THE PRACTICAL TEACHINGS OF CICERO
AS SET FORTH IN THE ORATOR

by

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The purpose of this paper is two-fold,--(1) to gather from Cicero's Orator those principles which deal with Rhetoric and (2) to discuss these from the practical point of view.

I have chosen the Orator, in preference to other rhetorical treatises¹ of Cicero, because (1) it was written after he had achieved his fame as an orator and therefore should contain the rich fruits of his varied experience; (2) because it covers the field of oratory in a concise manner without having as its primary purpose the setting forth of rhetorical rules. But, in that it presents a pattern of perfect eloquence,² it teaches in an indirect manner those principles of rhetoric which an eloquent orator ought to know. This indirect method of teaching seems more pleasant and just as profitable as the mere exposition of principles.³

¹ De Inventione was written in the year 84 B.C., de Oratore, 55 B.C., Orator, Brutus, and Partitiones Oratoriae, 46 B.C., de Optimo Genere and Topica, 44 B.C. Teuffel and Schwabe Hist. of Roman Lit., Transl. Warr, Vol.I, pp. 297-300.

² Or. 3, 7, 33.

³ Causeret's opening statement in La Langue de la Rhetorique dans Cicéron is,--"Parmi les différents ouvrages que Cicéron a composés sur l'art oratoire, il n'y en a que trois, le de Inventione, le de Oratore et les Partitiones, oratoriae, que l'on puisse considérer comme de véritables traités de rhétorique." But although Causeret does not acknowledge the Orator as a true treatise of rhetoric, he pays it a high com-

Aristotle defines Rhetoric as, "The faculty of discerning in every case the available means of persuasion."⁴ He claimed this function for Rhetoric alone since Rhetoric can "discern the persuasive in regard to any given subject,"⁵ but the other arts are limited to their own spheres. Volkmann defines Rhetoric as follows:--"Unter Rhetorik verstehen die Alten die Anleitung zur Abfassung geschriebener und gesprochener Reden, somit die Theorie der Beredsamkeit, richtiger der Kunst zu überreden."⁶ Now, since it is the

pliment, really placing it upon a pinnacle as far as the portrait of an ideal orator is concerned. He speaks of it as a magnificent work, an elevated conception far removed from the superficial analysis and complex classifications which two of ten encumber the manuals of Greek Rhetors. Ib.p.10 Cicero's own attitude toward the Orator is expressed in Ad Fam.VI,¹⁸4--"Oratorem meum tanto opere a te probari vehementer gaudeo. Mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me quidquid haberim iudici de dicendo in illum librum contulisse. Qui si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis, ego quoque aliquid sum; sin aliter, non recuso ^{quoniam} ~~prior~~ quantum de illo libro, tantumdem de mei iudici fama detrahatur."

⁴ Arist., Rhet. Book I, 1, 1, Jebb's Transl.

⁵ ib.

⁶ Volk. Rhet., p. 639.

business of the orator to delight and persuade,⁷ these definitions make clear the relation existing between Rhetoric and Oratory. The speaker who wishes to become eloquent will make use of any rhetorical devices or skilled art through which his speech may be made more effective and persuasive.⁸ The Romans called a speaker who was skilled in the art of speaking eloquens, the Greeks called him ῥήτωρ.⁹

⁷ Or. 69

⁸ Abundant proof is not lacking for Cicero's use of such devices, but his acknowledgement of that use on one occasion is interesting. "Ego, autem ipse, di boni! quo modo ἐρεπερ-περρευσάμην? novo auditori Pompeio! Si unquam mihi περίοροι, καὶ ῥήτορες, καὶ ἐνθουσιῶντες καὶ κατασκευαὶ suppedi-taverunt, illo tempore." Att. XIV. I, 4.

⁹ "But the Greeks had a word which presented the man of eloquence, not, like the English word, as a man of genius, nor like the Roman word, as an official person, but simply as a speaker, ῥήτωρ. This designation was claimed by those Sicilian masters who taught men how to speak: at Athens it was given especially to the habitual speakers in the public assembly: in later times it was applied to students or theorists of Rhetoric.....In the Greek view, a man who speaks may, without necessarily having first-rate natural gifts for eloquence, or being invested with office, yet deserve to be distinguished from his fellows by the name of a speaker. It attests the conception that speaking is potentially an art, and that one who speaks may, in speaking, be an artist." Jebb, Attic Orators I p. LXX.

Cicero's purpose in writing the Orator was to picture the ideal orator: "Quaeris igitur idque iam saepius quod eloquentiae genus probem maxime et quale mihi videatur illud, quo nihil addi possit, quod ego summum et perfectissimum iudicem." (Or.3); "Atque ego in summo oratore fingendo talem informabo qualis fortasse nemo fuit, ^{nam enim} quaero quis fuerit, sed quid sit illud, quo nihil esse possit praestantius, quod in perpetuitate dicendi non saepe atque haud scio an numquam, in aliqua autem parte eluceat aliquando, idem apud alios densius, apud alios fortasse rarius." (Or.7). Aside from his own undying interest in oratory, two motives led him to undertake this work. First, M. Junius Brutus wrote from the province, Gallia Cisalpina, where he was serving as proconsul,¹⁰ asking for Cicero's opinion concerning the highest ideal and most perfect type of eloquence. "Quod quidem ego, Brute, ex tuis litteris sentiebam, non te id sciscitari, qualem ego ⁱⁿ inveniendo et in conlocando summum esse oratorem vellem, sed id mihi quaerere videbare, quod genus ipsius orationis optimum iudicarem:" (Or.52); "Sed quid quaero velisne, cum litteris tuis eruditissime scriptis te id vel maxime velle perspexerim?" (Or.174). In meeting the request, Cicero says repeatedly

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¹⁰ Or.34. In this portion Piderit (Or.34) points out that Cicero is complimenting Caesar. Ergo, "dort allein ist Friede, sonst überall Bürgerkrieg; das ist ^{dein} Verdienst, ein Compliment zugleich für Cäsar, dass er in der Wahl des Brutus zum Proconsul von Gallia Cisalpina einen so guten Griff gethan." According to Sandys, Introd. to Or. p. LVII, the panegyric on Brutus must evidently be regarded as a setoff to the laus Catonis.

that all of the responsibility rests upon Brutus.¹¹ The second motive seems to have been to prove to Brutus that there was more than one conception of Attic style¹² and that perfection could not be attained by following any one conception.¹³ The question of what constituted the best style of oratory was a disputed one at this time and perhaps Cicero hoped that Brutus could be influenced to follow in his footsteps. "Ego non elaborem? Cum dico me, te, Brute, dico; nam in me quidem iam pridem effectum est quod futurum fuit; tu autem eodem modo omnis causas ages? aut aliquod causarum genus repudiabis? aut in isdem causis perpetuum et eundem spiritum sine ulla commutatione obtinebis?" (Or.110).

¹¹ Or. 1, 35, 52, 140, 147, 174, 238. Cicero begins and ends the Orator with this thought and does not allow the reader to lose sight of it while reading.

¹² "Ad Atticorum igitur auris teretes et religiosas qui se accommodant, ei sunt existimandi Attice dicere. Quorum genera plura sunt; hi unum modo quale sit suspicantur. Putant enim qui horride inculteque dicat, modo id eleganter enucleateque faciat, eum solum Attice dicere. Errant, quod solum; quod Attice, non falluntur." (Or.28).

¹³ "It becomes apparent that Brutus was one of that numerous class of Roman orators who strove laboriously to acquire a true Attic style, but who took as their model for this style not Demosthenes, but the plainest and most austere of his predecessors." Edward J. Filbey, Class. Phil. Vol.6 p.329.

We hardly need Cicero's confirmation of the fact that the difficulties of the task loom up large at the outset. Since each man has his own particular ideas in regard to what constitutes eloquence, there must necessarily be as many different opinions as there are different tastes.

"Sed in omni re difficillimum est formam, qui *Χαρακτῆρ* Graece dicitur, exponere optimi, quod aliud aliis videtur optimum. Ennio delector, ait quispiam, quod non discedit a communi more verborum; Pacuvio, inquit alius: omnes apud hunc ornati elaboratique sunt versus, multo apud alterum neglegentius; fac alium Accio; varia enim sunt iudicia, ut in Graccis, nec facilis explicatio quae forma maxime excel-
lat. In picturis alios horrida inculta, abdita et opaca, contra alios nitida laeta conlustrata delectant. Quid est quo praescriptum aliquod aut formulam exprimas, cum in suo quidque genere praestet et genera plura sint?" (Or.36).

