed clude><sup>60</sup>ntem  
 95 quis antecedit. Retrorsum autem neque plus tribus, iique si non ternas syllabas habebunt, repetendi erunt (absit tam poetica observatio) neque minus duobus (alioqui pes erit, non numerus). Potest tamen vel unus esse, dichoreus si  
 96 unus est, qui constat e duobus choreis, itemque paeon, qui

<sup>58</sup> *Regius*: leviores A

<sup>59</sup> *add. edd. from Diomedes GL 1.467*

<sup>60</sup> *add. Meister, after Spalding and Halm*

<sup>91</sup> *Pro Ligario* 1.      <sup>92</sup> 1.

<sup>93</sup> *Pro Milone* 1 ("to be afraid, when beginning to speak") and *Pro Ligario* 1 ("he dared to confess").      <sup>94</sup> - u || - x.

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tinuous series, they have a jerky effect. Ascent from short to long lends vigour; descent from long to short makes for a gentler tone. It is best to begin with long syllables, but it may sometimes be right to begin with a short, as in *nōvum crimen*;<sup>91</sup> a lighter effect is given by two shorts, as in *ānāadverti, iudices*, but this is perfectly right for *Pro Cluentio*<sup>92</sup> because the beginning of that speech resembles a Partition, and Partitions like rapidity. The clausula also is most secure if it consists of long syllables; but a sentence does sometimes end on shorts, although the final syllable is regarded as indifferent. I am aware of course that a short is treated as a long in final position, because there seems to be a bit of vacant time accruing to it from what follows; however, when I consult my own ears, I realize that it makes a great difference whether the closing syllable is really long or merely treated as long, for there is not the same fullness in *dicere incipientem timerē* as in *ausus est confiterī*.<sup>93</sup> However, if it is indeed irrelevant whether the final syllable is short or long, the foot will be the same in either case; yet, somehow, the long will mark an ending, the short only a brief stop. This consideration has induced some scholars to assign three time units to a final long syllable, making the extra time which a short syllable acquires from its position accrue to a long syllable as well.

And it is not only the closing foot that matters, but the one that precedes it. One should go back not more than three feet from the end (far be it from us to keep poets' rules!) and then only if they are not three-syllable feet, but at least two, because otherwise the clausula will be a foot and not a Rhythm. However, a single foot may be enough, either a Dichoreus<sup>94</sup> (if we can regard this compound of two Chorei as a single foot) or the form of Paeon which is a

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est ex choreo et pyrrhichio (quem aptum initiis putant), vel contra, qui est ex tribus brevibus et longa, cui clausulam adsignant: de quibus fere duobus scriptores huius artis locuntur, alii omnes, in quocumque sit loco <longa>,<sup>61</sup> temporum quod ad rationem<sup>62</sup> pertineat paeanas appellant.

- 97 Est et dochmius, qui fit ex bacchio et iambo vel iambo et cretico, stabilis in clausulis et severus. Spondius quoque, quo plurimum est Demosthenes usus, non eundem<sup>63</sup> semper prae se habebit:<sup>64</sup> optime praecedet eum creticus, ut in hoc: 'de qua ego nihil dicam nisi depellendi criminis causa.' Non nihil est, quod supra dixi multum referre, unone verbo sint duo pedes comprehensi an uterque liber. Sic enim fit forte 'criminis causa', molle 'archipiratae', mollius si tribrachys praecedat, 'facilitates', 'temeritates'.
- 98 Est enim quoddam ipsa divisione verborum latens tempus, ut in pentametri medio spondio, qui nisi alterius verbi fine, alterius initio constat, versum non efficit. Potest, etiam si minus bene, praeponi anapaestos: 'muliere non solum nobili verum etiam nota.' Cum anapaestos et creticus, iambus quoque, qui est utroque syllaba minor: praecedet enim tres longas brevis. Sed et spondius iambo recte

61 in . . . <longa> *Halm*: ut quocumque sint quoque A

62 orationem *edd.*      63 *Watt* 1993: eodem A

64 *M.W.*: habet A

95 I.e. – ∪ followed by ∪ ∪.      96 Text and meaning unsure, but compare 9.4.47.      97 See 9.4.79.

98 *Pro Caelio* 31.      99 9.4.65.

<sup>100</sup> The word break after the first hemiepes (– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –) is obligatory in Latin pentameters, though occasionally there may be elision at this point, and there are a few lines in which a prepo-

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product of Choreus and Pyrrhic,<sup>95</sup> and is thought to be suitable for beginnings, or again the contrary form, consisting of three shorts and a long, which is associated with the clausula. Rhetoricians usually speak only of these two forms of Paeon; all other writers however use the term Paeon of all, no matter in which position <the long syllable> occurs, having regard only to the ratio of long syllables to short.<sup>96</sup>

The Dochmius<sup>97</sup> also, consisting of Bacchius and Iambic or Iambus and Cretic, forms a stable and austere clausula. And the Spondee, which Demosthenes used a great deal, should not always be preceded by the same foot. It is best preceded by a Cretic, as in "I shall say nothing of this, except for the sake of refuting the charge (*crīmīnīs cāūsā*)."<sup>98</sup> It is of some importance (as I said above)<sup>99</sup> whether the two feet are contained within a single word or are separate. *Criminis causa* is strong: *ārchī-pīrātāē* ("pirate chief") is effeminate, as, even more, are words where a Tribach precedes: *fācilitātēs, tēmērītātēs* ("capacities," "rashnesses"). This is because there is a time unit concealed in the actual division between the words, as in the Spondee in the middle of a pentameter, which does not produce a correct verse unless it consists of the final syllable of one word and the initial syllable of the next.<sup>100</sup> The Spondee can also be preceded by an Anapaest, though this is less good: "a woman not only noble but notorious (*ēvīām nōtā*)."<sup>101</sup> And not only by an Anapaest and a Cretic, but also by an Iambus, which is a syllable shorter than either; these will give a short syllable preceding three longs.

sition precedes the break and its noun follows (e.g. Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 1.230 *praeter | vina*). <sup>101</sup> *Pro Caelio* 31.

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- 100 praepositur: 'isdem in armis fui.' Cum spondius, et bacchius: sic enim fiet ultimus dochmius: 'in armis fui.' Ex iis quae supra probavi apparet molosson quoque clausulae convenire, dum habeat ex quocumque pede ante se brevem: 'illud scimus, ubicumque sunt esse pro nobis.'
- 101 Minus gravis erit spondius, praecedentibus et pyrrhichio, <ut . . . , et choreo,><sup>65</sup> ut 'iudicii Iuniani', et adhuc peius priore paeane, ut 'Brute dubitavi', nisi potius hos esse volumus dactylum et bacchium. Duo spondii non fere se iungi patiuntur, quae in versu quoque notabilis clausula est, nisi cum id fieri potest ex tribus quasi membris: 'cur de perfugis nostris copias comparat is contra nos?'—una syllaba, duabus, una.
- 102 Ne dactylus quidem spondio bene praepositur, quia finem versus damnamus in fine orationis. Bacchius et cludit et sibi iungitur: 'venenum timeres', vel choreum et spondium ante se amat: 'ut venenum timeres'. Contrarius quoque qui est cludet, nisi si ultimam syllabam longam esse volumus, optimeque habebit ante se molosson: 'civis Romanus sum', aut bacchium: 'quod hic potest nos pos-

<sup>65</sup> *suppl. Winterbottom*

<sup>102</sup> *Pro Ligario* 9: "I was in the same army."

<sup>103</sup> Cicero, *Fr. orat.* B 10 Schoell (Crawford (1994) p. 297).

<sup>104</sup> "The trial before Junius." This example (*Pro Cluentio* 1) illustrates choreus followed by spondee, so an illustration of pyrrhic followed by spondee (e.g. *ūdēāntūr*) must have been lost.

<sup>105</sup> Cicero, *Orator* 1: "Brutus, I doubted." Yet this is identical with the "approved" *esse videatur!*

<sup>106</sup> I.e. in the hexameter, where a "spondaic ending" is an abnormality, usually sought for some literary effect.

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Spondee before Iambus is also an acceptable combination: *isdem in armīs fūi*.<sup>102</sup> And not only by a Spondee, but by a Bacchius; this will make the final foot a Dochmius: *in armīs fūi*. It should be clear from the recommendations given above that the Molossus is also appropriate to a clausula, so long as it has a short syllable, taken from any foot, immediately preceding it: "We know that wherever they are they are on our side (*essē prō nōbīs*)."<sup>103</sup> The Spondee is less weighty if it is preceded by a Pyrrhic (as in . . . ) or a (Choreus), as in *iudicii lūnānī*,<sup>104</sup> and is even worse if a Paean precedes, as in *Brūtē dūbītāvī*,<sup>105</sup> unless we prefer to regard this as Dactyl and Bacchius. Two Spondees do not as a rule bear being put together (this is an abnormal ending even in verse)<sup>106</sup> unless this can be done in three stages, as it were: *cur de perfugis nostris copias comparat is cōntrā nōs*<sup>107</sup>—monosyllable, disyllable, monosyllable.

Dactyl plus Spondee is not good either, because we disapprove of verse endings used as prose endings. The Bacchius both forms an end and can be combined with itself (*vēnēnūm tīmērēs*);<sup>108</sup> alternatively, it likes a Choreus and Spondee before it: *ūt vēnēnūm tīmērēs*. Its opposite<sup>109</sup> may also form a clausula, unless we insist that the last syllable must be long; it is best if preceded by a Molossus (*cīvīs Rōmānūs sūm*)<sup>110</sup> or by a Bacchius (*quod hic pōtēst, nōs*

<sup>107</sup> "Why does he assemble forces against us from our deserters?" Cicero, *Orator* 223 discusses this passage, but its source and context are not known.

<sup>108</sup> *Pro Caelio* 33: "that you should fear poison."

<sup>109</sup> I.e. the palimbacchius, — — ∪.

<sup>110</sup> *In Verrem* 5.162: "I am a Roman citizen."

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103 semus.' Sed verius erit cludere choreum praecedente spondio, nam hic potius est numerus: 'nos possemus' et 'Romanus sum'.

Cludet et dichoreus, id est idem pes sibi ipse iungetur, quo Asiani sunt usi plurimum; cuius exemplum Cicero ponit: 'patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit.'

104 Accipiet ante se choreus et pyrrhichium: 'omnis prope cives virtute gloria dignitate superabat.' Cludet et dactylus, nisi eum observatio ultimae creticum facit: 'muliercula nixus in litore.' Habebit ante se bene creticum et iambum,

105 spondium male, peius choreum. Cludit amphibrachys: 'Q. Ligarium in Africa fuisse', si non eum malumus esse bacchium. Non optimus est trochaeus, si ulla est ultima brevis, quod certe sit necesse est: alioqui quo modo cludet, qui placet plerisque, dichoreus? Illa observatione ex trochaeo

106 fit anapaestos. Idem trochaeus praecedente longa fit pae-an, quale est 'si potero' et 'dixit hoc Cicero', 'obstat invidia'. Sed hunc initiis dederunt. Cludet et pyrrhichius choreo praecedente, nam sic pae-an est. Sed omnes hi qui in breves excidunt minus erunt stabiles nec alibi fere satis

<sup>111</sup> *Pro Ligario* 10: "What he can do, we could."

<sup>112</sup> "The son's rashness proved the rightness of the father's wise words." Cicero (*Orator* 214) tells us that this emotional sentence, in a speech in the assembly by C. Carbo concerning M. Livius Drusus, the tribune of 91 BC, produced an outburst of applause. *ORF* p. 304.

<sup>113</sup> *Pro Caelio* 34. "He surpassed almost all his fellow citizens in virtue, fame, and prestige." But note that this clausula is also — u u u — x, i.e. resolved cretic plus spondee.

<sup>114</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 5.86: "leaning on his lady friend on the beach."

<sup>115</sup> *Pro Ligario* 1: "that Quintus Ligarius was in Africa."

*pōssēmūs*).<sup>111</sup> It would however be truer to say that here the clausula is a Choreus preceded by a Spondee, for the rhythm is in fact *nos possemus* and *Romanus sum*.

A Dichoreus (that is to say, the same foot duplicated) will also form a clausula. The Asianists used this very freely, and Cicero gives as an example *patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii cōmprōbāvīt*.<sup>112</sup> The Choreus may also be preceded by a Pyrrhic, as in *omnes prope cives virtute gloria dignitate sūpērābāt*.<sup>113</sup> The Dactyl may also come at the end, unless the rule about the quantity of the final syllable means that it is a Cretic: *muliercula nixus in litōrē*.<sup>114</sup> It will be appropriately preceded by a Cretic or Iambus, less well by a Spondee, worse still by a Choreus. The Amphibrach forms the clausula in *Quintum Ligarium in Africa fūīssē*,<sup>115</sup> unless we prefer to regard this as a Bacchius. The Trochee does not make so good an ending, if we are ever allowed to assume a short final syllable—as indeed we must be, for how else can the beloved Dichoreus be a clausula?<sup>116</sup> If we follow the rule the Trochee (υυυ) turns into an Anapaest (υυ –). This same Trochee, if a long syllable precedes it, becomes a Paeon, as in *sī pōtērō* and *dixit hōc Cīcērō* and *obstat īnvīdīā*;<sup>117</sup> but they have appropriated this to beginnings. A Pyrrhic with preceding Choreus will also form a clausula, for this makes a Paeon. However, all feet which end with short syllables are less stable, and

<sup>116</sup> I.e. if the last syllable could be regarded as long, the ending – υ – – would not be thought of as “two chorei” but as “choreus and spondee.”

<sup>117</sup> “If I can,” “Cicero said this,” “Envy is an obstacle.” Q. here treats the final *o* of *Cicero* and *potero* as short; this probably represents the pronunciation normal in his time.



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apti quam ubi cursus orationis exigitur et clausulis non intersistitur.

- 107 Creticus et initiis optimus: 'quod precatus a dis immortalibus sum', et clausulis: 'in conspectu populi Romani vomere postridie.' Apparet vero quam bene eum praecedant vel anapaestos vel ille qui videtur fini aptior paeon. Sed et se ipse sequitur: 'servare quam plurimos'. Sic melius quam choreo praecedente: 'quis non turpe duceret?' (si ultima brevis pro longa sit: sed fingamus sic: 'non turpe duceres').
- 108 Sed hic est illud inane quod dixi: paulum enim morae damus inter ultimum atque proximum verbum, et 'turpe' illud intervallo quodam producimus: alioqui sit exultantissimum et trimetri finis: 'quis non turpe duceret?' sicut illud 'ore excipere liceret' si iungas lascivi carminis est, sed interpunctis quibusdam et tribus quasi initiis fit plenum auctoritatis.
- 109 Nec ego, cum praecedentis pedes posui, legem dedi ne alii essent, sed quid fere accideret <et><sup>66</sup> quid in praesentia videretur optimum ostendi. Qui non<sup>67</sup> optime est sibi iunctus anapaestos, ut qui sit pentametri finis vel rhythmos qui nomen ab eo traxit: 'nam ubi libido dominatur, innocentiae

<sup>66</sup> *add. Spalding*

<sup>67</sup> qui non *Kroll*: quidem *A*

<sup>118</sup> *Pro Murena* 1: "that which I prayed for from the immortal gods."

<sup>119</sup> *Philippics* 2.63: "to vomit in the sight of the Roman people the day after."

<sup>120</sup> *Pro Ligario* 38: "to save as many as possible."

<sup>121</sup> *Philippics* 2.63: "who would not think it disgraceful?"

<sup>122</sup> I.e. with the long last syllable of the second person singular.

<sup>123</sup> 9.4.51.

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are in general only suitable when rapidity of speech is required and there is no strong pause at the clausulae.

The Cretic is excellent both at the beginning (*quōd prēcātus a dis immortalibus sum*)<sup>118</sup> and at the end (*in conspectu populi Romani vomere postrīdīē*).<sup>119</sup> (We see here how happily it may be preceded either by an Anapaest or by the form of Paean which is held to be appropriate at the end.) It can also be doubled: *servārē quāmplūrīmōs*.<sup>120</sup> This is better than having a Choreus to precede it, as in *Quis non tūrpē dūcērēt*<sup>121</sup>—if, that is, we take the final short as equivalent to a long; but let us imagine instead that it is *non tūrpē dūcērēs*.<sup>122</sup> But here we have the “unoccupied time unit” which I spoke of,<sup>123</sup> for we make a short pause between the penultimate word and the last, and make *turpe* longer because there is a sort of interval; otherwise, it would be very jerky, and would form the end of a trimeter: *quis non turpe duceret?*<sup>9</sup> Likewise, if you pronounce *ōr(e) ēxcīpērē līcērēt*<sup>124</sup> without a break, you get an indecent metre; whereas if there are three punctuations and, as it were, three fresh starts, it is authoritative.

When I prescribed these penultimate feet, I did not specify that there should be no others, but simply showed what commonly happens and what seems best at the moment. For instance, the Anapaest, which produces an unfortunate effect when doubled—because it makes the end of a pentameter or the rhythm which is called anapaestic:

<sup>124</sup> *In Verrem* 5.118: “to catch his last breath in your mouth.” Presumably — — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — is thought of as Ionic *a maiore* followed by Ionic *a minore*, and so held to be *lascivum*. See 9.4.6, 78.

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110 leve praesidiumst' (nam synaliphe facit ut duae ultimae syllabae pro una sonent), melior fiet praecedente spondio vel bacchio, ut si idem mutes 'leve innocentiae praesidiumst'.

111 Non me capit, ut a magnis viris dissentiam, paean qui est ex tribus brevibus et longa (nam est et ipse una plus brevi anapaestos): 'facilitas' et 'agilitas'. Qui quid ita placuerit his non video, nisi quod illum fere probaverunt quibus loquendi magis quam orandi studium fuit. Nam et ante se brevibus gaudet pyrrhichio vel choreo: 'mea facilitas', 'nostra facilitas', ac praecedente spondio tamen plane finis est trimetri. [cum sit per se quoque]<sup>68</sup> Ei contrarius principiis merito laudatur: nam et primam stabilem et tres celeres habet. Tamen hoc quoque meliores alios puto.

112 Totus vero hic locus non ideo tractatur a nobis ut oratio, quae ferri debet ac fluere, dimetiendis pedibus ac perpendendis syllabis consenescat: nam id cum miseri, tum in  
113 minimis occupati est: neque enim qui se totum in hac cura consumpserit potioribus vacabit, si quidem relicto rerum pondere ac nitore contempto 'tesserulas', ut ait Lucilius,

<sup>68</sup> *del. Halm*

<sup>125</sup> Cicero, *Orator* 219, quoting Crassus (*ORF* p. 245): "Where lust reigns supreme, the defences of innocence are weak." The concluding - u u - u u - is the second half of a pentameter.

<sup>126</sup> Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3. 1409a10-23; compare Cicero, *Orator* 215, Demetrius 38. See Lausberg §§ 1026-1028.

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*nam ubi libido dominatur, innocentiae levē praesidiumst*<sup>125</sup> (the last two syllables sound as one by Synalophe)—will nevertheless be improved by a preceding Spondee or Bacchius, if, for example, you change this example to *leve innocentiae praesidiumst*.

I am not attracted (if I may disagree with great authorities)<sup>126</sup> by the Paeon which consists of three shorts and a long (it is an Anapaest with one extra short): *fācilitās, āgilitās*. I do not see why they like it so much, except that those who approved of it were in general people who studied ordinary speech rather than public oratory.<sup>127</sup> It favours the short syllable of a Pyrrhic or Choreus preceding it: *mēā fācilitās, nōstrā fācilitās*, and with a Spondee to precede it it forms the latter part of a trimeter [which indeed it is even on its own]. The opposite form of Paeon is rightly praised as an opening: for it has a first syllable which gives stability, and three which give speed. Nevertheless, I think there are other feet preferable even to this.

### *A warning against pedantry*

My purpose in dealing with this whole subject is not to force oratory, which ought to move and flow freely, to grow old and weary measuring feet and weighing syllables. That is for mean minds, obsessed with trivialities. The man who devotes all his energies to this will have no time for more important things, because he will be forgetting the weightiness of his subject, despising elegance, and, as Lucilius

<sup>127</sup> The suggestion is that philosophers like Aristotle were really more interested in conversation (and its literary representation, the dialogue) than in formal rhetoric.

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- struet et vermiculate inter se lexis committet. Nonne ergo refrigeretur sic calor et impetus pereat, ut equorum  
 114 cursum delicati minutis passibus frangunt? Quasi vero fecerint <sibi numeros, non hi><sup>69</sup> sint in compositione deprensi, sicut poema nemo dubitaverit spiritu<sup>70</sup> quodam initio fusum et aurium mensura et similiter decurrentium spatiorum observatione esse generatum, mox in eo re-  
 115 peritos pedes. Satis igitur in hoc nos componet multa scribendi exercitatio, ut ex tempore etiam similia fundamus. Neque vero tam sunt intuendi pedes quam universa comprehensio, ut verum facientes totum illum decursum, non sex vel quinque partes ex quibus constat versus, aspiciunt: ante enim carmen ortum est quam observatio carminis, ideo-  
 116 que illud 'Fauni vatesque canebant'. Ergo quem in poemate locum habet versificatio, eum in oratione compositio.

Optime autem de illa iudicant aures, quae plena sentiunt et parum expleta desiderant, et fragosis offenduntur, levibus mulcentur, contortis excitantur, et stabilia probant, clauda deprendunt, redundantia ac nimia fastidiunt. Ideoque docti rationem componendi intellegunt, etiam indocti voluptatem.

<sup>69</sup> *suppl. Radermacher*

<sup>70</sup> *Kroll: peritu A: impetu Halm*

<sup>128</sup> Lucilius 84–85 Warmington (*ROL*), from Cicero, *De oratore* 3.171, *Brutus* 274, *Orator* 149. *Vermiculatum* denotes a pattern of wavy (worm-like) lines in a complicated mosaic. W. Trimpi points out to me (in a letter) that the word suggests the two meanings of the Greek *kampē* (κάμπαί "twists," κάμμαι "caterpillars").

<sup>129</sup> Ennius, *Annales* 222 Vahlen = 232 Warmington (*ROL* 1.82) = 206–207 Skutsch, from Cicero (*Brutus* 71, 76; *Orator* 171;

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says, making a mosaic, and fitting his words together "in vermiculate work."<sup>128</sup> Will not his passion cool and his energy flag, just as showy riders spoil the free movement of their horses by forcing them to a mincing gait? As if it was <they who had created the Rhythms, instead of the Rhythms> being discovered in the process of Composition! So with poetry: everyone agrees that it came originally from the outpourings of inspiration, and was generated by the ear's sense of measure and the observation of regularly recurring intervals, the feet contained in it being a later discovery. It follows that regular practice in writing will train us well enough for this, to the point of being able to extemporize a flow of rhythmical prose. It is not the individual feet we have to watch so much as the general shape, just as verse writers keep their eye on the whole movement of the verse, not on the five or six parts of which it is made up. Poetry arose before its rules were known: that is what lies behind "the Fauns and prophets sang."<sup>129</sup> Composition plays the same part in oratory as Versification in poetry.

The best judge of Composition is the ear, which senses completeness, feels the lack when something is incomplete, is offended by unevenness, soothed by smoothness, and excited by speed; it approves stability, detects lameness, and is bored by redundancy and excess. The learned therefore know the principles of Composition, but even the unlearned know its pleasures.

*De divinatione* 1.114): "Others wrote this matter (i.e. the First Punic War) in the verses which the Fauns and prophets sang of old."

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- 117 Quaedam vero tradi arte non possunt. Mutandus est casus si durius is quo coeperamus feratur: num in quem transeamus ex quo praecipitur? Figura laboranti compositioni variata saepe succurrit, [quae]<sup>71</sup> cum orationis, tum etiam sententiae: num praescriptum eius rei ullum est? Occasionibus utendum et cum re praesenti deliberandum est. Iam vero spatia ipsa, quae in hac quidem parte plurimum valent, quod possunt nisi aurium habere iudicium? Cur alia paucioribus verbis satis plena vel nimium, alia pluribus brevia et abscisa sint? Cur in circumductionibus, etiam cum sensus finitus est, aliquid tamen loci vacare videatur? 119 'Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitror, iudices, hunc per hosce dies sermonem vulgi atque hanc opinionem populi Romani fuisse.' Cur 'hosce' potius quam 'hos'? Neque enim erat asperum. Rationem fortasse non reddam, sentiam esse melius. Cur non satis sit 'sermonem vulgi fuisse'? Compositio enim patiebatur: ignorabo, sed ut audio hoc, animus accipit plenum sine hac geminatione 120 non esse: ad sensus igitur referenda sunt. Qui satis <quid><sup>72</sup> forte, quid severum, quid iucundum sit intelligent; facient quidem natura duce melius quam arte, sed naturae ipsi ars inerat.

<sup>71</sup> *del. D.A.R.*

<sup>72</sup> Qui satis <quid> *Winterbottom*: ne quis satis G: ne qui satis A

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Some things indeed cannot be taught by art. Suppose the case of a noun is to be changed, if the case we started with sounds unduly harsh: where are the rules to tell us which to change to which? A change of Figure—both of Speech and of Thought—often comes to the rescue of a troubled piece of Composition. Are there any rules for this? We must seize opportunities, and look to the immediate situation for advice. And as for the intervals, which are so very important in all this, how can they be judged except by the ear? Why are some sentences complete, even too full, though there are fewer words, while others, with more words, seem brief and cut short? Why does there seem to be some empty space in periods, even when the sense is complete? “Members of the jury, I am sure none of you is unaware that, throughout these (*hosce*) days, this has been the common talk, this the opinion of the Roman people.”<sup>130</sup> Why *hosce* rather than *hos*? There would have been no roughness in *hos*. Perhaps I shall not be able to give a reason, but I shall feel it is better. And why was it not good enough to mention only “the common talk”? Composition raised no problem. I shall admit ignorance, but, as I hear these words, my mind accepts that the sentence is incomplete without this duplication. We have to refer these things to our senses. They will understand well enough what is strong, severe, or agreeable; they will do better with nature to guide them than with art; but there will be art inherent in nature.

<sup>130</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* 1.1.



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- 121 Illud prorsus oratoris, scire ubi quoque genere compositionis sit utendum. Ea duplex observatio est: altera quae ad pedes refertur, altera quae ad compressiones quae efficiuntur e pedibus.
- 122 Ac de his prius. Diximus igitur esse incisa membra circumcinitus. Incisum, quantum mea fert opinio, erit sensus non expleto numero conclusus; plerisque pars membri. Tale est enim quo Cicero utitur: 'Domus tibi deerat? At habebas. Pecunia superabat? At egebas.' Fiunt autem etiam singulis verbis incisa: 'diximus, testes dare volumus': incisum est 'diximus'.
- 123 Membrum autem est sensus numeris conclusus, sed a toto corpore abruptus et per se nihil efficiens. 'O callidos homines' perfectum est, sed remotum a ceteris vim non habet, ut per se manus et pes et caput: 'o rem excogitam.' Quando ergo incipit corpus esse? Cum venit extrema conclusio: 'quem quaeso<sup>73</sup> nostrum fefellit id vos ita esse facturos?' Quam Cicero brevissimam putat. Itaque fere incisa et membra mutila sunt et conclusionem utique desiderant.
- 124 Perihodo plurima nomina dat Cicero: ambitum, circumcinitum, compressionem, continuationem, circumscriptionem. Genera eius duo sunt: alterum simplex, cum

<sup>73</sup> *edd.*: quasi A

<sup>131</sup> See Lausberg § 937.

<sup>132</sup> *Orator* 223 (from *Pro Scauro*). <sup>133</sup> *Ibid.* 225 (= *Fr. orat.* VIII. 2 Schoell, Crawford (1994) p. 90), from *Pro Cornelio*.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.* "O prudent men!"

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.* "O well-devised plot!"

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* "I ask you, which of us failed to see that this is what you people were going to do?"

## BOOK 9.4

### *When should different types of Composition be used?*

What is the trained orator's business is to know where to use each type of Composition. There are two main principles, one relating to the feet, the other to the structures which are produced out of these.

(1) I take the latter first. We said that there are Commata, Cola, and Periods. A Comma (in my view) is a complete thought without completeness of Rhythm; most people define it as a part of a Colon.<sup>131</sup> Here is Cicero's example:<sup>132</sup> "You needed a house? But you had one. You had money to spare? But you were in need." But a Comma may consist of a single word: in "We spoke (*diximus*): we are willing to provide witnesses,"<sup>133</sup> *diximus* is a Comma.

A Colon, however, is a thought which is rhythmically complete, but separated from its parent body and ineffective on its own. *O callidos homines!*<sup>134</sup> is complete, but it has no force without the rest—it is like a hand or a foot or a head on its own. The passage continues: *O rem excogitatam!*<sup>135</sup> So when does it begin to be a complete body? When the final conclusion appears: *quem, quaeso, nostrum sefellit, id vos ita esse facturos?*<sup>136</sup> Cicero regards this as the shortest possible form. Thus as a rule Commata and Cola are truncated fragments, and inevitably require a conclusion.

For "Period," Cicero<sup>137</sup> has a number of different names: *ambitus, circumitus, comprehensio, continuatio, circumscriptio*. There are two types, one simple, when a

<sup>137</sup> See *Orator* 204. *Orbis, conversio, complexio, and conclusio* are also found in Cicero. Q. prefers the Greek term.

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125 sensus unus longiore ambitu circumducitur, alterum quod constat membris et incisus, quod plures sensus habet: 'ad-erat ianitor carceris, carnifex praetoris', reliqua. Habet perihodos membra minime duo; medius numerus videtur quattuor, sed recipit frequenter et plura. Modus eius a Cicerone aut quattuor senariis versibus aut ipsius spiritus modo terminatur. Praestare debet ut sensum concludat: sit aperta, ut intellegi possit, non inmodica, ut memoria contineri.

126 Membrum longius iusto tardum, brevius instabile est. Ubicumque acriter erit et instanter et pugnaciter dicendum, membratim caesimque dicemus: nam hoc in oratione plurimum valet; adeoque rebus accommodanda compositio ut asperis asperos etiam numeros adhiberi oporteat et cum dicente aequae audientem inhorrescere.

127 Membratim plerumque narrabimus, aut ipsas perihodos maioribus intervallis et velut laxioribus nodis resolvemus, exceptis quae non docendi gratia sed ornandi narrantur, ut in Verrem Proserpinae raptus: hic enim lenis et fluens contextus decet.

<sup>138</sup> *In Verrem* 5.118. "At hand was the doorkeeper of the prison, the governor's executioner, the death and terror of the allies and citizens of Rome, lictor Sextius." See 4.2.106, 8.4.27, 11.1.40.

<sup>139</sup> See Demetrius 16-17.

<sup>140</sup> But Cicero (*Orator* 222) speaks of four *hexameter* verses, and Demetrius (4) also uses the dactylic hexameter as the unit of length. Q. uses *senarius* properly (of the iambic line) elsewhere (9.4.140), and so we can hardly suppose he intends it here as a synonym for "hexameter." So he has perhaps gone his own way in interpreting Cicero: an iambic *senarius* is about a third shorter than a dactylic hexameter. Cicero does not in this context mention the

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single thought is deployed in a Period of some length, and one made up of Cola and Commata, which contains several thoughts: *Aderat ianitor carceris, carnifex praetoris*, and so on.<sup>138</sup> A Period contains at least two Cola.<sup>139</sup> An average number seems to be four, but it often allows more. Its extent is fixed by Cicero either by the length of four senarii<sup>140</sup> or by the compass of a single breath. It must comprise a complete thought; it must be open and intelligible, and not too long to be retained in the memory.

A Colon which is too long is slow; one that is too short is unstable.<sup>141</sup>

Wherever the need is for fierce, insistent, pugnacious speaking, we should speak in Cola and Commata, for this is very effective in oratory: the Composition must also be made to conform to the subject, so that harsh rhythms go with harsh facts and the audience shares the speaker's horror.

In the Narrative, on the other hand, we shall usually speak in Cola, or loosen up our Periods themselves by having longer pauses and, as it were, less tight knots, except when the Narrative is intended as ornament rather than instruction, like the story of the Rape of Proserpina in *In Verrem*,<sup>142</sup> where a gentle, flowing texture is appropriate.

restriction produced by breathing: this, together with the awkwardness of *modus . . . modo*, gives force to Spalding's suspicion that there is something wrong with Q.'s text here. See also D. C. Innes in W. W. Fortenbaugh and D. C. Mirhady (edd.), *Peripatetic Rhetoric after Aristotle* (New Brunswick and London, 1994) 41.

<sup>141</sup> This sentence seems misplaced, and would more naturally come at the end of § 123.

<sup>142</sup> 4.106ff.

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128 Perihodos apta prohoemiis maiorum causarum, ubi sollicitudine commendatione miseratione res eget, item communibus locis et in omni amplificatione, sed poscitur tum austera si accuses, tum fusa si laudes. Multum et in epilogis pollet.

129 Totum autem hoc adhibendum est, quod sit amplius compositionis genus, cum iudex non solum rem tenet, sed etiam captus est oratione et se credit actori et voluptate iam ducitur.

Historia non tam finitos numeros quam orbem quendam contextumque desiderat. Namque omnia eius membra conexa sunt, [et quoniam lubrica est ac fluit]<sup>74</sup> ut homines, qui manibus invicem adprehensis gradum firmant, continent et continentur.

130 Demonstrativum genus omne fusiores habet liberioresque numeros, iudiciale et contionale ut materia varium est, sic etiam ipsa conlocatione verborum.

[ubi]<sup>75</sup> Iam nobis pars ex duabus quas modo fecimus secunda tractanda est. Nam quis dubitat alia lenius alia concitatus, alia sublimius alia pugnacius, alia ornatius alia gracilius esse dicenda: lenibus,<sup>76</sup> sublimibus, ornatis longas magis syllabas convenire, ita ut lenia spatium, sublimia et ornata claritatem quoque vocalium poscant? his contraria magis gaudere brevibus, argumenta partitiones iocos et  
131  
132 quidquid est sermoni magis simile? Itaque componemus

<sup>74</sup> *del. Watt 1988*      <sup>75</sup> *del. Watt 1988*

<sup>76</sup> *Gertz: gravibus A ('weighty')*

<sup>143</sup> Many Latin historians (Sallust, Livy, Tacitus) avoided Ciceronian clausulae; others (Q. Curtius, Florus) clearly did not.