Language feels the effect of such varieties of tastes because it is very soft and flexible, so flexible indeed, that it can be twisted to suit as many kinds of speaking as the taste demands. There is the speech that rushes on like a great river; one that pauses now and then; another that seeks uniformity and purity; and still another that takes pleasure in harshness and severity. "Rem difficilem, di immortales, atque omnium difficillimam. Nam cum est oratio mollis et tenera et ita flexibilis ut sequatur quocumque torqueas, tum et naturae variae et voluntates multum inter se distantia effecerunt genera dicendi: flumen aliis verborum

volubilitasque cordi est, qui ponunt in orationis celeritate eloquentiam; distincta alios et interpuncta intervalla, morae respirationesque delectant: quid potest esse tam diversum? tamen est in utroque aliquid excellens. Elaborant alii in lenitate et aequabilitate et puro quasi quodam et candido genere dicendi; ecce aliqui duritatem et severitatem quandam in verbis et orationis quasi maestitiam sequuntur; quodque paulo ante divisimus, ut alii graves alii tenues alii temperati vellent videri, quot orationum genera esse diximus totidem oratorum reperiuntur." (Or.52, 53).

Therefore to hold up to view an orator, and to say that he is the ideal one, the pattern of perfect eloquence, is a difficult task, but Cicero undertakes it, with the firm belief that there is "something best"¹⁴ in all things.

The part of the paper which follows attempts to collect and classify the practical teachings which Cicero gives indirectly in the portrayal of the ideal orator.

¹⁴ "Existimavi in omnibus rebus esse aliquid optimum, etiam si lateret. (Or.36). c.f. also Or. 75 for difficulty of the task.

Part I

The summit is lofty, the standards of perfection exceedingly high, to which such an orator must climb. "Eloquens vero, qui non approbationes solum sed admirationes, clamores, plausus, si liceat, movere debet, omnibus oportet ita rebus excellat, ut ei turpe sit quicquam aut exspectari aut audiri libentius." (Or.236). If he is to excel in all things, it is imperative for him to have, as a part of his equipment, a fund of universal knowledge which forms the background or foundation for his ability. To philosophy Cicero unhesitatingly grants the first place.¹ "Positum sit igitur in primis, quod post magis intellegetur, sine philosophia non posse effici quem quaerimus eloquentem, non ut in ea tamen omnia sint, sed ut sic adiuvet ut palaestra histrionem; parva enim magnis saepe rectissime conterantur. Nam nec latius atque copiosius de magnis variisque rebus sine philosophia potest quisquam dicere;" (Or.14); "Nec vero sine philosophorum disciplina genus et speciem cuiusque rei cernere neque eam definiendo explicare nec tribuere in partis possumus nec iudicare quae vera quae falsa sint neque cernere consequentia, repugnantia videre, ambigua distinguere." (Or.16); "Nec vero a dialecticis modo sit instructus et habeat omnis philosophiae notos ac tractatos locos. Nihil enim de religione, nihil de morte, nihil de pietate, nihil de caritate patriae, nihil de bonis rebus aut malis, nihil de virtutibus aut vitiis, nihil de officiis, nihil de dolore, nihil de voluptate, nihil de perturbationibus

1 cf. also Or.15; de Or.I 51, 20, 60, 72; de Or.III 142, 143.

animi et erroribus, quae saepe cadunt in causas et ieiunius aguntur, nihil, inquam, sine ea scientia quam dixi graviter ample copiose dici et explicari potest." (Or.118). These citations are proof enough of Cicero's idea of the importance of philosophy in connection with oratory. He pays his tribute and acknowledges his indebtedness to that science by saying that whatever skill he has as an orator is due to philosophy² rather than to the workshops of the rhetoricians. "fateor me oratorem, si modo sim aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiis exstitisse; illa enim sunt curricula multiplicium variorumque sermonum, in quibus Platonis primum sunt impressa vestigia. Sed et huius et aliorum philosophorum disputationibus et exagitatus maxime orator est et adiutus." (Or.12).

Closely related to philosophy, in fact a branch of that subject, is the study of dialectics.³ Dialectic speaking took the form of an argument, usually between two persons, "to unravel an obscurity, exercise oneself in the mastery of a subject or to sift evidence."⁴ So dialectics became a "distinct mental pursuit for men who had a natural defect in public speaking or rhetoric."⁵ Since the ideal orator must know thoroughly every method of speaking, the study of

² For Cicero's study of philosophy see de Or.I 57; Brutus 306; Quint. XII 2, 23. Reference to the Academy in de Fin.V,1.

³ Piderit, Or. 114.

⁴ Cushman, Hist. of Phil., p.60.

⁵ 1b.

dialectics would be of advantage to him.⁶ "Esse igitur perfecte eloquentis puto non eam tantam facultatem habere quae sit eius propria, fuse lateque dicendi, sed etiam vicinam eius ac finitimam dialecticorum scientiam adsumere." (Or.113); "Atque etiam ante hunc Aristoteles principio artis rhetoricae dicit illam artem quasi ex altera parte respondere dialecticae, ut hoc videlicet differant inter se quod haec ratio dicendi latior sit, illa loquendi contractior. Volo igitur huic summo omnem quae ad dicendum trahi possit loquendi rationem esse notam;" (Or.114). As a result of discussions with philosophers and arguments with dialecticians, the orator will grow skilful in making definitions, but, with the art of an orator who understands his audience, the definitions are more clear, and more popular than those which fall from the lips of philosophers and dialecticians. Definition⁷ of terms is decidedly important; for there must be, in the beginning, a mutual agreement between the speaker and audience concerning terms or "quid quidque sit"⁸ for a clear comprehension of the subject.

⁶ Cicero quotes Zeno as saying that the hand closed tightly represented the dialectician, the hand opened out wide, the orator. (Or.113). He makes practically the same statement in de Fin. II 17. Concerning the relation between rhetoric and dialectics, Aristotle says, "ἡ ῥητορικὴ ἐστὶν ἀντίστροφος τῇ διαλεκτικῇ." *Reiderit Or. 113.*

⁷ For Cicero's meaning of definitio see Or.116 and de Or.I 189.

⁸ Or. 116.

Again, any point at all involved or ambiguous must be explained and a definition often accomplishes this. "Et quoniam in omnibus quae ratione docentur et via primum constituendum est quid quidque sit--nisi enim inter eos qui disceptant convenit quid sit illud quod ambigitur, nec recte disseri unquam nec ad exitum perveniri potest--, explicanda est saepe verbis mens nostra de quaque re atque involuta rei notitia definiendo aperienda est, si quidem est definitio oratio, quae quid sit id de quo agitur ostendit quam brevissime; tum, ut scis, explicato genere cuiusque rei videndum est quae sint eius generis sive formae sive partes, ut in eas tribuatur omnis oratio. Erit igitur haec facultas in eo quem volumus esse eloquentem, ut definire rem possit nec id faciat tam presse et anguste quam in illis eruditissimis disputationibus fieri solet, sed cum explanatius tum etiam uberius et ad commune iudicium popularemque intellegentiam accommodatius." (Or. 116, 117).

But it is not sufficient that the ideal orator shall be acquainted with philosophy and its branches; he must drink deep from other springs of learning, or his speech becomes mere words and empty eloquence with an utter lack of sympathy. So, let him understand the laws of physical science, divine laws, and laws relating to humanity. "quem etiam, quo grandior sit et quodam modo excelsior, ut de Pericle dixi supra, ne physicorum quidem esse ignarum volo." (Or.119); "Cum illa divina cognoverit, nolo ignoret ne haec quidem humana." (Or.120). What would be more disgraceful

than for an orator, an advocate in a civil cause, to be ignorant concerning the statutes of law?¹⁰ "Ius civile teneat, quo egent causae forenses cotidie. Quid est enim turpius quam legitimarum et civilium controversiarum patrocinia suscipere, cum sis legum et civilis iuris ignarus?" (Or.120).¹¹

Let him know, too, all the different kinds of causes. "Sic igitur instructus veniet ad causas, quarum habebit genera primum ipsa cognita. Erit enim ei perspectum nihil ambigi posse in quo non aut res¹² controversiam faciat aut verba." (Or.121). In the Orator, Cicero does not explain further what he means by different kinds of causes except to say that they are few in number, hence the rules governing them are few, and that two topics are handed down from which the causes may be derived; namely, (1) from the circumstances as they really exist and (2) from assumed circumstances.¹² It seems evident here that Cicero has in mind the five causes which he discusses in de Inventione.