<sup>144</sup> 9.4.121. Q. now comes to the use of particular feet—the

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The Period is well suited to the Prooemia of important Causes, where the subject calls for anxiety, recommendation of the client, or pity; it also suits Commonplaces and every kind of Amplification. A severe type is required for prosecution, a more diffuse type for praise. The Period is also very important in the Epilogue.

All this more ample type of Composition, however, is to be used when the judge not only understands the facts but has also been won over by the speech, trusts himself to the pleader, and begins to be guided by his own pleasure.

History requires not so much definite rhythms as a certain cyclical structure,<sup>143</sup> for its Cola are all connected with one another [and because it is fluid and flows easily], in the way that men who join hands to steady their steps lend mutual support to one another.

All Epideictic requires looser and freer rhythms; Forensic and Deliberative, so various in their subjects, are various also in their Composition.

(2) I must now turn to the second of the two divisions which I made just now.<sup>144</sup> No one doubts (a) that some things need smoother language, some more excitement, some more sublimity, some more aggressiveness, some more ornateness, some more simplicity; or (b) that long syllables are more appropriate to the smooth, the sublime, and the ornate, with the proviso that the smoother parts call more for length of vowels, while the sublime and the ornate demand also sonority; or again (c) that passages of an opposite character—Arguments, Partitions, jokes, and anything resembling ordinary speech—delight more in

first of the two topics stated in § 121, to be taken however after the other.

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- prohoemium varie atque ut sensus eius postulabit. Neque enim accesserim Celso, qui unam quandam huic parti formam dedit et optimam compositionem esse prohoemii ut est apud Asinium dixit: 'si, Caesar, ex omnibus mortalibus qui sunt ac fuerunt posset huic causae disceptator legi, non
- 133 quisquam te potius optandus nobis fuit': non quia negem hoc bene esse compositum, sed quia legem hanc esse componendi in omnibus principiis recusem. Nam iudicis animus varie praeparatur: tum miserabiles esse volumus, tum modesti, tum acres, tum graves, tum blandi, tum flectere, tum ad diligentiam hortari. Haec ut sunt diversa natura, ita dissimilem componendi quoque rationem desiderant. An similibus Cicero usus est numeris in exordio pro Milone, pro Cluentio, pro Ligario?
- 134 Narratio fere tardiores atque, ut sic dixerim, modestiores desiderat pedes ex omnibus maxime mixtos. Nam et verbis, ut saepius pressa est, ita interim insurgit, sed docere et infigere animis res semper cupit, quod minime festinantium opus est, ut<sup>77</sup> mihi videatur tota narratio constare longioribus membris, brevioribus perihodis.
- 135 Argumenta acria et citata pedibus quoque ad hanc naturam accommodatis<sup>78</sup> utentur, non dumtaxat<sup>79</sup> trochaeis (quae celeria quidem sed sine viribus sunt), verum iis qui sunt brevibus longisque mixti, non tamen plures longas
- 136 quam brevis habent. Iam illa sublimia spatiosas clarasque

<sup>77</sup> *Spalding*: ac G      <sup>78</sup> *recc.*: commodatis G

<sup>79</sup> *Radermacher*: dum ita ut G: *del. Kiderlin*

<sup>145</sup> *Fr. rhet.* 19 Marx.

<sup>146</sup> *ORF* p. 526, from an unknown speech of Asinius Pollio.

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short syllables. We shall therefore use various forms of Composition in the Prooemium, depending on the sense required. I do not agree with Celsus,<sup>145</sup> who imposed a single form upon it, and declared the best type of Composition for the Prooemium to be that illustrated by Asinius' sentence:<sup>146</sup> "If, Caesar, an arbitrator for this Cause could have been chosen out of all the human beings who have ever existed or exist today, none of us would have prayed for any other than yourself!" I do not deny that this is well composed; but I refuse to admit that it sets a standard for all Prooemia. The judge's mind must be prepared for what is to come in various ways: sometimes we want to be objects of pity, sometimes modest, aggressive, authoritative, or flattering, sometimes to soften the heart, sometimes to encourage careful attention. And as all these aims are different in nature, so each requires a different type of Composition. Did Cicero use similar Rhythms in the Prooemia of *Pro Milone*, *Pro Cluentio* and *Pro Ligario*?

Narrative generally requires slower and, one might say, more modest feet, with as much mixture of all kinds as possible. The vocabulary here, too, though generally restrained, sometimes rises to greater heights; but Narrative always wants to give the facts and fix them in the mind, and this is not a job for the hasty. Consequently, Narrative, in my view, consists wholly of longer Cola but shorter Periods.

Arguments, if pointed and urgent, will use the feet most suitable for this purpose—not Trochees, of course (these are rapid but have no force), but those which are composed of shorts and longs but do not have more longs than shorts. By contrast, lofty passages call for expansive



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voces habent; amant amplitudinem dactyli quoque ac paeanis, etiam si maiore ex parte syllabis brevibus, temporibus tamen satis pleni. Aspera contra iambis maxime concitantur, non solum quod sunt e duabus modo syllabis eoque frequentiore quasi pulsum habent, quae res lenitati contraria est, sed etiam quod omnibus pedibus insurgunt et a brevibus in longas nituntur et crescunt, ideoque  
 137 meliores choreis, qui ab longis in breves cadunt. Summissa, qualia in epilogis sunt, lentas et ipsa, sed minus exclamantis exigunt.

Vult esse Celsus aliquam et supiniorem<sup>80</sup> compositionem, quam equidem si scirem non docerem: sed sit necesse est tarda et supina; verum nisi ex verbis atque sententiis †per se si†<sup>81</sup> id quaeritur, satis otiosa<sup>82</sup> esse non poterit.

138 Denique, ut semel finiam, sic fere componendum quo modo pronuntiandum erit. An non in prohoemiis plerumque summissi, nisi cum in accusatione concitandus est iudex aut aliqua indignatione complendus, in narratione pleni atque expressi, in argumentis citati atque ipso etiam motu celeres sumus, in locis ac descriptionibus fusi ac fluentes, in epilogis plerumque deiecti et infracti? Atqui cor-  
 139

<sup>80</sup> *Anon.* (see *Spalding*): superiorem G: superbiorem *Spalding* ('more arrogant'): securiorem *Winterbottom* ('more relaxed')

<sup>81</sup> per se similibus or per se supinis *D.A.R.*: perversis *Kroll*

<sup>82</sup> *Winterbottom*: odiosa G (cf. 8.3.30, 11.3.122<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>147</sup> *Fr. rhet.* 20 Marx. This is most obscure. I hesitatingly revert to the old conjecture *supiniorem* rejected by Regius but accepted by Gesner: it would translate ὑπτωτέραν, ὑπτίος being a stan-

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and sonorous sounds; they like the amplitude of the Dactyl too and the Paean, feet which, even though they have more short syllables than long, have a full complement of time units. Harshness, on the other hand, is best produced by Iambi, not only because these consist of only two syllables, so that their beat is more frequent as it were (a feature quite contrary to smoothness), but also because they have a rising motion at each foot, and climb and swell from short to long; this is why they are preferable to Chorei, which drop from long to short. Subdued passages, such as are found in Epilogues, also call for slow syllables, but with less volume of sound.

Celsus<sup>147</sup> proposes that there is also a more "supine" type of Composition. If I knew of one, I should not teach it. It must of course be slow and "supine," but unless the effect is obtained by words and thoughts which are in themselves like this (?), it will not be able to be slack enough.

Finally, to sum all this up, our Composition must generally correspond to our Delivery. Are we not, as a rule, subdued in the Prooemium (unless we need to stir up the judge in a prosecution, or fill him with indignation about something); full and explicit in the Narrative; quick in the Arguments, and rapid even in our body movements; expansive and fluent in Commonplaces and Descriptions; downcast and submissive for the most part in the Epi-

dard term for flat and unstructured Composition (e.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Isocrates* 2; Hermogenes 314 Rabe = Wooten 1987, 66). Q. may then be saying that Celsus' recommendation really contradicts the whole principle of *compositio*. On this view, Winterbottom's *otiosa* seems preferable to *odiosa* ("nasty"). But see 11.3.121: *odiosa . . . supinitas*.

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poris quoque motus sua quaedam <habet><sup>83</sup> tempora, et ad signandos pedes non minus saltationi quam modulationibus adhibetur musica ratio numerorum. Quid? non vox et gestus accommodatur naturae ipsarum de quibus dicimus rerum? Quo minus id mirere in pedibus orationis, cum debeant sublimia ingredi, lenia duci, acria currere,  
 140 delicata fluere. Itaque tragoedia, cui bene cessit<sup>84</sup> adfectatus etiam tumor rerum et <verborum,><sup>85</sup> spondiis atque iambis maxime continetur:

en impero Argis, scepra mihi liquit Pelops.

At ille comicus aequae senarius [quem trochaicum vocant]<sup>86</sup> pluribus trochaeis<sup>87</sup> [qui trochaei ab aliis dicuntur]<sup>88</sup> pyrrhichiisque decurrit, sed quantum accipit celeritatis, tantum gravitatis amittit:

quid igitur faciam? non eam ne nunc quidem?

Aspera vero et maledica, ut dixi, etiam in carmine iambis grassantur:

quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati,  
 nisi inpudicus et vorax et aleo?

142 In universum autem, si sit necesse, duram potius atque asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatam et

<sup>83</sup> *add. Winterbottom after Gabler*

<sup>84</sup> *M.W.:* tragoediae ubi recesset *G*      <sup>85</sup> *add. Kroll*

<sup>86</sup> *del. Bonnell*      <sup>87</sup> *Spalding:* choreis *G*

<sup>88</sup> *del. M.W.*

<sup>148</sup> *Fr. trag. incert.* 55 Klotz = 69 Warmington (*ROL* 2.616): "Behold, I rule over Argos; Pelops left the sceptre to me." Atreus

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logue? Yet the movement of the body also has its own time units, and the musical principle of Rhythm is used to mark out feet in dancing no less than in melody. Again, are not voice and gesture accommodated to the nature of the actual things of which we are speaking? There is therefore all the less reason to feel surprised to find these features in the feet we use in oratory; our sublime passages need a stately walk, our smooth ones a slow progress; vigorous argument entails moving at the double, delicacy calls for a sinuous flow. So Tragedy, where even a deliberately affected turgidity in subject <and in words> has proved successful, relies mainly on Spondees and Iambi: *en imper(o) Argis, sceptrā mihi liquit Pelops*.<sup>148</sup> On the other hand, the comic verse—also a senarius—[which they call “trochaic”] trips along with its Pyrrhics and Trochees<sup>149</sup> [called Tribrachs by some], but loses in weightiness what it gains in speed: *Quid igitur faciam? non eam ne nunc quidem?*<sup>150</sup> Harsh and abusive language, as I said, goes on the attack with Iambi in poetry too:

Who this can see, who this can tolerate,  
except a shameless glutton and a gambler?<sup>151</sup>

In general however, if I had to choose, I should prefer the Composition to be hard and harsh rather than effemi-

is speaking; the line is quoted by Seneca (*Epistulae* 80.7, with *regna* (“kingdom”) for *sceptrā*), and Cicero, *Orator* 163 has part of the same passage.

<sup>149</sup> Compare 9.4.82. The confusion of the text seems to be due to an interpolator.

<sup>150</sup> Terence, *Eunuchus* 46: “So what am I to do? Not go, even now?”

<sup>151</sup> Catullus 29.1–2.

enervem, qualis apud multos, et cotidie magis, lascivissimis syntonorum modis saltat. Ac ne tam bona quidem ulla erit ut debeat esse continua et in eosdem semper pedes  
 143 ire. Nam et versificandi genus est unam legem omnibus sermonibus dare, et id cum manifestae adfectionis est, cuius rei maxime cavenda suspicio est, tum etiam taedium ex similitudine ac satietatem creat, quoque est dulcius <eo><sup>89</sup> magis <fastiditur,> perditque<sup>90</sup> et fidem et adfectus motusque omnis qui est in hac cura deprensus, nec potest  
 144 ei credere aut propter eum dolere et irasci iudex cui putat hoc vacare. Ideoque interim quaedam quasi solvenda de industria sunt, et quidem illa maximi laboris, ne laborata videantur.

Sed neque longioribus quam oportet hyperbatis compositioni serviamus, ne quae eius rei gratia fecerimus propter eam fecisse videamur, et certe nullum aptum atque idoneum verbum permutemus gratia levitatis. Neque  
 145 enim ullum erit tam difficile quod non commode inseri possit, nisi quod in evitandis eius modi verbis non decorem compositionis quaerimus, sed facilitatem.

Non tamen mirabor Latinos magis indulsisse compositioni quam Atticos, quo minus in verbis habeant venustatis<sup>91</sup> et gratiae, nec vitium duxerim si Cicero a Demosthene paulum in hac parte descivit. Sed quae sit differentia

<sup>89</sup> *add. D.A.R.*

<sup>90</sup> magis <fastiditur,> perditque *D.A.R.*: magis perdit atque *G*

<sup>91</sup> *Ammon*: veritatis *G* ('sincerity'?)

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<sup>152</sup> Compare 9.4.60.

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nate and spineless, such as the kind we see in many writers (and more and more day by day), that dances to the lascivious tunes of the castanet. Again, no Composition will be so perfect that it ought to go on and on, and always with the same feet. For to lay down one law for all kinds of speech implies a sort of versification; and it is both a sign of obvious affectation (any suspicion of which is particularly to be guarded against) and also leads to boredom and satiety, because it is so monotonous; indeed the prettier it sounds, the more <we tire of it>, and the orator who is caught working hard at this loses both his credibility and all his emotional impact. If a judge thinks the man has time to spare for this, he will neither believe him nor be moved by him to grief or anger. So we should sometimes deliberately unbutton parts of the Composition, as it were, especially those which have cost a great deal of labour, to make sure they do not *seem* laboured.<sup>152</sup>

But let us not be slaves to Composition to the extent of introducing unduly long Hyperbata; we must not be thought to have had no other reason except Composition for doing what we did for Composition's sake. Certainly let us not alter any apt and appropriate word for the sake of smoothness. After all, no word will prove so intractable that it cannot be found a convenient place; and in avoiding awkward words we seek only to make our Composition more facile, not to make it more beautiful.

I shall not find it surprising however that Latin writers have shown more devotion to Composition than the Attic orators, inasmuch as there is less charm and grace to be had from Latin words. Nor do I think it a fault in Cicero that he has departed somewhat in this area from Demos-

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nostri Graecique sermonis explicabit summus liber.

147 Compositio (nam finem imponere egresso destinatum modum volumini festino) debet esse honesta iucunda varia. Eius tres partes: ordo coniunctio numerus. Ratio in adiectione detractio mutatione: usus pro natura rerum quas dicimus: cura ita magna ut sentiendi atque eloquendi prior sit: dissimulatio curae praecipua, ut numeri sponte fluxisse, non arcessiti et coacti esse videantur.

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thenes. But it will be for my final book to explain the difference between our language and Greek.<sup>153</sup>

Composition—I hasten now to put an end to a book which has exceeded its planned limits—must be decorous, pleasing, and varied. It has three parts: Order, Linkage, and Rhythm. Its methods involve Addition, Subtraction, and Alteration of words.<sup>154</sup> Its practice depends on the nature of our subject. The effort it demands is great; but thought and language have prior claims. Concealing this effort is an overriding consideration: Rhythms should seem to flow spontaneously, and not to be sought or forced.

<sup>153</sup> See 12.10.27ff.

<sup>154</sup> Compare the classification of verbal Figures, 9.3.





## BOOK TEN

## INTRODUCTION

This is the best-known part of the whole work; there are separate editions in several languages, the best being still W. Peterson (1891; abridgement for schools, 1902). The book continues the account of *elocutio*, specifically *ornatus*, but there is a change of perspective. Instead of a catalogue of features and devices, we have recommendations on how the student is to acquire “facility”: namely, by reading, by imitating, and by writing. *Imitatio* (*mimēsis*) is the key concept. Relevant ancient discussions include “Longinus” 13–14, Seneca, *Epistles* 114, and especially the remains of Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *De imitatione* (*περὶ μιμήσεως*), on which Quintilian appears to be heavily dependent (text in Usener–Radermacher, 2. 197–217; text and French translation, ed. G. Aujac, Denys d’Halicarnasse, *Opuscules rhétoriques*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1992); not in LCL Dionysius). See in general *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. *imitatio*, and D. A. Russell in West and Woodman (edd.) 1979, 1–16.

10.1 begins (1–15) with general remarks on acquiring a good “stock” of words by reading, and proceeds (16–19) with a consideration of the relative usefulness of listening and reading. In reading the orators (20–26), great care is needed, so that the strategy of the speech can be understood. Theophrastus and others (27–30) are right in rec-

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ommending also the reading of poetry, but the orator must remember that the rules of his art are quite different. History (31–34) is also good, but with reservations (it is closely related to poetry, 31), and is especially valuable for the store of *exempla* which it provides. Philosophers (38–39) are a good source for the moral ideas which orators ought to have made their own; but (once again) the difference between the circumstances of the courts and those of the school must never be forgotten.

Detailed guidance, some sort of canon, will be expected; and, after some preliminaries (37–45), Quintilian proceeds to give it. On this see especially P. Steinmetz, "Gattungen und Epochen der griechischen Literatur in der Sicht Quintilians," *Hermes* 92 (1964) 454–466; reprinted in Stark (1968) 451–463. Homer (46–51) of course comes first: Quintilian's eloquent rhetorical evaluation of him is very traditional, and is particularly well illustrated by *VPH* 161–174. Other hexameter poetry (52–57) has less to offer; some writers, like Theocritus (55), are very remote from the orator's world. These may be read with profit at a later stage, when tastes and abilities are securely formed. So too with elegy (58–59); of the iambic writers, only Archilochus (60) is of value. Of the lyricists, Pindar, Stesichorus, Alcaeus, and Simonides have all something to contribute. Drama comes next (65–72), and Quintilian specially recommends Euripides and Menander, the latter being almost sufficient on his own as a paradigm of all the oratorical virtues—particularly for the declaimer. Historians (73–75), orators (76–80), and philosophers (81–84) are all discussed in terms very like those we find in Dionysius. How wide Quintilian's own Greek reading was is a difficult question; his inclusion of the elegist Tyrtaeus

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(56) among hexameter writers, on the authority of Horace, is at least curious (see also 12.11.27). It is clear anyway (see 56, 58, 61, 63) that his choice of Greek poets to mention is largely governed by the use and mention of them in the Latin poets.

The Latin canon is more original, though Cicero and Horace are both sources of opinions. Vergil and other epic writers come first (85–92), the discussion culminating in an encomium of the poetry of Domitian. Elegy follows (93); next satire (93–96), lyric (96), tragedy and comedy (97–100), history (101–104), oratory (105–122), with a natural concentration on Cicero; and finally philosophy (123–131), culminating in Quintilian's famous attack on the influence of Seneca, whom he regards as a great writer but a dangerous model. Quintilian is in many ways hopeful of the future of Latin literature, despite his severe criticism of oratorical and declamatory affectation. (See the useful remarks by R. G. Mayer in *Love and Latin Literature: Essays Presented to E. J. Kenney* (Cambridge, 1999) 146–148.)

It is important to remember that this is not a history of literature, though it contains a good deal of information, and a large number of neat, sometimes glib, critical comments. These all relate to the value of the author under discussion for stylistic imitation. This is also the purpose of Dionysius' work; and there are comparable lists in Theon, *Progymnasmata* 13 (101–104 Patillon–Bolognesi), Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 18, and Hermogenes 395–413 Rabe (trans. Wooten (1987) 119–130). Rutherford (1998) 39–53 discusses these lists.

10.2 is more theoretical. Imitation is an important principle in many activities (1–3), but not sufficient in itself,

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since if we were not capable of originality there would never be any progress (4–13). Choice of model is vital, and it is essential to understand why the model is a good one, and to avoid copying the faults which it inevitably possesses (14–18). Our own talents must also be considered, for we cannot go against our nature (19–21). Differences in genre (which Quintilian emphasized in the “canon”) are important, yet all “eloquence” (i.e. all literature, as we should say) has a common element, and it is this which is the proper object of imitation (21–22). Do not attach yourself too much to any one model (23–26), and remember that it is not only verbal skills that we learn from the great writers, but also strategy, emotional understanding, and charm (27). The chapter closes on an optimistic note: we may reasonably hope to surpass our models (28).

10.3–4 deal with methods of writing, 10.5 with what should be written. These chapters are rich in practical detail, and give an insight into Quintilian’s teaching methods. Writing is a very important activity (3.1–4) and must be undertaken with care: one must always be critical, but not obsessively so, and never careless (5–18). An amanuensis can be a distraction, and is not always a help (19–22). One does of course need quiet conditions for work, but it is not a good idea to work outdoors in surroundings that distract attention (23–25). Good health is vital; but be sure to take enough rest (26–27), so that you can work at night, which is the quietest time, with a fresh mind. Of course, we cannot always have ideal conditions; so we must learn to rise above inconveniences and interruptions (28–30). Finally (31–33), Quintilian gives some hints on the use of notebooks and tablets.

10.4 emphasizes the value of correcting your work

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(compare Theon, *Progymnasmata* 72 Spengel), after an interval, if possible; but the perfectionism of the poets—or of Isocrates—is irrelevant to the orator, who always has to meet a deadline.

10.5 discusses various written exercises: translation (2–3), Paraphrase (4–11), Thesis and other Progymnasmata (11–13), Declamation (14–23). The value of the last, in particular, depends on its closeness to real situations. Quintilian once again has criticisms to make of current practice and the expectations of parents. Theon's *Progymnasmata* (60–72 Spengel) contains observations which illustrate 10.3–5 generally: Theon 15 (pp. 105–110 Patillon–Bolognesi), a passage extant only in the Armenian version, gives details about the exercise of paraphrase.

10.6 describes a process of composition halfway between writing and impromptu delivery; Quintilian calls it *cogitatio*, and it means thinking a speech out in detail in advance without committing anything to writing. This can only be done effectively after long practice, and it demands a good memory. It gives the speaker security, without tying him down at the moment of delivery to the detail of a preexisting text.

10.7 is on improvisation. This was always a highly prized skill (naturally so, in a literary culture in which the oral element was still fundamental), both for its practical use (e.g. in the emergencies of debate) and as a proof of talent. Controversies about the relative value of written and impromptu speeches go back indeed to the early days of Greek written literature, and to sophists like Alcidamas; in the great renaissance of Greek rhetoric, which was beginning in Quintilian's time, impromptu skills were very highly valued. See in general J. Hammerstaedt, in

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*Realenzyklopädie für Antike und Christentum* 17, 1212–1254. Quintilian's attitude is cautious. Improvisation, in his view, is not something one would choose for its own sake, but the orator must have the skill in reserve, for use in emergency (7.1–4). It demands a thorough knowledge of the case and its Division (5–7), an acquired facility of language (7–10), and a certain irrational “knack,” which is partly a matter of native imagination, but is only useful if it is trained and backed up by acquired skill (11–23). Preparation, daily practice, and a great deal of written work are the necessary prerequisites of this skill (24–33). It also, of course, needs memory; and this is to be discussed later (33; Quintilian looks forward to 11.2).



## LIBER DECIMUS

### 1

- 1 Sed haec eloquendi praecepta, sicut cognitioni<sup>1</sup> sunt necessaria, ita non satis ad vim dicendi valent nisi illis firma quaedam facilitas, quae apud Graecos *hexis* nominatur, accesserit: ad quam scribendo plus an legendo an dicendo conferatur, solere quaeri scio. Quod esset diligentius nobis examinandum si qualibet earum rerum possemus una esse
- 2 contenti; verum ita sunt inter se conexas et indiscreta omnia ut, si quid ex his defuerit, frustra sit in ceteris laboratum. Nam neque solida atque robusta fuerit umquam eloquentia nisi multo stilo vires acceperit, et citra lectionis exemplum labor ille carens rectore fluitabit, et qui sciet quae quoque sint modo dicenda, nisi tamen in procinctu paratamque ad omnes casus habuerit eloquentiam, velut clausis thesauris incubabit. Non autem ut quidquid praecipue
- 3 necessarium est, sic ad efficiendum oratorem maximi pro-

<sup>1</sup> *recc.*: cogitationi G

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<sup>1</sup> A philosophical term for any permanent or established condition: for its application to rhetoric, see Lausberg §§ 7–8. For reading as a means to a *hexis* useful for writing, compare *Ecclesiasticus*, Prologue 5 *ἰκανὴν ἔξω περιποιησάμενος προήχθη καὶ αὐτὸς συγγράψαι τι.*

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### CHAPTER 1

#### *How to acquire facility and a wide vocabulary*

These rules for Elocution, necessary as they are for theoretical knowledge, do not ensure oratorical power, unless they are reinforced by a certain assured facility, which the Greeks call *hexis*.<sup>1</sup> I know that the question is often asked, whether writing, reading, or speaking contributes most to this; and we should indeed have to consider this question more seriously if we could be content with just one of these three. In fact, however, they are all so inseparably linked with one another that if one is lacking, the labour spent on the others has been wasted. Eloquence will never be mature and robust unless it develops strength by much practice in writing. Without the models supplied by reading, the whole effort will be adrift, and there will be no one at the helm. Again, the man who knows what to say and how to say it, but does not have his eloquence ready to hand and prepared for any contingency, will simply be brooding over hoarded treasure. Yet the fact that something is particularly necessary does not automatically make it the most important element in the formation of the orator. Doubtless,

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- tinus erit momenti. Nam certe, cum sit in eloquendo positum oratoris officium, dicere ante omnia est, atque hinc initium eius artis fuisse manifestum est, proximam deinde imitationem, novissimam scribendi quoque diligentiam.
- 4 Sed ut perveniri ad summa nisi ex principiis non potest, ita procedente iam opere minima incipiunt esse quae prima sunt. Verum nos non quomodo sit instituendus orator hoc loco dicimus (nam id quidem aut satis aut certe uti potuimus dictum est), sed athleta qui omnis iam perdidicerit a praeceptore numeros quo genere exercitationis ad certamina praeparandus sit. Igitur eum qui res invenire et disponere sciet, verba quoque et eligendi et conlocandi rationem perceperit, instruamus qua praeparatione<sup>2</sup> quod didicerit facere quam optime quam facillime possit.
- 5 Num ergo dubium est quin ei velut opes sint quaedam parandae, quibus uti ubicumque desideratum erit possit?
- 6 Eae constant copia rerum ac verborum. Sed res propriae sunt cuiusque causae aut paucis communes, verba in universas paranda: quae si rebus singulis essent singula, minorem curam postularent: nam cuncta sese cum ipsis protinus rebus offerrent. Sed cum sint aliis alia aut magis propria aut magis ornata aut plus efficientia aut melius sonantia, debent esse non solum nota omnia sed in promptu atque ut ita dicam in conspectu, ut, cum se iudicio dicentis ostenderint, facilis ex his optimorum sit electio.
- 7 Et quae idem significarent <scio><sup>3</sup> solitos ediscere, quo facilius et occurreret unum ex pluribus, et, cum essent

<sup>2</sup> *Winterbottom after Kiderlin*: in oratione G

<sup>3</sup> *add. Halm after edd.*

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speaking comes first, since the orator's whole duty lies in verbal expression, and it is obvious that the art began with this, followed then by imitation, and lastly by the discipline of writing. But, while one cannot get to the top without starting at the beginning, it is also true that the basics begin to be less important as the work proceeds. Now I am not now discussing how the orator is to be educated (this has all been said, if not adequately, at least to the best of my ability), but what kinds of exercises our athlete, who has learned all the standard moves from his trainer, is now to be given in order to prepare for the actual competition. Let us therefore take a student who knows about Invention and Disposition, and has also grasped the principles of choosing and arranging his words, and now instruct him in the preparation he must make in order to put his learning into practice as well and as easily as possible.

Is there any doubt, then, that he must acquire some capital, as it were, which he can draw on whenever it is needed? Capital here means a stock of ideas and a stock of words. Ideas are either specific to the individual Cause or common only to a few; words must be made ready for all Causes. Now if there was always one word corresponding to one thing, words would demand less care, because they would all spring to mind simultaneously with the idea. But words differ in exactness of reference, ornamental qualities, power, and euphony; they must therefore not only all be known but be ready to hand, in full view, as it were, so that when they present themselves to the speaker's judgment the choice of the best is easy.

<I know of > people who had the habit of learning lists of synonyms by heart, so that any one of a set of words could be brought quickly to mind, and also, if they used one, and

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usi aliquo, si breve intra spatium rursus desideraretur, effugiendae repetitionis gratia sumerent aliud quo idem intellegi posset. Quod cum est puerile et cuiusdam infelicis operae, tum etiam utile parum: turbam enim tantum modo congregat, ex qua sine discrimine occupet proximum quodque.

- 8 Nobis autem copia cum iudicio paranda est, vim orandi, non circulatoriam volubilitatem spectantibus. Id autem consequemur<sup>4</sup> optima legendo atque audiendo: non enim solum nomina ipsa rerum cognoscemus hac cura, sed quod
- 9 quoque loco sit aptissimum. Omnibus enim fere verbis, praeter pauca quae sunt parum verecunda, in oratione locus est. Nam scriptores quidem iamborum veterisque comoediae etiam in illis saepe laudantur; sed nobis nostrum opus intueri sat est. Omnia verba, exceptis de quibus dixi, sunt alicubi optima: nam et humilibus interim et vulgaribus est opus, et quae nitidiores in parte videntur sordida, ubi res poscit proprie dicuntur. Haec ut sciamus atque
- 10 eorum non significationem modo sed formas etiam mensurasque norimus ut ubicumque erunt posita convenient, nisi multa lectione atque auditione adsequi nullo modo possumus, cum omnem sermonem auribus primum accipiamus. Propter quod infantes a mutis nutricibus iussu regum in solitudine educati, etiam si verba quaedam emis-
- 11 sisse traduntur, tamen loquendi facultate caruerunt. Sunt

<sup>4</sup> *Regius*: consequimur G

<sup>2</sup> See 8.3.88.

<sup>3</sup> Note that reading is an auditory experience: it was not silent.

<sup>4</sup> Q. refers to stories like that in Herodotus (2.2) about Psammetichus, king of Egypt, who had two babies brought up in com-

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found they needed it again soon after, they could avoid the repetition by selecting another with the same meaning. This is a childish occupation, a mark of effort ill-spent, and not even particularly useful; it simply assembles a crowd of words, out of which the speaker can snatch the nearest without any discrimination.

What *we* have to do is to acquire our stock with judgment, aiming at forceful oratory, not the patter of a street trader. And we shall achieve this by reading and hearing the best models. By taking this trouble, we shall learn not only the words for things but which words are best in each place. Practically all words have a place in oratory, except for the few which infringe the standards of decency.<sup>2</sup> It is true that writers of iambics and Old Comedy are often praised even for these; but it is sufficient for us to consider the needs of our own work. Any word, then, with the exceptions I have mentioned, may be the best possible word somewhere or other; we shall need low and common words on occasion, and expressions which seem coarse in a more elegant context are absolutely right when the subject demands them. Now we cannot possibly manage to know all these words, and understand not only their meanings but their forms and rhythmic values, so that they can fit in wherever they are placed, except by extensive reading and listening, because our first grasp of language is through the ear.<sup>3</sup> This is why those children whom certain kings ordered to be brought up in the wilderness by dumb nurses possessed no power of speech, though they are said to have uttered certain words.<sup>4</sup> Now there are some words which

plete isolation and noted that their first word, *bekos*, was Phrygian for "bread."

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- autem alia huius naturae, ut idem pluribus vocibus declarent, ita ut nihil significationis quo potius utaris intersit, ut 'ensis' et 'gladius'; alia, etiam si propria rerum aliquarum sint nomina, tropicos tamen ad eundem intellectum feruntur, ut 'ferrum' et 'mucro'; nam per abusionem sicarios etiam omnis vocamus qui caedem telo quocumque commiserunt. Alia circumitu verborum plurium ostendimus, quale est 'et pressi copia lactis'. Plurima vero mutatione figurarum: 'scio': 'non ignoro' et 'non me fugit' et 'non me praeterit' et 'quis nescit?' et 'nemini dubium est'. Sed etiam ex proximo mutuari licet. Nam et 'intellego' et 'sentio' et 'video' saepe idem valent quod 'scio'. Quorum nobis ubertatem ac divitias dabit lectio, ut non solum quo modo occurrent sed etiam quo modo oportet utamur. Non semper enim haec inter se idem faciunt, nec sicut de intellectu animi recte dixerim 'video', ita de visu oculorum 'intellego', nec ut 'mucro' gladium, sic mucronem 'gladius' ostendit.
- 15 Sed ut copia verborum sic paratur, ita non verborum tantum gratia legendum vel audiendum est. Nam omnium quaecumque docemus hinc sunt exempla, potentiora etiam ipsis quae traduntur artibus (cum eo qui discit perductus est ut intellegere ea sine demonstrante et sequi iam suis viribus possit), quia quae doctor praecepit orator ostendit.

<sup>5</sup> Both mean "sword": *ensis* is predominantly a poetical or high-style word, *gladius* much less so, but not confined to prose: B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund 1945) 51; R. G. G. Coleman in Adams and Mayer (1999) 56.

<sup>6</sup> "Iron" and "blade," meaning "sword."

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differ in sound but have the same meaning, so that, from the point of view of meaning, it does not matter which you use: such are *ensis* and *gladius*.<sup>5</sup> Others again, which are properly the names of different objects, are nevertheless used as Tropes to convey the same meaning: such are *ferrum* and *muco*.<sup>6</sup> It is by Catachresis that we call everyone who murders with any weapon a "knifer" (*sicarius*).<sup>7</sup> In other cases we use a Periphrasis consisting of several words, like "and store of milk pressed hard,"<sup>8</sup> or very often a change of Figure: for "I know," we say "I am not unaware," "It does not escape me," "It does not pass me by," "Who does not know?" and "No one doubts" all mean "I know." We can borrow too from closely related concepts: "I understand," "I feel," "I see" often have the same force as "I know." Reading will give us rich stores of this kind, and enable us to use them not only as they spring to mind but as they ought to be used. For these terms are not always interchangeable: I can properly say "I see" to signify mental understanding, but I cannot use "understand" of seeing with the eye; "blade" means "sword," but "sword" does not mean "blade."

However, while a stock of words may be acquired in this way, we should not read or listen solely for the sake of the words. For in the same sources are to be found examples of everything we teach, examples which are in fact more powerful than those found in the textbooks (at least when the learner has reached the stage of being able to understand without a teacher and follow on his own) because the orator demonstrates what the teacher only prescribed.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, "one who uses a dagger (*sica*)": see 8.2.5, 8.6.34.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. cheese: Vergil, *Eclogues* 1.81.



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- 16 Alia vero audientis, alia legentis magis adiuvant. Excitat qui dicit spiritu ipso, nec imagine tantum<sup>5</sup> rerum sed rebus incendit. Vivunt omnia enim et moventur, excipimusque nova illa velut nascentia cum favore ac sollicitudine: nec fortuna modo iudicii sed etiam ipsorum qui orant periculo
- 17 adficimur. Praeter haec vox, actio decora, accommodata ut<sup>6</sup> quisque locus postulabit pronuntiandi vel potentissima in dicendo ratio, et, ut semel dicam, pariter omnia docent. In lectione certius iudicium, quod audienti frequenter aut suus cuique favor aut ille laudantium clamor extorquet.
- 18 Pudet enim dissentire, et velut tacita quadam verecundia inhibemur plus nobis credere, cum interim et vitiosa pluribus placent, et a conrogatis laudantur etiam quae non
- 19 placent. Sed e contrario quoque accidit ut optime dictis gratiam prava iudicia non referant.

Lectio libera est nec ut actionis impetu<sup>7</sup> transcurrit, sed repetere saepius licet, sive dubites sive memoriae penitus adfigere velis. Repetamus autem et tractemus et, ut cibos mansos ac prope liquefactos demittimus quo facilius digerantur, ita lectio non cruda sed multa iteratione mollita et velut confecta memoriae imitationique tradatur.

<sup>5</sup> *Maehly*: ambitu G: ambigua *Ammon*

<sup>6</sup> *edd.*: commodat aut G

<sup>7</sup> *Rahn*: impetus G

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### *Relative usefulness of reading and listening*

Listeners and readers profit from different things. The speaker stimulates by his animation and kindles our emotions not just by a representation of things, but by their reality. Everything is alive and stirring; we welcome every fresh thought as it is born with joy and anxiety, and are moved not only by the fortunes of the trial but by the risks run by the speakers. Moreover, voice, appropriate gesture, Delivery adapted to every passage (the most potent factor of all in oratory), and, in a word, the whole performance, are all equally instructive. In reading, on the other hand, judgement is surer, because a listener's reactions are frequently distorted by personal inclination or by the noisy cries of the applauding audience. We are ashamed to disagree, and our unconscious modesty inhibits us from putting more trust in ourselves than in others; and yet the majority likes what is bad, and an invited audience<sup>9</sup> will applaud even what it does not like. The reverse also happens: bad taste fails to appreciate what is excellently said.

Reading is independent; it does not pass over us with the speed of a performance, and you can go back over it again and again if you have any doubts or if you want to fix it firmly in your memory. Let us go over the text again and work on it. We chew our food and almost liquefy it before we swallow, so as to digest it more easily; similarly, let our reading be made available for memory and imitation, not in an undigested form, but, as it were, softened and reduced to pap by frequent repetition.

<sup>9</sup> See Pliny, *Epistulae* 2.14.5, and in general Mayor on Juvenal 3.9.

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- 20 Ac diu non nisi optimus quisque et qui credentem sibi  
 minime fallat legendus est, sed diligenter ac paene ad  
 scribendi sollicitudinem nec per partes modo scrutanda  
 omnia, sed perlectus liber utique ex integro resumendus,  
 praecipueque oratio, cuius virtutes frequenter ex industria  
 21 quoque occultantur. Saepe enim praeparat dissimulat insi-  
 diatur orator, eaque in prima parte actionis dicit quae sunt  
 in summa profutura; itaque suo loco minus placent, adhuc  
 nobis quare dicta sint ignorantibus, ideoque erunt cognitae  
 omnibus repetenda.
- 22 Illa vero utilissima,<sup>8</sup> nosse eas causas quarum orationes  
 in manus sumpserimus et, quotiens continget, utrumque  
 habitas legere actiones: ut Demosthenis et Aeschinis inter  
 se contrarias, et Servi Sulpici atque Messalae, quorum  
 alter pro Aufidia, contra dixit alter, et Pollionis et Cassi  
 23 reo Asprenate, aliasque plurimas. Quin etiam si minus pa-  
 res videbuntur aliquae, tamen ad cognoscendam litium  
 quaestionem recte requirentur, ut contra Ciceronis oratio-  
 nes Tuberonis in Ligarium et Hortensi pro Verre. Quin  
 etiam easdem causas ut quisque <egerit utile><sup>9</sup> erit scire.

<sup>8</sup> *Kiderlin*: utilissimum G

<sup>9</sup> *add. Regius*

<sup>10</sup> *On the Crown* and *Against Ctesiphon* were both translated by Cicero (see *De optimo genere oratorum* 14): Theon (2. 70 Spengel) also recommends this way of choosing reading, adducing other similar possibilities, in historians and in Plato as well as in oratory. <sup>11</sup> See on 4.2.106, 6.1.20: *ORF* p. 529.

<sup>12</sup> C. Nonius Asprenas was prosecuted for poisoning, and defended by Pollio (Suetonius, *Augustus* 56). His 130 dinner guests had all been poisoned. Compare 11.1.57.

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### *Choice of reading: oratory*

For a long time, the only authors to be read should be the best and the least likely to betray our trust, and they should be read thoroughly, with almost as much care as we devote to writing. We must do more than examine everything bit by bit; once read, the book must invariably be taken up again from the beginning, especially if it is a speech, the virtues of which are often deliberately concealed. The orator often prepares his way, dissembles, lays traps, and says things in the first part of the speech which will prove their value at the end, and are accordingly less striking in their original-context, because we do not as yet know why they are said, and therefore have to go back over them when we know the whole text.

The most useful steps are to familiarize oneself with the cases with which the speeches we have taken up are concerned, and, whenever possible, to read the pleadings on both sides, like the opposing speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines,<sup>10</sup> or of Servius Sulpicius and Messala, for and against Aufidia,<sup>11</sup> or again of Pollio and Cassius in the case of Asprenas,<sup>12</sup> and many others. Indeed, even if some such speeches seem badly matched, we shall do well to seek them out with a view to understanding the problems of the case: for example, Tubero's prosecution of Ligarius against Cicero,<sup>13</sup> or Hortensius' defence of Verres.<sup>14</sup> It will also be useful to know how different speakers treated the

<sup>13</sup> See 5.13.20, 11.1.78: *ORF* p. 528.

<sup>14</sup> See 6.3.98, *ORF* p. 318; Cicero, *Brutus* 319. The speech Q. mentions was probably a forgery or a rhetorical exercise.

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Nam de domo Ciceronis dixit Calidius, et pro Milone orationem Brutus exercitationis gratia scripsit, etiam si egisse  
24 eum Cornelius Celsus falso existimat, et Pollio et Messala defenderunt eosdem, et nobis pueris insignes pro Voluseno Catulo Domiti Afri, Crispi Passieni, Decimi Laeli orationes ferebantur.

Neque id statim legenti persuasum sit, omnia quae summi<sup>10</sup> auctores dixerint utique esse perfecta. Nam et labuntur aliquando et oneri cedunt et indulgent ingeniorum suorum voluptati, nec semper intendunt animum, nonnumquam fatigantur, cum Ciceroni dormire interim Demosthenes, Horatio vero etiam Homerus ipse videatur.  
25 Summi enim sunt, homines tamen, acciditque iis qui quidquid apud illos reppererunt dicendi legem putant ut deteriora imitentur (id enim est facilius), ac se abunde similes  
26 putent si vitia magnorum consequantur. Modesto tamen et circumspecto iudicio de tantis viris pronuntiandum est, ne, quod plerisque accidit, damnent quae non intellegunt. Ac si necesse est in alteram errare partem, omnia eorum legentibus placere quam multa displicere maluerim.

<sup>10</sup> *Gerhard*: omni G: boni *Watt* 1993

<sup>15</sup> See 11.3.123, Cicero, *Brutus* 274–277, *ORF* p. 436. This speech (if not a mere exercise) may have been delivered by Calidius as praetor in 57 B.C.

<sup>16</sup> See 3.6.93, *ORF* p. 464; this declamation is known from various sources.

<sup>17</sup> *Fr. rhet.* 21 Marx.

<sup>18</sup> Nothing further is known about the case of L. Volusenus Catulus, who held public appointments under Tiberius.

<sup>19</sup> See on 5.7.7.

<sup>20</sup> See on 6.1.50, and Seneca, *Controversiae* 3 *praef.* 13.

<sup>21</sup> Presumably the D. Laelius Balbus of Tacitus (*Annales* 6.47–48), said to be an aggressive speaker, and himself expelled from the Senate in AD 37.

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same case: Calidius<sup>15</sup> spoke on Cicero's house, Brutus<sup>16</sup> wrote a practice speech in defence of Milo (Cornelius Celsus<sup>17</sup> is wrong to think he actually delivered it), Pollio and Messala defended the same clients, and in my boyhood there were in circulation notable defences of Volusenus Catulus<sup>18</sup> by Domitius Afer,<sup>19</sup> Crispus Passienus,<sup>20</sup> and Decimus Laelius.<sup>21</sup>

The reader must not let himself be automatically convinced that everything which the best authors said is necessarily perfect. They do sometimes slip, stagger under the load, and indulge in the pleasures of their own ingenuity. They do not always concentrate, and they get tired from time to time. Cicero<sup>22</sup> thinks Demosthenes sometimes drops off to sleep,<sup>23</sup> and Horace thinks the same even of Homer.<sup>24</sup> Great men they are, but they are only human, and it can happen that people who make everything they find in them into a law of oratory come to imitate their less good features (which is easier) and fancy themselves sufficiently like them if they attain to the great men's faults. However, we should be modest and circumspect in pronouncing judgement on men of such stature, and avoid the common mistake of condemning what we do not understand. If we must err on one side or the other, I should prefer readers to approve of everything in the masters than to find many things to disapprove.

<sup>22</sup> *Fr. epist.* IXA 4 Watt, from a well-known, but now lost, correspondence between Cicero, Calvus, and Brutus on literary topics; see 9.4.1, 53, 63–64; 12.1.22; Cicero, *Ad familiares* 15.21; Tacitus, *Dialogus* 18, 28.

<sup>23</sup> ὑπονοστήζειν in Plutarch's version (*Cicero* 24.6).

<sup>24</sup> *Ars Poetica* 359.

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- 27 Plurimum dicit oratori conferre Theophrastus lectionem poetarum multique eius iudicium secuntur; neque inmerito: namque ab his in rebus spiritus et in verbis sublimitas et in adfectibus motus omnis et in personis decor petitur, praecipueque velut attrita cotidiano actu forensi ingenia optime rerum talium iucunditate<sup>11</sup> reparantur;
- 28 ideoque in hac lectione Cicero requiescendum putat. Meminerimus tamen non per omnia poetas esse oratori sequendos, nec libertate verborum nec licentia figurarum: genus ostentationi comparatum, et, praeter id quod solam petit voluptatem eamque fingendo non falsa modo sed etiam quaedam incredibilia sectatur, patrocinio quoque
- 29 aliquo iuari: quod alligata ad certam pedum necessitatem non semper uti propriis possit, sed depulsa recta via necessario ad eloquendi quaedam deverticula confugiat, nec mutare modo verba, sed extendere corripere convertere dividere cogatur: nos vero armatos stare in acie et summis
- 30 de rebus discernere et ad victoriam niti. Neque ego arma squalere situ ac robigine velim, sed fulgorem in iis esse qui terreat, qualis est ferri, quo mens simul visusque praestringitur, non qualis auri argentique, inbellis et potius habenti periculosus.

<sup>11</sup> Watt 1982: libertate G

<sup>25</sup> Fr. 707 Fortenbaugh.

<sup>26</sup> *Pro Archia* 12.

<sup>27</sup> It thus comes, in a sense, under Epideictic, as it does for Hermogenes (404 Rabe, trans. Wooten (1987) 124).

<sup>28</sup> This contrast is a common topic: Isocrates, *Evagoras* 8–11, Cicero, *De oratore* 1.70, Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 12.62–72 (poets v. sculptors; 67, poetical licence with words); Lucian, *On writing*

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### *Poetry*

Theophrastus<sup>25</sup> says that reading the poets is very useful for the orator, and many adopt his view, and not without good reason. From the poets we can get inspiration in thought, sublimity in language, every kind of emotional effect, and appropriateness in character-drawing; above all, minds jaded by the daily wear and tear of the courts are excellently refreshed by the delightfulness of such things. Cicero therefore thinks that this is the reading for our hours of rest.<sup>26</sup> But let us remember—that the orator should not follow the poet in everything—neither in his freedom of vocabulary, nor in his licence to develop Figures—and that poetry is designed for display.<sup>27</sup> Quite apart from the fact that it aims exclusively for pleasure and pursues this by inventing things that are not only untrue but also unbelievable, it also has a special defence for its licence, namely that it is bound by metrical constraints and so cannot always use the literal expressions, but is driven by necessity off the straight path and into certain byways of language; it is obliged, therefore, not only to change words but to extend, shorten, transpose, and divide them.<sup>28</sup> But we, let us not forget, stand armed in the front line, fight for high stakes, and strive for victory. And I should not wish our weapons to be foul with neglect and rust; they should have the brilliance that strikes terror, the brilliance of steel that dazzles both mind and eye, not that of gold and silver, which is unwarlike and more dangerous to its possessor than to the foe.

*history* 8; Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 45.1–14. By “dividing” words, Q. means the figure of *tnesis* (cf. 8.6.33).



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- 31      Historia quoque alere oratorem quodam uberi iucundoque suco potest. Verum et ipsa sic est legenda ut sciamus plerasque eius virtutes oratori esse vitandas. Est enim proxima poetis, et quodam modo carmen solutum est, et scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum, totumque opus non ad actum rei pugnamque praesentem sed ad memoriam posteritatis et ingenii famam componitur: ideoque et verbis remotioribus et liberioribus figuris nar-
- 32      randi taedium evitat. Itaque, ut dixi, neque illa Sallustiana brevitatis, qua nihil apud aures vacuas atque eruditas potest esse perfectius, apud occupatum variis cogitationibus iudicem et saepius ineruditum captanda nobis est, neque illa Livi lactea ubertas satis docebit eum qui non speciem
- 33      expositionis sed fidem quaerit. Adde quod M. Tullius ne Thucydiden quidem aut Xenophontem utiles oratori putat, quamquam illum 'bellicum canere', huius ore 'Musas esse locutas' existimet.

Licet tamen nobis in digressionibus uti vel historico nonnumquam nitore, dum in iis de quibus erit quaestio meminerimus non athletarum toris sed militum lacertis opus esse, nec versicolore illam qua Demetrius Phalereus dicebatur uti vestem bene ad forensem pulverem facere.

- 34      Est et alius ex historiis usus, et is quidem maximus sed non ad praesentem pertinens locum, ex cognitione rerum

<sup>29</sup> See esp. Cicero, *De oratore* 1.201, 2.51–64, *Orator* 66; in general, R. Nicolai, *La storiografia nell' educazione antica* (1992).      <sup>30</sup> 4.2.25.      <sup>31</sup> *Orator* 30–32.

<sup>32</sup> *Orator* 39, 62.      <sup>33</sup> Fr. 178 Wehrli. See on 2.4.41. Cicero (*Brutus* 37) stresses Demetrius' academic background and the consequent weakness of his work for forensic purposes.

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### *History*

History also can nourish the orator with its rich, sweet sap.<sup>29</sup> But we should read it too in the knowledge that many of its excellences are to be avoided by the orator. History is very close to the poets. In a sense it is a prose poem, and it is written to tell a story, not to prove a point. Moreover, it is wholly designed not for practical effect and present conflicts, but to preserve a memory for future generations and for the glory of its author's talents. It therefore avoids tedium in Narrative by employing more out-of-the-way words and freer Figures. So, as I said,<sup>30</sup> we should make no effort to recapture the famous conciseness of Sallust, when we are addressing a busy, distracted, and often unlearned judge, though nothing could be more perfect for the leisured and scholarly reader. Nor, on the other hand, will Livy's creamy richness give clear enough information for a judge who looks not for elegance of exposition, but for credibility. Observe too that Cicero does not regard Thucydides or Xenophon as useful for the orator,<sup>31</sup> though he thinks the former "sounds the call to arms," and the latter was "the mouthpiece of the Muses."<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, we can sometimes use even the elegance of the historian in Digressions, so long as we remember that, in passages where a Question is involved, it is not the athlete's bulging muscles that we need but the soldier's strong arm; and that the coat of many colours which Demetrius of Phalerum was said to wear is not much protection against the dust of the forum.<sup>33</sup>

There is indeed another use for history, and a very vital one, but not relevant here. It derives from the knowledge

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exemplorumque, quibus in primis instructus esse debet orator, ne<sup>12</sup> omnia testimonia expectet a litigatore, sed pleraque ex vetustate diligenter sibi cognita sumat, hoc potentiora quod ea sola criminibus odii et gratiae<sup>13</sup> vacant.

35 A philosophorum vero lectione ut essent multa nobis petenda vitio factum est oratorum, qui quidem illis optima sui operis parte cesserunt. Nam et de iustis honestis utilibus, iisque quae sint istis contraria, et de rebus divinis maxime dicunt, et argumentantur acriter, et altercationibus atque interrogationibus oratorem futurum optime  
36 [Socratici]<sup>14</sup> praeparant. Sed his quoque adhibendum est simile iudicium, ut etiam cum in rebus versemur isdem, non tamen eandem esse condicionem sciamus litium ac disputationum, fori et auditorii, praeceptorum et periculorum.

37 Credo exacturos plerosque, cum tantum esse utilitatis in legendo iudicemus, ut id quoque adiungamus operi, qui sint legendi, quae in auctore quoque praecipua virtus. Sed  
38 persequi singulos infiniti fuerit operis. Quippe cum in Bruto M. Tullius tot milibus versuum de Romanis tantum

<sup>12</sup> *recc.*: nec G

<sup>13</sup> *Regius*: gratia G

<sup>14</sup> *del. Peterson*

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<sup>34</sup> See 5.11; Cicero, *De oratore* 1.201.

<sup>35</sup> Compare 1 *prooem.* 9–18, 12.2. Q.'s position is that orators gave up the concern with moral issues which was a prominent feature, e.g., in Isocrates: compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On ancient orators* 1 (1. 4 Usher) on the "old, philosophical rhetoric." His attitude to philosophy is certainly less welcoming than Cicero's (e.g. *Orator* 11–19, *De oratore* 3.56–90), perhaps for political reasons, but he is none the less aware of its value.

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of facts and parallels, which are among the most important things with which the orator needs to be equipped, so that he does not have to depend on the litigant for all his evidence, but can get a great deal from his own thorough knowledge of antiquity, material which is all the more effective because it is uniquely free from the charge of prejudice or partiality.<sup>34</sup>

### *Philosophy*

That we have to turn for many things to our reading of the philosophers is due to the fault of the orators, who gave up to them their own rights to the fairest part of their subject.<sup>35</sup> Philosophers speak particularly about justice, honour, expediency, and their opposites, as well as about religion; they argue keenly; they provide the future orator with an excellent preparation for cross-examination and debate.<sup>36</sup> But here too we need similar critical judgement, so as to understand that, even when we are concerned with the same matters, the conditions are not the same in legal cases as in philosophical debate, in the courts as in the lecture room, in theoretical teaching as in real jeopardy.

### *A proposed reading list*

In view of the fact that I consider reading to be so useful, I expect most of my readers will want me to add a statement of what authors are to be read and the special virtues of each. But it would be an endless task to go through them one by one. Cicero, in the *Brutus*,<sup>37</sup> writes thousands of

<sup>36</sup> See 5.7.10–30, 6.4.      <sup>37</sup> 248.

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oratoribus loquatur et tamen de omnibus aetatis suae, qui  
 quidem tum vivebant, exceptis Caesare atque Marcello,  
 silentium egerit: quis erit modus si et illos et qui postea  
 fuerunt et Graecos omnis et philosophos <et poetas et his-  
 39 toricos persequamur><sup>15</sup>? Fuit igitur brevitatis illa tutissima  
 quae est apud Livium in epistula ad filium scripta, legen-  
 dos Demosthenen atque Ciceronem, tum ita ut quisque  
 40 esset Demostheni et Ciceroni simillimus. Non est dissimu-  
 landa nostri quoque iudicii summa: paucos enim vel potius  
 vix ullum ex iis qui vetustatem pertulerunt existimo posse  
 reperiri quin iudicium adhibentibus allaturus sit utilitatis  
 aliquid, cum se Cicero ab illis quoque vetustissimis aucto-  
 ribus, ingeniosis quidem sed arte carentibus, plurimum  
 41 fateatur adiutum. Nec multo aliud de novis sentio: quotus  
 enim quisque inveniri tam demens potest qui ne minima  
 quidem alicuius certe fiducia partis memoriam posteritatis  
 speraverit? Qui si quis est, intra primos statim versus de-  
 prendetur, et citius nos dimittet quam ut eius nobis  
 42 magno temporis detrimento constet experimentum. Sed  
 non quidquid ad aliquam partem scientiae pertinet, pro-  
 tinus ad faciendam etiam phrasin, de qua loquimur, ac-  
 commodatum.

43 Verum antequam de singulis loquar, pauca in univer-  
 sum de varietate opinionum dicenda sunt. Nam quidam  
 solos veteres legendos putant, neque in ullis aliis esse natu-  
 ralem eloquentiam et robur viris dignum arbitrantur; alios  
 recens haec lascivia deliciaeque et omnia ad voluptatem

<sup>15</sup> *suppl. D.A.R., after Regius and Claussen*

<sup>38</sup> Consul 51 B.C., subject of Cicero's *Pro Marcello* of 46 B.C.

<sup>39</sup> Fr. 84 Weissenborn-Müller. Compare 2.5.10.

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lines just about Roman orators, yet without saying anything of his contemporaries, those at least who were alive at the time, except for Caesar and Marcellus;<sup>38</sup> where will be the limit, then, if I <try to include> these and their successors, all the Greeks, and the philosophers, <poets, and historians>? Safest is the brief advice given by Livy<sup>39</sup> in his letter to his son, to read Demosthenes and Cicero, and then others as they are most like Demosthenes and Cicero. All the same, I must not conceal the main thrust of my own judgement. I believe that there will be found to be few, or rather hardly any, of those who have stood the test of time, who will not be of *some* use to anyone who uses his judgement. Even Cicero<sup>40</sup> admits that he was greatly helped even by the very earliest writers, who had great talents but lacked art. I have much the same view about the moderns. How many of them can you find crazy enough not to have had some small hopes of being remembered by posterity on the basis of at least some aspect of their work? If there is any such, he will be found out within the first few lines, and so will release us before our experiment with him has wasted too much of our time. However, not everything that bears on some department of knowledge is necessarily also relevant to the formation of style (*phrasis*), which is our present subject.

Before I speak of individuals, I must make a few general points about the variety of opinions. Some think that only the ancients should be read and that there is no natural eloquence or truly masculine strength to be found elsewhere. Others find their pleasure in the wanton affec-

<sup>40</sup> *Brutus* 61–66, *Orator* 169.

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- 44 multitudinis imperitae composita delectant. Ipsorum etiam qui rectum dicendi genus sequi volunt alii pressa demum et tenuia et quae minimum ab usu cotidiano recedant sana et vere Attica putant, quosdam elatior ingenii vis et magis concitata et plena spiritus capit, sunt etiam lenis<sup>16</sup> et nitidi et compositi generis non pauci amatores. De qua differentia disseram diligentius cum de genere dicendi quaerendum erit: interim summatim quid et a qua lectione petere possint qui confirmare facultatem dicendi  
 45 volent attingam. Paucos enim, < qui ><sup>17</sup> sunt eminentissimi, excerpere in animo est: facile est autem studiosis qui sint his simillimi iudicare, ne quisquam queratur omissos forte aliquos quos ipse valde probet; fateor enim pluris legendos esse quam qui nominabuntur.

Sed nunc genera ipsa lectionum, quae praecipue convenire intendentibus ut oratores fiant existimem, persequor.

- 46 Igitur, ut Aratus ab Iove incipiendum putat, ita nos rite coepturi ab Homero videmur. Hic enim, quem ad modum ex Oceano dicit ipse < omnium ><sup>18</sup> amnium fontiumque cursus initium capere, omnibus eloquentiae partibus ex-

<sup>16</sup> *levis* W. Meyer ('smooth')      <sup>17</sup> *add. edd.*

<sup>18</sup> *add. Osann*

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<sup>41</sup> This would translate either *lēnis* or *lēvis*; but *lēnis* is a quality of movement, *lēvis* of surface. If the underlying Greek term is *λεῖος*, Meyer's *lēvis* is perhaps more probable.

<sup>42</sup> In 12.16.58–66. See General Introduction, vol. I.

<sup>43</sup> *Phaenomena* 1: ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα.

<sup>44</sup> Compare "Longinus" 13.3, "Heraclitus" *Quaestiones Homericæ* 18, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On imitation* p. 203

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tations of our own times, when everything is designed to tickle the fancy of an uneducated general public. Even among those who want to pursue a correct stylistic line, some think that the only healthy and genuinely Attic manner consists of concise, plain language, as little removed as possible from everyday usage; others, on the other hand, are attracted by a loftier, more energetic and inspirational type of talent; and, thirdly, there are the many supporters of the smooth,<sup>41</sup> polished, and sedate style. I shall speak in more detail about this difference when I come to Types of Oratory.<sup>42</sup> For the present I shall simply touch briefly on what qualities the student who wishes to consolidate his powers of speaking can expect to attain, and from what reading. My plan is to select a few authors, those who are the most eminent. It is easy for students to decide what authors most resemble these, and so no one will have cause to complain if I happen to pass over his favourites. I admit there are more who deserve to be read than will be mentioned here.

I now list by genre the reading which I think particularly suitable for intending orators.

### *Homer*

As Aratus says "let us begin with Zeus,"<sup>43</sup> so the proper place for us to begin is with Homer. Like his own Ocean,<sup>44</sup> which he says is the source of <every> river and spring, Homer provides the model and the origin of every depart-

Usener-Radermacher, *On literary composition* 24 (2. 206 Usher), Manilius 2.8-10. Homer himself, as Q. notes, speaks of "all the rivers, all the sea, and all the springs" (*Iliad* 21.196-197).



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emplum et ortum dedit. Hunc nemo in magnis rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superaverit. Idem laetus ac pressus, iucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis, nec poetica modo sed oratoria virtute eminentissimus. Nam ut de laudibus exhortationibus consolationibus taceam, nonne vel nonus liber, quo missa ad Achillem legatio continetur, vel in primo inter duces illa contentio vel dictae in secundo sententiae omnis litium atque consiliorum explicant artes? Adfectus quidem vel illos mites vel hos concitatos nemo erit tam indoctus qui non in sua potestate hunc auctorem habuisse fateatur. Age vero, non utriusque operis ingressu in paucissimis versibus legem prohoemiorum non dico servavit sed constituit? Nam et benivolum auditorem invocatione dearum quas praesidere vatibus creditum est et intentum proposita rerum magnitudine et docilem summa celeriter comprehensa facit. Narrare vero quis brevius quam qui mortem nuntiat Patrocli, quis significantius potest quam qui Curetum Aetolorumque proelium exponit? Iam similitudines, amplificationes, exempla, digressus, signa rerum et argumenta ceteraque quae probandi ac refutandi sunt, <nonne sunt><sup>19</sup> ita multa ut etiam qui de artibus scripserunt plurima earum rerum testimonia ab hoc poeta petant? Nam

<sup>19</sup> *add. Kiderlin*

<sup>45</sup> Compare 6.2.8–10. In what follows, Q. proceeds to show Homer's excellence in all the five "parts" of a speech in turn.

<sup>46</sup> The opening lines of the *Iliad* address the "goddess," explain that Achilles' wrath brought countless woes upon the Greeks, and then move briskly on to the cause of the "strife." The

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ment of eloquence. No one surely has surpassed him in sublimity in great themes, or in propriety in small. He is at once luxuriant and concise, charming and grave, marvelous in his fullness and in his brevity, supreme not only in poetic but in oratorical excellence. To say nothing of his encomia, exhortations, and consolations, does not Book Nine, containing the embassy to Achilles, or the debate between the chiefs in Book One, or the opinions delivered in Book Two, exhibit all the arts of forensic and deliberative rhetoric? As to the emotions, mild and vehement alike,<sup>45</sup> no one can be so ignorant as to deny that this author had them all under his control. And did he not—I will not say “observe,” but “establish” the rules of Prooemia in the first few lines of each of his two works? He secures the good will of the audience by invoking the goddesses believed to preside over poets, its attention by his statement of the importance of his subject, and its readiness to learn by his brief summary of the facts.<sup>46</sup> Who can narrate an event more briefly than the messenger of Patroclus’ death,<sup>47</sup> who more vividly than the teller of the battle of the Curetes and the Aetolians?<sup>48</sup> And take his Similes, Amplifications, Examples, Digressions, Signs, Arguments, and all the other elements of proof and refutation: <are they not> so numerous that even authors of textbooks have turned to this poet for so many of their examples of these things? What Epi-

*Odyssey* likewise addresses the Muse, stresses the multitude of Odysseus’ afflictions, and quickly plunges *in medias res*. For praise of these Prooemia, see esp. Horace, *Ars Poetica* 140–152.

<sup>47</sup> Antilochus in *Iliad* 18.18 says, simply κείται Πάτροκλος, “Patroclus lies dead.” Compare *VPH* 83.

<sup>48</sup> Phoenix in *Iliad* 9.529–599.

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epilogus quidem quis umquam poterit illis Priami rogantis Achillem precibus aequari? Quid? in verbis, sententiis, figuris, dispositione totius operis nonne humani ingenii modum excedit?—ut magni sit viri virtutes eius non aemulatione, quod fieri non potest, sed intellectu sequi.

- 51 Verum hic omnis sine dubio et in omni genere eloquentiae procul a se reliquit, epicos tamen praecipue, videlicet quia durissima in materia simili comparatio est.
- 52 Raro adsurgit Hesiodus magnaue pars eius in nominibus est occupata, tamen utiles circa praecepta sententiae, levitasque verborum et compositionis probabilis, daturque ei
- 53 palma in illo medio<sup>20</sup> genere dicendi. Contra in Antimachovis et gravitas et minime vulgare eloquendi genus habet laudem. Sed quamvis ei secundas fere grammaticorum consensus deferat, et adfectibus et iucunditate et dispositione et omnino arte deficitur, ut plane manifesto appareat
- 54 quanto sit aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum. Panyasin, ex utroque mixtum, putant in eloquendo neutrius aequare virtutes, alterum tamen ab eo materia, alterum

<sup>20</sup> mediocri *recc.*

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<sup>49</sup> *Iliad* 24.486–506.

<sup>50</sup> Q. will include all hexameter poetry in this section.

<sup>51</sup> This criticism resembles Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On imitation* 2.2 (204, 14 Usener–Radermacher): “Hesiod concentrated on charm with smoothness of words and melodious Composition.” Q.'s remark on “proper names” alludes to the *Theogony* and the (mainly lost) *Catalogue of Women*. Hesiod represents the “smooth and elegant type of Composition” also in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On literary composition* 23.9 (2. 194 Usher).

<sup>52</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On imitation* 2.3 speaks of his “muscularity, aggressive harshness, and divergences from normal

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logue can ever equal the prayers of Priam in his supplication to Achilles?<sup>49</sup> Does not Homer transcend the limits of human talent in his words, his thoughts, his Figures, and the Disposition of his whole work? It takes a great mind, I will not say to rival, for that is impossible, but simply to appreciate his virtues.

### *Other Greek nondramatic poets*

Homer, indeed, has undoubtedly left all others, in every branch of eloquence, far behind, and especially the writers of epic,<sup>50</sup> where the similarity of the material makes the comparison most cruel. Hesiod rarely rises to heights, and much of his work is filled with proper names; however, his moral maxims are useful, the smoothness of his vocabulary and Composition deserve praise, and he wins the palm in the middle style.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, in Antimachus<sup>52</sup> it is the force, weight, and distinguished language which earn praise. The consensus of the grammarians gives him second place; but he is weak in emotional power, charm, Disposition, and indeed technique in general; he makes it very clear what a difference there is between coming next and coming second! Panyasis,<sup>53</sup> who combines the qualities of the last two, is regarded as not equal to either of them in style, but as superior to Hesiod

usage." For Catullus (95.10) he was *tumidus*. He was always controversial: ancient criticisms are collected in B. Wyss, *Antimachi Colophonii Reliquiae* (1936) lxvii–lxxii.

<sup>53</sup> Testimonium 14 Bernabé (*Poetae Epici Graeci* 1, 1987). Panyasis is said also by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, op. cit. 2.4, to combine the virtues of Hesiod and Antimachus.