¹⁰ Cf. de Or. I 166-184, where there is a long discussion and many interesting examples. Also de Or. I 201.

¹¹ Cicero studied civil law under Quintus Scaevola. Brut. 306. Cf. also Quint. XII C.III entitled *Necessariam iuris civilis oratoris scientiam*. Cf. Aulus Gellius I XXII "M. autem Cicero in libro, qui inscriptus est de iure civili in artem redigendo verba haec posuit"

¹² Or. 122.

There they are classified as "honorable, astonishing, low, doubtful, and obscure."¹³ The causes seem to be named not primarily from the nature of the cause itself, but from the effect it is expected to have upon the jury and audience. Thus a doubtful cause would arouse some ill will on the part of the audience and some good-will; an astonishing cause is one "from which the minds, of those who are about to hear, have been alienated."¹⁴ Since there are these various causes, it makes a great deal of difference how an orator opens his speech (exordium) if he wishes to secure the undivided attention of his hearers; so our ideal orator, making the most of every device, not only understands thoroughly the different causes, but knows how best to approach each one. In addition, let the orator have at his command not only the history of his own state, but that of "dominant"¹⁵ nations and illustrious kings. "*Cognoscat etiam rerum gestarum et memoriae veteris ordinem, maxime scilicet nostrae civitatis, sed etiam imperiosorum populorum et regum illustrium;*" (Or. 120).¹⁶ Time and again the speaker will be

¹³ De Inven. I XV. Volk. Rhet., pp. 653-654, makes this same division of causes, "genus honestum, humile, ambiguum or anceps, admirabile obscurum," not, however, in the same order.

¹⁴ Ib. de Inven., Younge's Transl. p. 257.

¹⁵ Sandys' Word.

¹⁶ Cf. de Or. I 201-202.

called upon to plead public matters, to quote examples from the history of other countries and not to know what has happened in history and how one event was related to another would be just as disgraceful as ignorance of civil law. Besides, to tell what has happened in past ages and to cite examples gives authority to the speaker's statements and pleasure to the listeners. "Commemoratio autem antiquitatis exemplorumque prolatio summa cum delectatione et auctoritatem orationi adfert et fidem." (Or.120).

Now, as a fitting climax to this liberal education of the orator in the fields of philosophy with its branches, physical science, divine laws, human laws, civil laws, different causes and history, comes the knowledge of a subject, difficult to define, but exceedingly vital in the make-up of an orator. It is called by the Greeks πρὸς πόν, by the Romans decorum and in our language good taste.

"πρὸς πόν" appellant Graeci, nos dicamus sane decorum" (Or. 70).¹⁷ It means that the orator must speak in a becoming and appropriate manner, that he shall have a proper regard for what is suitable to the occasion, and that he shall be responsive to the mood in which he finds his hearers, reading their minds with keen perception. If the situation demands it, let the orator rise to heights unknown before; if, on the other hand, the situation is simple, let him be wise in his simplicity. "Quam enim indecorum est, de stillicidiis

¹⁷ Cf. de Off. I.27, 93-94.

cum apud unum iudicem dicas, amplissimis verbis et locis uti communibus, de maiestate populi Romani summis et subtiliter." (Or.72) Of what profit is it to the orator if he gain all the knowledge of the world and fail to cultivate a sense of decorum? The question naturally arises: What are the general rules by which the orator may attain decorum? Cicero says that it can be acquired by giving attention to the words used, to sentences, to the facts in the case and by making what is becoming dependent upon the character of those who speak and those who hear. "Est autem quid deceat oratori videndum non in sententiis solum sed etiam in verbis. Non enim omnis fortuna, non omnis ~~homo~~ honos, non omnis auctoritas, non omnis aetas nec vero locus aut tempus aut auditor omnis eodem aut verborum genere tractandus est aut sententiarum semperque in omni parte orationis ut vitae quid deceat est considerandum; quod et in re de qua agitur positum est et in personis et eorum qui dicant et eorum qui audiunt." (Or.71)¹⁸

In addition to this fund of knowledge which forms the basis of oratorical ability, the orator must have training in his particular field; namely, those practical teachings of rhetoric which deal with oratory. His oratorical field is limited to forensic strife for Cicero passes over with brief mention all other forms of oratory, pausing only long

¹⁸ Cf. also Or. 73, 82, 123, 124, 125; de Or. III 210

Arist. Rhet. III VII, 1 to 8 and III II - 2; Hor. Ars.

Poet. 309 "Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons."

enough to pay a tribute to the epideictic style which is the "Nutrix"¹⁹ of the ideal orator.²⁰ Before examining these principles, it is necessary to explain in a more detailed form than was given in the beginning, just what the eloquent speaker is expected to do. In the opening part of the speech, his first duty is to conciliate the audience, that it may hear with favor what he has to say, to arouse an interest and an eagerness to know the cause;²¹ in the second part, the facts must be set forth briefly, credibly and clearly arguments established, those of the opposite side refuted in a logical manner, point by point and finally, the whole division brought to a well rounded close;²² in the third part,²³ the purpose of which is to stir the listeners to action or to calm their passions, the orator makes his final plea. "Tractatio igitur rerum efficit admirabilem orationem; nam ipsae quidem res in perfacili cognitione versantur. Quid enim iam sequitur, quod quidem artis sit, nisi ordiri orationem, in quo aut concilietur auditor aut erigatur aut paret se ad discendum; rem breviter exponere et probabiliter

¹⁹ Or.37.

²⁰ Or.37, 38; cf. also de Inven. I 7; on the divisions of oratory, see Arist. Rhet. I III 3, Volk.Rhet., p.647 and Piderit, Or. 37.

²¹ Cf. de Or. II 315-325 for a discussion of the beginning or exordium. Arist., Rhet. III XIV 7 sums it up so,--"making the hearer docile and yourself seem estimable." Cf. also Quint. IV I 5.

et aperte, ut quid agatur intellegi possit; sua confirmare, adversaria evertere, eaque efficere non perturbate, sed singulis argumentationibus ita concludendis, ut efficiatur quod sit consequens eis quae sumentur ad quamque rem confirmandam; post omnia peroratione inflammantem restinguentemve concludere?" (Or.122). Here the orator may amplify points to his heart's content. Here, too, he may make most effective use of two very clever devices which the Greeks call ἠθικόν and παθητικόν. The former appeals to the moral sense, the latter to emotions. The one is pleasing, courteous, and conciliating; the other, full of energy, fiery, vehement, exciting pity, anger, favor, joy, and pain.²⁴ The eloquent speaker

²² Cf. de Or. II 326-330; de Inven. I 28, 29.

²³ Cf. de Inven. I 98-109; and Her. II 47; Quint. VI C I; Arist. Rhet. III XIX.

²⁴ Or. 128, 129, 131, 132. Cicero does not make it clear to me just what he means by ἠθικόν. Sandys says that Cicero leaves us to conclude that its proper province lies in that relation between the character of speaker and that of the audience, which is brought about by the speech.^{Or.128} If Cicero believed as Aristotle, the distinction is more easily understood. Cf. Arist., Rhet. I II; II I; III XVII - n, where we are taught that the appeal to the moral sense depends upon what moral character the speaker displays. It seems to me that Cicero follows Aristotle's idea, for 130 may explain ἠθικόν in that sense and 131 παθητικόν.

accomplishes all of this in an ideal manner.

The next step is to look beyond this perfect orator into his workshop to see what his tools are and how he sharpens them. To those who are more interested in the finished product, the orator in the greatest height of his glory, than in the finer details and irksome processes by which he reached the summit, Cicero truly says: "Nam omnium magnarum artium sicut arborum altitudo nos delectat, radices stirpesque non item; sed esse illa sine his non potest." (Or.147).