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disponendi ratione superari. Apollonius in ordinem a  
 grammaticis datum non venit, quia Aristarchus atque Aris-  
 tophanes poetarum iudices neminem sui temporis in  
 numerum redegerunt, non tamen contemnendum edidit  
 55 opus aequali quadam mediocritate. Arati materia motu ca-  
 ret, ut in qua nulla varietas, nullus adfectus, nulla persona,  
 nulla cuiusquam sit oratio; sufficit tamen operi cui se pa-  
 rem credidit. Admirabilis in suo genere Theocritus, sed  
 56 musa illa rustica et pastoralis non forum modo verum ip-  
 sam etiam urbem reformidat. Audire videor undique con-  
 gerentis nomina plurimorum poetarum. Quid? Herculis  
 acta non bene Pisandros? Quid? Nicandrum frustra secuti  
 Macer atque Vergilius? Quid? Euphorionem transibimus?  
 Quem nisi probasset Vergilius idem, numquam certe con-  
 ditorum Chalcidico versu carminum fecisset in Bucolicis  
 57 mentionem. Quid? Horatius frustra Tyrtaeum Homero  
 subiungit? Nec sane quisquam est tam procul a cognitione  
 eorum remotus ut non indicem certe ex bibliotheca sump-  
 tum transferre in libros suos possit. Nec ignoro igitur quos  
 58 transeo nec utique damno, ut qui dixerim esse in omnibus  
 utilitatis aliquid. Sed ad illos iam perfectis constitutisque  
 viribus revertemur: quod in cenis grandibus saepe faci-  
 mus, ut, cum optimis satiati sumus, varietas tamen nobis

<sup>54</sup> In fact both were rather younger than Apollonius. For the importance of their lists, or "canons," see P. E. Easterling in *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. canon. The "canon" of epic poets included only Homer, Hesiod, Pisander, Panyasis, and Antimachus.

<sup>55</sup> Q. concentrates on the pastorals (which Vergil imitated), though Theocritus' poems also include encomia, mimes, epigrams, and miniature epic narratives.

<sup>56</sup> Testimonium 11 Bernabé.

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in his subject and to Antimachus in Disposition. Apollonius does not appear in the grammarians' list, because Aristarchus and Aristophanes, who evaluated the poets, included none of their own contemporaries;<sup>54</sup> but his consistent maintenance of a moderate level makes his work by no means contemptible. Aratus' subject lacks movement—no variety, no emotion, no characters, no speeches—but he is well up to the task to which he thought he was equal. Theocritus<sup>55</sup> is admirable in his own kind, but this rural, pastoral Muse shuns not only the forum but the city itself. I seem to hear people on all sides suggesting names of many poets. Did not Pisander<sup>56</sup> tell the deeds of Hercules well? Were Macer and Vergil wrong to follow Nicander?<sup>57</sup> Shall we leave out Euphorion? If Vergil had not approved of him, he would never have mentioned those "songs wrought in Chalcidic verse" in his *Eclogues*.<sup>58</sup> And has Horace no reason for putting Tyrtaeus next to Homer?<sup>59</sup> No one surely can be so clueless about the poets as not to be capable of copying out a library catalogue and putting it into his own books! I am not ignorant therefore of poets I am passing over, nor do I necessarily ban them, seeing that I have said that there is some usefulness in all; but we should return to them when our powers are mature and stable. After all, we often behave like this at big dinners, when we have had our fill of the best dishes, and yet find the pleasure of variety in the cheaper ones. There

<sup>57</sup> Vergil imitated Nicander in parts of *Georgics* 3 and 4; Aemilius Macer (Courtney (1993) 292–299) adapted his *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*. <sup>58</sup> 10.50. <sup>59</sup> *Ars Poetica* 402. Did Q. realize that Tyrtaeus was not an epic poet at all, but a writer of elegy and lyric, though with warlike themes? See also 12.11.27.

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ex vilioribus grata sit. Tunc et elegiam vacabit in manus  
 sumere, cuius princeps habetur Callimachus, secundas  
 59 confessione plurimorum Philetas occupavit. Sed dum  
 adsequimur illam firmam, ut dixi, facilitatem, optimis ad-  
 suescendum est et multa magis quam multorum lectione  
 formanda mens et ducendus color. Itaque ex tribus recep-  
 tis Aristarchi iudicio scriptoribus iamborum ad hexin  
 60 maxime pertinebit unus Archilochus. Summa in hoc vis  
 elocutionis, cum validae tum breves vibrantesque sen-  
 tentiae, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum, adeo ut  
 videatur quibusdam quod quoquam minor est materiae  
 61 esse, non ingeni vitium. Novem vero lyricorum longe Pin-  
 darus princeps spiritu, magnificentia, sententiis, figuris,  
 beatissima rerum verborumque copia et velut quodam  
 eloquentiae flumine: propter quae Horatius eum merito  
 62 nemini credit imitabilem. Stesichorum quam sit ingenio  
 validus materiae quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et  
 clarissimos canentem duces et epici carminis onera lyra  
 sustinentem. Reddit enim personis in agendo simul lo-  
 quendoque debitam dignitatem, ac si tenuisset modum  
 videtur aemulari proximus Homerum potuisse; sed redun-  
 dat atque effunditur, quod ut est reprehendendum, ita  
 63 copiae vitium est. Alcaeus in parte operis aureo plectro  
 merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam  
 moribus confert, in eloquendo quoque brevis et mag-

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<sup>60</sup> 10.1.1.      <sup>61</sup> The other two iambic poets are Semonides  
 of Amorgos and Hipponax. For *hexis*, see above (on 10.1.1).

<sup>62</sup> The usual list (e.g. *Anthologia Palatina* 9.184) is: Alcman,  
 Alcaeus, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Ibycus, Pindar, Sappho, Simon-  
 ides, Stesichorus.

<sup>63</sup> *Carmina* 4.2.

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will be time enough then to take up even elegy, where Callimachus is regarded as the leader, and Philetas is generally admitted to have taken second place. But, while we are still striving for that assured facility of which I spoke,<sup>60</sup> it is the best writers to whom we must become accustomed; we should form our minds and take our tone from extensive reading, rather than from reading many authors. Thus of the three writers of iambics accepted by Aristarchus' ruling, Archilochus alone will be particularly relevant to the formation of *hexis*.<sup>61</sup> He has great force of language, powerful, concise, and pungent *sententiae*, and plenty of blood and sinew, so that some think that it is the fault of his subject rather than of his talent that he has any superiors. Of the nine lyric poets,<sup>62</sup> Pindar is far the greatest, for inspiration, magnificence, *sententiae*, Figures, a rich stock of ideas and words, and a real flood of eloquence; Horace<sup>63</sup> rightly thinks him inimitable for these reasons. Stesichorus' powerful genius is shown also by his subject, for he sings of great wars and famous leaders and makes his lyre bear the weight of epic.<sup>64</sup> He gives his characters due dignity of action and word, and, if he had exercised restraint, he might have been Homer's nearest rival; as it is, he is redundant and diffuse, a fault indeed, but a fault of richness. Alcaeus deserves to be presented with a "golden plectrum"<sup>65</sup> for that part of his work in which he attacks tyrants; he also has a good moral message, and his

<sup>64</sup> His lyrics (*Geryoneis*, *Oresteia*, *Helen*) dealt with epic subjects; Horace also admired him (*Carmina* 4.9.8).

<sup>65</sup> Horace, *Carmina* 2.13.26–27, with reference to Alcaeus' political poems; Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On imitation* 2.8 (205, 16–21) also speaks of his "political rhetoric."



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64 nificus et diligens et plerumque oratori similis; sed et ludit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior. Simonides, tenuis alioqui, sermone proprio et iucunditate quadam commendari potest, praecipua tamen eius in commovenda miseratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus eiusdem operis auctoribus praeferant.

65 Antiqua comoedia cum sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet, tum facundissimae libertatis, et si est in insectandis vitiis praecipua, plurimum tamen virium etiam in ceteris partibus habet. Nam et grandis et elegans et venusta, et nescio an ulla <poesis>,<sup>21</sup> post Homerum tamen, quem ut Achillem semper excipi par est, aut similior sit oratoribus aut ad oratores faciendos aptior.

66 Plures eius auctores, Aristophanes tamen et Eupolis Cratinusque praecipui.

Tragoedias primus in lucem Aeschylus protulit, sublimis et gravis et grandilocus saepe usque ad vitium, sed rudis in plerisque et incompositus: propter quod correctas eius fabulas in certamen deferre posterioribus poetis Athenienses permisere: suntque eo modo multi coronati.

<sup>21</sup> *add. D.A.R., after Andresen*

<sup>66</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus loc. cit. comments on Simonides' "choice of words and well-crafted Composition," and on his "expression of pity, not with grandeur but with emotional force."

<sup>67</sup> An allusion to *Iliad* 2.673-674, where Nireus is "the most beautiful man who came to Troy" *after Achilles*.

<sup>68</sup> Same trio in Horace, *Sermones* 1.4.1. Dionysius of Halicarnassus does not discuss comedy in the parts of *On imitation* which we possess.

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style is concise, grand, well-crafted, and in general oratorical. However he had his lighter moments, and stooped to love poetry, though his talents were more suited to higher things. Simonides, a generally lightweight writer, can be commended for propriety of language and a certain charm, but his main merit is in arousing pity;<sup>66</sup> indeed, some prefer him to all other writers in this genre.

### *Comedy and Tragedy*

Old Comedy is almost unique in preserving intact the grace of the Attic dialect. It is characterized also by eloquent freedom; if it is outstanding for its denunciation of vice, it also shows great strength in other respects. It is lofty, elegant, and graceful; if we except Homer (whom, like Achilles,<sup>67</sup> one must always except!) there is probably no <poetry> closer to oratory or better adapted for training orators. There are several authors: the best are Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Cratinus.<sup>68</sup>

As to Tragedy, it was Aeschylus who first brought it into the world;<sup>69</sup> lofty, dignified, and grandiloquent often almost to a fault, he is however often crude and lacking polish; hence the Athenians allowed later poets to enter revised versions of his plays in the competitions, and many

<sup>69</sup> Q. says nothing of Thespis. Aristotle (*Poetics* 1449a16) gives Aeschylus the introduction of a second actor, the reduction of the role of the chorus, and the primacy of the spoken word. This is enough to justify Q.'s statement. Dionysius of Halicarnassus op. cit. 2.9 gives a somewhat similar account of Aeschylus' qualities. This is indeed the traditional assessment: see the competition between Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

- 67 Sed longe clarius inlustraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides, quorum in dispari dicendi via uter sit poeta melior inter plurimos quaeritur. Idque ego sane, quoniam ad praesentem materiam nihil pertinet, iniudicatum relinquo. Illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis qui se ad agendum comparant utiliore longe fore Euripiden.
- 68 Namque is et sermone (quod ipsum reprehendunt quibus gravitas et coturnus et sonus Sophocli videtur esse sublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi, et sententiis densus, et in iis quae a sapientibus tradita sunt paene ipsis par, et in dicendo ac respondendo cuilibet eorum qui fuerunt in foro disertis comparandus, in adfectibus vero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miseratione constant facile praecipuus.
- 69 Hunc et admiratus maxime est, ut saepe testatur, et secutus, quamquam in opere diverso, Menander, qui vel unus meo quidem iudicio diligenter lectus ad cuncta quae praecipimus effingenda sufficiat: ita omnem vitae imaginem expressit, tanta in eo inveniendi copia et eloquendi facultas, ita est omnibus rebus personis adfectibus accom-

<sup>70</sup> So *Life of Aeschylus* 12, Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 6.11. It may be that these productions were recorded in the name of the producer (A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, ed. 2 (Oxford 1968) 86), and this has misled Q.'s source. The revival of old plays in the fourth century concentrated rather on Sophocles and Euripides; a law of Lycurgus provided for official texts which had to be used.

<sup>71</sup> See Dionysius of Halicarnassus, op. cit. 2.11 (206.8-16), Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 18.7. The critique of the Philoctetes plays by the two authors in Dio Chrysostom's *Or.* 52 (*ALC* pp. 504-507) makes a similar point.

<sup>72</sup> The *coturnus* (κόθορνος), the high boot or buskin of the

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won the crown in this fashion.<sup>70</sup> But far more distinction was brought to this genre by Sophocles and Euripides. Their styles are very different, and there is much dispute as to which is the better poet. I leave this question unresolved, because it has nothing to do with my present subject.<sup>71</sup> What everybody must admit is that Euripides will be much the more useful to persons preparing themselves to plead in court. His language (censured by some who find Sophocles' dignity, tragic grandeur,<sup>72</sup> and resonance more sublime) is closer to the norm of oratory; he is full of striking thoughts (*sententiae*), and almost a match for the philosophers in expressing their teaching; his technique of speech and debate is comparable to that of anyone who has been famous for eloquence in the courts; and finally he is marvellous at expressing any emotion, and far and away the supreme master of the power to arouse pity.<sup>73</sup>

Menander, as he often testifies, admired Euripides greatly, and indeed imitated him,<sup>74</sup> though in a different genre. And a careful reading of Menander alone would, in my judgement, be sufficient to develop all the qualities I am recommending: so complete is his representation of life,<sup>75</sup> so rich his invention and so fluent his style, so perfectly does he adapt himself to every circumstance, char-

tragic actor, stands by metonymy for his grandeur: so Horace, *Ars Poetica* 80. <sup>73</sup> Compare "Longinus" 15.3.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. *Epitrepontes* 1123–1126. See A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: a Commentary* (Oxford, 1973), Index s.v. Euripides. <sup>75</sup> Compare the famous lines of Aristophanes of Byzantium: ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε, πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν πότερον <ἀπ>εμιμήσατο; ("O Menander, O Life, which of you imitated the other?"): Syrianus, *Commentary on Hermogenes* 2. 23 Rabe.

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- 70 modatus. Nec nihil profecto viderunt qui orationes quae Charisi nomine eduntur a Menandro scriptas putant. Sed mihi longe magis orator probari in opere suo videtur, nisi forte aut illa<sup>22</sup> iudicia quae Epitrepontes, Epicleros, Locroe habent, aut meditationes in Psophodee, Nomothete, Hypobolimaeanon omnibus oratoriis<sup>23</sup> numeris
- 71 sunt absolutae. Ego tamen plus adhuc quiddam conlaturum eum declamatoribus puto, quoniam his necesse est secundum condicionem controversiarum plures subire personas, patrum filiorum, <caelibum><sup>24</sup> maritorum, militum rusticorum, divitum pauperum, irascentium deprecantium, mitium asperorum. In quibus omnibus mire custoditur ab hoc poeta decor. Atque ille quidem omnibus
- 72 eiusdem operis auctoribus abstulit nomen, et fulgore quodam suae claritatis tenebras obduxit. Habent tamen alii quoque comici, si cum venia legantur, quaedam quae possis decerpere, et praecipue Philemon, qui ut pravis sui temporis iudiciis Menandro saepe praelatus est, ita consensu tamen omnium meruit credi secundus.

<sup>22</sup> illa mala G: illa nota Watt 1998

<sup>23</sup> Y (?), *edd.*: oratoris G

<sup>24</sup> *add.* Spalding

<sup>76</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 18.6 also recommends Menander for the future orator; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *op. cit.* 2.11 (207.4) says that his subject matter, as well as his style, deserves study.

<sup>77</sup> This late fourth-century Attic orator is quoted by Rutilius Lupus (1.10, 2.6, 2.16) and speeches attributed to him will have been known to Q.

<sup>78</sup> The arbitration scene of *Epitrepontes* ("Arbitrants") survives (218–375); there are only a few fragments (152–160 Koerte)

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acter, and emotion.<sup>76</sup> Those who say that the speeches published under the name of Charisius<sup>77</sup> were written by Menander have certainly shown good observation. But his capacities as an orator, it seems to me, are much better demonstrated in his own work—unless one denies total oratorical perfection to the trial scenes<sup>78</sup> in *The Arbitrants*, *The Heiress*, and *The Locrians*, and the soliloquies in *Scared Stiff*,<sup>79</sup> *The Lawgiver*, and *The Foundling*.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, I think he has even more to contribute to declaimers,<sup>81</sup> because they have, according to the terms of their exercises, to play many different roles: fathers, sons; <bachelors,> husbands; soldiers, farmers; rich men, poor men; the angry and the submissive; the gentle and the harsh. In all these, this poet preserves propriety marvelously. Indeed, he has robbed all the other authors in this genre of their name, and condemned them to obscurity by the brilliance of his fame. However, other comic poets too, if you do not read them too critically, contain passages you can excerpt, especially Philemon, who was often preferred to Menander by the depraved taste of his age,<sup>82</sup> and has none the less deserved to be universally regarded as second best.

of the two plays called *Epiklēros* ("Heiress"); of *Lokroi*, there are none.

<sup>79</sup> *Psophodeēs* is literally "one frightened of noises."

<sup>80</sup> For these plays see 459–461 Koerte, 291–293 Koerte, 416–435 Koerte. The Roman comic poet Caecilius adapted *Hypobolimaïos* in Latin.

<sup>81</sup> See in general GD 87–105 for the relevance of comic characters to the settings of declamations.

<sup>82</sup> Compare Apuleius, *Florida* 16.

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- 73 Historiam multi scripsere praeclare, sed nemo dubitat longe duos ceteris praeferendos, quorum diversa virtus laudem paene est parem consecuta. Densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides, dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus: ille concitatis, hic remissis adfectibus melior, ille contionibus, hic sermonibus, ille vi, hic voluptate.
- 74 Theopompus his proximus ut in historia praedictis minor, ita oratori magis similis, ut qui, antequam est ad hoc opus sollicitatus, diu fuerit orator. Philistus quoque meretur qui turbae quamvis bonorum post eos auctorum eximatur, imitator Thucydidi et ut multo infirmior, ita aliquatenus lucidior. Ephorus, ut Isocrati visum, calcaribus eget. Clitarchi probatur ingenium, fides infamatur. Longo post intervallo temporis natus Timagenes vel hoc est ipso probabilis, quod intermissam historias scribendi industriam nova laude reparavit. Xenophon non excidit mihi, sed inter philosophos reddendus est.
- 76 Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, ut cum decem simul

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<sup>83</sup> This antithetical comparison makes much the same point as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *op. cit.* 3.1 (207.5–22). See also Hermogenes, *De ideis* 408–411 Rabe (trans. Wooten (1987) 127–130).

<sup>84</sup> Theopompus and Philistus are discussed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *op. cit.* 2. 3 (208–210). The titles of a number of speeches by Theopompus are known (*Fr Gr Hist* 115 T 48).

<sup>85</sup> And Theopompus the curb. Both were Isocrates' pupils; see 2.8.11, Cicero, *Brutus* 204. The same story is told of two of Plato's pupils, Aristotle and Xenocrates: Diogenes Laertius 5.39.

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### *History, Oratory, Philosophy*

History has been written by many with distinction, but no one questions that there are two far superior to the rest, whose very different excellences have won them almost equal praise. Thucydides is close-textured, concise, always pressing himself hard: Herodotus is pleasing, transparent, expansive. Thucydides is better at the tenses emotions, Herodotus at the more relaxed; Thucydides at set speeches, Herodotus at dialogue; Thucydides excels in force, Herodotus in giving pleasure.<sup>83</sup> Next to these comes Theopompus, inferior as a historian to these two, but more like an orator, having indeed been one for a long time before he was diverted into history.<sup>84</sup> Among the crowd of later historians, good though they were, Philistus deserves to be singled out; he imitated Thucydides, but was much feebler than his model, though somewhat more lucid. Ephorus, or so Isocrates thought, needed the spur.<sup>85</sup> Clitarchus' talents are respected, his veracity is impugned.<sup>86</sup> Timagenes, born long after these, deserves respect for having revived the lapsed tradition of historical writing with fresh lustre.<sup>87</sup> I have not forgotten Xenophon; he has his proper place among the philosophers.

Next comes the vast army of orators—so vast that a

<sup>86</sup> For a more critical view of Clitarchus (*Fr Gr Hist* 137) see Demetrius 304, "Longinus" 3.2.

<sup>87</sup> Timagenes (*Fr Gr Hist* 88) came to Rome as a captive in 55 BC, and played a controversial part in the literary world under Augustus; he was a friend of Asinius Pollio (Seneca, *De ira* 3.23).



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Athenis aetas una tulerit. Quorum longe princeps Demosthenes ac paene lex orandi fuit: tanta vis in eo, tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt, tam nihil otiosum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quod desit in eo nec quod  
77 redundet invenias. Plenior Aeschines et magis fusus et grandiori similis quo minus strictus est, carnis tamen plus habet, minus lacertorum. Dulcis in primis et acutus Hyperides, sed minoribus causis, ut non dixerim vilioribus,  
78 magis par. His aetate Lysias maior, subtilis atque elegans et quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quaeras perfectius: nihil enim est inane, nihil arcessitum, puro tamen fonti  
79 quam magno flumini propior. Isocrates in diverso genere dicendi nitidus et comptus et palaestrae quam pugnae magis accommodatus omnes dicendi veneres sectatus est, nec inmerito: auditoriis enim se, non iudiciis compararat: in

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<sup>88</sup> The canonical list was: Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Dinarchus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On ancient orators* 4, l. 13 Usher) proposed to deal with two groups of three (Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus; Demosthenes, Hyperides, Aeschines); in *On imitation* he also has six (Lysias, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides—Lycurgus, the statesman, has replaced Isaeus, the expert on testamentary cases). Q. omits Lycurgus, but adds Demetrius of Phaleron (also in Cicero, *Brutus* 37). His list is not chronological, but gives pride of place to Demosthenes.

<sup>89</sup> On this judgement, see Kindstrand (1982) 46–47: Aeschines is characterized by contrast with Demosthenes rather than

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single age produced ten at the same time at Athens.<sup>88</sup> Of these, Demosthenes was far the greatest, almost a law of oratory in himself: such is his force, the concentration of his thought, his muscular firmness, his economy, his control—one feels there is nothing lacking and nothing superfluous. Aeschines<sup>89</sup> is fuller, more expansive, less tightly controlled and so approximating to the grander manner. He has more flesh and less muscle. Hyperides has extraordinary charm and point, but is more equal to minor (let me not say trivial) Causes.<sup>90</sup> Lysias was older than these; he is refined and elegant, and if the orator's only business were to give information one could ask for nothing more perfect. There are no empty phrases and nothing farfetched; but he is more like the pure spring than the mighty river.<sup>91</sup> Isocrates is an orator of a different kind, neat and polished, better suited to the wrestling school than to the battlefield.<sup>92</sup> He aimed at all the graces of style, and he was right to do so, because he had trained himself for the lecture room, not for the courts. His Invention is ready, he has

for positive qualities.

<sup>90</sup> Q.'s view is the common one: Cicero, *Orator* 110, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, op. cit. 2.5.6 (214.4–12), "Longinus" 34.2–4 (comparison with Demosthenes). But there is a different perspective in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Dinarchus* 7 (2. 268 Usher).

<sup>91</sup> For this important image, see esp. Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.108–112, "Longinus" 35.4. Lysias is similarly viewed by Cicero (*Brutus* 35, *Orator* 30, 110) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (op. cit. 2.5.1 = 211.11–21).

<sup>92</sup> Cicero, *Orator* 38, 42; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, op. cit. 2.5.2.

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- 80 inventione facilis, honesti studiosus, in compositione adeo diligens ut cura eius reprehendatur. Neque ego in his, de quibus sum locutus, has solas virtutes, sed has praecipuas puto, nec ceteros parum fuisse magnos. Quin etiam Phalerea illum Demetrium, quamquam is primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur, multum ingenii habuisse et facundiae fateor, vel ob hoc memoria dignum, quod ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator, quem tamen in illo medio genere dicendi praefert omnibus Cicero.
- 81 Philosophorum, ex quibus plurimum se traxisse eloquentiae M. Tullius confitetur, quis dubitet Platonem esse praecipuum sive acumine disserendi sive eloquendi facultate divina quadam et Homericam? Multum enim supra prorsam orationem et quam pedestrem Graeci vocant surgit, ut mihi non hominis ingenio sed quodam Delphico videatur oraculo instinctus. Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis illam iucunditatem inadfectatam, sed quam nulla consequi adfectatio possit?—ut ipsae sermonem finxisse Gratiae videantur, et quod de Pericle veteris comoediae testimonium est in hunc transferri iustissime possit, in
- 82 labris eius sedisse quandam persuadendi deam. Quid reliquorum Socraticorum elegantiam? Quid Aristotelen?

<sup>93</sup> This seems out of place between Invention and Composition; perhaps therefore *honesti studiosus* refers specifically to Elocution, i.e. Isocrates' avoidance of anything *inhonestum* in his vocabulary. Dionysius of Halicarnassus loc. cit. has λέξις ἠθικὴ τε καὶ πιθανή, "characterful and persuasive diction," and Q. may have put a more general sense on ἠθικὴ (compare 6.2.10).

<sup>94</sup> Compare 2.4.41, Cicero, *Brutus* 37.

<sup>95</sup> E.g. *Orator* 12. <sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* 62. For Plato's dependence on Homer, and the analogy between imitation and prophetic inspiration, compare "Longinus" 13.2-3.

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high moral standards,<sup>93</sup> and he is so careful about his Composition that his precision becomes a ground for criticism. I do not suppose that these are the only merits in the orators of whom I have spoken, but they are the chief ones; nor do I think that the other orators are unimportant. Even Demetrius of Phalerum, who is said to have been the first to set oratory on the downward path,<sup>94</sup> I allow to have had a great deal of talent and eloquence; he deserves a mention if only because he is almost the last of the Attic school who can be called an orator. Indeed, Cicero prefers him to all others as an example of the Middle Style.

As to the philosophers, from whom Cicero<sup>95</sup> confesses that he derived much of his own eloquence, who would doubt that Plato is supreme either for acuteness of argument or for his divine, Homeric gifts of style?<sup>96</sup> He soars high above prose—"pedestrian language"<sup>97</sup> as the Greeks call it—and seems to me to be inspired not by human genius, but as it were by the oracle of Delphi. I need hardly mention Xenophon's charm—effortless, but such as no effort could achieve. The Graces themselves seem to have moulded his style,<sup>98</sup> and we may justly apply to him what a writer of Old Comedy said of Pericles, that some goddess of Persuasion sat upon his lips.<sup>99</sup> And why dwell on the elegance of the other Socratics? Or on Aristotle, of whom I

<sup>97</sup> πεζὸς λόγος: see Plutarch, *On the oracles of the Pythia* 406E for a colourful development of the concept.

<sup>98</sup> Compare Cicero, *Orator* 62.

<sup>99</sup> Eupolis (fr. 94 Kock = 102 K-A), quoted by Cicero, *Brutus* 59 and Pliny, *Epist.* 1.20.17: *πειθὸς τις ἐπεκάθητο τοῖσι χείλεσιν*. "Goddess" in Cicero and Q. reflects the personification of Peitho, who is often thought of as a deity in attendance on Aphrodite.

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- Quem dubito scientia rerum an scriptorum copia an eloquendi [usu]<sup>25</sup> suavitate an inventionum acumine an varietate operum clariorem putem. Nam in Theophrasto tam est loquendi nitor ille divinus ut ex eo nomen quoque
- 84 traxisse dicatur. Minus indulgere eloquentiae Stoici veteres, sed cum honesta suaserunt, tum in colligendo probandoque quae instituerant plurimum valuerunt, rebus tamen acuti magis quam, id quod sane non adfectarunt, oratione magnifici.
- 85 Idem nobis per Romanos quoque auctores ordo ducendus est. Itaque ut apud illos Homerus, sic apud nos Vergilius auspiciatissimum dederit exordium, omnium eius generis poetarum Graecorum nostrorumque haud dubie
- 86 proximus. Utar enim verbis isdem quae ex Afro Domitio iuvenis excepi, qui mihi interroganti quem Homero crederet maxime accedere 'secundus' inquit 'est Vergilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio.' Et hercule ut illi naturae caelesti atque immortalis cesserimus, ita curae et diligentiae vel ideo in hoc plus est, quod ei fuit magis laborandum, et quantum eminentibus vincimur, fortasse aequalitate pensamus. Ceteri omnes longe secuntur.<sup>26</sup> Nam Macer et Lu-
- 87

<sup>25</sup> *om. rec.*: usus XY

<sup>26</sup> XY: sequentur *rec.*: sequenter G

<sup>100</sup> So Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *op. cit.* 2.4 ("force and clarity of style; charm and learning"), Cicero, *Brutus* 121, *Academica* 2.119. The reference is more to Aristotle's Dialogues (lost apart from some fragments) than to the unadorned "esoteric" works which we have.

<sup>101</sup> So Cicero, *Orator* 62. The original name is said to have been Tyrtamos (Diogenes Laertius 5.38); "Theophrastus," suggesting "divine speech," was Aristotle's name for him.

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hesitate to say whether I think his fame depends on his learning, on the volume of his writings, on his pleasing style, on his shrewd invention, or on the variety of his works.<sup>100</sup> In Theophrastus, again, there is such "divine" brilliance of language that he is said actually to have got his name from this quality.<sup>101</sup> The early Stoics gave less attention to eloquence; they urged the cause of virtue and showed great power in arguing and proving their doctrines, but they were shrewd thinkers rather than grand speakers, which indeed they never aimed to be.<sup>102</sup>

### *Roman authors: the poets*

We must follow the same order with the Roman authors too. And so, as Homer did among the Greeks, so here Vergil will afford us the most auspicious beginning. There is no doubt that, of all epic poets, Greek or Roman, he comes next after Homer. Let me quote the words I heard from Domitius Afer when I was a young man. I had asked who he thought came nearest to Homer; "Vergil is second," he replied, "but nearer to the first than to the third." Indeed, though we must yield to Homer's divine and immortal genius, there is more care and craftsmanship in Vergil, if only because he had to work harder at it; and maybe our poet's uniformly high level compensates for his inferiority to Homer's greatest passages. All the rest trail far behind.<sup>103</sup> Macer and Lucretius are certainly worth

<sup>102</sup> Compare e.g. Cicero, *Brutus* 114, *De oratore* 3.66.

<sup>103</sup> Q.'s contemporary Statius, at the end of his *Thebaid* (12.816), bids his poem not to try to rival the *Aeneid* but "follow at a distance": *sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora*. If this was written c. 91, Q. must surely have known it.

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cretius legendi quidem, sed non ut phrasin [id est corpus eloquentiae]<sup>27</sup> faciant, elegantes in sua quisque materia, sed alter humilis, alter difficilis. Atacinus Varro in iis per quae nomen est adsecutus interpretis operis alieni, non spernendus quidem, verum ad augendam facultatem di-  
 88 cendi parum locuples. Ennius sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora iam non tantam habent speciem quantam religionem. Propiores alii atque ad hoc de quo loquimur magis utiles. Lascivus quidem in herois quoque Ovidius et nimium amator inge-  
 89 nii sui, laudandus tamen partibus. Cornelius autem Severus, etiam si sit<sup>28</sup> versificator quam poeta melior, si tamen (ut est dictum) ad exemplar primi libri bellum Siculum perscripsisset, vindicaret sibi iure secundum locum. Ser-  
 ranum consummari mors inmatura non passa est, puerilia tamen eius opera et maximam indolem ostendunt et admirabilem praecipue in aetate illa recti generis voluntatem.  
 90 Multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amisimus. Vehemens et poeticum ingenium Salei Bassi fuit, nec ipsum senectute

<sup>27</sup> *del. D.A.R.*

<sup>28</sup> *si sit Spalding; si est XY: sit G*

<sup>104</sup> The phrase *id est . . . eloquentiae* seems to be an (incorrect) gloss on *phrasin*.

<sup>105</sup> See on 1.4.4.

<sup>106</sup> For Q.'s view of Ennius, and the scantiness of his references to the *Annales*, see Skutsch, *Ennius* (1986) 29.

<sup>107</sup> Compare § 98 and Seneca, *Controversiae* 2.2.12.

<sup>108</sup> This friend of Ovid (*Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.2) is best known from the long fragment on the death of Cicero in Seneca, *Suasoriae* 6.26. See Courtney (1993) 320–328.

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reading, but not to form style (*phrasis*) [that is to say the "body" of eloquence].<sup>104</sup> Each is elegant on his own subject, but the former is prosaic and the latter difficult. Varro of Atax<sup>105</sup> gained his reputation as a translator of others; he is a far from contemptible writer, but has not much to offer for the development of oratorical facility. Ennius<sup>106</sup> we should worship as we do groves whose age has made them sacred, and whose huge and ancient trees have come to have more sanctity about them than beauty. There are others closer to us in time and more useful for our present purpose. Ovid is a self-indulgent writer even in epic, and he was too fond of his own gifts;<sup>107</sup> nevertheless, he deserves praise for some things. Cornelius Severus, even if he is a rather better versifier than poet, would nevertheless have had a strong claim to the second place, if (as has been said) he had finished his *Sicilian War* to the standard of his first book.<sup>108</sup> A premature death prevented Serranus<sup>109</sup> from fulfilling his promise, but his youthful works display great talent and a devotion to correct standards especially remarkable in one so young. We have suffered a great loss lately<sup>110</sup> in Valerius Flaccus. Saleius Bassus<sup>111</sup> had a vigorous poetic talent, but that again did not mature into old

<sup>109</sup> Named (with Lucan and Saleius Bassus) by Juvenal 7.80.

<sup>110</sup> Not necessarily *very* lately; *nuper* is fairly vague (as in 10.1.96). See D. C. Feeney in *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Valerius Flaccus.

<sup>111</sup> Juvenal loc. cit. calls him *tenuis*, "delicate"—this is a compliment. Aper in Tacitus, *Dialogus* (5, 9, 10) uses him as an instance of the public neglect of distinguished poets, though Vespasian did give him a generous gift of money. He is believed by some to be the author of *Laus Pisonis* (LCL *Minor Latin Poets*, 289–315).



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- maturuit. Rabirius ac Pedito non indigni cognitione, si vacet. Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis
- 91 imitandus. Hos nominamus quia Germanicum Augustum ab institutis studiis deflexit cura terrarum, parumque dis visum est esse eum maximum poetarum. Quid tamen his ipsis eius operibus in quae donato imperio iuvenis secesserat sublimius, doctius, omnibus denique numeris praestantius? Quis enim caneret bella melius quam qui sic gerit? Quem praesidentes studiis deae propius audirent? Cui magis suas artis aperiret familiare numen Minerva?
- 92 Dicent haec plenius futura saecula, nunc enim ceterarum fulgore virtutum laus ista praestringitur. Nos tamen sacra litterarum colentis feres, Caesar, si non tacitum hoc praeterimus et Vergiliano certe versu testamur

inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus.

<sup>112</sup> Contemporary of Ovid, praised by Velleius (2.26.3). Fragments of a historical work in Courtney (1993) 332–333; suspected by some of being the author of the *Carmen de bello Actiaco* preserved on a papyrus (Courtney 334–340).

<sup>113</sup> A wit and poet (Seneca, *Controversiae* 2.2.12) best known from a long passage describing Germanicus' expedition in Germany in AD 16, quoted by Seneca, *Suasoriae* 1.15 (Courtney (1993) 315–319).

<sup>114</sup> Given the context—advice to future *orators*—this should be taken as high rather than faint praise, though Q. does of course hint at Lucan's limitations.

<sup>115</sup> Tacitus (*Historiae* 4.86) alleges Domitian's literary pursuits to be a cover, intended to avoid his brother Titus' jealousy and suspicions (but Titus also wrote poetry: Eutropius 7.21). Valerius

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age. Rabirius<sup>112</sup> and Peditio<sup>113</sup> are worth knowing, if one has time to spare. Lucan is ardent, passionate, particularly distinguished for his *sententiae*, and (if I may say what I think) more to be imitated by orators than by poets.<sup>114</sup> I name these, because Germanicus Augustus<sup>115</sup> has been diverted from the literary pursuits he had begun by his responsibility for the world, and the gods did not think it enough that he should merely be the greatest of poets. But what can be more sublime, more skilled, more perfect in every respect than the works which he retired to write as a young man, after handing the supreme power to others?<sup>116</sup> Who could sing of wars better than he who wages them so well? Whom would the goddesses who preside over literature listen to with closer attention? To whom would his patron deity, Minerva,<sup>117</sup> more readily reveal her arts? Future ages will tell of this more fully; at present, this aspect of his glory is obscured by the brighter splendours of his other virtues. Yet, Caesar, you will forgive me, as a worshipper at the shrine of literature, if I refuse to pass this by, and insist on testifying at least that, as Vergil has it,

The ivy creeps between your conqueror's bays.<sup>118</sup>

Flaccus, *Argonautica* 1.12 alludes to Domitian's poem on Titus' Jewish war.

<sup>116</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 13: he boasts in the Senate that he has given power to his father and his brother.

<sup>117</sup> Domitian celebrated the Alban Games in honour of Minerva annually in March (Suetonius, *Domitian* 4.4). He claimed to be the goddess' son (Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 7.24), and she appears regularly on his coinage. Her aegis was his symbol (Martian 14.179) and he built her at least two temples.

<sup>118</sup> *Eclogues* 8.13.

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93 Elegia quoque Graecos provocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus. Sunt qui Propertium malint. Ovidius utroque lascivior, sicut durior Gallus.

Satura quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctori-  
94 bus sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis, tantum ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium 'fluere lutulentum' et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat. Nam et eruditio in eo mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis. Multum est tersior ac purus magis Horatius et, nisi labor eius amore, praecipuus. Multum et verae gloriae quamvis uno libro Persius meruit. Sunt clari  
95 hodieque et qui olim nominabuntur. Alterum illud etiam prius saturae genus, sed non sola carminum varietate mixtum, condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditissimus. Plurimos hic libros et doctissimos composuit, peritissimus linguae Latinae et omnis antiquitatis et rerum Graecarum nostrarumque, plus tamen scientiae conlaturus quam eloquentiae.

96 Iambus non sane a Romanis celebratus est ut proprium

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<sup>119</sup> The stylistic "stiffness" of Gallus is all too apparent in the recently discovered papyrus fragments (Courtney (1993) 263–268). For the high place given to Tibullus, compare Velleius Paterculus 2.36.3, and the epigram by Domitius Marsus commemorating the deaths of Tibullus and Vergil (Courtney (1993) 303).

<sup>120</sup> *Satires* 1.4.11.

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In elegy, too, we challenge the Greeks. The most refined and elegant author seems to me to be Tibullus. Some prefer Propertius. Ovid is more self-indulgent than these two, Gallus stiffer.<sup>119</sup>

Satire, for its part, is entirely ours. The first poet to achieve high renown in this genre, Lucilius, still has admirers so devoted to him that they unhesitatingly prefer him not only to other satirists but to all poets. I disagree, just as much as I disagree with Horace, who speaks of Lucilius' "muddy stream" and says there is "something you could take away."<sup>120</sup> In fact, Lucilius has both remarkable learning and remarkable freedom, and hence a sharp edge and an abundance of wit. Horace is much more refined and pure; unless my affection for him leads me astray, he is the best of them all. However, Persius, with his one book, has earned much fame, well justified. And there are distinguished satirists even today, men who will one day be famous.<sup>121</sup> Another, older type of Satire, was written by Terentius Varro, the most learned of all Romans, in a mixed form not limited to different kinds of verse.<sup>122</sup> Varro wrote many very learned books, and was profoundly knowledgeable about the Latin language and about all antiquity and both Greek and Roman history; but he has more to contribute to our knowledge than to our eloquence.

The Iambic has not been much cultivated by Romans as

<sup>121</sup> Not Martial (an epigrammatist is not a satirist) or Juvenal (who did not write till after Domitian was dead), but possibly Julius Rufus (Martial 10.99) and Turnus (Martial 7.97, 11.10: Courtney (1993) 362–363). <sup>122</sup> Varro's "Menippean" satires are in a mixture of prose and verse.

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opus, <sedesta><sup>29</sup> quibusdam interpositus: cuius acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio (quamquam illi epodos intervenit) reperiatur. At lyricorum idem Horatius fere solus legi dignus: nam et insurgit aliquando et plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae et varius figuris et verbis felicissime audax. Si quem adicere velis, is erit Caesius Bassus, quem nuper vidimus; sed eum longe praecedunt ingenia viventium.

- 97 Tragoediae scriptores veterum Accius atque Pacuvius clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, auctoritate personarum. Ceterum nitor et summa in excelsis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse: virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur, Pacuvium videri doctiorem qui esse docti adfectant volunt.
- 98 Varii Thyestes cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest. Ovidi Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset. Eorum quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione

<sup>29</sup> *add. D.A.R. after Osann*

<sup>123</sup> Q. here means iambic poetry included in miscellanies (as in Catullus) rather than iambic lines combined with others (as in Horace's *iambi*, see n. 125).

<sup>124</sup> Associated with Catullus by Tacitus, *Annales* 4.34. Fragments in Courtney (1993) 192–200. Quoted by Q., 8.6.17.

<sup>125</sup> *Epōdos* here means the iambic dimeter which alternates with longer lines to form the couplets used in most of Horace's *iambi*.

<sup>126</sup> This friend of Persius died in the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. A partly extant work on metrical theory (*GL* 6.243ff.) is probably by him.

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a separate genre, but has been used by some in conjunction with other metres.<sup>123</sup> Its bitterness may be seen in Catullus, Bibaculus,<sup>124</sup> and Horace (though in him, the epode breaks it up).<sup>125</sup> Of the lyric poets, Horace is almost the only one worth reading; he can be lofty sometimes, and yet he is also full of charm and grace, versatile in his Figures, and felicitously daring in his choice of words. If anyone is to be added, it will be Caesius Bassus,<sup>126</sup> whom we had with us not long ago; but some living talents far surpass him.<sup>127</sup>

As to writers of tragedy, Accius and Pacuvius are the most distinguished of the ancients for seriousness of thought, weightiness of expression, and the dignity of their characters. Their lack of polish and of those finishing touches which perfect a work may well be the fault of the times they lived in rather than of themselves. Accius is given more credit for force, while people who claim to be learned like to think Pacuvius the more learned of the two. Varius' *Thyestes*<sup>128</sup> can be compared with any Greek tragedy. Ovid's *Medea*<sup>129</sup> seems to me to show how much he could have done if he had chosen to control rather than to indulge his genius. Of the poets I have seen myself, Pomponius Secundus<sup>130</sup> is by far the greatest; older men

<sup>127</sup> Perhaps Statius, whose *Silvae* (which include pieces in lyric metres) were written under Domitian, and who did not die till after 95; alive when Q. wrote this, he cannot be named.

<sup>128</sup> Performed in 29 BC and much admired by Augustus. See on 6.3.78.

<sup>129</sup> There are two fragments only: one in Q. (8.5.6), and one in Seneca *Suasoriae* 3.7, *feror huc illuc ut plena deo*, "This way and that I am carried, like one possessed by the god."

<sup>130</sup> See on 8.3.31.

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ac nitore praestare confitebantur.

- 99 In comoedia maxime claudicamus. Licet Varro Musas, Aeli Stilonis sententia, Plautino dicat sermone locuturas fuisse si Latine loqui vellent, licet Caecilius veteres laudibus ferant, licet Terenti scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur (quae tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima, et plus adhuc habitura gratiae si intra versus trimetros stent),  
 100 vix levem consequimur umbram, adeo ut mihi sermo ipse Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis concessam Atticis venerem, cum eam ne Graeci quidem in alio genere linguae optinuerint. Togatis excellit Afranius. Utinam non inquinasset argumenta puerorum foedis amoribus, mores suos fassus!
- 101 At non historia cesserit Graecis. Nec opponere Thucydidi Sallustium verear, nec indignetur sibi Herodotus aequari Titum Livium, cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris, tum in contionibus supra quam

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<sup>131</sup> Aelius Stilo (see Suetonius, *De grammaticis* 3, with Kaster (1995) 68–80) made a catalogue of the 25 plays of Plautus which he regarded as genuine. Compare Cicero, *Brutus* 205.

<sup>132</sup> Aulus Gellius (2.23.13) reports the judgement of Volcacius Sedigitus (see Courtney (1993) 93–96) in favour of Caecilius, with Plautus second, and Terence sixth, in the league of comic poets.

<sup>133</sup> In *Adelphoe* 15–21, Terence alludes to a malicious report that he has been helped by *homines nobiles*; this was taken to mean Scipio Aemilianus and friends. But the passage is very vague, and is essentially a compliment to the Scipionic circle.

<sup>134</sup> Q. evidently regards *octonarii* and trochaic verse as less pleasing—i.e. less likely to provide the characteristic charm of comedy. Bentley (*Schediasma de metris Terentianis*) is scathing; “Q. evidently wanted Terence’s plays, which begin with trimeters in the first scene, to go on in the same metre to the end. You would

thought he was not tragic enough, but admitted his superiority in erudition and polish.

It is in comedy that our steps most falter. True, Varro (quoting the view of Aelius Stilo)<sup>131</sup> held that the Muses would have talked like Plautus if they had chosen to speak Latin; true, older critics extol Caecilius;<sup>132</sup> true, Terence's works are attributed to Scipio Africanus<sup>133</sup> (and they are in fact the most elegant of their kind, and would have possessed even more attraction if they had been written wholly in trimeters):<sup>134</sup> nevertheless, we barely achieve a faint shadow, and I have come to think that the Latin language is incapable of acquiring that grace which was vouchsafed uniquely to the Athenians—for the Greeks too failed to achieve it in any other dialect of their language. In Roman-dress comedy, the outstanding figure is Afranius.<sup>135</sup> If only he had not defiled his plots with indecent paedophile intrigues, thereby exhibiting his own proclivities!

### *History, Oratory, Philosophy*

Our history, on the other hand, need not yield the prize to the Greeks. I should have no hesitation in matching Sallust with Thucydides, nor would Herodotus resent Livy's being thought his equal. Livy has wonderful charm and brilliant transparency in narrative, while in his set

think he had never seen a stage, never attended a comic performance . . . ”

<sup>135</sup> Afranius wrote many comedies with a Roman setting (*togatae*), but also drew on Greek (Cicero, *De finibus* 1.7, Horace, *Epistulae* 2.1.57).



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- enarrari potest eloquentem, ita quae dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata sunt: adfectus quidem, praecipueque eos qui sunt dulciores, ut parcissime dicam, nemo historicorum commendavit magis. Ideoque illam  
 102 immortalem Sallusti velocitatem diversis virtutibus consecutus est. Nam mihi egregie dixisse videtur Servilius Nonianus, pares eos magis quam similes: qui et ipse a nobis auditus est, clari vir ingenii et sententiis creber, sed minus  
 103 pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat. Quam paulum aetate praecedens eum Bassus Aufidius egregie, utique in libris belli Germanici, praestitit, genere ipso<sup>30</sup> probabilis in omnibus, sed in quibusdam suis ipse viribus minor.  
 104 Superest adhuc et exornat aetatis nostrae gloriam vir saeculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intellegitur. Habet amatores—nec inmerito—Cremuti libertas, quamquam circumcisis quae dixisse ei nocuerat: sed elatum abunde spiritum et audaces sententias deprehendas etiam in iis quae manent. Sunt et alii scriptores boni, sed nos genera degustamus, non bibliothecas excutimus.

<sup>30</sup> ipso <mat<sup>er</sup>iae> Watt 1988

<sup>136</sup> Died (like Domitius Afer) in AD 60 (Tacitus, *Annales* 14.19); consul AD 35, and a man of taste and elegance. See Syme, *Hermes* 92 (1964) 408–424.

<sup>137</sup> Text and meaning uncertain. With Watt's <mat<sup>er</sup>iae> the reference would be to Aufidius' choice of subject. He wrote a general history (Seneca, *Suasoriae* 6.18.23 records his account of Cicero's death) and a history of the German wars to the campaign of Germanicus. Aper in Tacitus' *Dialogus* (23) couples him with

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speeches he is eloquent beyond description, so beautifully is everything adapted to the circumstances and the speakers. As for emotions, particularly the softer ones, the least I can say is that no historian has ever presented them more attractively. And so, though by very different qualities, he has come to rival Sallust's immortal rapidity. It seems to me that Servilius Nonianus<sup>136</sup> was absolutely right to say that these two were equal rather than alike. Servilius, whom I heard myself, was a man of distinguished talents, rich in striking remarks (*sententiae*), but less concise than the authoritative tone of history requires. This tone was excellently maintained by a slightly earlier writer, Aufidius Bassus, at any rate in his books on the German war; always acceptable for his general style of writing,<sup>137</sup> he sometimes falls short of his own abilities. There still survives, to enhance the glory of our times, a man worthy to be remembered in future ages; he will be named one day, but we all know who he is.<sup>138</sup> Cremutius<sup>139</sup> frankness also has its admirers, and rightly so, though the passages which ruined him have been cut out of the text. There is still plenty of lofty spirit and bold *sententiae* to be found in what survives. There are other good writers too, but I am only sampling the various genres, not searching whole libraries.

Nonianus. Seneca (*Epist.* 30) reports his old age and illness.

<sup>138</sup> We do not know. Fabius Rusticus (see Tacitus, *Agricola* 10) is one possibility.

<sup>139</sup> Cremutius Cordus was in trouble under Tiberius for praising Brutus and Cassius; his books were burned, and he starved himself to death in AD 25. Q. here shows that the books survived, but in an expurgated form.

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- 105 Oratores vero vel praecipue Latinam eloquentiam pa-  
rem facere Graecae possunt: nam Ciceronem cuicumque  
eorum fortiter opposuerim. Nec ignoro quantam mihi  
concitem pugnam, cum praesertim non id sit propositi, ut  
eum Demostheni comparem hoc tempore: neque enim  
attinet, cum Demosthenen in primis legendum vel edis-  
106 cendum potius putem. Quorum ego virtutes plerasque ar-  
bitror similes, consilium, ordinem, dividendi praeparandi  
probandi rationem, omnia denique quae sunt inventionis.  
In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas: densior ille, hic copio-  
sior, ille concludit adstrictius, hic latius, pugnat ille acu-  
mine semper, hic frequenter et pondere, illic nihil detrahi  
potest, hic nihil adici, curae plus in illo, in hoc naturae.  
107 Salibus certe et commiseratione, quae duo plurimum in  
adfectibus valent, vincimus. Et fortasse epilogos illi mos  
civitatis abstulerit, sed et nobis illa quae Attici mirantur di-  
versa Latini sermonis ratio minus permiserit. In epistulis  
quidem, quamquam sunt utriusque, dialogisve, quibus ni-  
108 hil ille, nulla contentio est. Cedendum vero in hoc, quod et  
prior fuit et ex magna parte Ciceronem quantus est fecit.  
Nam mihi videtur M. Tullius, cum se totum ad imitatio-  
nem Graecorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis,  
109 copiam Platonis, iucunditatem Isocratis. Nec vero quod in  
quoque optimum fuit studio consecutus est tantum, sed

<sup>140</sup> As do "Longinus" (12.4-5) and (ineptly) Caecilius (fr. 153 Ofenloch = Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 3).

<sup>141</sup> See 2.16.4, 6.1.7.

<sup>142</sup> Cicero (*Brutus* 121, *Orator* 15) also mentions Demosthenes' letters. Six public letters are extant, their genuineness disputed.

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It is our orators above all who enable us to put Roman eloquence on equal terms with Greek. I would happily pit Cicero against any of the Greeks. I know, of course, what a storm of opposition I am raising, especially as it is no part of my plan at present to compare him with Demosthenes<sup>140</sup>—and anyway that is not relevant, since I regard Demosthenes as a primary author to read, or rather to learn by heart. The excellences of the two are for the most part, I think, very similar: Strategy; Arrangement; principles of Division, Preparation, and Proof—in a word everything that comes under Invention. In their Elocution, there is some divergence: the one is more concentrated, the other more expansive; one has shorter periods, the other longer ones; one always fights with the sword point, the other often also puts his weight behind the blow; you cannot take anything away in the one, you cannot expand the other; one displays more care, the other more nature. In wit and pathos, the two most powerful elements in emotional writing, our man certainly wins. Perhaps it was the practice of his city that deprived Demosthenes of Epilogues,<sup>141</sup> but it may also be the case that the very different nature of the Latin language has robbed Cicero of qualities which Attic speakers admire. In letters (which both of them wrote)<sup>142</sup> and in dialogues (there are none by Demosthenes), there is no contest. We have to admit however that Demosthenes was the earlier and very largely made Cicero the great orator that he is. It seems to me, in fact, that Cicero, having devoted himself entirely to the imitation of the Greeks, succeeded in reproducing the forcefulness of Demosthenes, the abundance of Plato, and the elegance of Isocrates. But he did more than reproduce by study the excellences of each: most, or rather all, of his vir-

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- plurimas vel potius omnes ex se ipso<sup>31</sup> virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissima ubertas. Non enim pluvias, ut ait Pindarus, aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiae genitus in quo totas vires suas elo-
- 110 quentia experiretur. Nam quis docere diligentius, movere vehementius potest, cui tanta umquam iucunditas adfuit?—ut ipsa illa quae extorquet impetrare eum credas, et cum transversum vi sua iudicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi
- 111 videatur sed sequi. Iam in omnibus quae dicit tanta auctoritas inest ut dissentire pudeat, nec advocati studium sed testis aut iudicis adferat fidem, cum interim haec omnia, quae vix singula quisquam intentissima cura consequi posset, fluunt inlaborata, et illa qua nihil pulchrius auditum est oratio prae se fert tamen felicissimam facilitatem.
- 112 Quare non inmerito ab hominibus aetatis suae regnare in iudiciis dictus est, apud posteros vero id consecutus ut Cicero iam non hominis nomen sed eloquentiae habeatur. Hunc igitur spectemus, hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum, ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.
- 113 Multa in Asinio Pollione inventio, summa diligentia, adeo ut quibusdam etiam nimia videatur, et consilii et animi satis: a nitore et iucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest ut videri possit saeculo prior. At Messala nitidus et candidus et quodam modo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam,

<sup>31</sup> ipsa *Radermacher*

<sup>143</sup> Fr. 287 Bowra = 274 Snell. The Greek is not known.

<sup>144</sup> See 1.5.8.

<sup>145</sup> See 1.5.15, 10.5.2.

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tues are the self-generated product of the happy richness of his immortal genius. He does not, as Pindar says,<sup>143</sup> "collect the rainwater," but wells forth with a living flood; for he was born, by the favour of Providence, to be the man in whom eloquence could try out all her powers. Who can give information more precisely, or stir feelings more deeply? Who had ever such a gift of charm? You believe him to be winning by consent what he is really extorting by force; and when he sweeps the judge along with his violence, the judge feels not that he is being hijacked, but that he is going along of his own accord. Indeed such is the authority in everything Cicero says that one is ashamed to disagree. Instead of the partisanship of an advocate, he displays the trustworthiness of a witness or a judge. And all the time these excellences, any one of which could hardly be attained by an ordinary person, however much he concentrated his effort, flow from Cicero without strain, and his oratory, than which nothing more beautiful has ever been heard, nevertheless displays all the marks of felicitous ease. It was not without reason that his contemporaries said he was "king" of the courts, and that for posterity Cicero has become not so much the name of a man as a synonym for eloquence itself. Let us fix our eyes on him, let him be the model we set before ourselves; if a student comes to love Cicero, let him assure himself that he has made progress.

Asinius Pollio<sup>144</sup> had much power of Invention, great precision (too much, as some think), and adequate strategic sense and spirit; but he is so far below Cicero in polish and elegance that he could be thought a century earlier. Messala,<sup>145</sup> on the other hand, is polished and transparent, and somehow displays his aristocratic qualities in his

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- 114 viribus minor. C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur: tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse quo bellavit appareat; exornat tamen haec omnia mira sermonis, cuius proprie studiosus fuit, elegantia.
- 115 Multum ingenii in Caelio et praecipue in accusando multa urbanitas, dignusque vir cui et mens melior et vita longior contigisset. Inveni qui Calvum praeferrerent omnibus, inveni qui Ciceroni<sup>32</sup> crederent eum nimia contra se calumnia verum sanguinem perdidisse; sed est et sancta et gravis oratio et castigata et frequenter vehemens quoque. Imitator autem est Atticorum, fecitque illi properata mors iniuriam si quid adiecturus sibi, non si quid detracturus,
- 116 fuit. Et Servius Sulpicius insignem non inmerito famam tribus orationibus meruit. Multa si cum iudicio legatur dabit imitatione digna Cassius Severus, qui, si ceteris virtutibus colorem et gravitatem orationis adiecisset, ponendus
- 117 inter praecipuos foret. Nam et ingenii plurimum est in eo et acerbitas mira et urbanitas summa,<sup>33</sup> sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit; praeterea ut amari sales, ita frequenter amaritudo ipsa ridicula est.
- 118 Sunt alii multi disertis, quos persequi longum est. Eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe

<sup>32</sup> *recc.*: Ciceronem B: *del. Bonnet*

<sup>33</sup> *Winterbottom*: et sermo B: et summo b: *eximia Kroll*

<sup>146</sup> See *ORF* pp. 383–397.      <sup>147</sup> *ORF* n. 162, pp. 480–489. Caelius was 33 or 34 when he was killed. See 6.3.39: Cicero, *Brutus* 273.      <sup>148</sup> *ORF* n. 165, pp. 492–500. See 6.3.60, 12.6.1.

<sup>149</sup> *Brutus* 283.

<sup>150</sup> *ORF* n. 118, pp. 376–379. See Cicero, *Brutus* 158. We

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speech; but he lacks strength. If Julius Caesar<sup>146</sup> had been free to spend all his time in the courts, no other Roman could have been named as a rival to Cicero. He has the force, the shrewdness, the drive—you can see that he spoke with the same spirit as he waged war—but he dressed all this up in a wonderful elegance of language, of which he made a special study. Caelius<sup>147</sup> had much talent, and a notable wit, especially in prosecuting; he deserved a wiser mind and a longer life. I have found some who prefer Calvus<sup>148</sup> to all others, and others who believe with Cicero<sup>149</sup> that he ruined his real strength by too much self-criticism. His style was solemn, serious, and chaste, often also energetic. He was an imitator of the Attic writers, and his untimely death did his reputation an injury—if, that is, he was on the way to enrich his style, not to impoverish it. Servius Sulpicius too<sup>150</sup> deservedly won fame with his three speeches. Cassius Severus,<sup>151</sup> if read with a critical eye, will provide many things worth imitating; if he had added tone and dignity to his other virtues, he would have to be reckoned among the great. He has a great deal of talent, astonishing asperity, and great wit; but he yielded to his temper more than to his judgement. His humour is bitter, but the bitterness itself is often absurd.

There are many other good speakers, whom it would take too long to list. Of such as I have seen, Domitius Afer<sup>152</sup> and Julius Africanus<sup>153</sup> are far the most outstand-

know two titles: *In Murenam* (in the case which Cicero defended); *Pro Aufidia* (see 6.1.20, 10.1.22). <sup>151</sup> See 6.1.43.

<sup>152</sup> See 5.7.7, and above 10.1.86. Afer and Africanus are also paired together in Tacitus, *Dialogus* 15.5.

<sup>153</sup> See 8.5.15, 12.10.11.



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- praestantissimi. Verborum arte ille et toto genere dicendi  
praefendus et quem in numero veterum habere non ti-  
meas: hic concitator, sed in cura verborum nimius et com-  
positione nonnumquam longior et translationibus parum  
119 modicus. Erant clara et nuper ingenia. Nam et Trachalus  
plerumque sublimis et satis apertus fuit et quem velle opti-  
ma crederes, auditus tamen maior: nam et vocis quantam  
in nullo cognovi felicitas, et pronuntiatio vel scaenis suf-  
fectura, et decor, omnia denique ei quae sunt extra super-  
fuerunt; et Vibius Crispus compositus et iucundus et  
120 delectationi natus, privatis tamen causis quam publicis  
melior. Iulio Secundo si longior contigisset aetas, clarissi-  
mum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret: adie-  
cisset enim atque adiciebat ceteris virtutibus suis quod de-  
siderari potest, id est autem, ut esset multo magis pugnax  
121 et saepius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret. Cete-  
rum interceptus quoque magnum sibi vindicat locum, ea  
est facundia, tanta in explicando quod velit gratia, tam can-  
didum et leve et speciosum dicendi genus, tanta verborum  
etiam quae adsumpta sunt proprietates, tanta in quibusdam  
ex periculo petitis significantia.
- 122 Habebunt qui post nos de oratoribus scribebant magnam  
eos qui nunc vigent materiam vere laudandi: sunt enim  
summa hodie quibus illustratur forum ingenia. Namque  
et consummati iam patroni veteribus aemulantur et eos

<sup>154</sup> See 6.3.78.

<sup>155</sup> See 5.13.48, 8.5.15.

<sup>156</sup> One of the speakers in Tacitus' *Dialogus*: secretary to Otho  
in 69 (Plutarch, *Otho* 9). See 10.3.12-13, 12.10.11.

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ing. Domitius is the superior in art and in his whole style of oratory. One would not be afraid to count him among the ancients. Africanus was more lively, but too meticulous in his choice of words, often diffuse in Composition, and extravagant in his metaphors. There have been distinguished talents also in more recent days. Trachalus<sup>154</sup> was in general elevated and pretty clear; one could believe that his ideals were high. But he was better to listen to than to read, for he had every possible external advantage—a lovely voice, unique in my experience, a delivery which would have graced the stage, and great personal beauty. Vibius Crispus,<sup>155</sup> too, was smooth, agreeable, born to please, but better in private cases than in public ones. Julius Secundus,<sup>156</sup> had he enjoyed a longer life, would certainly have had a great reputation with posterity as an orator, for he would have added to his other virtues (as indeed he was already doing) the element that can be thought lacking in him, namely a much more aggressive attitude and a willingness to attend more often to the content rather than the words. Yet, even though his career was cut short, he can claim an important place, thanks to his facility, the grace with which he sets out what he wants, his lucid, smooth, and beautiful style, his propriety in the use of words (even those transferred from other senses),<sup>157</sup> and the pregnant force of some of his most hazardous expressions.

Those who write about orators in the future will find ample material for genuine praise in those who are now in their prime, for the talents which grace the courts today are very great. The mature advocates rival the ancients,

<sup>157</sup> I.e. in Tropes and Figures which can (paradoxically) sometimes provide the “proper” word: compare 8.2.11.

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iuvenum ad optima tendentium imitatur ac sequitur industria.

- 123       Supersunt qui de philosophia scripserint: quo in genere paucissimos adhuc eloquentes litterae Romanae tulerunt. Idem igitur M. Tullius, qui ubique, etiam in hoc opere Platonis aemulus extitit. Egregius vero multoque quam in orationibus praestantior Brutus suffecit ponderi rerum:
- 124       scias eum sentire quae dicit. Scripsit non parum multa Cornelius Celsus, Sextios secutus, non sine cultu ac nitore. Plautus in Stoicis rerum cognitioni utilis; in Epicureis levis quidem sed non iniucundus tamen auctor est Catius.
- 125       Ex industria Senecam in omni genere eloquentiae distuli, propter vulgatam falso de me opinionem qua damnare eum et invisum quoque habere sum creditus. Quod accidit mihi dum corruptum et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi
- 126       genus revocare ad severiora iudicia contendo; tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adulescentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, sed potioribus praeferi non sinebam, quos ille non destiterat incessere, cum diversi sibi conscius generis placere se in dicendo posse

<sup>158</sup> Wrote *De virtute*, *De officiis*, and *De patientia*: nothing of these is extant.

<sup>159</sup> See on 2.15.22, 3.1.21. Philosophy will have formed part of his extended "encyclopaedia," of which the medical part survives, while the rhetoric is often criticized by Q.

<sup>160</sup> Q. Sextius (born c. 70 BC), his son, and Sotion formed a group of philosophers who combined Stoic ethics with some Pythagorean ideas (vegetarianism, daily self-examination, and—for Sotion—the immortality of the soul). They influenced Seneca (*Epist.* 49.2, 108.17–23 for Sotion; 59.7, 64.2–5, and *Natural Questions* 7.32.2 for the Sextii); Q. is our authority for their influence on Celsus.       <sup>161</sup> See 2.14.2, 3.6.23.

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and the efforts of the promising and aspiring young imitate and follow them.

There remain the writers on philosophy. Roman literature has so far produced very few eloquent authors of this kind. Cicero, as in everything else, stands out here too as a rival to Plato. Brutus<sup>158</sup>—excellent in this, and much better than in his speeches—had the strength to support the weight of the subject; you can tell he feels what he says. Cornelius Celsus,<sup>159</sup> a follower of the Sextii,<sup>160</sup> wrote a good deal, and with elegance and polish. Among the Stoics, Plautus<sup>161</sup> is a useful source of information. Of the Epicureans, Catius<sup>162</sup> is lightweight, but not unagreeable.

### *Seneca*

I have deliberately postponed Seneca in my discussion of the various genres, because there was a general, though false, impression that I condemned him and even regarded him as an enemy. This came about when I was trying to recall a decadent manner of writing, enfeebled by all kinds of errors, to a severer standard.<sup>163</sup> Now at that time Seneca was almost the only author in young men's hands. I did not try to make them drop him altogether, but I was not prepared to see him preferred to the better writers whom he had never stopped criticizing, because he knew that his own style was quite different and did not feel confident of

<sup>162</sup> Cicero (*Ad fam.* 15.16) reports that Catius translated the Epicurean term εἶδωλον by *spectrum*. He is said to have written four books on "Nature and the Highest Good."

<sup>163</sup> This seems to refer to Q.'s teaching in general, not particularly to the (fairly recent) *De causis corruptae eloquentiae*.

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quibus illi placerent diffideret. Amabant autem eum magis  
 quam imitabantur, tantumque ab illo defluebant quantum  
 127 ille ab antiquis descenderat. Foret enim optandum pares  
 ac saltem proximos illi viro fieri. Sed placebat propter sola  
 vitia, et ad ea se quisque dirigebat effingenda quae poterat;  
 deinde cum se iactaret eodem modo dicere, Senecam infa-  
 128 mabat. Cuius et multae alioqui et magnae virtutes fuerunt,  
 ingenium facile et copiosum, plurimum studii, multa re-  
 rum cognitio, in qua tamen aliquando ab iis quibus inqui-  
 renda quaedam mandabat deceptus est. Tractavit etiam  
 129 omnem fere studiorum materiam: nam et orationes eius et  
 poemata et epistulae et dialogi feruntur. In philosophia  
 parum diligens, egregius tamen vitiorum insectator fuit.  
 Multae in eo claraeque sententiae, multa etiam morum  
 gratia legenda, sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque  
 130 eo perniciosissima quod abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles  
 eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno iudicio: nam si aliqua con-  
 tempsisset, si prava<sup>34</sup> non concupisset, si non omnia sua  
 amasset, si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non  
 fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum  
 131 amore comprobaretur. Verum sic quoque iam robustis et  
 severiore genere satis firmatis legendus, vel ideo quod  
 exercere potest utrimque iudicium. Multa enim, ut dixi,

<sup>34</sup> *Sarpe*: parum *B*

<sup>164</sup> For Seneca's criticisms of Ennius, Vergil, and Cicero, see Aulus Gellius 12.2; but Q. seems here to take a prejudiced view of Seneca's tastes as we see them, e.g., in *Epist.* 100, 114.

<sup>165</sup> We have no speeches, and the epigrams are of doubtful authenticity. Perhaps "poems" include the tragedies (see 8.3.31, 9.2.8), for it is strange that these are not explicitly mentioned here.

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pleasing those who were pleased by them.<sup>164</sup> The young loved him more than they imitated him, and fell as far below him as he had fallen below the ancients. It would have been much to be desired that they should be his equals, or at least approach his level. But they liked him only for his faults, and every one of them directed his efforts to reproducing what he could of these, and thus did Seneca's reputation a disservice while claiming to speak in his style. In any case, Seneca had many great virtues: a ready and prolific talent, diligent study, and deep learning (though he was sometimes misled by those whom he employed to research into some subjects for him). He put his hand to almost every type of literature. Speeches, poems, letters, and dialogues of his are in circulation.<sup>165</sup> He was not a good enough scholar in philosophy, though a notable denouncer of vice. He has many excellent *sententiae*, and much that is worth reading on moral grounds; but his style is for the most part decadent, and particularly dangerous because of the seductiveness of the vices with which it abounds. One could wish that he had used his own talents but other people's judgement. If he had rejected some things, if he had not had a longing for the perverse, if he had not been so fond of all his own thoughts, if he had not broken up his weighty ideas in his tiny little epigrams,<sup>166</sup> he would have won the general approval of the learned rather than the enthusiasm of boys. Yet, even as it is, he should be read by mature students who are well settled in the practice of a severer style, if only because he can exercise their judgement in distinguishing good from bad. As I said, there is much to

<sup>166</sup> Compare Cowley's phrase (*Ode: of Wit* 52): "the dry chips of short-lunged Seneca."