Part II

For the sake of convenience, I shall attempt to group all of the following practical teachings under four large divisions,--inventio, collocatio, actio, and genus. (1) Inventio, "quid dicat,"¹ rightly demands first consideration since before the orator is concerned with how he is going to treat his subject-matter, he needs must gather the material. Therefore, it is not because this topic lacks importance that Cicero passes on rather hurriedly, but because (1) he had already treated this subject in *de Inventione*; (2) it is not the peculiar province of the orator to gather material, but the task belongs in common to all writers² and speakers.

¹ Or. 43.

² Cf. *de Or.* II 120; *ib.* II 309. A more complete discussion of points or loci is given in *de Or.* II 147 and 174; cf. also *de Fin.* IV 10; Arist., *Rhet.* II XVIII 3, 5 and XIX.

and (3) Cicero is not laying down precepts in this treatise. In gathering his material the perfect orator will take pains to collect all the points that go to establish his argument and will acquaint himself thoroughly with every question that might arise in connection with his proof; after the points are gathered, he sifts them with great care, selecting only those which are suitable for the case at hand and very carefully weighs every statement: "Noverit igitur hic quidem orator, quem summum esse volumus, argumentorum et rationum locos. Nam quoniam, quicquid est quod in controversia aut in contentione versetur, in eo aut sitne aut quid sit aut quale sit quaeritur:--sitne, signis; quid sit, definitionibus; quale sit, recti pravique partibus; quibus ut uti possit orator, non ille vulgaris sed hic excellens, a propriis personis et temporibus semper, si potest, advocet controversiam; latius enim de genere quam de parte disceptare licet, quod in universo sit probatum id in parte sit probari necesse;--haec igitur quaestio a propriis personis et temporibus ad universi generis rationem traducta appellatur *θέσις*. In hac Aristoteles adolescentis non ad philosophorum morem tenuiter disserendi, sed ad copiam rhetorum in utramque partem, ut ornatus et uberius dici posset, exercuit; idemque locos--sic enim appellat--quasi argumentorum notas tradidit unde omnis in utramque partem traheretur oratio. Faciet igitur hic noster--non enim declamatorem aliquem de ludo aut rabulam de foro, sed doctissimum et perfectissimum quaerimus--, ut, quoniam loci certi traduntur,

percurrat omnis, utatur aptis, generatim dicat; ex quo emanent etiam qui communes appellantur loci. Nec vero utetur imprudenter hac copia, sed omnia expendet et seliget; non enim semper nec in omnibus causis ex isdem locis eadem argumentorum momenta sunt. Iudicium igitur adhibebit nec inveniet solum quid dicat sed etiam expendet. Nihil enim est feracius ingeniis, eis praesertim quae disciplinis exculta sunt. Sed ut segetes fecundae et uberes non solum fruges verum herbas etiam effundunt inimicissimas frugibus, sic interdum ex illis locis aut levia quaedam aut causis aliena aut non utilia gignuntur. Quorum ab oratoris iudicio dilectus nisi magnus adhibebitur, quonam modo ille in bonis haerebit et habitabit suis aut molliet dura aut occultabit quae dilui non poterunt atque omnino opprimet, si licebit, aut abduccet animos aut aliud adferet, quod oppositum probabilius sit quam illud quod obstabit?" (Or.44)-(49).

(2) Collocatio. After the speaker knows his case from all possible viewpoints, the next task is to decide upon the most effective arrangement of topics or "quo quidque loco."³ The beginning of the speech (exordium) will be "honestum" like the entrance to a fine building, then with the greatest diligence, the arguments will be so arranged that the orator makes a vigorous attack, places strong points at the beginning and close and forces the weaker ones into the body of the speech. "Iam vero ~~secundum erat de trisus. Vestibula~~

³ Or. 43.

ea quae invenerit qua diligentia conlocabit? quoniam id secundum erat de tribus. Vestibula nimirum honesta aditusque ad causam faciet illustris; cumque animos prima adgressione occupaverit, infirmabit excludetque contraria; de firmissimis alia prima ponet alia postrema inculcabitque leviora."

(Or. 50).⁵ With such brief explanations Cicero leaves these two divisions saying that they are indeed important but require less skill and less labor than those yet to be discussed.⁶

(3) actio. In the discussion of this term, the same difficulty appears that has been mentioned before, that of pleasing the various tastes of men.⁷ One style can never hope to earn unanimous approval. Cicero uses this term (actio) to explain what he means by "quo modo."⁸ How an orator delivers what he has to say makes a vast amount of difference, not only in the degree of pleasure it brings to the audience, but in the accomplishment of his purpose. So the eloquent speaker will devote no less of his time to this division than to others in the oratorical field. I have interpreted actio in its broadest sense, meaning oratorical delivery, basing the interpretation upon these lines:

⁵ Cf. de Or. II 315; Quint. XI c.3, 2; Piderit, Or. 50;

"Zwischen die Kerntruppen (die starken Beweisgründe) mitten einzwängen, so dass die Schwachen verdeckt und von den Starken geschützt sind."

⁶ Quint. It seems to me that this would depend somewhat upon the characteristics or natural ability of the orator.

⁷ Or. 52.

⁸ Or. 55.

"Est enim actio quasi corporis quaedam eloquentia, cum constet e voce atque motu" (Or.55) and upon Cicero's discussion of this point in other works.⁹

It is hardly possible to overestimate the power of the voice as it plays upon the feelings of the audience. The tones of the voice indicate how seriously or how lightly the eloquent speaker feels about a subject, and it is, in part, through the medium of the voice that the skilled orator communicates his feelings to his listeners and so holds them in his power. "Vocis mutationes totidem sunt quot animorum, qui maxime voce commoventur. Itaque ille perfectus, quem iam dudum nostra indicat oratio, utcumque se adfectum videri et animum audientis moveri volet, ita certum vocis admovebit sonum," (Or.55). The tone of the voice must always be in keeping with the situation therefore the ideal orator modulates his tones, so that sometimes they are sweet enough to soothe even angry listeners; again so plaintive that the audience feels keenly another's sorrow; then they rise in indignation, becoming almost rough and fierce, rousing the passions of those who hear. "Violet igitur ille qui eloquentia ~~et tantummodo per se~~ principatum

⁹ Cf. de Or. III 222 "actio quasi corporis sermo" de Or. I 18 Ad Her. III 19 actio is discussed under term pronuntiatio; de Inven. I 9 says "pronuntiatio est ex rerum et verborum dignitate vocis et corporis moderatio." Cf. also Brut. XXXVIII. Cf. Quint. ΔI 3, 1 "Pronuntiatio a plerisque

petet et contenta voce atrociter dicere et summissa leniter et inclinata videri gravis et inflexa miserabilis; mira est enim quaedam natura vocis, cuius quidem e tribus omnino sonis, inflexo acuto gravi, tanta sit et tam suavis varietas perfecta in cantibus. Est autem etiam in dicendo quidam cantus obscurior, non hic e Phrygia et Caria Rhetorum epilogus paene canticum, sed ille quem significat Demosthenes et Aeschines, cum alter alteri obicit vocis flexiones; dicit plorare etiam Demosthenes istum quem saepe dicat voce dulci et clara fuisse. In quo illud etiam notandum mihi videtur ad studium persequendae suavitatis in vocibus: ipsa enim natura, quasi modularetur hominum orationem, in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem nec una plus nec a postrema syllaba citra tertiam; quo magis naturam ducem ad aurium voluptatem sequatur industria. Ac vocis quidem bonitas optanda est; non est enim in nobis, sed tractatio atque usus in nobis. Ergo ille princeps variabit et mutabit: omnis sonorum tum intendens tum remittens persequetur gradus." (Or. 57-58-59).¹⁰

actio dicitur." For Volkmann's discussion of actio, see Volk. Rhet., p.675. He includes under that term, vox, vultus, gestus and corporis habitus. According to Causeret, La Lang. de la Rhet., p.198, pronuntiatio is a term used in the earlier writings of Cicero to denote actio. "Le premier terme dont Cicéron se soit servi pour désigner l'action oratoire est pronuntiatio." p.200 ib. D'après Cicéron, les éléments qui constituent l'action oratoire sont au nombre

which the eloquent speaker plays, provided he is an ideal orator with a trained voice at his command and a sympathetic understanding of human nature.