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probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt, eligere modo curae sit; quod utinam ipse fecisset: digna enim fuit illa natura quae meliora vellet; quod voluit effecit.

### 2

- 1 Ex his ceterisque lectione dignis auctoribus et verborum sumenda copia est et varietas figurarum et componendi ratio, tum ad exemplum virtutum omnium mens derigenda. Neque enim dubitari potest quin artis pars magna contineatur imitatione. Nam ut invenire primum fuit estque praecipuum, sic ea quae bene inventa sunt utile sequi.
- 2 Atque omnis vitae ratio sic constat, ut quae probamus in aliis facere ipsi velimus. Sic litterarum ductus, ut scribendi fiat usus, pueri secuntur, sic musici vocem docentium, pictores opera priorum, rustici probatam experimento culturam in exemplum intuentur, omnis denique disciplinae initia ad propositum sibi praescriptum formari videmus.
- 3 Et hercule necesse est aut similes aut dissimiles bonis simus. Similem raro natura praestat, frequenter imitatio. Sed hoc ipsum, quod tanto faciliorem nobis rationem rerum omnium facit quam fuit iis qui nihil quod sequerentur habuerunt, nisi caute et cum iudicio adprehenditur nocet.
- 4 Ante omnia igitur imitatio per se ipsa non sufficit, vel quia pigri est ingenii contentum esse iis quae sint ab aliis

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<sup>1</sup> See 1.1.27–29.

## BOOK 10.2

approve in him, and much even to admire, so long as one takes the trouble to be selective. If only he had done that himself! His nature deserved to be directed to better aims; but he achieved what he wanted.

### CHAPTER 2

#### *Imitation*

It is from these and other authors worth reading that we must draw our stock of words, the variety of our Figures, and our system of Composition, and also guide our minds by the patterns they provide of all the virtues. It cannot be doubted that a large part of art consists of imitation. Invention of course came first and is the main thing, but good inventions are profitable to follow. Moreover, it is a principle of life in general that we want to do for ourselves what we approve in others. Children follow the outlines of letters so as to become accustomed to writing;<sup>1</sup> singers find their model in their teacher's voice, painters in the works of their predecessors, and farmers in methods of cultivation which have been tested by experience. In a word, we see the rudiments of every branch of learning shaped by standards prescribed for it. We obviously cannot help being either like the good or unlike them. Nature rarely makes us like them; imitation often does. But this very fact, which makes the principles of everything so much easier for us than for those who had no antecedents to follow, works to our disadvantage unless we handle it with caution and discrimination.

First of all, then, imitation is not sufficient on its own.

(1) For one thing, only a lazy mind is content with what



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- inventa. Quid enim futurum erat temporibus illis quae sine exemplo fuerunt si homines nihil nisi quod iam cognovissent faciendum sibi aut cogitandum putassent? Nempe  
5 nihil fuisset inventum. Cur igitur nefas est reperiri aliquid a nobis quod ante non fuerit? An illi rudes sola mentis natura ducti sunt in hoc, ut tam multa generarent: nos ad quaerendum non eo ipso concitemur, quod certe scimus  
6 invenisse eos qui quaesierunt? Et cum illi, qui nullum cuiusquam rei habuerunt magistrum, plurima in posteros tradiderint, nobis usus aliarum rerum ad eruendas alias non proderit, sed nihil habebimus nisi beneficii alieni? Quem ad modum quidam pictores in id solum student, ut describere tabulas mensuris ac lineis sciant.
- 7 Turpe etiam illud est, contentum esse id consequi quod imiteris. Nam rursus quid erat futurum si nemo plus effecisset eo quem sequebatur? Nihil in poetis supra Livium Andronicum, nihil in historiis supra pontificum annales haberemus; ratibus adhuc navigaremus, non esset pictura nisi quae lineas modo extremas umbrae quam corpora in  
8 sole fecissent circumscriberet. Ac si omnia percenseas, nulla mansit<sup>1</sup> ars qualis inventa est, nec intra initium stetit: nisi forte nostra potissimum tempora damnamus huius infelicitatis, ut nunc demum nihil crescat: nihil autem crescit  
9 sola imitatione. Quod si prioribus adicere fas non est, quo modo sperare possumus illum oratorem perfectum? cum

<sup>1</sup> *Meister*: sit B

<sup>2</sup> Fragments in *ROL* 2. 1–42. See also Cicero, *Brutus* 71.

<sup>3</sup> See Cicero, *De oratore* 2.52. The *pontifex maximus*, in republican times, issued an annual record of events, prodigies, and magistracies; these were later collected, in 80 books.

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others have discovered. What would have happened in the days when there were no models, if men had decided to do and think of nothing that they did not know already? Nothing of course would have been discovered. So why is it a crime for us to discover something which did not exist before? If those primitives were led by sheer intellectual endowment to make so many innovations, are we not to be stimulated in our search by our certain knowledge that they sought and found? And if they, who had no teachers in anything, have handed down so much to posterity, is the availability of some things not to help us dig out others? Are we to have nothing except what we owe to the kind help of strangers? That would make us like certain painters, who study only to learn how to copy pictures by means of measurements and lines.

(2) It is a disgrace too to be content merely to attain the effect you are imitating. Once again, what would have happened if no one had achieved more than the man he was following? We should have nothing in poetry better than Livius Andronicus,<sup>2</sup> nothing in history better than the Annals of the *pontifices*;<sup>3</sup> we should still be going to sea on rafts, and the only painting would consist in drawing outlines round the shadows cast by objects in the sun. Take a comprehensive view: no art has remained as it was when it was discovered, or come to a stop in its early stages. Or are we to condemn our own age to the unique misery of being the first period in which nothing grows? And nothing does grow by imitation alone. But if we are not allowed to add to previous achievements, how can we hope for our ideal ora-

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in iis quos maximos adhuc novimus nemo sit inventus in quo nihil aut desideretur aut reprehendatur. Sed etiam qui summa non adpetent, contendere potius quam sequi debent. Nam qui hoc agit, ut prior sit, forsitan, etiam si non transierit, aequabit. Eum vero nemo potest aequare cuius vestigiis sibi utique insistendum putat: necesse est enim semper sit posterior qui sequitur.

Adde quod plerumque facilius est plus facere quam idem: tantam enim difficultatem habet similitudo ut ne ipsa quidem natura in hoc ita evaluerit, ut non res quae simillimae quaeque pares maxime videantur utique discrimine aliquo discernantur.

11 Adde quod quidquid alteri simile est necesse est minus sit eo quod imitatur, ut umbra corpore et imago facie et actus histrionum veris adfectibus. Quod in orationibus quoque evenit. Namque iis quae in exemplum adsumimus subest natura et vera vis, contra omnis imitatio ficta<sup>2</sup> est et  
12 ad alienum propositum commodatur. Quo fit ut minus sanguinis ac virium declamationes habeant quam orationes, quod in illis vera, in his adsimulata materia est.

13 Adde quod ea quae in oratore maxima sunt imitabilia non sunt, ingenium, inventio, vis, facilitas et quidquid arte non traditur. Ideoque plerique, cum verba quaedam ex orationibus excerpserunt aut aliquos compositionis certos pedes, mire a se quae legerunt effingi arbitrantur, cum et verba intercidant invalescantque temporibus, ut quorum certissima sit regula in consuetudine, eaque non sua natu-

<sup>2</sup> E: facta B

<sup>4</sup> Compare 8.6.32, and especially Horace, *Ars Poetica* 60–72.

tor? Of the greatest orators known up to the present, we can find none without some deficiency or fault. But even those who do not aim for the top have an obligation to compete and not lag behind. The man who tries to win a race may perhaps draw level, even if he does not get into the lead; but no one can draw level with a man in whose footsteps he feels bound to tread. The follower is inevitably always behind.

(3) Furthermore, it is generally easier to improve on something than simply to repeat it. Total similarity is so difficult to achieve that even Nature herself has failed to prevent things which seem to match and resemble each other most closely from being always distinguishable in *some* respect.

(4) Again, whatever resembles another object is bound to be less than what it imitates, just as the shadow is less than the body, the picture less than the face, and the actor's performance less than the emotions of real life. The same happens in oratory too: the models we choose have their own nature and real force, whereas all imitation is artificial and adapted to another's purpose. This is why declamations have less life and vigour than actual speeches, because the subject is real in the one case and fictitious in the other.

(5) Again, the greatest qualities of an orator are inimitable: his talent, invention, force, fluency, everything in fact that is not taught in the textbooks. Thus many people think that, if they have picked out some words from speeches or some particular rhythmical feet, they have succeeded wonderfully in reproducing what they have read. Yet (a) words lose or gain currency with the times, because the surest rule for them is usage,<sup>4</sup> and they are not good or bad

ra sint bona aut mala (nam per se soni tantum sunt), sed prout oportune proprieque aut secus conlocata sunt, et compositio cum rebus accommodata sit, tum ipsa varietate gratissima.

- 14 Quapropter exactissimo iudicio circa hanc partem studiorum examinanda sunt omnia. Primum, quos imitemur: nam sunt plurimi qui similitudinem pessimi cuiusque et corruptissimi concupierint: tum in ipsis quos elegerimus
- 15 quid sit ad quod nos efficiendum comparemus. Nam in magnis quoque auctoribus incidunt aliqua vitiosa et a doctis <et><sup>3</sup> inter ipsos etiam mutuo reprehensa: atque utinam tam bona imitantes dicerent melius quam mala peius dicunt. Nec vero saltem iis quibus ad evitanda vitia iudicii satis fuerit<sup>4</sup> sufficiat imaginem virtutis effingere et solam, ut ita dixerim, cutem vel potius illas Epicuri figuras, quas e
- 16 summis corporibus dicit effluere. Hoc autem iis accidit qui non introspectis penitus virtutibus ad primum se velut aspectum orationis aptarunt: et cum iis felicissime cessit imitatio, verbis atque numeris sunt non multum differentes, vim dicendi atque inventionis non adsecuntur, sed plerumque declinant in peius et proxima virtutibus vitia comprehendunt fiuntque pro grandibus tumidi, pressis exiles, fortibus temerarii, laetis corrupti, compositis exultantes,

<sup>3</sup> *add. Andresen*      <sup>4</sup> *Gensler: fuit B*

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<sup>5</sup> Compare 8.3.31. Q. may also be thinking of Demosthenes and Aeschines, who used criticism of each other's style as a weapon of controversy.

<sup>6</sup> See Epicurus, *Letter to Herodotus* 46–48; Lucretius 4.26–215. The *simulacra rerum* are stripped off like thin “membranes” from the surface of things, and “fly” to affect our senses.

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by nature (for in themselves they are merely sounds) but only in virtue of their aptitude or propriety (or the reverse) in their context; and (b) the Composition has been accommodated to the subject, and acquires its most pleasing qualities from its very variety.

Everything in this field of study therefore needs to be subjected to the most careful judgement. First, whom should we imitate? Many people have developed a longing to be like the worst and most decadent speakers. Secondly, what is it in our chosen authors that we should prepare ourselves to reproduce? Even great authorities have some blemishes, which are criticized both by the learned and by the authors themselves in their mutual recriminations.<sup>5</sup> If only the imitators of good qualities improved on them as much as the imitators of bad qualities exaggerate these! And even those who have judgement enough to avoid faults should not be satisfied with producing an image of excellence, a mere outer skin, as it were, or rather a "shape" like those which Epicurus says are given off by the surfaces of bodies.<sup>6</sup> But this is what happens to those who adapt themselves to the superficial impression made by a speech without considering its excellences in depth. Even when their imitation is most successful, though they may not be very different from the model in vocabulary or rhythm, they do not attain its power of speech or Invention; on the contrary, they commonly degenerate into something worse, and pick up those faults which are closest to the virtues they seek, becoming turgid instead of grand, meagre instead of concise, rash instead of bold, decadent instead of rich, jerky instead of rhythmical, careless

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- 17 simplicibus negligentibus. Ideoque qui horride atque in-  
compositae quilibet illud frigidum et inane extulerunt, an-  
tiquis se pares credunt: qui carent cultu atque sententiis,  
Attici<sup>5</sup> scilicet; [qui]<sup>6</sup> praecisus conclusionibus obscuri Sal-  
lustium atque Thucydiden superant; tristes ac ieiuni Pol-  
lionem aemulantur; otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius  
circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse.
- 18 Noveram quosdam qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud  
caelestis huius in dicendo viri sibi viderentur si in clausula  
posuissent 'esse videatur'. Ergo primum est ut quod imita-  
tur est quisque intellegat, et quare bonum sit sciat.
- 19 Tum in suscipiendo onere consulat suas vires. Nam  
quaedam sunt imitabilia quibus aut infirmitas naturae non  
sufficiat aut diversitas repugnet: ne cui tenue ingenium  
erit sola velit fortia et abrupta, cui forte quidem sed indo-  
mitum amore subtilitatis et vim suam perdat et elegantiam  
quam cupit non persequatur: nihil est enim tam indecens  
quam cum mollia dure fiunt.
- 20 Atque ego illi praeceptori quem institueram in libro se-  
cundo credidi non ea sola docenda esse ad quae quemque  
discipulorum natura compositum videret: nam is et ad-  
iuvare debet quae in quoque eorum invenit bona et quan-  
tum fieri potest adicere quae desunt et emendare quae-  
dam et mutare. Rector enim est alienorum ingeniorum  
21 atque formator; difficilius est naturam suam fingere. Sed

<sup>5</sup> Atticis *b*

<sup>6</sup> *del. Winterbottom*

<sup>7</sup> Compare 2.12.4, 3.7.25.

<sup>8</sup> Compare 9.4.73.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Horace, *Ars Poetica* 38–40.

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instead of simple.<sup>7</sup> Thus those who have delivered some tasteless, meaningless piece in a rough and unrhythmical fashion think themselves the equals of the ancients; those who do without ornament or epigram are, if you please, "Attic"; writers whose amputated sentences make them obscure are going one better than Sallust or Thucydides; the dreary and jejune are rivals of Pollio; the leisurely and listless, on producing some long period, swear that that is how Cicero would have spoken. I knew some people who thought they had reproduced that divine orator's style beautifully if they had put an *esse videatur* at the clausula.<sup>8</sup> So the first step is for the student to understand what it is that he is going to imitate, and to know why it is good.

Next, in undertaking the burden, he must consider his own strength.<sup>9</sup> There are some objects of imitation for which his natural capacity may be too weak, or with which his very different temperament may be at odds. A person whose talent is delicate should not aim solely at rugged boldness; the strong but undisciplined mind should not, out of love of fine craftsmanship, waste its vigour while failing to achieve the elegance it seeks: nothing is so unbecoming as a hamfisted attempt to be dainty!

I did indeed think that the teacher, whose training I described in Book Two,<sup>10</sup> ought not to restrict himself to teaching what he saw each individual pupil to be best fitted for by nature; it is his duty, after all, both to foster the good qualities he finds in each of them, and, so far as possible, to make good their deficiencies, and correct or change some of their characteristics. He is the guide and moulder of the minds of others; shaping one's own nature is harder. And

<sup>10</sup> 2.8.13.



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ne ille quidem doctor, quamquam omnia quae recta sunt velit esse in suis auditoribus quam plenissima, in eo tamen cui naturam obstare viderit laborabit.

22 Id quoque vitandum, in quo magna pars errat, ne in oratione poetas nobis et historicos, in illis operibus oratores aut declamatores imitandos putemus. Sua cuique proposito lex, suus decor est: nec comoedia in coturnos adsurgit, nec contra tragoedia socco ingreditur. Habet tamen omnis eloquentia aliquid commune: id imitemur quod commune est.

23 Etiam hoc solet incommodi accidere iis qui se uni alicui generi dederunt, ut, si asperitas iis placuit alicuius, hanc etiam in leni ac remisso causarum genere non exuant: si tenuitas aut iucunditas, in asperis gravibusque causis ponderi rerum parum respondeant: cum sit diversa non causarum modo inter ipsas condicio, sed in singulis etiam causis partium, sintque alia leniter alia aspere, alia concitate alia remisse, alia docendi alia movendi gratia dicenda, quorum  
24 omnium dissimilis atque diversa inter se ratio est. Itaque ne hoc quidem suaserim, uni se alicui proprie quem per omnia sequatur addicere. Longe perfectissimus Graecorum Demosthenes; aliquid tamen aliquo in loco melius alii, plurima ille. Sed non qui maxime imitandus, et solus  
25 imitandus est. Quid ergo? non est satis omnia sic dicere

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not even my ideal teacher, however much he wants all the right qualities to be present to the fullest possible extent in his pupils, will waste his effort on one whose nature he perceives as a serious obstacle.

We must also avoid the mistake, into which many fall, of imitating poets and historians in speeches, and orators or declaimers in history and poetry. Each genre has its own law, and its own standard of appropriateness. Comedy does not walk tall in tragedy's high boots, nor tragedy amble on in comedy's slippers. Still, all eloquence has something in common, and it is this common element that we should imitate.

There is a further disadvantage to which those who devote themselves to one particular manner are commonly liable. If they are attracted by some author's asperity, they do not abandon it even in Causes of an easy and comfortable nature. If it is the delicate or the agreeable manner that attracts them, they fail to respond to the demands of a Cause that needs asperity or gravity. And yet it is not only that the conditions of Causes differ one from another: the parts of a single Cause make different demands, because some matters need a gentle and others a rough approach, some call for excitement, others for relaxation, some things need to be said to give information, others to rouse emotion. And the methods required for all these are dissimilar and very different. I am therefore not disposed to advise anyone to swear allegiance to any one author and follow him in everything. Demosthenes is by far the most perfect of the Greeks, but, while of course he does most things best, there are some areas in which others have done better. The author who is most to be imitated is not also the only author to be imitated. "What! is it not good enough to

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- quo modo M. Tullius dixit? Mihi quidem satis esset si omnia consequi possem. Quid tamen noceret vim Caesaris, asperitatem Caeli, diligentiam Pollionis, iudicium Calvi
- 26 quibusdam in locis adsumere? Nam praeter id quod prudentis est quod in quoque optimum est, si possit, suum facere, tum in tanta rei difficultate unum intuentis vix aliqua pars sequitur; ideoque cum totum exprimere quem elegeris paene sit homini inconcessum, plurium bona ponamus ante oculos, ut aliud ex alio haereat, et quo quidque loco conveniat aptemus.
- 27 Imitatio autem (nam saepius idem dicam) non sit tantum in verbis. Illuc intendenda mens, quantum fuerit illis viris decoris in rebus atque personis, quod consilium, quae dispositio, quam omnia, etiam quae delectationi videantur data, ad victoriam spectent: quid agatur prohoemio, quae ratio et quam varia narrandi, quae vis probandi ac refellendi, quanta in adfectibus omnis generis movendis scientia, quamque <prosit><sup>7</sup> laus ipsa popularis utilitatis gratia adsumpta, quae tum est pulcherrima cum sequitur, non cum arcessitur. Haec si perviderimus, tum vere imitabimur.
- 28 Qui vero etiam propria his bona adiecerit, ut suppleat quae deerant, circumcidat si quid redundabit, is erit quem quaerimus perfectus orator: quem nunc consummari po-

<sup>7</sup> *add. M. W.*: quamque . . . gratia *om. b*

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say everything as Cicero said it?" Personally, I should answer yes, if I *could* achieve it all. But what harm is there in occasionally drawing on Caesar's force, Caelius' asperity, Pollio's precision, or Calvus' good judgement? Apart from the fact that a wise man should always, if possible, appropriate what is best in any model, it is also true that the whole enterprise is so difficult that those who concentrate on one model will hardly find any part of it within their grasp. Consequently, since it is scarcely given to man to produce a complete reproduction of a chosen author, let us keep the excellences of a number of authors before our eyes, so that one thing stays in our minds from one of them, and another from another, and we can use each in the appropriate place.

Imitation—I shall often make this point—should not be restricted to words. What we must fix our minds on is the propriety with which the great men handle circumstances and persons, their strategy, their arrangement, the way in which everything (even what seems to be a concession to entertainment value) is aimed at victory. We must note what they do in the Prooemium, how they manage and diversify the Narrative, the effectiveness of their Proofs and Refutations, their skill in appealing to every kind of emotion, and how they <make practical use> even of the applause of the public; for this is indeed a very splendid thing if it comes spontaneously, but not if it is courted. If we thoroughly grasp all this, we shall be "imitators" in the true sense of the word.

But it is the man who also adds his own good qualities to these, making good the deficiencies and cutting out any superfluities, who will be the perfect orator we are seeking; and it would be particularly appropriate that he should

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tissimum oporteat, cum tanto plura exempla bene dicendi supersunt quam illis qui adhuc summi sunt contigerunt. Nam erit haec quoque laus eorum, ut priores superasse, posteros docuisse dicantur.

### 3

- 1 Et haec quidem auxilia extrinsecus adhibentur: in iis autem quae nobis ipsis paranda sunt, ut laboris, sic utilitatis etiam longe plurimum adfert stilus. Nec inmerito M. Tullius hunc 'optimum effectorem ac magistrum dicendi' vocat, cui sententiae personam L. Crassi in disputationibus quae sunt de Oratore adsignando iudicium suum cum
- 2 illius auctoritate coniunxit. Scribendum ergo quam diligentissime et quam plurimum. Nam ut terra alte refossa generandis alendisque seminibus fecundior, sic profectus non a summo petitus studiorum fructus et fundit uberius et fidelius continet. Nam sine hac quidem constantia<sup>1</sup> ipsa illa ex tempore dicendi facultas inanem modo loquacitatem dabit et verba in labris nascentia. Illic radices, illic fundamenta sunt, illic opes velut sanctiore quodam aerario conditae, unde ad subitos quoque casus cum res exiget proferantur. Vires faciamus ante omnia quae sufficiant
- 4 labori certaminum et usu non exhauriantur. Nihil enim rerum ipsa natura voluit magnum effici cito, praeposuitque

<sup>1</sup> *Gesner*: conscientia B

<sup>1</sup> *De oratore* 1.150.

<sup>2</sup> *Livy* 27.10.11: "It was resolved to bring out the gold which was kept for extreme emergencies *in sanctiore aerario*." See *OLD* s.v. *sanctus* 1c.

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come to perfection in our time, when there are so many more models of good oratory to be found than were available to those who were the greatest masters in the past. These masters will acquire another glory too: that of being said to have surpassed their predecessors and taught their successors.

### CHAPTER 3

#### *On writing*

These are external aids. Of those which we must supply for ourselves, it is the pen which produces both by far the most labour and by far the most profit. Cicero rightly calls it "the best maker and master of eloquence."<sup>1</sup> (By attaching the person of Crassus to this sentiment, in the dialogue *De oratore*, he has linked his own judgement to Crassus' authority.) We must therefore write as carefully and as much as possible. As deep digging makes the soil more fertile for the germination and growth of seeds, so progress which is not sought by superficial means yields the fruits of study more generously and retains them more faithfully. Without perseverance in this, even the facility for extempore speaking will produce nothing but idle chatter and words that come only from the lips. This is where the roots lie, this is where the foundations are, this is where the wealth is stored in the emergency reserves of our treasury,<sup>2</sup> to be brought out to meet sudden contingencies when circumstances demand. Above all, let us develop a strength which will be sufficient for the fatigues of our battles, and will not be exhausted by continual use. Nature herself has willed that no great thing can be brought about in a moment;

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pulcherrimo cuique operi difficultatem: quae nascendi quoque hanc fecerit legem, ut maiora animalia diutius visceribus parentis continerentur.

Sed cum sit duplex quaestio, quo modo et quae maxime scribi oporteat, iam hinc ordinem sequar.

- 5 Sit primo vel tardus dum diligens stilus, quaeramus optima nec protinus offerentibus se gaudeamus, adhibeatur iudicium inventis, dispositio probatis: dilectus enim rerum verborumque agendus est et pondera singulorum examinanda. Post subeat ratio conlocandi versenturque
- 6 omni modo numeri, non ut quodque se proferet verbum occupet locum. Quae quidem ut diligentius exequamur, repetenda saepius erunt scriptorum proxima. Nam praeter id quod sic melius iunguntur prioribus sequentia, calor quoque ille cogitationis, qui scribendi mora refrixit, recipit ex integro vires, et velut repetito spatio sumit impetum: quod in certamine saliendi fieri videmus, ut conatum longius petant, et ad illud quo contenditur spatium cursu ferantur, utque in iaculando bracchia reducimus et expulsuri tela nervos retro tendimus.
- 7 Interim tamen, si feret flatus, danda sunt vela, dum nos indulgentia illa non fallat; omnia enim nostra dum nascuntur placent: alioqui nec scriberentur. Sed redeamus ad
- 8 iudicium et retractemus suspectam facilitatem. Sic scripsisse Sallustium accepimus, et sane manifestus est etiam ex

<sup>3</sup> So Aristotle, *On the generation of animals* 4. 777b8–16.

<sup>4</sup> The second point is reached at 10.5.

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she has set difficulties in the way of every noble work—she even made it a law of birth that bigger animals should stay longer within the mother's womb.<sup>3</sup>

There are two questions: how we should write, and what it is best to write. I shall now take these in order.<sup>4</sup>

At first, let your writing be slow, so long as it is accurate: let us look for the best, and not be happy with whatever presents itself first; let us apply judgement to our Inventions, and Disposition to what we have thus approved. We have to conduct a review of our thoughts and words, and weigh them one by one. Composition should come next; we need to try out Rhythms in all possible ways, not allowing every word to take possession of the place in which it first suggests itself. To do this with due care, we shall repeatedly have to go over what we wrote last. Apart from the fact that better connections are made in this way between what has gone before and what follows, the warmth of our thought, which has cooled down in the time spent writing, recovers strength and gathers fresh impetus, as it were, from going over the ground again. We see this happen in jumping competitions, where the competitors start their attempt a long way back, and run up to the area in which the jump is to be made. In javelin-throwing, likewise, we draw back our arms, and when we are about to shoot an arrow, we pull the bow-string back.

Sometimes, however, if the wind is behind us, we can spread our sails, so long as the favourable conditions do not lead us astray. Of course, we love all our own productions when they are newly born; if we did not, they would not even be written down. But let us then go back to criticize them, and reconsider anything that seems suspiciously facile. We are told that Sallust wrote in this way, and indeed



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opere ipso labor. Vergilium quoque paucissimos die com-  
 9 posuisse versus auctor est Varius. Oratoris quidem alia  
 condicio est: itaque hanc moram et sollicitudinem initiis  
 impero. Nam primum hoc constituendum, hoc optinen-  
 dum est, ut quam optime scribamus: celeritatem dabit  
 consuetudo. Paulatim res facilius se ostendent, verba re-  
 spondebunt, compositio sequetur, cuncta denique ut in  
 10 familia bene instituta in officio erunt. Summa haec est rei:  
 cito scribendo non fit ut bene scribatur, bene scribendo fit  
 ut cito. Sed tum maxime cum facultas illa contigerit resis-  
 tamus, ut provideamus et ferentis<sup>2</sup> equos frenis quibus-  
 dam coerceamus, quod non tam moram faciet quam novos  
 impetus dabit.

Neque enim rursus eos qui robur aliquod in stilo fece-  
 rint ad infelicem calumniandi se poenam alligandos puto.  
 11 Nam quo modo sufficere officiis civilibus possit qui singu-  
 lis actionum partibus insenescat? Sunt autem quibus nihil  
 sit satis: omnia mutare, omnia aliter dicere quam occurrit  
 velint, increduli quidam et de ingenio suo pessime meriti,  
 qui diligentiam putant facere sibi scribendi difficultatem.  
 12 Nec promptum est dicere utros peccare validius putem,  
 quibus omnia sua placent an quibus nihil. Accidit enim  
 etiam ingeniosis adolescentibus frequenter ut labore con-  
 sumantur et in silentium usque descendant nimia bene di-  
 cendi cupiditate. Qua de re memini narrasse mihi Iulium

<sup>2</sup> et ferentes *edd.*: efferentes B

<sup>5</sup> So Donatus, *Life of Vergil* 22: Vergil composed many lines in his mind in the morning and dictated them, but then spent the whole day reducing them to a very few, "licking the poem into shape like a mother bear."

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his effort is plain enough from the resulting product. Varius too tells us that Vergil wrote very few lines in a day.<sup>5</sup> With an orator, of course, the conditions are different, and this is why I prescribe this delay and care in the early stages. The first decision to make (and to stick to) is to write as well as possible. Practice will give speed. Bit by bit, thoughts will suggest themselves more easily, words will come at call, Composition will follow, and everything will finally come to play its part, just like a well-run household. The nub of the matter is this: quick writing does not make good writing; good writing does make quick writing. But it is just at the moment when we achieve this facility that we must pause, so as to look ahead and as it were rein in the horses that are running away with us. Far from causing delay, this will inspire fresh vigour.

On the other hand, I do not think that those who have acquired some strength in writing ought to be tied down to the fruitless punishment of picking holes in their own work. How can a man do his public duty if he lets old age creep on him while he worries about individual parts of his speeches? Yet some people are never satisfied; they want to change everything and express everything differently from the way it came to mind. They have no confidence and do their talents a very poor service by thinking that accuracy means creating difficulties for themselves in writing. It is not easy to say which party I think is more wrong—those who are pleased with everything they write, or those who are pleased with nothing. It often happens, even to able young men, that they wear themselves out with work and relapse into silence through being too anxious to speak well. In this connection, I remember what

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Secundum illum, aequalem meum atque a me, ut notum est, familiariter amatum, mirae facundiae virum, infinitae  
 13 tamen curae, quid esset sibi a patruo suo dictum. Is fuit Iulius Florus, in eloquentia Galliarum, quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam, princeps, alioqui inter paucos disertus et dignus illa propinquitate. Is cum Secundum, scholae ad-  
 14 huc operatum, tristem forte vidisset, interrogavit quae causa frontis tam adductae. Nec dissimulavit adulescens tertium iam diem esse quod omni labore materiae ad scribendum destinatae non inveniret exordium: quo sibi non praesens tantum dolor sed etiam desperatio in posterum fieret. Tum Florus adridens ‘numquid tu’ inquit ‘melius  
 15 dicere vis quam potes?’ Ita se res habet: curandum est ut quam optime dicamus, dicendum tamen pro facultate: ad profectum enim opus est studio, non indignatione.

Ut possimus autem scribere etiam plura et celerius, non exercitatio modo praestabit, in qua sine dubio multum est, sed etiam ratio: si non resupini spectantesque tectum et cogitationem murmure agitantes expectaverimus quid obveniat, sed quid res poscat, quid personam deceat, quod sit tempus, qui iudicis animus intuiti humane<sup>3</sup> quodam modo ad scribendum accesserimus. Sic nobis et initia et  
 16 quae secuntur natura ipsa praescribet.<sup>4</sup> Certa sunt enim pleraque, et nisi coniveamus in oculos incurrunt: ideoque

<sup>3</sup> *D.A.R.*, cf. *Petronius* 90.3: humano *B*

<sup>4</sup> *Gensler*: praescribit *B*

<sup>6</sup> See 10.1.20.

<sup>7</sup> Not identified: Seneca, *Controversiae* 9.25, mentions a rhetor of this name, and in Tacitus, *Annales* 3.40–42 there is a Julius Florus who rebelled in Gaul in AD 21 and killed himself.

### BOOK 10.3

Julius Secundus,<sup>6</sup> my contemporary and, as is well known, my very dear friend, a man of wonderful facility but infinite care, told me had been said to him by his uncle. That uncle was Julius Florus,<sup>7</sup> the leading orator of Gaul, which was the only place where he exercised his talents, though he had few equals for eloquence, and was worthy of his nephew. He had found Secundus, then still in school, in a depressed state, and asked him what was the reason for his gloomy frown. The young man made no secret of the fact that he had been working hard for two days without finding an Exordium for the subject he had to write about; he therefore not only suffered present distress, but he despaired of his future. Florus smiled, and said, "Do you really want to speak better than you can?" The truth is, we must endeavour to speak as well as possible, but we must speak as our abilities allow. It is application, not resentment, that we need in order to make progress.

However, the ability to write more and write more quickly will come not only from practice, important as this undoubtedly is, but also from method. It will come if, instead of lying back looking at the ceiling, mumbling to ourselves to stimulate thought, and waiting for something to turn up, we approach our writing problem somehow like ordinary human beings, and ask ourselves what the circumstances demand, what is appropriate to the person speaking, the time, and the judge's attitude. In this way nature herself will prescribe both our beginning and what follows it. Most points, in fact, are certain and, unless we close our eyes to them, come into view on their own. Hence untrained speakers and country folk do not spend a

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nec indocti nec rustici diu quaerunt unde incipiant: quo pudendum est magis si difficultatem facit doctrina. Non ergo semper putemus optimum esse quod latet: inmutescamus alioqui, si nihil dicendum videatur nisi quod non invenimus.

- 17 Diversum est huic eorum vitium qui primo decurrere per materiam stilo quam velocissimo volunt, et sequentes calorem atque impetum ex tempore scribunt: hanc silvam vocant. Repetunt deinde et componunt quae effuderant: sed verba emendantur et numeri, manet in rebus temere  
18 congestis quae fuit levitas. Protinus ergo adhibere curam rectius erit, atque ab initio sic opus ducere ut caelandum, non ex integro fabricandum sit. Aliquando tamen adfectus sequemur, in quibus fere plus calor quam diligentia valet.

- 19 Satis apparet ex eo quod hanc scribentium negligentiam damno quid de illis dictandi deliciis sentiam. Nam in stilo quidem quamlibet properato dat aliquam cogitationi moram non consequens celeritatem eius manus: ille cui dictamus urget, atque interim pudet etiam dubitare aut resistere aut mutare quasi conscium infirmitatis nostrae  
20 timentis. Quo fit ut non rudia tantum et fortuita, sed in propria interim, dum sola est conectendi sermonis cupiditas, effluant, quae nec scribentium curam nec dicentium impetum consequantur. At idem ille qui excipit si tardior in scribendo aut incertior in intellegendo<sup>5</sup> velut offensator

<sup>5</sup> *H.J. Mueller*: legendo *B*: (et) diligendo *b*

<sup>8</sup> Greek *hylē* means both "wood" and "raw material," "matter." Compare Cicero, *Orator* 12, and the title of Statius' *Silvae*, a collection of occasional poetry (see Coleman (1988) xxii–xxiv).

long time wondering where to begin. If learning makes a difficulty, that is all the more shaming. We must not suppose that what escapes us is always best; if we thought there was nothing to be said except what we have failed to discover, we should have to stay dumb!

An opposite fault is committed by people who elect to make a draft of the whole subject as rapidly as possible, and write impromptu, following the heat and impulse of the moment. They call this draft their "raw material."<sup>8</sup> They then revise their effusions and give them rhythmical structure. The words and the rhythms are thus corrected, but the original triviality of the hastily accumulated material is still there. The better practice will be to exercise care from the start, and shape the work from the first stages in such a way that it needs only to be chiselled into shape, not begun again from scratch. Sometimes however we must be guided by emotions, and here warmth of feeling is generally more important than careful craftsmanship.

The fact that I condemn this negligence in writing should make it clear what I feel about the luxury of dictation. When we write, however rapidly, our thoughts are to some extent slowed down by the inability of the hand to keep up with their speed. An amanuensis, on the other hand, is impatient, and we may sometimes even feel ashamed to hesitate or pause or alter, as though we were afraid of this witness to our weakness. Hence what pours out is not only unpolished and casual, but sometimes off the point, because our sole object is to have no interruption in the flow of our speech; so it achieves neither the accuracy of writing nor the spontaneity of oral composition. And if our amanuensis becomes a stumbling block because he is a slow writer or unreliable in understanding, the flow

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- fuerit, inhibetur cursus, atque omnis quae erat concepta  
 21 mentis intentio mora et interdum iracundia excutitur. Tum  
 illa quae altio rem animi motum secuntur quaeque ipsa  
 animum quodam modo concitant, quorum est iactare ma-  
 num, torquere vultum, stimulare se et<sup>6</sup> interim obiurgare,  
 quaeque Persius notat cum leviter dicendi genus significat  
 ('nec pluteum' inquit 'caedit nec demorsos sapit unguis')  
 22 etiam ridicula sunt, nisi cum soli sumus. Denique, ut semel  
 quod est potentissimum dicam, secretum, quod dictando  
 perit, atque liberum arbitris locum et quam altissimum si-  
 lentium scribentibus maxime convenire nemo dubitaverit.  
 Non tamen protinus audiendi qui credunt aptissima in hoc  
 nemora silvasque, quod illa caeli libertas locorumque  
 amoenitas sublimem animum et beatio rem spiritum pa-  
 23 rent. Mihi certe iucundus hic magis quam studiorum  
 hortator videtur esse secessus. Namque illa quae ipsa de-  
 lectant necesse est avocent ab intentione operis destinati.  
 Neque enim se bona fide in multa simul intendere animus  
 totum potest, et quocumque respexit desinit intueri quod  
 24 propositum erat. Quare silvarum amoenitas et praeter-  
 labentia flumina et inspirantes ramis arborum aerae volu-  
 crumque cantus et ipsa late circumspiciendi libertas ad se  
 trahunt, ut mihi remittere potius voluptas ista videatur  
 25 cogitationem quam intendere. Demosthenes melius, qui  
 se in locum ex quo nulla exaudiri vox et ex quo nihil prospici-

<sup>6</sup> stimulare se et *Watt* 1988: simul et *B*: sintietetus *b*: femur et  
 latus *Bursian* ('thigh and side')

<sup>9</sup> 1.106.      <sup>10</sup> See Tacitus, *Dialogus* 12, on poets' predilec-  
 tion for woods and groves.      <sup>11</sup> Contrast 1.12.2-7, where Q.  
 needs to illustrate the mind's versatility.

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is checked and the whole of our previous train of thought is lost by the delay, or indeed sometimes by our irritation. Moreover, the gestures which accompany our stronger feelings, and themselves help to stimulate thought—waving the hand, contorting the face, goading and sometimes striking ourselves, and all the features which Persius lists when he is describing a frivolous way of speaking (he says it

thumps not the desk, nor tastes of bitten nails)<sup>9</sup>

—these are all ridiculous unless we are by ourselves. And finally—to come at once to the most vital consideration of all—no one will doubt that privacy (which is lost when we dictate), absence of witnesses, and the deepest possible silence are the best surroundings in which to write. However, we should not therefore lend a ready ear to those who think woods and groves are the most suitable places, on the ground that the freedom of the open air and the charm of the landscape induce lofty thoughts and richer inspiration.<sup>10</sup> My own view is that such a retreat is a pleasure rather than an encouragement to study. Things which delight us in themselves inevitably distract us from concentrating on the work we have planned to do. The mind cannot honestly devote its whole attention to several things at once;<sup>11</sup> and in whatever direction it looks, it ceases to have its eye on its appointed work. Thus the pleasant woodland scene, the stream gliding past, the breeze whispering in the branches, the song of the birds, and the very freedom of looking all around—these are all attractions, the pleasures of which (as it seems to me) relax rather than concentrate thought. Demosthenes had a better idea: he used to hide away in a place where no sound



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ci posset recondebat, ne aliud agere mentem cogere  
oculi. Ideoque lucubrantes silentium noctis et clusum cu-  
26 biculum et lumen unum velut erectos<sup>7</sup> maxime teneat. Sed  
cum in omni studiorum genere, tum in hoc praecipue bona  
valetudo quaeque eam maxime praestat frugalitas neces-  
saria est, cum tempora ab ipsa rerum natura ad quietem  
refectionemque nobis data in acerrimum laborem conver-  
27 timus. Cui tamen non plus inrogandum est quam quod  
somno supererit aut <operi><sup>8</sup> deerit. Obstat enim dili-  
gentiae scribendi etiam fatigatio, et abunde si vacet lucis  
spatia sufficiunt: occupatos in noctem necessitas agit. Est  
tamen lucubratio, quotiens ad eam integri ac refecti veni-  
mus, optimum secreti genus.

28 Sed silentium et secessus et undique liber animus ut  
sunt maxime optanda, ita non semper possunt contingere,  
ideoque non statim si quid obstrepet abiciendi codices  
erunt et deplorandus dies, verum incommodis repugnan-  
dum, et hic faciendus usus, ut omnia quae impediunt vin-  
cat intentio: quam si tota mente in opus ipsum derexeris,  
nihil eorum quae oculis vel auribus incursant ad animum  
29 perveniet. An vero frequenter etiam fortuita hoc cogitatio  
praestat, ut obvios non videamus et itinere deerremus:  
non consequemur idem si et voluerimus? Non est indul-  
gendum causis desidia. Nam si non nisi refecti, non nisi

<sup>7</sup> Herzog: rectos B

<sup>8</sup> add. D.A.R.: <non> add. Kiderlin

<sup>12</sup> An underground room in which Demosthenes was said to have practised his speeches was shown to tourists in Roman times: Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 7.

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could be heard and no prospect seen, for fear that his eye might force his mind to wander.<sup>12</sup> So, when we work by lamplight, let the silence of the night, the closed room, and the single lamp keep us on our toes. But for all kinds of study, and particularly for this, good health and the simple life that is its best guarantee are essential, whenever we devote the hours which nature gave us for rest and refreshment to our very demanding work. But the claims of this must be limited to time which is *not* needed for sleep, or *is* needed <for the work in hand>.<sup>13</sup> Fatigue is another great obstacle to accurate writing. If one has leisure, the daylight is quite long enough; it is necessity that forces busy people to use the night. All the same, working by lamplight, when we come to it fresh and rested, gives the best kind of privacy.

Silence and seclusion and complete freedom of mind are indeed much to be desired, but they cannot always fall to our lot. So we must not throw our papers aside at once, and mourn a wasted day, if some noise disturbs us.<sup>14</sup> Instead we must fight back against the inconvenience, and so acquire the habit of making concentration overcome all hindrances. If you concentrate wholeheartedly on the work in hand, nothing that strikes your eye or your ear will get through to your mind. If even casual thoughts often cause us not to see people in the street and to miss our way, surely we can attain the same result by will power! We must not give way easily to excuses for idleness. For if we

<sup>13</sup> Text uncertain. If we read *operi*, the criteria are that we should (1) leave ourselves adequate time for sleep, (2) not work at night more than the job demands.

<sup>14</sup> Compare Seneca, *Epist.* 56.

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30 hilares, non nisi omnibus aliis curis vacantes studendum existimarimus, semper erit propter quod nobis ignoscamus. Quare in turba, itinere, conviviis etiam faciat sibi cogitatio ipsa secretum. Quid alioqui fiet cum in medio foro, tot circumstantibus iudiciis, iurgiis, fortuitis etiam clamoribus, erit subito continua oratione dicendum, si particulas quas ceris mandemus<sup>9</sup> nisi in solitudine reperire non possumus? Propter quae idem ille tantus amator secreti Demosthenes in litore, in quo se maximo cum sono fluctus inlideret, meditans consuescebat contionum fremitus non expavescere.

31 Illa quoque minora (sed nihil in studiis parvum est) non sunt transeunda: scribi optime ceris, in quibus facillima est ratio delendi, nisi forte visus infirmior membranarum potius usum exiget, quae ut iuvant aciem, ita crebra relatione, quotiens<sup>10</sup> intinguntur calami, morantur manum et  
32 cogitationis impetum frangunt. Relinquendae autem in utrolibet genere contra erunt vacuae tabellae, in quibus libera adiciendi sit excursio. Nam interim pigritiam emendandi angustiae faciunt, aut certe novorum interpositione priora confundunt.<sup>11</sup> Ne latas quidem ultra modum esse ceras velim, expertus iuvenem studiosum alioqui praelongos habuisse sermones quia illos numero versuum metiebatur, idque vitium, quod frequenti admonitione corrigi  
33 non potuerat, mutatis codicibus esse sublatum. Debet va-

<sup>9</sup> *t*: mandamus *B*

<sup>10</sup> *Winterbottom*: quod *B*

<sup>11</sup> *edd.*: confundant *B*

<sup>15</sup> Compare [Plutarch], *Lives of the Ten Orators* 844E.

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think we can study only when we are rested, in a good humour, and free from all other anxieties, we shall always find reasons to justify ourselves. And so, in a crowd, on a journey, even at a dinner, let our thoughts make their own private space. If we cannot do this, what will happen when we are suddenly required to make a set speech in the middle of the forum, with all the proceedings, quarrels, and casual clamour going on around us, if we need solitude to contrive little jottings to put in our notebooks? This is why Demosthenes, that great lover of seclusion, used to rehearse his speeches on the beach, against the crash of the waves, to accustom himself not to be frightened by the roar of the Assembly.<sup>15</sup>

There are also some minor matters (though nothing is minor in education!) which we should not pass over. It is best to write on wax, where it is easiest to erase, unless weak sight demands the use of parchment instead; but though this is better for the eyes, it delays the hand and breaks off the flow of the thought, because of the frequent movement to and fro, whenever the pen is dipped in the ink. Whichever alternative is adopted, a blank should be left opposite, giving ample room for additions.<sup>16</sup> Sometimes lack of space leads to reluctance to make corrections or, at best, confuses the original draft when new insertions are made. I do not advise unduly wide wax tablets, because I knew a young man, otherwise a good student, who wrote excessively long pieces, because he measured them by the number of lines; this fault, which could not be corrected by repeated warnings, disappeared when his notebook was

<sup>16</sup> The hinged set of wax-covered tablets, or pieces of parchment, allowed the "opposite page," as it were, to be left blank.

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care etiam locus in quo notentur quae scribentibus solent extra ordinem, id est ex aliis quam qui sunt in manibus loci, occurrere. Inrumpunt enim optimi nonnumquam sensus, quos neque inserere oportet neque differre tutum est, quia interim elabuntur, interim memoriae sui intentos ab alia inventione declinant: ideoque optime sunt in deposito.

### 4

- 1 Sequitur emendatio, pars studiorum longe utilissima: neque enim sine causa creditum est stilum non minus agere cum delet. Huius autem operis est adicere detrahere mutare. Sed facilius in iis simpliciusque iudicium quae replenda vel deicienda sunt: premere vero tumentia, humilia extollere, luxuriantia adstringere, inordinata digerere, soluta componere, exultantia coercere duplicis operae: nam et damnanda sunt quae placuerant et invenienda quae fugerant.
- 2 Nec dubium est optimum esse emendandi genus si scripta in aliquod tempus reponantur, ut ad ea post intervallum velut nova atque aliena redeamus, ne nobis scripta
- 3 nostra tamquam recentes fetus blandiantur. Sed neque hoc contingere semper potest, praesertim oratori, cui saepius scribere ad praesentis usus necesse est, et ipsa emendatio finem habet. Sunt enim qui ad omnia scripta tam-

## BOOK 10.4

changed. Space should also be left for noting points which (as often happens) occur to the writer out of order, that is to say belonging to contexts other than those which are being worked on. Sometimes excellent ideas force themselves upon us, which it is wrong to include at this point and yet unsafe to postpone, because they sometimes escape the memory, and sometimes distract us from other lines of thought because we are concentrating on remembering them. They are therefore best put in store.

### CHAPTER 4

#### *Correction*

Next comes Correction, much the most useful part of study. It has been held, and not without reason, that the pen is as active as it ever is when it scratches something out. Correction comprises addition, excision, and alteration. To judge what is to be supplemented or thrown away is relatively easy and straightforward. On the other hand, to prune the turgid, raise the mean, control exuberance, organize the disorderly, give rhythm to the unrhythmical, and restrain the exaggerated—all this involves a double effort, because we have both to condemn things which we once liked and discover things which had escaped us.

The best method of correction is undoubtedly to put the written work aside for a time, in order to return to it after an interval as to something new and strange; this will save us from succumbing to the charms of our latest baby. However, (1) this is not always possible, especially for an orator, who often has to write for immediate use, and (2) correction has its limits. Some people return to everything

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quam vitiosa redeant, et, quasi nihil fas sit rectum esse quod primum est, melius existiment quidquid est aliud, idque faciant quotiens librum in manus resumpserunt, similes medicis etiam integra secantibus. Accidit itaque ut  
4 cicatricosa sint et exsanguia et cura peiora. Sit ergo aliquando quod placeat aut certe quod sufficiat, ut opus poliat lima, non exerat. Temporis quoque esse debet modus. Nam quod Cinnae Zmyrnam novem annis accepimus scriptam, et panegyricum Isocratis qui parcissime decem annis dicunt elaboratum, ad oratorem nihil pertinet, cuius nullum erit si tam tardum fuerit auxilium.

### 5

1 Proximum est ut dicamus quae praecipue scribenda sint hexin parantibus. <Non est huius><sup>1</sup> quidem operis ut explicemus quae sint materiae, quae prima aut secunda aut deinceps tractanda sint (nam id factum est iam primo libro, quo puerorum, et secundo, quo iam robustorum studiis ordinem dedimus), sed de quo nunc agitur, unde copia ac facilitas maxime veniat.

<sup>1</sup> *add. Bursian*

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<sup>1</sup> So Q.'s pupil, Pliny, *Epist.* 5.10.3: the work is finished, *nec iam splendescit lima sed atteritur*, "It is no longer gaining polish from the file, it is being rubbed away."

<sup>2</sup> C. Helvius Cinna—the poet lynched at Caesar's funeral (Plutarch, *Brutus* 20)—was a perfectionist, and his poem on Smyrna (Myrrha in Ovid's version, *Metamorphoses* 10.297–502: see above, 9.2.64) was famous: it was not published till "nine har-

## BOOK 10.5

they have written, assuming it to be bad, and, as though first attempts can never be right, think that anything different must necessarily be better. They do this every time they pick up the book. They are like surgeons who cut out the healthy parts as well as the diseased. The result is a scarred, anaemic piece of work, made worse by the trouble spent on it. Let there be something sometimes that we approve, or that is at least adequate; the file should polish the work, not rub it away.<sup>1</sup> There must be a time limit too. We are told that Cinna took nine years to write *Zmyrna*,<sup>2</sup> and that Isocrates' *Panegyricus* was worked over, at the lowest estimate, for ten years;<sup>3</sup> but this is irrelevant to the orator, whose help will be no use if it is so late in coming.

## CHAPTER 5

### *Types of written exercises*

I have next to explain what are the best written exercises for those who are developing their facility. <It is not> our business here to set out subjects, and say what things should be treated first and second and so on, because this has already been done in Book One, where I discussed the curriculum for boys, and in Book Two, where I did the same for more mature students.<sup>1</sup> Our present problem is where to find the best sources of copiousness and facility.

vests and nine winters after it was begun" (Catullus 95.1–2). See Courtney (1993) 212–224.

<sup>3</sup> Isocrates' delays were also famous; the *Panegyricus* was finished in 380 BC. See Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On literary composition* 25 (2. 224 Usher), "Longinus" 4.2, Plutarch, *On the glory of the Athenians* 350D-E. <sup>1</sup> See 1.9, 2.4.



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- 2 Vertere Graeca in Latinum veteres nostri oratores optimum iudicabant. Id se L. Crassus in illis Ciceronis de Oratore libris dicit factitasse: id Cicero sua ipse persona frequentissime praecipit, quin etiam libros Platonis atque Xenophontis edidit hoc genere tralatos: id Messalae placuit, multaeque sunt ab eo scriptae ad hunc modum orationes, adeo ut etiam cum illa Hyperidis pro Phryne
- 3 difficillima Romanis subtilitate contenderet. Et manifesta est exercitationis huiusce ratio. Nam et rerum copia Graeci auctores abundant et plurimum artis in eloquentiam intulerunt et hos transferentibus verbis uti optimis licet: omnibus enim utimur nostris. Figuras vero, quibus maxime ornatur oratio, multas ac varias excogitandi etiam necessitas quaedam est, quia plerumque a Graecis Romana dissentiunt.
- 4 Sed et illa ex Latinis conversio multum et ipsa contulerit. Ac de carminibus quidem neminem credo dubitare, quo solo genere exercitationis dicitur usus esse Sulpicius. Nam et sublimis spiritus attollere orationem potest, et verba poetica libertate audaciora non praecludunt<sup>2</sup> eadem proprie dicendi facultatem. Sed et ipsis sententiis adicere licet oratorium robur, et omissa supplere, effusa substrin-

<sup>2</sup> Watt 1998: praesumunt B

<sup>2</sup> 1.155. <sup>3</sup> Part of Cicero's *Timaeus* version is extant; he also translated *Protagoras* and (as a young man) Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (*De officiis* 2.87), and his *De optimo genere oratorum* (not mentioned by Q.) is a preface to a translation of Demosthenes and Aeschines.

<sup>4</sup> Compare 2.15.9: *ORF* p. 533. <sup>5</sup> Translation has an advantage here over paraphrase of Latin (§§ 4–5).

## BOOK 10.5

Our earlier orators thought the best exercise was translating Greek into Latin. Crassus in Cicero's *De oratore*<sup>2</sup> says he habitually did this, and Cicero himself in his own person repeatedly advocates it. In fact, he published books of Plato and Xenophon translated in this way.<sup>3</sup> Messala liked the practice, and we have many speeches of this sort written by him; indeed, he even tried to cope with the delicacy of Hyperides' defence of Phryne,<sup>4</sup> a very difficult thing for a Roman. The purpose of this exercise is plain. The Greek authors are full of varied matter, and they introduced a great deal of art into the practice of eloquence; when we translate them, we are free to use the best possible words, for the words we use will all be our own.<sup>5</sup> As to Figures, the main Ornament of oratory, we simply cannot help contriving many of these, and of various kinds, because Latin idiom is often different from Greek.<sup>6</sup>

Paraphrase from Latin may also make a considerable contribution. No one, I imagine, doubts this as regards poetry; indeed Sulpicius is said to have practised no other form of exercise.<sup>7</sup> The lofty spirit of poetry can help to raise the tone of oratory, and the bolder use of words permitted by poetic licence does not preclude the possibility of saying the same things in ordinary terms. Indeed, one may add oratorical force to the thoughts themselves, and also supply omissions and prune redundancies. I do not

<sup>6</sup> Q. is thinking of Figures of Speech of the more "grammatical" kind (9.3.2–27). In using the neuter *Romana* instead of *Romanae* (sc. *figurae*), he contrives a Figure himself, the object of which seems to be to provide a more acceptable clausula.

<sup>7</sup> For Sulpicius, see 10.1.116. This exercise is often called *metaphrasis*. See Theon, *Progymnasmata* 2. 62–64 Spengel.

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- 5 gere. Neque ego paraphrasin esse interpretationem tantum volo, sed circa eosdem sensus certamen atque aemulationem. Ideoque ab illis dissentio qui vertere orationes Latinas vetant quia optimis occupatis quidquid aliter dixerimus necesse sit esse deterius. Nam neque semper est desperandum aliquid illis quae dicta sunt melius posse reperiri, neque adeo ieiunam ac pauperem natura eloquentiam fecit ut una de re bene dici nisi semel non possit; nisi
- 6 forte histrionum multa circa voces easdem variare gestus potest, orandi minor vis, ut dicatur aliquid post quod in eadem materia nihil dicendum sit. Sed esto neque melius quod invenimus esse neque par, est certe proximis locus.
- 7 An vero ipsi non bis ac saepius de eadem re dicimus et quidem continuas nonnumquam sententias?<sup>2</sup>—nisi forte contendere nobiscum possumus, cum aliis non possumus. Nam si uno genere bene diceretur, fas erat existimari praeclusam nobis a prioribus viam: nunc vero innumerabiles
- 8 sunt modi, plurimaeque eodem viae ducunt. Sua brevitati gratia, sua copiae, alia tralatis virtus, alia propriis, hoc oratio recta, illud figura declinata commendat. Ipsa denique utilissima est exercitationis<sup>3</sup> difficultas. Quid quod auctores maximi sic diligentius cognoscuntur? Non enim scripta

<sup>3</sup> *M. W.*: *exercitationi B*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 62.10: "Paraphrase is not useless, as some have said or thought: the right expression, they say, comes once, and cannot come a second time. They are very far from the truth in this; any given fact stimulates our thought not in one simple way . . . but in many: in statement, question, wish, and other forms . . ." Q.'s extended defence suggests that the value of paraphrase was controversial.

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want Paraphrase to be a mere passive reproduction, but to rival and vie with the original in expressing the same thoughts. I therefore disagree with those who forbid paraphrases of Latin speeches, on the ground that all the best expressions have been anticipated and anything we put in another way is bound to be worse.<sup>8</sup> In fact we do not always need to despair of being able to find something better than the original, nor did nature make eloquence such a poor, starved thing that any given subject can only be well handled once! Or are we to suppose that, while actors' gestures can so often vary the effect of the same words, oratory has *less* power, so that things are said which leave nothing more to be said on the same subject? But grant that what we discover is neither better than the original nor equal to it: there is still a place for the second best. Do we not ourselves often speak twice or more on the same theme, sometimes even in successive sentences? Is it conceivable that we can compete against ourselves but not against others? If there were only one way of saying a thing well, we might legitimately suppose that our predecessors blocked the road for us; but in fact there are countless ways, and many roads lead to the same destination. Brevity and fullness both have their charms; metaphor and literal language have different merits; straightforward speech does well for some things, a figured variation<sup>9</sup> for others. And finally the actual difficulty of the exercise is very useful. We may add that paraphrase gives a more thorough knowledge of the great authors, because we do not race

<sup>9</sup> I.e. (see Theon loc. cit.) a Question, Apostrophe, Exclamation, or the like in lieu of a simple statement.

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lectione secunda transcurramus, sed tractamus singula et necessario introspicimus et quantum virtutis habeant vel hoc ipso cognoscimus, quod imitari non possumus.

- 9 Nec aliena tantum transferre, sed etiam nostra pluribus modis tractare proderit, ut ex industria sumamus sententias quasdam easque versemus quam numerosissime, velut  
10 eadem cera aliae aliaeque formae duci solent. Plurimum autem parari facultatis existimo ex simplicissima quaque materia. Nam illa multiplici personarum causarum temporum locorum ditorum factorum diversitate facile delitescet infirmitas, tot se undique rebus ex quibus aliquam  
11 adprehendas offerentibus. Illud virtutis<sup>4</sup> indicium est, fundere quae natura contracta sunt, augere parva, varietatem similibus voluptatem expositis dare, et bene dicere multa de paucis.

- In hoc optime facient infinitae quaestiones, quas vocari thesis diximus, quibus Cicero iam princeps in re publica  
12 exerceri solebat. His confinis est restructio<sup>5</sup> et confirmatio sententiarum. Nam cum sit sententia decretum quoddam atque praeceptum, quod de re, idem de iudicio rei quaeri potest. Tum loci communes, quos etiam scriptos ab oratoribus scimus. Nam qui haec recta tantum et in nullos flexus

<sup>4</sup> ubertatis *Delz* (see *Watt* 1998): virtutem *B*

<sup>5</sup> *b*: destructio *B*

<sup>10</sup> For the image, compare Demetrius 296.

<sup>11</sup> *Q.* has in mind traditional accounts of the power of rhetoric to “make big things little and little things big”: see, e.g., Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 8. <sup>12</sup> See on 2.1.9.

<sup>13</sup> Compare *Ad Atticum* 9.4, 9.9: Cicero (March, 49 BC) composes general *theses*, arguing on both sides, concerning the politi-

through the text in a carefree reading; we go over every detail, are forced to examine it in depth, and become aware of its great qualities from the very fact that we find it impossible to imitate.

It will be useful not only to paraphrase the work of others, but to modify our own in various ways, deliberately taking up some thoughts (*sententiae*) and turning them in as many ways as possible, just as one shape after another can be made out of the same piece of wax.<sup>10</sup> It is the simplest subjects, I think, which do most to develop our facility. Weakness can easily hide behind the complications of persons, motives, times, places, words, and deeds, when so many ideas present themselves on every side, any one of which can be taken up. The real sign of high quality is the capacity to expand what is by nature brief, amplify the insignificant, vary the monotonous, lend charm to what has been already set out, and speak well and at length on a limited subject.<sup>11</sup>

For this purpose, the General Indefinite Questions, which, as I said, are called *theses*,<sup>12</sup> will be most valuable. Cicero<sup>13</sup> used to exercise himself in these when he was already a leading public figure. Akin to these are Refutation and Confirmation<sup>14</sup> of general statements (*sententiae*). A statement of this kind is a sort of decree or rule,<sup>15</sup> and so the questions asked about any matter can also be asked about the judgement passed upon it. There are also Commonplaces, which we also know to have been written by orators.<sup>16</sup> Now anyone who has handled these straightfor-

cal situation at the outbreak of the war between Caesar and the Senate. <sup>14</sup> *Anaskeuē* and *kataskeuē*: 2.4.18.

<sup>15</sup> See 8.5.3.

<sup>16</sup> See 2.1.11, 2.4.27ff.

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- recedentia copiose tractaverit, utique in illis plures excursus recipientibus magis abundabit eritque in omnis causas paratus:<sup>6</sup> omnes enim generalibus quaestionibus constant.
- 13 Nam quid interest Cornelius tribunus plebis quod codicem legerit reus sit, an quaeramus 'violeturne maiestas si magistratus rogationem suam populo ipse recitarit'? 'Milo Clodium rectene occiderit' veniat in iudicium, an 'oporteatne insidiatorem interfici vel perniciosum rei publicae civem, etiam si non insidietur'? 'Cato Marciam honestene tradiderit Hortensio' an 'conveniatne res talis bono viro'? De personis iudicatur, sed de rebus contenditur.
- 14 Declamationes vero, quales in scholis rhetorum dicuntur, si modo sunt ad veritatem accommodatae et orationibus similes, non tantum dum adolescit profectus sunt utilissimae, quae inventionem <et><sup>7</sup> dispositionem<sup>8</sup> pariter exercent, sed etiam cum est consummatus ac iam in foro clarus: alitur enim atque enitescit velut pabulo laetiore facundia et adsidua contentionum asperitate fatigata
- 15 renovatur. Quapropter historiae nonnumquam ubertas in aliqua exercendi stili parte ponenda et dialogorum liber-

<sup>6</sup> *Gebhard, Obrecht*: gratus B: eratus b      <sup>7</sup> suppl. t

<sup>8</sup> dispositionem <elocutionem> *Winterbottom*, cf. 10.5.19, 10.7.4

<sup>17</sup> The theme of Cicero's *Pro Cornelio* (*Fr. orat.* VII 29 Schoell; Crawford (1994) pp. 65–144).

<sup>18</sup> The theme of *Pro Milone*.

<sup>19</sup> See 3.5.11. Marcia, who had lived with Hortensius for some years with her husband Cato's consent, went back to Cato on Hortensius' death.

<sup>20</sup> I.e. at the same time as Elocution, which is the subject of all

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ward and uncomplicated exercises copiously will be bound to have plenty to say about themes which are more receptive of digressions. He will also be ready for any Cause, because all Causes are based on General Questions. There is surely no difference between asking "Should Cornelius, tribune of the plebs, be put on trial for reading out his proposed law?"<sup>17</sup> and asking "Is it breach of *maiestas* if a magistrate himself reads his proposal to the people?" or between judging "whether Milo was justified in killing Clodius"<sup>18</sup> and judging "whether it is right to kill a man who sets an ambush, or a citizen who is a danger to society, even if he is not waiting in ambush"; or again between "Was Cato right to make Marcia over to Hortensius?"<sup>19</sup> and "Is such an action appropriate for a good man?" The judgements are about persons, but the arguments are about things.

As for Declamations of the kind delivered in rhetors' classrooms, so long as they are adapted to real life and resemble real speeches they are very useful, not only in the early stages of progress (because they test Invention and Disposition at the same time)<sup>20</sup> but also when the orator is fully trained and already making a name in the courts. His eloquence is nourished and grows sleek on this richer fare, as it were, and recovers from the fatigues of the endless rough-and-tumble of litigation. For the same reason, the richness of History should sometimes play a part in some writing exercises, and we should sometimes let ourselves go in the free manner of the Dialogue. It might well be no

this book. If Q. does not mean this, we must accept Winterbottom's addition, and translate: "which exercise Invention, Disposition, <and Elocution> all at the same time."



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- tate gestiendum. Ne carmine quidem ludere contrarium fuerit, sicut athletae, remissa quibusdam temporibus ciborum atque exercitationum certa necessitate, otio et iucundioribus epulis reficiuntur. Ideoque mihi videtur M. Tullius tantum intulisse eloquentiae lumen, quod in hos quoque studiorum secessus excurrit. Nam si nobis sola materia fuerit ex litibus, necesse est deteratur fulgor et durescat articulus et ipse ille mucro ingenii cotidiana pugna retundatur.
- 17 Sed quem ad modum forensibus certaminibus exercitatos et quasi militantis reficit ac reparat haec velut sagina dicendi, sic adulescentes non debent nimium in falsa rerum imagine detineri et inanibus simulacris usque adeo ut difficilis ab his digressus sit adsuefacere, ne ab illa in qua prope consenuerunt umbra vera discrimina velut quendam solem reformident. Quod accidisse etiam Porcio Latroni, qui primus clari nominis professor fuit, traditur, ut, cum ei summam in scholis opinionem optinenti causa in foro esset oranda, inpense petierit uti subsellia in basilicam transferrentur: ita illi caelum novum fuit ut omnis eius
- 18 eloquentia contineri tecto ac parietibus videretur. Quare iuuenis qui rationem inveniendi eloquendique a praeceptoribus diligenter acceperit (quod non est infiniti operis si docere sciant et velint), exercitationem quoque modicam fuerit consecutus, oratorem sibi aliquem, quod apud maiores fieri solebat, deligat quem sequatur, quem imitetur:
- 19 iudiciis intersit quam plurimis et sit certaminis cui destinatur frequens spectator. Tum causas vel easdem quas agi au-
- 20

<sup>21</sup> See 9.2.91.

## BOOK 10.5

bad thing either to amuse ourselves with poetry, just as athletes, at some periods, relax their rigid regime of diet and exercise and refresh themselves with rest and nicer dinners. Indeed, the reason why Cicero came to shed such glory on eloquence seems to me to lie in his excursions into these quieter haunts of literature. If all our material came from litigation, the shine would inevitably be rubbed off, the joints would stiffen, and the sharp edge of the mind would itself be blunted by the daily battles.

But while this rich diet of eloquence refreshes and reequips the well-tried soldiers of the forensic front line, the young should not be held back too long in an imaginary world, or accustom themselves to empty shadows to the point where they find it hard to abandon them. The danger is that, coming out of the shady retreats in which they have almost grown old, they may shrink from the bright sunlight of real conflict. It is said indeed that this is what actually happened to Porcius Latro, the earliest famous professor of rhetoric:<sup>21</sup> when he was at the height of his reputation in the schools, he had a Cause to plead in the forum, and he earnestly requested that the court should be moved to a basilica. The open air was so strange to him that all his eloquence seemed to be confined within a roof and four walls! Hence a young man who has learnt the principles of Invention and Elocution thoroughly from his teachers (not an endless task, if they have the knowledge and the will to teach), and has completed a reasonable course of practice, should (as was customary in earlier generations) choose an orator to follow and imitate; he should be present at as many trials as possible and be a frequent spectator of the battle in which he is destined to play a part. Then he should write up for himself either the Causes he has heard in

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dierit stilo et ipse componat, vel etiam alias, veras modo, et utrimque tractet et, quod in gladiatoribus fieri videmus, decretoriis exerceatur, ut fecisse Brutum diximus pro Milone. Melius hoc quam rescribere veteribus orationibus, ut fecit Cestius contra Ciceronis actionem habitam pro eodem, cum alteram partem satis nosse non posset ex sola defensione.

21 Citius autem idoneus erit iuuenis quem praeceptor coegerit in declamando quam simillimum esse veritati et per totas ire materias quarum nunc facillima et maxime favorabilia decerpunt. Obstant huic, quod secundo loco posui, fere turba discipulorum et consuetudo classium certis diebus audiendarum, non nihil etiam persuasio patrum numerantium potius declamationes quam aestimantium.