Gestus. Gestures,¹¹ hold a very important place in the make-up of the ideal orator. It takes clear judgment and a subtle sense of what is becoming to use gestures appropriately. Cicero includes in the term gestus movements of the arm, fingers, body, and in addition expression of the face. Wild and extravagant movements of the arms find no place among the gestures of the eloquent speaker; he stands erect, walks up and down the tribune only rarely, does not bend his neck in a languid fashion, keeps his fingers well together not moving them to mark the rhythm,¹² and endeavors to express his emotions in the poise of his whole body¹³ and manly expansion of his chest. The expression of the face adds

de trois: (1) les attitudes des corps (motus, gestus); (2) la physionomie (vultus, oculi); 3 la voix (vox)."

¹⁰ Cf. de Or. III 215, 220, 224, 228; also ib. 213 in which Cicero quotes Aeschines as saying, concerning Demosthenes' pro Ctesiphonte, "Quanto magis miraremini, si audissetis ipsum."

¹¹ Cf. de Or. III 220; Quint. XI c.3, 122; Brut. 116;

¹² Quint. XI c.3 92-105.

¹³ Quint. XI c.3 122.

dignity and charm and certainly marks the speaker's sincerity or insincerity, as the case may be. In Cicero's opinion it is second in importance only to the voice. The eyes,¹⁴ too, must be kept under control, for as the face is the image of the soul, the eyes are its indices. "Idemque motu sic utetur, nihil ut supersit. In gestu status erectus et celsus; rarus incessus nec ita longus; excursio moderata eaque rara; nulla mollitia cervicum, nullae argutiae digitorum non ad numerum articulus cadens; trunco magis toto se ipse moderans et virile laterum flexione, brachii proiectione in contentionibus, contractione in remissis. Vultus vero, qui secundum vocem plurimum potest, quantam adferet tum dignitatem tum venustatem! In quo cum effeceris ne quid ineptum sit aut vultuosum, tum oculorum est quaedam magna moderatio. Nam ut imago est animi vultus, sic indices oculi; quorum et hilaritatis et vicissim tristitiae modum res ipsae de quibus agetur temperabunt." (Or.59.-60). Movements can make or mar an orator. Many a man, by the mere dignity of his movements, has produced the effect of eloquence while an eloquent man because of awkward movements has been thought ineloquent. "Dicerem etiam de gestu, cum quo iunctus est vultus; quibus omnibus dici vix potest quantum intersit quem ad modum utatur orator. Nam et infantes actionis dignitate eloquentiae saepe fructum tulerunt et disertis deformitate agendi multi infantes putati sunt; ut iam non sine causa

¹⁴ de Or. III 221-223; Quint. XI c.3 72-77.

Demosthenes tribuerit et primas et secundas et tertias actioni; si enim eloquentia nulla sine hac, haec autem sine eloquentia tanta est, certe plurimam in dicendo potest." (Or. 55-56).

(4) Genus. This fourth or last division deals with genus, or the style, of the eloquent speaker. This is so broad a subject and is so much a part of the individual writer or speaker that it is hard to define. It is usually described as the manner of speaking. Now since oratorical style has certain points that it shares in common with other forms of discourse and many more that are peculiarly its own, Cicero considers the question negatively. First, the style of historians is not suited to orators, although there are orators who attempt to imitate Thucydides: "Ecce autem aliqui se Thucydidios esse profitentur: novum quoddam imperitorum et inauditum genus." (Or. 30).¹⁵ Thucydides writes in a dignified style but his sentences are obscure¹⁶ and this is indeed a serious fault¹⁷ in forensic oratory where the case most frequently depends upon the clearness with which it is stated. Some men even desire to imitate Xenophon,

¹⁴ de Or. III 221-223; Quint. XI c.3 72-77.

¹⁵ Cf. Brut. 287; de Opt. Gen. 15, 16; de Or. II 56.

¹⁶ Cf. Brut. 29.

¹⁷ Cf. de Or. I 12.

whose style is sweeter than honey, but far, far removed from forensic strife. "Thucydides autem res gestas et bella narrat et proelia, graviter sane et probe, sed nihil ab eo transferri potest ad forensem usum et publicum. Ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias vix ut intellegantur; quod est in oratione civili vitium vel maximum. Quae est autem in hominibus tanta perversitas, ut inventis frugibus glande vescantur?¹⁸ An victus hominum Atheniensium beneficio excoli potuit, oratio non potuit? Quis porro umquam Graecorum rhetorum a Thucydide quicquam duxit? 'At laudatus est ab omnibus.' lateor; sed ita ut rerum explicator prudens severus gravis; non ut in iudiciis versaret causas, sed ut in historiis bella narraret; itaque numquam est numeratus orator, nec vero, si historiam non scripsisset, nomen eius exstaret, cum praesertim fuisset honoratus et nobilis." (Or.30-32). Another reason for discarding the style of the historian is that it is rather long drawn out in contrast to oratorical style which demands that words and sentences be packed full of meaning and concisely stated. "Huic generi historia finitima est, in qua et narratur ornate et regio saepe aut pugna describitur;

¹⁸ Inventis frugibus glande vescantur, "ein sprichwörtlicher Ausdruck," according to Piderit (Or.31), also mit geringem Vorliebe nehmen, während man besseres haben kann, d.h.hier auf einer niederen Entwicklung der stilistischen Darstellung stehen bleiben wollen, während ein weit höherer Standpunkt bereits erreicht ist. Der Gegensatz von glandes und fruges

interponuntur etiam contiones et hortationes, sed in his tracta quaedam et fluens expetitur, non haec contorta et acris oratio." (Or.66).

Neither does the style of the philosopher's discourse meet the demands of the orator for it is "quiet and cloistral,"¹⁹

having nothing in it to rouse the passions, hence called a discourse²⁰ rather than an oration. It is the province of the orator not only to delight, but to persuade and as a pleasing, quiet discourse is rarely effective in dealing with a large audience, let the ideal orator avoid taking this style as his model. "Mollis est enim oratio philosophorum et umbratilis nec sententiis nec verbis instructa popularibus nec vineta numeris, sed soluta liberius; nihil iratum habet, nihil invidum, nihil atrox, nihil miserabile, nihil astutum; casta, verecunda, virgo incorrupta quodam modo. Itaque sermo potius quam oratio dicitur. Quamquam enim omnis locutio oratio est, tamen unius oratoris locutio hoc proprio signata nomine est." (Or.64)

soll an den Gegensatz der ersten Anfänge der Cultur und der höheren Gesittung erinnern."

¹⁹ Sandys' word Or.64. Fiderit says in this connection, Or.64: "umbratilis lebt und gedeiht nur im Schatten der Schulen und ist daher für das Leben nicht gekräftigt genug."

Cf. also de Or.I 157 "Educenda d^onde dictio est ex hac domestica exercitatione et umbratili medium in agmen, in pulverem, in clamorem, in castra atque in aciem forensem."

Cf. also de Leg. III 14.

Again, the style of the Sophists is not suitable for the orator, although there is a point of similarity. The Sophist aspires to the same flowers²¹ or ornaments that the orator makes use of. The difference lies in the purpose of the two; the former wishes to appease men's minds, the latter to disturb them. The Sophists openly attempt to please men, the orator wishes to do the same, but he is careful to conceal the means by which he accomplishes it. The result is the same but in the latter case the audience does not realize, at the moment, that it is a victim of a very carefully laid scheme on the part of the speaker. Then, too, the Sophist departs from his subject, a thing a well trained orator is never supposed to do. "Sophistarum, de quibus supra dixi, magis distinguenda similitudo videtur, qui omnes eosdem volunt flores quos adhibet orator in causis persequi. Sed hoc differunt quod cum sit his propositum non perturbare animos, sed placare potius nec tam persuadere quam delectare, et apertius id faciunt quam nos et crebrius, concinnas magis sententias exquirunt quam probabilis, a re saepe discedunt, intexunt fabulas, verba altius transferunt eaque ita disponunt ut pictores varietatem colorum, paria paribus referunt, adversa contrariis, saepissimeque similiter extrema definiunt." (Or.65).²²

²⁰ Sermo and contentio discussed in de Or. III 177 and de Off. II 48.

²¹ Cf. de Or. III 96.

²² Apertius. Cf. de Or. II 153. a re discedunt. Cf. Arist.

Rhet. III XVII 11 and note varietatem colorum. cf. ad Her. IV II 16.

A comparison of the style of poets and orators is interesting because they share some points in common. In fact the question seems to be about the point of difference rather than points of similarity since rhythm has crept into oratory. "Ab his non multo secus quam a poetis haec eloquentia quam quaerimus sevocanda est. Nam etiam poetae quaestionem attulerunt, quidnam esset illud quo ipsi differrent ab oratoribus: Numero maxime videbantur antea et versu, nunc apud oratores iam ipse numerus increbruit. Quicquid est enim quod sub aurium mensuram aliquam cadit, etiam si abest a versu--nam id quidem orationis est vitium numerus vocatur, qui Graece *ῥυθμὸς* dicitur." (Or.66-67)²³ (In what way oratorical rhythm differs from poetical rhythm will be discussed in the division devoted to rhythm.)

²³ Piderit (Or.66) says, "Zu den vielfachen, bes. aus dem Gebiet der Litteratur entnommenen Problemen, deren Lösung die Gelehrten alexandrinischen Grammatiker und deren Nachfolger sich zur Aufgabe machten, gehörte auch die Frage nach dem hier berührten Unterschied, namentlich von der Zeit an, als die Poesie selbst, wie bei den alexandrinischen Dichtern, einen gelehrt--rhetorischen Charakter anzunehmen anfieng; attulerunt heisst also nicht die Dichter selbst haben die Frage erhoben, sondern sie nahe gelegt, veranlasst."

The language of some poets is lofty and highly adorned as is also the language of one style of oratory;²⁴ still the poet has greater license in making and joining words than is granted to the orator. The poet and orator resemble each other in the point of judging and selecting words, for the choice of proper words and pleasing words accomplishes the purpose of both.²⁵ "Ego autem etiam si quorundam grandis et ornata vox est poetarum, tamen in ea cum licentiam statuo maiorem esse quam in nobis faciendorum iungendorumque verborum, tum etiam non nulli eorum voluntati vocibus magis quam rebus inserviunt; nec vero, si quid est unum inter eos simile id autem est iudicium²⁶ electioque verborum--, propterea ceterarum rerum dissimilitudo intellegi non potest." (Or.68). Cicero praises the poet for equaling, under the

²⁴ See the discussion of ornate style which follows.

²⁵ Aristotle says (Rhet. III I 9): "And, as the poets seem to have won their present reputation, even when their thoughts were poor, by the force of their style, the first prose style was led to become poetical, like that of Gorgias. To this day, indeed, the mass of the uneducated think that such persons are the finest talkers. It is not so, however; the diction of prose and the diction of poetry are distinct."

²⁶ iudicium (according to Piderit Or.68) "bezieht sich auf die inventio, dann folgt die electio verborum inventorum."

restrictions of verse, the excellent style of a true orator. "Etsi est eo laudabilior quod virtutes oratoris persequitur, cum versu sit astrictior." (Or.67). If the orator does not follow the style of the historian, philosopher, Sophist or poet, the question at hand is: What is the style of the orator?

Oratory is subdivided into three styles of speaking.²⁷ These three styles had been used by orators before Cicero's time²⁸ and were still in use in his day.²⁹ Cicero firmly believed that the ideal orator must master all three styles,³⁰

²⁷ Or. 20. Cf. de Or. III 177; Quint. XII c.1 0-58.

²⁸ "It was in the latter part of the 4th century B.C. that Greek critics began regularly to distinguish three styles of ^{theoretical} composition, the grand, the plain, and the middle."

Jebb, Attic Orators, I p.160.

²⁹ On the whole the tripartite division kept its ground down to Roman times. It was adopted with variations of detail, by Cicero (Or.20), Dionysius (Note 5), and Quintilian (Note 6). Jebb, Attic Orators, I p.161.

³⁰ Or. 99. Cicero himself stands out as an example of Rhodian eclecticism. Jebb, Att. Or., II p.448. "The Rhodians borrowed from the epigrammatic Asianism, but, on the whole, inclined to Atticism of the type represented by Hyperides. Cicero is no impartial panegyrist of the school to which he probably owed many faults; and, in the judgment of Dionysius, the Atticism of the Rhodians was perverse. Yet, in its degree, it must have done good service at a time

taking the best from each one and thus form a combination style. So he first gives a brief summary of the three prevalent styles in a general way, then presents each style in a more detailed manner before discussing that of the ideal orator. These three styles are classed as the grand, the plain, and the medium. First there is the grand³¹ style with its seriousness of thought and majesty of words; the plain style, subtle, compressed, and polished; the medium style which is neither so lofty as the former nor so plain as the latter. "Tria sunt omnino genera dicendi, quibus in singulis quidam floruerunt, peraeque autem, id quod volumus, perpauci in omnibus. Nam et grandiloqui, ut ita dicam, fuerunt cum ampla et sententiarum gravitate et maiestate verborum, vehementes varii, copiosi graves, ad permovendos et convertendos animos instructi et parati--quod ipsum alii aspera tristi horrida oratione neque perfecta atque conclusa consequabantur, alii levi et structa et terminata--, et contra tenues acuti, omnia docentes et dilucidiora, non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati; in eodemque genere alii callidi, sed impoliti et consulto rudium similes et imperitorum, alii in eadem ieiunitate concinniores, id est faceti, florentes etiam et leviter ornati. Est autem quidam interiectus inter hos medius et quasi temperatus nec acumine posteriorum nec fulmine utens superiorum, vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens, utriusque particeps vel utriusque, si verum quaerimus,

--

when florid declamation was almost universally popular; and

potius expers; isque uno tenore, ut aiunt, in dicendo fluit nihil adferens praeter facilitatem et aequabilitatem aut addit aliquos ut in corona toros omnemque orationem ornamentis modicis verborum sententiarumque distinguit. Horum singulorum generum quicumque vim in singulis consecuti sunt, magnum in oratoribus nomen habuerunt. Sed quaerendum est satisne id quod volumus effecerint." (Or.20, 21, 22)³²

Now, it is evident that the style which suits one audience might not be pleasing to another; so the orator adjusts his style to his listeners, and they become the determining or governing power. "Semper oratorum eloquentiae moderatrix fuit auditorum prudentia. Omnes enim qui probari volunt voluntatem eorum qui audiunt intuentur ad eamque et ad eorum arbitrium et nutum totos se fingunt et accommodant." (Or.24), Hence the one who pleased the people of Phrygia

through Cicero, it brought the better of two rival influences into the mighty stream ^{of} Roman life." Jebb. Att.

Or. II p.446.

³¹ Grandiloqui, "eigentlich ein altpoetisches Wort, dessen Gebrauch daher Cic. mit der üblichen Formel entschuldigt" (ut ita dicam) *Piderit, Or. 20.*

³² The first is represented by Thucydides, the second by Lysias, and the third by Thrasy Machus and ^CIsocrates. Jebb, Att. Or., II 397.

or Caria would not be acceptable to Rhodians, much less to Athenians, if he used the same style of address in each case. "Caria et Phrygia et Mysia, quod minime politae minimeque elegantes sunt, asciverant aptum suis auribus opimum quoddam et tamquam adipatae dictionis genus, quod eorum vicini non ita lato interiecto mari Rhodii nunquam probaverunt (Graecia autem multo minus), Athenienses vero funditus repudiaverunt." (Or.25).³³

The plain style.³⁴ Those who adapted themselves to the tastes of the Athenians were said to use the plain or Attic style.³⁵ The Athenians praised a pure yet elegant style and could endure nothing that was in bad taste. "quorum semper fuit prudens sincerumque iudicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum audire et elegans. Eorum religioni cum serviret orator, nullum verbum insolens, nullum odiosum ponere audebat." (Or.25). If an orator wishes to be classed

³³ Phrygia and Caria represent ^{the} Asiatic school; Athens, the Attic. "The Asiatic style was affected by the rhetoricians of Asia Minor." Cruttwell, Rom.Lit. p.127.

³⁴ Cicero classifies the three kinds of speaking in this order--grand, plain, and medium and then in the special discussion he takes them up in this order,--plain, medium, and grand. This is not strictly logical, although the reason for putting the medium style second is clear enough.