22 Sed, quod dixi primo, ut arbitror, libro, nec ille se bonus praeceptor maiore numero quam sustinere possit onerabit, et nimiam loquacitatem recidet, ut omnia quae sunt in controversia, non, ut quidam volunt, quae in rerum natura, dicantur, et vel longiore potius dierum spatio laxabit dicendi necessitatem vel materias dividere permittet. <Una

23 enim><sup>9</sup> diligenter effecta plus proderit quam plures inchoatae et quasi degustatae. Propter quod accidit ut nec suo loco quidque ponatur, nec illa quae prima sunt servant suam legem, iuuenibus flosculos omnium partium in ea

<sup>9</sup> *add. rec.*

<sup>22</sup> 10.1.23.      <sup>23</sup> See Seneca, *Controversiae* 3 *praef.* 15 for Cestius Pius' answers to Cicero. Seneca there complains that boys read only those Ciceronian speeches to which Cestius had written replies.      <sup>24</sup> 1.2.15.

<sup>25</sup> Presumably, by spreading the subject over several perfor-

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court or others (so long as they are real) and argue both sides, thus training himself, as we see gladiators do, with real weapons, just as I said<sup>22</sup> Brutus did in his "defence" of Milo. This is better than writing replies to old speeches, as Cestius<sup>23</sup> did to Cicero's speech for the same defendant, although he could not know the other side of the case sufficiently from the defence alone.

The young man will become competent more quickly if his teacher (1) forces him to stick as close as possible to real life in his declamations, and (2) makes him treat all the aspects of his theme, and not, as they do these days, select only the easiest and most attractive parts. There are obstacles to my second suggestion due to the large number of pupils, the practice of hearing classes on particular days, and (to some extent) the attitude of parents, who count their sons' declamations rather than judge them.

But, as I said (I think) in Book One,<sup>24</sup> our good teacher will not burden himself with a larger number of pupils than he can handle, and he will cut out all excessive verbosity, so that everything relevant to the theme is said, but not (as some seem to want) everything in the whole wide world. In addition, he will prefer either to make the requirement of speaking come round at longer intervals, or else to let them divide the material.<sup>25</sup> <One theme> thoroughly executed will be more use than several half finished, or of which we are just given a taste, as it were. The result of allowing incomplete work is that nothing gets into its proper place, and the opening section does not even observe its own rules, because the youngsters gather up choice bits

mances; but whatever precise arrangements are here meant, Q.'s reforms are intended to discourage shoddy work.

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quae sunt dicturi congerentibus: quo fit ut, timentes ne sequentia perdant, priora confundant.

### 6

- 1 Proxima stilo cogitatio est, quae et ipsa vires ab hoc accipit et est inter scribendi laborem extemporalemque fortunam media quaedam et nescio an usus frequentissimi. Nam scribere non ubique nec semper possumus, cogitationi temporis ac loci plurimum est. Haec paucis admodum horis magnas etiam causas complectitur: haec, quotiens intermissus est somnus, ipsis noctis tenebris adiuvatur: haec inter medios rerum actus aliquid invenit vacui nec
- 2 <perire><sup>1</sup> otium patitur. Neque vero rerum ordinem modo, quod ipsum satis erat, intra se ipsa disponit, sed verba etiam copulat, totamque ita contexit orationem ut ei nihil praeter manum desit: nam memoriae quoque plerumque inhaerent fidelius quae nulla scribendi securitate laxantur.

- 3 Sed ne ad hanc quidem vim cogitandi perveniri potest aut subito aut cito. Nam primum facienda multo stilo forma est quae nos etiam cogitantis sequatur: tum adsumendus usus paulatim, ut pauca primum complectamur animo quae reddi fideliter possint, mox per incrementa, tam modica ut onerari se labor ille non sentiat, augenda vis et

<sup>1</sup> *add. anon. in Peterson*

## BOOK 10.6

from every part of the speech and put them into the part they have to deliver. So they make a complete hash of the earlier part because they are afraid of wasting the later!

### CHAPTER 6

#### *Preparation without writing*

After writing, our next topic is mental preparation, which itself derives its strength from writing, and is a sort of half-way house between the labour of writing and the chanciness of speaking impromptu. It is perhaps commoner than either, because we cannot write in all places and at all times, but there are plenty of times and places available for thinking things out. This process can cover even big cases in a few hours. Dark nights help it, whenever our sleep is broken; it finds a vacant moment in the midst of business, and does not let any spare time be wasted. It not only organizes our material by itself (this would be service enough) but also connects words, and weaves together the whole speech, so that we have all the fruits of writing without the manual labour. Moreover, things commonly stay in the memory better if our hold on them is not loosened by the sense of security given by writing.

But neither can this power of mental preparation be attained in a moment or quickly. In the first place, it takes a lot of writing to produce a model style which will remain with us when we are thinking something out. Secondly, we need to acquire the habit gradually; to begin with we should hold in our mind a few points which can be faithfully reproduced; later, our capability should be increased, but by stages so moderate that the effort does not feel bur-

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exercitatione multa continenda est; quae quidem maxima ex parte memoria constat, ideoque aliqua mihi in illum  
4 locum differenda sunt: eo tamen pervenit ut is cui non refragetur ingenium, acri studio adiutus, tantum consequatur ut ei tam quae cogitarit quam quae scripserit atque edidicerit in dicendo fidem servant. Cicero certe Graecorum Metrodorum Scepsium et Empylum Rhodium nostrorumque Hortensium tradidit quae cogitaverant ad verbum in agendo rettulisse.

5 Sed si forte aliqui inter dicendum offulserit extemporalis color, non superstitiose cogitatis demum est inhaerendum. Neque enim tantum habent curae<sup>2</sup> ut non sit dandus et fortunae locus, cum saepe etiam scriptis ea quae subito nata sunt inserantur. Ideoque totum hoc exercitationis genus ita instituendum ut et digredi ex eo et redire in id facile  
6 possimus. Nam ut primum est domo adferre paratam dicendi copiam et certam, ita refutare temporis munera longe stultissimum est. Quare cogitatio in hoc praeparetur, ut nos fortuna decipere non possit, adiuvare possit. Id autem fiet memoriae viribus, ut illa quae complexi animo sumus fluant secunda, non sollicitos et respicientes et una spe suspensos recordationis non sinant providere: alioqui vel extemporalem temeritatem malo quam male cohae-

<sup>2</sup> valet cura *Shackleton Bailey* ('care is not so important that . . .')

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<sup>1</sup> In 11.2.      <sup>2</sup> *De oratore* 2.360 (Metrodorus and the Athenian Charmadas), *Brutus* 301 (Hortensius), *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.59 (Charmadas, Metrodorus, Hortensius). Empylus (not mentioned in extant works of Cicero) wrote a pamphlet in Brutus' favour after the murder of Caesar (Plutarch, *Brutus* 2.4).

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densome, and then maintained by constant exercise. This indeed is mostly a matter of memory, and I therefore postpone some details till I come to that subject.<sup>1</sup> Finally, however, it develops to the point at which any man not hampered by lack of natural talent will, with the aid of intensive study, succeed in making the results of his meditations just as reliable a resource, when he comes to speak, as what he has written and learned by heart. At any rate, Cicero<sup>2</sup> records that Metrodorus of Scepsis and Empylus of Rhodes among the Greeks, and Hortensius among our own people, were able to reproduce verbatim in their speeches what they had prepared in this way.

None the less, if some brilliant impromptu slant occurs to us while we are speaking, we must not cling religiously to our prepared thoughts. They are not so precise that we should not give fortune also a chance; after all, sudden inspirations are often inserted even into a written text. This whole type of exercise must in fact be so conducted as to allow us to depart from it and return to it with ease. Of course the most important thing is to bring with us into court a ready prepared and reliable store of speech; all the same, it is deeply stupid to reject any gift the moment brings. Our mental preparation must therefore be such that Fortune cannot deceive us, but may help us. Only strength of memory will ensure that the thoughts we have formed in our mind flow easily and happily, and leave us free to look forward without troubled backward glances or the feeling that all our hopes hang on our powers of recall. Failing this, I would rather have the rashness of improvisation than an incoherent set of premeditated thoughts. It is



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- 7 rentem cogitationem. Peius enim quaeritur retrorsus, quia dum illa desideramus ab aliis avertimur, et ex memoria potius res petimus quam ex materia. Plura sunt autem, si utique<sup>3</sup> quaerendum est, quae inveniri possunt quam quae inventa sunt.

### 7

- 1 Maximus vero studiorum fructus est et velut proventus amplissimus<sup>1</sup> longi laboris ex tempore dicendi facultas; quam qui non erit consecutus, mea quidem sententia civilibus officiis renuntiabit et solam scribendi facultatem potius ad alia opera convertet. Vix enim bonae fidei viro convenit auxilium in publicum polliceri quod praesentissimis quibusque periculis desit, <et quasi> monstrare<sup>2</sup> portum ad quem navis accedere nisi lenibus ventis vecta non
- 2 possit: siquidem innumerabiles accidunt subitae necessitates vel apud magistratus vel repraesentatis iudiciis continuo agendi. Quarum si qua, non dico cuicumque innocentium civium, sed amicorum ac propinquorum alicui evenerit, stabitne mutus et salutarem petentibus vocem, statimque si non succurratur perituris, moras et secessum et silentium quaeret dum illa verba fabricentur et memoriae insidant et vox ac latus praeparetur? Quae vero patitur hoc ratio, ut quisquam sit orator aliquando? Mitto ca-
- 3

<sup>3</sup> *Spalding*: utrumque *B*: utrumque *Radermacher*

<sup>1</sup> proventus amplissimus *D.A.R.* after *Walter*: primus quidam plus *B*

<sup>2</sup> <et quasi> monstrare *D.A.R.* after *Regius*: intrare *B*

## BOOK 10.7

in fact worse to go back to hunt for something, because while we are searching for our thoughts we become distracted from other things and tend to draw our matter from memory rather than from the subject. And if you absolutely *must* hunt for something, there are more things still to be discovered than you have discovered so far.

### CHAPTER 7

#### *Improvisation*

The greatest fruit of our studies, the richest harvest of our long labours, <as it were,> is the power of improvisation. A man who does not succeed in this should, in my opinion, give up public work, and use his one talent, which is for writing, for other purposes instead. It is hardly decent for an honest man to promise help publicly which may fail in the very moment of danger, and, as it were, point the way to a harbour which is only accessible to a ship with a gentle favouring wind. After all, countless sudden emergencies arise which force us to speak on the spot, either before the magistrates,<sup>1</sup> or if a trial is brought forward. If such a thing happens—I will not say to any innocent citizen, but to a friend or relative—is the orator to stand tongue-tied and say to those who are calling for the voice that will save them, and are lost at once if no help comes, that he wants a postponement and peace and quiet until his words are crafted and firmly planted in his memory and his voice and lungs ready for action? What principle allows one to be an orator on select occasions only? I say nothing of accidents,

<sup>1</sup> I.e. at the first stage, *in iure*.

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- sus: quid cum adversario respondendum erit fiet? Nam saepe ea quae opinati sumus et contra quae scripsimus fallunt, ac tota subito causa mutatur, atque ut gubernatori ad incursus tempestatium, sic agenti ad varietatem causarum
- 4 ratio mutanda est. Quid porro multus stilus et adsidua lectio et longa studiorum aetas facit, si manete eadem quae fuit incipientibus difficultas? Perisse profecto confitendum est praeteritum laborem cui semper idem laborandum est. Neque ego hoc ago, ut ex tempore dicere malit, sed ut possit. Id autem maxime hoc modo consequemur.
- 5 Nota sit primum dicendi via: neque enim prius contingere cursus potest quam scierimus quo sit et qua perveniendum. Nec satis est non ignorare quae sint causarum iudicialium partes, aut quaestionum ordinem recte disponere, quamquam ista sunt praecipua, sed quid quoque loco primum sit ac secundum et deinceps: quae ita sunt natura copulata ut mutari aut intervelli sine confusione
- 6 non possint. Quisquis autem via dicet, utetur<sup>3</sup> ante omnia rerum ipsa serie velut duce, propter quod homines etiam modice exercitati facillime tenorem in narrationibus servant. Deinde quid quoque loco quaerant scient, nec circumspiciant nec offerentibus se aliunde sensibus turbabuntur, nec confundentur ex diversis orationem velut
- 7 salientes huc illuc nec usquam insistentes. Postremo habebunt modum et finem, qui esse citra divisionem nullus po-

<sup>3</sup> *Bonnet*: ducetur *B*

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but what will happen if he has to reply to his opponent? The arguments we expected and against which we prepared our written text often fail to appear, and the whole Cause is suddenly changed; an advocate has to change his plan to meet the varying circumstances of Causes as a pilot has to change his course when a storm strikes. And what is the use of all that writing, assiduous reading, and long years of study, if we still have the same difficulty that we had when we first started? If a man always has to make the same effort, he will have to admit that his past efforts were wasted. My point is not that he should *prefer* to speak extempore, but that he should *be able* to do so. Here is how we can best do it.

First, the line to be taken must be understood. We cannot have a successful run until we know where we have to go and by what route. It is not enough to know the parts of judicial Causes, or to put the Questions in the right order, important as these things are; what we have to know is what comes first, what second, and so on, under each head, for all these points are so closely linked by nature that they cannot be changed round or separated without causing confusion. Anyone who speaks methodically will in the first place take the actual sequence of events as his guide; this is why even speakers with mediocre training very easily keep to the track in Narrative. Secondly, improvisers must know what to seek in each part of the case; they must not keep looking around them, allow themselves to be confused by the intrusion of irrelevant thoughts, or turn their speech into a mish-mash of different elements by jumping from one thing to another and nowhere sticking to a point. Finally, they must keep to definite bounds and limits, which cannot exist without a Division; only then, having

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test, et expletis pro facultate omnibus quae proposuerint pervenisse se ad ultimum sentient.

- Et haec quidem ex arte; illa vero ex studio, ut copiam sermonis optimi quem ad modum praeceptum est comparemus, <ut><sup>4</sup> multo ac fideli stilo sic formetur oratio ut scriptorum colorem etiam quae subito effusa sint reddant,
- 8 ut, cum multa scripserimus, etiam multa dicamus. Nam consuetudo [exercitatio]<sup>5</sup> facilitates maxime parit: quae si paulum intermissa fuerit, non velocitas illa modo tardatur, sed ipsum os coit atque concurrat. Quamquam enim opus est naturali quadam mobilitate animi, ut, dum proxima dicimus, struere ulteriora possimus, semperque nostram vo-
- 9 cem provisam et formatam cogitatio excipiat: vix tamen aut natura aut ratio in tam multiplex officium diducere animum queat ut inventioni, dispositioni, elocutioni, ordini rerum verborumque, tum iis quae dicit, quae subiuncturus est, quae ultra spectanda sunt, adhibita vocis pronuntiationis
- 10 gestus observatione unus<sup>6</sup> sufficiat. Longe enim praecedat oportet intentio ac prae se res agat, quantumque dicendo consumitur, tantum ex ultimo prorogetur, ut, donec perveniamus ad finem, non minus prospectu procedamus quam gradu, si non intersistentes offensantesque breviter illa atque concisa singulantium modo eiecturi sumus.
- 11 Est igitur usus quidam irrationalis, quam Graeci ἀλογον τριβήν vocant, qua manus in scribendo decurrit, qua oculi totos simul in lectione versus flexusque eorum et

<sup>4</sup> *add. Spalding*      <sup>5</sup> *del. Winterbottom*

<sup>6</sup> *Winterbottom*: in una *b*. una *t*: in luna *B*

<sup>2</sup> Compare 11.3.56, 121.      <sup>3</sup> Compare Plato, *Phaedrus* 260E (ἀτεχνος), *Gorgias* 465B, 501A; Aristotle, *Topica* 184b2.

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covered to the best of their ability all the points they intended to make, will they feel that they have come safely through to the end.

These are matters of art; what follows depends on study. We must acquire first-class linguistic resources, in the way that I have recommended; our style must be formed by a great deal of conscientious writing, to ensure that even our sudden effusions reflect the tone of our written work; abundant writing must then be followed by abundant practice in speaking. It is habit that mainly produces facility; if habit is interrupted, even for a short time, not only is speed lost, but the mouth itself closes and shuts up.<sup>2</sup> Of course we need some natural nimbleness of mind to be able to formulate what comes next while we are still delivering the present point, and to ensure that there is always some thought ready and properly shaped to employ our vocal powers next. Nevertheless, it is barely possible either for nature or for method to divide the mind into so many different compartments that it can cope with Invention, Disposition, Elocution, the arrangement of facts and words, what one is saying and what one is going to say next, the steps beyond that, and the demands of voice, delivery, and gesture, all by itself! Our attention must run well ahead, and chase up the facts; the more capital is used in the speech, the more must be taken from reserve. Consequently, until we reach the end, we have to be looking ahead as much as actually moving ahead, if we are not to stop and stumble and stammer out those short broken phrases that sound like sobbing.

Now there is a sort of irrational knack (what the Greeks call *alogos tribē*)<sup>3</sup> which enables the hand to run along in writing, or the eyes to take in whole lines at once in read-

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- transitus intuentur, et ante sequentia vident quam priora dixerunt. Quo constant miracula illa in scaenis pilariorum ac ventilatorum, ut ea quae emiserint ultro venire in manus credas et qua iubentur decurrere. Sed hic usus ita proderit si ea de qua locuti sumus ars antecesserit, ut ipsum illud quod in se rationem non habet in ratione versetur. Nam mihi ne dicere quidem videtur nisi qui disposite or-  
 12 nate copiose dicit, sed tumultuari. Nec fortuiti sermonis contextum mirabor umquam, quem iurgantibus etiam mulierculis videmus<sup>7</sup> superfluere: cum eo quod, si calor ac spiritus tulit, frequenter accidit ut successum extemporalem consequi cura non possit. Deum tunc adfuisse cum id evenisset veteres oratores, ut Cicero dicit, aiebant, sed ratio manifesta est. Nam bene concepti adfectus et recentes rerum imagines continuo impetu feruntur, quae nonnumquam mora stili refrigescunt et dilatae non revertuntur. Utique vero, cum infelix illa verborum cavillatio accessit et cursus ad singula vestigia restitit, non potest ferri contorta vis, sed, ut optime vocum singularum cedat electio, non continua sed composita est.
- 15 Quare capiendae sunt illae de quibus dixi rerum imagines, quas vocari *φαντασίας* indicavimus, omniaque de

<sup>7</sup> *Meister*: videantur *b*: *om. B*

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps "intonation" and "punctuation"; anyway, Q. is thinking of reading aloud, for which the eye has to anticipate what the voice will have to do.

<sup>5</sup> *De oratore* 1.202.

<sup>6</sup> I follow Calcante in taking *vis* as the noun to which *continua* and *composita* (see *OLD* s.v. *compono* 13–14) apply. Others sup-

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ing, with all their turns and transitions,<sup>4</sup> and to see what follows before the reader utters what comes first. This is the principle behind the tricks jugglers and conjurers perform on the stage, which make one imagine that the objects they throw fly into their hands of their own accord and go just where they are bidden. But this knack will only be useful if it is based on the art of which we have spoken, so that an intrinsically irrational activity comes to be grounded on reason. Anyone who does not speak in an orderly, formal, and fluent manner is not, to my mind, speaking at all, but only ranting. It is never a surprise to me that random talk shows coherence (we see that in abundance even in squabbling women)—after all, once the heat of inspiration takes over, it often happens that deliberate effort cannot rival the success of an improvisation. The older orators, as Cicero<sup>5</sup> says, used to say, when this happened, that a god was present, but in fact the reason is obvious. Deeply felt emotions and fresh images of things sweep along uninterruptedly, but the delay of writing sometimes cools them down, and once put aside they never return. And when they have also to contend with morbid verbal niggling, and the run of the speech halts at every step, the strong impulse inevitably loses its momentum, and (however successful the choice of individual words) is quietly put to rest instead of being kept up.<sup>6</sup>

We must therefore form in our minds those images of which I spoke, and which I said are called *phantasiai*,<sup>7</sup> and keep before our eyes and take to our hearts everything that

pose the noun is *oratio*, and interpret *composita* differently: "the style is not all of one pattern, but rather a patchwork" (Peterson).

<sup>7</sup> See 6.2.29.



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quibus dicturi erimus, personae, quaestiones, spes, metus, habenda in oculis, in adfectus recipienda: pectus est enim quod disertos facit et vis mentis. Ideoque imperitis quoque, si modo sunt aliquo adfectu concitati, verba non desunt. Tum intendendus animus non in aliquam rem unam sed in plures simul continuas, ut, si per aliquam rectam viam mittamus oculos, simul omnia quae sunt in ea circaque intuemur, nec<sup>8</sup> ultimum tantum videmus, sed usque ad ultimum.

Addit ad dicendum etiam pudor stimulos, mirumque videri potest quod, cum stilus secreto gaudeat atque omnis arbitros reformidet, extemporalis actio auditorum frequentia, ut miles congestu signorum, excitatur. Namque et difficiliorem cogitationem exprimit et expellit dicendi necessitas, et secundos impetus auget placendi cupido: adeo pretium omnia spectant, ut eloquentia quoque, quamquam plurimum habeat in se voluptatis, maxime tamen praesenti fructu laudis opinionisque ducatur.

Nec quisquam tantum fidat ingenio ut id sibi speret incipienti statim posse contingere, sed, sicut in cogitatione praecepimus,<sup>9</sup> ita facilitatem quoque extemporalem a parvis initiis paulatim perducemus ad summam; quae neque perfici neque contineri nisi usu potest: ceterum pervenire eo debet ut cogitatio non utique melior sit ea, sed tutior, cum hanc facilitatem non in prorsa modo multi sint consecuti, sed etiam in carmine, ut Antipater Sidonius et Licius Archias: credendum enim Ciceroni est, non quia nostris quoque temporibus non et fecerint quidam hoc

<sup>8</sup> *Shackleton Bailey*: non *B*

<sup>9</sup> *recc.*: praecipimus *B*

<sup>8</sup> Cicero, *De oratore* 3.194.

<sup>9</sup> Cicero, *Pro Archia* 18.

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we shall be speaking about—persons and questions, hopes and fears. It is the heart and the power of the mind that make us eloquent. This is why even the unskilled, so long as they are stirred by some emotion, are not short of words. Moreover, the mind needs to be directed not to some one thing but simultaneously to several connected things. It is as if we were looking down a straight road: we have in sight everything on the road and around it, and see not only the end, but all the way up to the end.

Shame too is a powerful stimulus to oratory; it may seem surprising that, while writing loves privacy and shuns all company, extempore pleading is stimulated by a large audience, as soldiers are by the massed standards. This is because the necessity of speaking articulates difficult thought and brings it into the open, while the urge to please adds to our happy inspiration. The fact is, everything looks for some reward; even eloquence, though it takes the greatest pleasure in itself, is enormously influenced by the immediate reward of praise and renown.

No one should trust his native talents so much as to hope that this capacity will come to him immediately as a beginner. As I advised about mental preparation, so also with impromptu facility: we must develop it gradually from small beginnings to the perfection which nothing but practice can achieve or maintain. The student has to reach the point at which, while mental preparation may still be safer than improvisation, it will not necessarily be better. Many in fact have acquired this facility not only in prose but even in verse, like Antipater of Sidon<sup>8</sup> and Licinius Archias.<sup>9</sup> (We must believe Cicero on this, not that some people have not done the same in our day, and still do.) I do

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et faciant. Quod tamen non ipsum tam probabile puto (neque enim habet aut usum res aut necessitatem) quam exhortandis in hanc spem qui foro praeparantur utile exemplum.

- 20 Neque vero tanta sit umquam fiducia facilitatis ut non breve saltem tempus, quod nusquam fere deerit, ad ea quae dicturi sumus dispicienda sumamus; quod quidem in iudiciis ac foro datur semper: neque enim quisquam est
- 21 qui causam quam non didicerit agat. Declamatores quosdam perversa ducit ambitio ut exposita controversia protinus dicere velint, quin etiam, quod est in primis frivolum ac scaenicum, verbum petant quo incipiant. Sed tam contumeliosos in se ridet invicem eloquentia, et qui stultis videri eruditi volunt, stulti eruditus videntur. Si qua tamen
- 22 fortuna tam subitam fecerit agendi necessitatem, mobiliore quodam opus erit ingenio, et vis omnis intendenda rebus, et in praesentia remittendum aliquid ex cura verborum, si consequi utrumque non dabitur. Tum et tardior pronuntiatio moras habet et suspensa ac velut dubitans
- 23 oratio, ut tamen deliberare, non haesitare videamur. Hoc dum egredimur e portu, si nos nondum aptatis satis armamentis aget ventus, deinde paulatim simul euntes aptabimus vela et disponemus rudentes et impleri sinus optabimus. Id potius quam se inani verborum torrenti dare quasi tempestatibus quo volent auferendum.
- 24 Sed non minore studio continetur haec facultas quam

<sup>10</sup> This claim to be able to make an instant response to any question goes back to the early sophists (Gorgias). For declaimers' improvisation, see *GD* 79–81.

not however commend this accomplishment in itself (it has no practical use and there is no need for it) so much as mention it as a useful example with which to encourage future advocates in their ambition to improvise.

However, confidence in facility should never be so great that we fail to spend at least a short time (which we shall hardly ever fail to have) in considering what we are going to say. In the courts and the forum this is always possible, because no one pleads a Cause in which he has not been instructed. Some declaimers, it is true, are induced by perverse ambition to be willing to speak as soon as the theme has been given out;<sup>10</sup> indeed—a particularly frivolous and theatrical trick—they even ask for a word with which to start. But Eloquence gets her own back by deriding people who insult her like this, and those who want to seem learned to the foolish seem fools to the learned. If chance does compel us to plead at such short notice, we shall need a peculiarly agile mind, and all its force will have to be directed to the facts of the case, at the cost of some temporary sacrifice of concern for the words, if we find it impossible to manage both aspects. On such occasions, a slower delivery and a hesitant and ostensibly indecisive manner give us time; but we must seem to be thinking things out, not to be lost for words. This will serve anyway while we are still clearing harbour, if the wind drives us on before our tackle is in place; later, as we proceed, we shall gradually set the sails, get the ropes in order, and pray for a wind to fill our canvas. Better this than surrender to a meaningless torrent of words, and be carried by the storm, as it were, wherever it chooses to blow us!

This facility however needs just as much study to main-

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- paratur; ars enim semel percepta non labitur,<sup>10</sup> stilus quoque intermissione paulum admodum de celeritate deperdit: promptum hoc et in expedito positum exercitatione sola continetur. Hac uti sic optimum est, ut cotidie dicamus audientibus pluribus, maxime de quorum simus iudicio atque opinione solliciti. Rarum est enim ut satis se quisque vereatur: vel soli tamen dicamus potius quam non omnino dicamus. Est et illa exercitatio cogitandi totasque materias vel silentio (dum tamen quasi dicat intra ipsum) persequendi, quae nullo non et tempore et loco, quando non aliud agimus, explicari potest, et est in parte <maioris><sup>11</sup> utilitatis quam haec proxima: diligentius enim componitur quam illa, in qua contextum dicendi intermittere veremur. Rursus in alia plus prior confert, vocis firmitatem, oris facilitatem, motum corporis, qui et ipse, ut dixi, excitat oratorem et iactatione manus, pedis supplensione, sicut cauda leones facere dicuntur, hortatur.
- 27 Studendum vero semper et ubique. Neque enim fere tam est ullus dies occupatus ut nihil lucrativae, ut Cicero Brutum facere tradit, operae ad scribendum aut dicendum rapi aliquo momento temporis possit: siquidem C. Carbo etiam in tabernaculo solebat hac uti exercitatione dicendi.
- 28 Ne id quidem tacendum est, quod eidem Ciceroni placet, nullum nostrum usquam neglegentem esse sermonem: quidquid loquemur ubicumque sit pro sua scilicet portione perfectum. Scribendum certe numquam est magis

<sup>10</sup> *edd.*: capitur *B*: carpitur *Jeep*

<sup>11</sup> *add. Kiderlin*

<sup>11</sup> Compare *Iliad* 20.170, and "Longinus" 15.3.

<sup>12</sup> See *Orator* 34.      <sup>13</sup> Source not known: Cicero, *Brutus* 103–106 discusses Carbo's oratory.

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tain as to acquire. Theory once mastered is not forgotten, writing merely loses some speed if practice is interrupted; but this promptitude and readiness for action depends entirely on exercise. The best exercise is to speak every day before a considerable audience, if possible of people about whose judgement and good opinion we feel anxious. It is rare for anyone to have enough respect for himself as a critic, but let us by all means speak by ourselves rather than not speak at all. Yet another exercise consists in thinking the speech out, and going over the whole of the material in silence (so long as one speaks to oneself, as it were). This can be done at any time and anywhere, when we are not otherwise occupied, and it is in some respects of <greater> utility than the last exercise, because it involves more careful composition than a procedure in which we are afraid of breaking the thread of what we are saying. On the other hand the first method is more valuable for other things: strength of voice, fluent utterance, and body language, which (as I said) itself acts as a stimulus to the orator and encourages him, as he waves his arms or stamps his feet, in the way that lions are said to use their tails.<sup>11</sup>

We must study always and everywhere. No day is too full of business for some activity profitable for our writing or speaking to be snatched at some moment, as Cicero says Brutus used to do;<sup>12</sup> Gaius Carbo used to perform these speaking exercises even in his tent.<sup>13</sup> I must not forget another point which Cicero recommends:<sup>14</sup> in no circumstances must our language be careless, and whatever we say anywhere should be as perfect as it can be. Certainly, writing is never more necessary than when we have to

<sup>14</sup> See *Brutus* 258, *De optimo genere oratorum* 4.

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quam cum multa dicemus ex tempore. Ita enim servabitur pondus et innatans illa verborum facilitas in altum reduce-  
 tur, sicut rustici proximas vitis radices amputant, quae il-  
 lam in summum solum ducunt, ut inferiores penitus de-  
 29 scendendo firmentur. Ac nescio an, si utrumque cum cura  
 et studio fecerimus, invicem prosit, ut scribendo dicamus  
 diligentius, dicendo scribamus facilius. Scribendum ergo  
 quotiens licebit, si id non dabitur cogitandum: ab utroque  
 exclusi debent tamen ita dicere ut neque deprensus orator  
 neque litigator destitutus esse videatur.

30 Plerumque autem multa agentibus accidit ut maxime  
 necessaria et utique initia scribant, cetera, quae domo ad-  
 ferunt, cogitatione complectantur, subitis ex tempore oc-  
 currant: quod fecisse M. Tullium commentariis ipsius ap-  
 paret. Sed feruntur aliorum quoque et inventi forte, ut eos  
 dicturus quisque composuerat, et in libros digesti, ut cau-  
 sarum quae sunt actae a Servio Sulpicio, cuius tres oratio-  
 nes extant: sed hi de quibus loquor commentarii ita sunt  
 exacti ut ab ipso mihi in memoriam posteritatis videantur  
 31 esse compositi. Nam Ciceronis ad praesens modo tempus  
 aptatos libertus Tiro contraxit; quos non ideo excuso quia  
 non probem, sed ut sint magis admirabiles.

In hoc genere prorsus recipio hanc brevem adnotatio-  
 nem, libellosque qui vel manu teneantur et ad quos inte-

<sup>15</sup> To be done in October (Columella 4.8). *Innatans* is also  
 Columella's word (4.1.7) for vine-roots coming to the surface.

<sup>16</sup> See 4.1.69.

<sup>17</sup> See 4.2.106, 6.1.20, 10.1.22, 116.

<sup>18</sup> See *OLD* s.v. *contraho* 4c. For Tiro, see 6.3.5.

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improvise a lot. It is the way in which weightiness can be maintained, and the superficial verbal facility acquire some depth. Think of the way farmers prune away the top-most roots of the vine,<sup>15</sup> which pull the plant towards the surface, to enable the lower roots to go deeper and get stronger. It may well be that if we do both these things with care and persistence, each will help the other: we shall speak more accurately because we write, and write more fluently because we speak. We must write, therefore, whenever we can; when we cannot, we must meditate; people who cannot do either still have an obligation to speak in such a way that the advocate does not seem to have been caught unawares nor the litigant to have been abandoned.

Pleaders who are often in court commonly write out the essentials, at least the introductory parts, cover the rest of what they do at home by mental preparation, and meet sudden contingencies by improvising. Cicero's notebooks<sup>16</sup> show that this is what he did. The notes of other orators are also in circulation, some discovered by chance, just as the orator had composed them before speaking, and others collected in book form, like those of the Causes pleaded by Servius Sulpicius,<sup>17</sup> three of whose speeches are extant. These last notes are so complete that they seem to me to have been composed by the orator himself for the benefit of posterity. Cicero's notes, on the other hand, which were meant only for the occasion, were collected<sup>18</sup> by his freedman Tiro. I do not make this apology for them because I think poorly of them, but rather to make them seem more worthy of admiration.

In this connection, I certainly allow such brief notes and books as can be held in the hand and which we may



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- 32 rim respicere fas sit. Illud quod Laenas praecipit displicet mihi, vel in iis quae scripserimus velut<sup>12</sup> summas in commentarium et capita conferre. Facit enim ediscendi negligentiam haec ipsa fiducia et lacerat ac deformat orationem. Ego autem ne scribendum quidem puto quod non simus memoria persecuturi: nam hic quoque accidit ut revocet nos cogitatio ad illa elaborata, nec sinat praesentem
- 33 fortunam experiri. Sic anceps inter utrumque animus aestuat, cum et scripta perdidit et non quaerit nova.

Sed de memoria destinatus est libro proximo locus nec huic parti subiungendus, quia sunt alia prius nobis dicenda.

<sup>12</sup> *Halm: vel in B: del. Wolff*

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legitimately glance at from time to time. I do not however approve of Laenas'<sup>19</sup> advice, that even with our written work we should make summaries, as it were, in the form of notes and main headings. Reliance on this makes us careless about learning by heart, and it mutilates and deforms the style. Personally, I am against writing anything we do not propose to memorize, because in this situation too our thoughts may revert to our carefully worked-up text and prevent us from taking any chance that presents itself. So the mind wavers between two alternatives: it has lost the written version, and it is not looking for anything new.

But Memory has its own place in the next book, not as an appendix here, because there are other things to be spoken of first.

<sup>19</sup> See 3.1.21, 11.3.183.

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