³⁵ See Or. 26, 27, 29. Here Cicero pauses long enough to pay a tribute to Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Lysias, as Atticists.

as a true Atticist he must adopt the following characteristics of style. First of all this plain style appears to run so smoothly, with such simplicity and ease, that the unskilled think it can be imitated with ease. It is this very point that makes it more eloquent than they are wont to realize at first. It appears simple because the orator with his training carefully conceals all the effects of art. It is not "full-blooded" and yet it must have some of the "sap of life."³⁷ The style is free, unfettered by rhythm, but not so free that it seems to wander at will. (2) Piatus is permissible for it indicates a pleasing negligence of style which adds to the effect of ease and gives a softening touch.³⁸ (3) The diction is pure, clear, and becoming. (4) In this simple style the orator makes a judicious use of certain ornaments, such as, single words, words in combination, new words, old fashioned words, and metaphors.³⁹ But much depends upon the proper arrangement of words employed to bring about conciinnitas, a neatness or skilful joining. Cicero does not mean to imply that the simple style is characterized by the use of ornament, but only that a moderate use is appropriate and delightful.

³⁷ Sandys' word Or. 76. Cf. Brutus, 68; ib., 36; ib., 283.

³⁸ Cf. Quint. IX c.4 33-38.

³⁹ Cicero devotes some time to the discussion of metaphors in de Or. 148-167.

The orator who follows this style must not use figures of speech that are too brilliant, but rather those which are more subdued. It is not his mission to make the republic speak nor to call the dead from their shadowy world, hence loudness of voice and movements of the stage are not becoming. The gestures must be in keeping with the style and the countenance expressive. Let wit be employed in moderation provided it works in naturally: "Summissus est et humilis, consuetudinem imitans, ab indisertis re plus quam opinione differens. Ita-que eum qui audiunt, quamvis ipsi infantes sint, tamen illo modo confidunt se posse dicere. Nam orationis subtilitas imitabilis illa quidem videtur esse existimanti, sed nihil est experiēti minus. Etsi enim non plurimi sanguinis est, habeat tamen sucum aliquem oportet, ut, etiam si illis maximis viribus careat, sit, ut ita dicam, integra valetudine. Primum igitur cum tamquam e vinculis numerorum eximamus. Sunt enim quidam, ut scis, oratorii numeri, de quibus mox agemus, observandi ratione quadam, sed alio in genere orationis, in hoc omnino relinquendi. Solatum quiddam sit nec vagum tamen, ut ingredi libere, non ut licenter videatur errare. Verba etiam verbis quasi coagmentare neglegat. Habet enim ille tamquam hiatus et concursus vocalium mōlle quiddam et quod indicet non ingratiā negligentiam de re hominis magis quam de verbis laborantis. Sed erit videndum de reliquis, cum hæc duo ei liberiora fuerint, circuitus conglutinatioque verborum. Illa, enim ipsa contracta et minuta non neglegenter tractanda

sunt, sed quaedam etiam negligentia est diligens." (Or.76-78). "Paria paribus relata et similiter conclusa eodemque pacto cadentia et immutatione litterae quas quaesitae venustates, ne elaborata concinnitas et quoddam aucupium delectationis manifesto deprehensum appareat; itemque si quae verborum iterationes contentionem aliquam et clamorem requirent, erunt ab hac summissione orationis alienae; ceteris promiscue poterit uti, continuationem verborum modo relaxet et dividat utaturque verbis quam usitatissimis, traslationibus quam mollissimis; etiam illa sententiarum lumina adsumet, quae non erunt vehementer industria. Non faciet rem publicam loquentem nec ab inferis mortuos excitabit nec acervatim multa frequentans una complexione devinciēt." (Or.84, 85). "Sermo purus erit et Latinus, dilucide planeque dicetur, quid deceat circumspicietur; unum aberit, quod quartum numerat. Theophrastus in orationis laudibus: ornatum illud, suave et adfluens. acutae crebraeque sententiae ponentur et nescio unde ex abdito eratae; ac--quod in hoc oratore dominabitur--verecundus erit usus oratoriae quasi supellectilis. Supellex est enim quodam modo nostra, quae est in ornamentis, alia rerum alia verborum. Ornatus autem verborum duplex: unus simplicium alter conlocatorum. Simplex probatur in propriis usitatisque verbis, quod aut optime sonat aut rem maxime explanat; in alienis aut translatum et factum aliunde ut mutuo, aut factum ab ipso ac novum aut priscum et inusitatum; sed etiam

inuitata ac prisca ſunt in propriis, niſi quod raro utimur. Conlocata autem verba habent ornatum, ſi aliquid concinnitatis efficiunt, quod verbis mutatis non maneat manente ſententia; nam ſententiarum ornamenta quae permanent, etiam ſi verba mutaveris, ſunt illa quidem permulta, ſed quae emineant pauciora.

"Ergo ille tenuis orator, modo ſit elegans, nec in faciendis verbis erit audax et in transferendis verecundus et parcuſ et in priſcis in reliquiſque ornamentis' et verborum et ſententiarum demiffior; ea translatione fortasſe crebrior, qua frequentiffime ſermo omnis utitur non modo urbanorum, ſed etiam ruſticorum; ſi quidem eſt eorum gemmare vitis, ſitire agros, laetas eſſe ſegetes, luxurioſa frumenta. Nihil horum parum audacter, ſed aut ſimile eſt illi unde transferas, aut ſi res ſuam nullum habet nomen, docendi cauſa ſumptum, non ludendi videtur. Hoc ornamento liberius paulo quam ceteris utetur hic ſummiſſus, nec tam licenter tamen quam ſi genere dicendi uteretur ampliffimo; itaque illud indecorum, quod quale ſit ex decore debet intellegi, hic quoque apparet, cum verbum aliquod altius transfertur idque in oratione humili ponitur quod idem in alia deceret." (Or. 79-83). "Accedet actio non tragica nec ſcaenae, ſed modica iactatione corporis, vultu tamen multa conficiens; non hoc quo dicuntur os ducere, ſed illo quo ſignificant ingenuae quo ſenſu Quidque pronuntient.

"Huic generi orationis aſpergentur etiam ſales, qui in dicendo nimium quantum valent; quorum duo genera ſunt,

unum facetiarum, alterum dicacitatis, Vtetur utroque; sed altero in narrendo aliquid venuste, altero in iaciendo mittendoque ridiculo, cuius genera plura sunt; sed nunc aliud agimus. Illud admonemus tamen ridiculo sic usurum oratorem ut nec nimis frequenti ne scurrile sit, nec sub-obsceno ne mimicum, nec petulanti ne improbum, nec in calamitatem ne inhumanum, nec in facinus ne odii locum risus occupet, neque aut sua persona aut iudicium aut tempore alienum. Haec enim ad illud indecorum referantur. Vitabit etiam quaesita nec ex tempora ficta, sed domo adlata, quae plerumque sunt frigida. Parcet et amicitii et dignitatibus, vitabit insanabilis contumelias, tantum modo adversarios figet nec eos tamen semper nec omnis nec omni modo." (Or.86-89). This is the sketch of the orator who speaks in the plain or Attic style. Cicero had in mind a conception of Attic style in the highest stage of perfection. This is not the cut and dried style that men used and thought they were using the Attic.⁴⁰

Next comes the medium style, holding a position midway between the plain and grand styles. It has not a great

⁴⁰ This style, imitated by many, but marked in Lysias by an original excellence, made him for antiquity the representative of a class of orators. Jebb, Att. Or., p.160. But what was, in fact, common to him and them (other orators) was this only--the avoidance of decidedly poetical ornament and the employment of sober prose. This is all that plain

amount of energy (more, however, than the plain), but it boasts of an abundance of sweetness and every sort of ornament. It makes use of metaphor,⁴¹ metonymy,⁴² and catachresis,⁴³ in fact nearly all the figures of words and of sense. Arguments are explained in a broad way with a straining after details. The middle style is distinguished for its sweetness brought about by a combined charm of words and ideas and the difference between it and the two other styles seems to be one of degree only. "Vberius est aliud aliquantoque robustius quam hoc humile de quo dictum est, summissius autem quam illud de quo iam dicetur amplissimum. Hoc in genere nervorum vel minimum, suavitatis autem est vel plurimum. Est enim plenius quam hoc enucleatum, quam autem illud ornatum copiosumque summissius. Huic omnia dicendi ornamenta conveniunt plurimumque est in hac orationis forma suavitatis." (Or91-92) "Translata verba atque immutata. Translata dico, ut saepe iam, quae per similitudinem ab alia re aut suavitatis aut inopiae causa transferuntur; immutata, in quibus pro verbo proprio subicitur aliud quod idem significet sumptum ex re aliqua consequenti. Quod quamquam transferendo fit, tamen alio modo transtulit cum dixit Ennius arce et urbe orba sum, alio modo, si pro patria arcem dixisset; et horridam Africam terribili tremere tumultu cum dicit pro Afris immutate Africam: hanc ὑπαλλαγήν rhetores, quia quasi summutantur verba pro verbis μετωνυμίων

style as opposed to the elaborate necessarily means. Their style was monotonously plain; his was plain too, but it was more, it was variously natural. ib., pl65.

grammatici vocant, quod nomina transferanter; Aristoteles autem translationi et haec ipsa subiungit et abusionem, quam *κατάχρησις* vocat, ut cum minutum dicimus animum pro parvo; et abutimur verbis propinquis, si opus est vel quod delectat vel quod decet." (Or.92-94). "In idem genus orationis--loquor enim de illa modica ac temperata--verborum cadunt lumina omnia, multa etiam sententiarum; latae eruditaeque disputationes ab eodem explicabuntur et loci communes sine contentione dicentur." (Or.95). "Est enim quoddam etiam insigne et florens orationis pictum et expolitum genus, in quo omnes verborum, omnes sententiarum inligantur lepores. Hoc totum e sophistarum fontibus defluxit in forum, sed spreum a subtilibus, repulsum a gravibus in ea de qua loquor mediocritate consedit." (Or.96). The orator who uses this style satisfies the audience and gives a very pleasing effect provided the orator using the grand style is not present to be compared with him.⁴⁴

The third or grand style is rich, eloquent, energetic and highly ornate in a dignified manner. It rushes along with a great sound, forces itself into men's minds, leaves new ideas there and uproots the old. "Tertius est ille

⁴¹ Cf. Arist. Rhet. III II 8-15.

⁴² Cf. Quint. VIII c.6, 23; de Or. III c.42.

⁴³ Cf. de Or. III 169-170.

⁴⁴ Or. 96.

amplus copiosus, gravis ornatus, in quo profecto vis maxima est. Hic est enim, cuius ornatum dicendi et copiam admiratae gentes eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passae sunt, sed hanc eloquentiam, quae cursu magno sonituque ferretur, quam suspicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam se adsequi posse diffiderent. Huius eloquentiae est tractare animos, huius omni modo permovere. Haec modo perfringit, modo inrepat in sensus; inserit novas opiniones, evellit insitas. Sed multum interest inter hoc dicendi genus et superiora." (Or.97-98). Thus by his force, ornaments, and fulness of speech, the orator of the grand style wins praise and admiration and does his share in influencing nations. Cicero lays great emphasis upon the fact that the ideal orator must never confine himself to one style but must be master of all three.⁴⁵ "At vero hic noster, quem principem

⁴⁵ The grand style that Cicero says is not to be used without the other two is the one he was accused of using. Cf. Quint. (XII c.10 12-14) who defends him. "To severe and rigid imitators of Lysias, the fulness and richness of Cicero necessarily appeared turgid and bombastic; and although he was himself, in theory, a devoted admirer of the Attic orators and of Demosthenes in particular, in practice he departed sufficiently far from that standard to give some color to the imputation that he was an Asiatic orator in disguise." Sandys, Or., Intro., p.LX. Aulus Gellius mentions two writers who found fault with Cicero, Gallus

ponimus, gravis acer ardens, si ad hoc unum est natus aut in hoc solo se exercuit aut huic generi studuit uni nec suam copiam cum illis duobus generibus temperavit, maxime est contemnendus." (Or.99). The mood of the orator, the nature of the speech, and the character of the audience are without doubt determining factors when it comes to a question of style. It is entirely becoming, indeed often necessary for an orator to begin in the plain style, work into the medium, and bring the oration to a close in the ornate style.⁴⁶

The style of the perfect orator falls into three divisions for discussion:--(1) arrangement of words, (2) a study of sentences, and (3) employment of oratorical rhythm.

(1) Arrangement of words: Words form the basis of all speech; so the first step to be considered in the style of a speaker is the arrangement of words. "Sed haec nisi conlocata et quasi structa et nexa verbis ad eam laudem

Asinius and Largius Licinus, whose book was called Ciceromatrix (XVII I); but A.Gellius says, "quin M. Tullius omnium sit eloquentissimus XVII XIII 2.

⁴⁶ For Cicero's praise of Demosthenes as the orator who used all three styles, see Or. 111-112. In regard to Cicero's own use of all three, it seems that he attempted to live up to this standard which he set for an ideal orator. If at times he seems to depart from this ideal, he was only human, striving to reach, but falling short of the ideal he kept before him.

quam volumus aspirare non possunt." (Or.140) The words must be so arranged that no clash occurs between the last syllable of one word ^{and the first syllable of the following word.} ⁴⁷ "Collocabuntur igitur verba, ut aut inter

se quam aptissime cohaereant extrema cum primis." (Or.149) Such an arrangement must come about naturally and not seem to be the result of studied effect. "Atque illud primum videamus quale sit, quod vel maxime desiderat diligentiam, ut fiat quasi structura quaedam nec tamen fiat operose; nam esset cum infinitus tum puerilis labor; quod apud Lucilium scite exagitat in Albucio Scaevola:

quam lepidè lexis compostae ut tesserulae omnes

arte pavimento atque emblemate vermiculato!

Nolo haec tam minuta constructio appareat; sed tamen stilus exercitatus efficiet facile formulam componendi. Nam ut in legendo oculus sic animus in dicendo prospiciet quid sequatur, ne extremorum verborum cum insequentibus primis concursus aut hialcas voces efficiat aut asperas. Quamvis enim suaves gravesque sententiae tamen, si incondite positae verbis efferantur, offendunt auris, quarum est iudicium superbissimum. Quod quidem Latina lingua sic observat, nemo ut tam rusticus sit qui vocalis nolit coniungere." (Or.149-150)

⁴⁸ Immediately following this Cicero takes up a detailed

⁴⁷ Cf. Quint. IX c.4, 33; de Or. III 171; Piderit Or. 149

"Der Auslaut mit dem Anlaut so dass weder ein Hiatus, noch ein allzuharter Zusammenstoss der consonanten erfolge."

⁴⁸ On the general subject of hiatus Sandys says (Or.150).

discussion (Or.151 to 159) of the omission of a final consonant as, *palmi'erinibus* and a synizesis of words as, sis for si vis. All his illustrations are taken from poetry and seem to belong more strictly to that subject. The only justification for introducing them at this point seems to be, that in oratory use can be made of such poetical devices providing they are colloquial and the sound is pleasing.

"Impetratum est a consuetudine ut peccare suavitatis causa liceret." (Or.157).⁴⁹ In the matter of compound words, usage is determined by the amount of pleasure such words give to the ear and by the sanction of custom. "Quid in verbis iunctis?...Consule veritatem: reprehendet; refer ad aures: probabunt. Quaere cur ita sit: dicent iuvare. Voluptati

"This passage with its subsequent context is (with the exception of *Lucilius*) the earliest evidence now extant on the subject of Latin pronunciation. It leads us to infer that the Latin language, in its pure and unadulterated form, could not endure a hiatus; that even rude and illiterate peasants avoided it by blending together the consecutive vowels instead of sounding them separately."

Cf. Quint. IX c.4 35-36 on the use of hiatus by Isocrates, Theopompus, Demosthenes, and Cicero.

⁴⁹ Cicero excuses himself for using such forms by saying (Or.156): "Quid verum sit intelligo; sed alias ita loquor, ut concessum est."

autem aurium morigerari debet oratio.....aliquando, idque sero, convicio aurium cum extorta mihi veritas esset, usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi reservari." (Or.159-160).

Having discussed these points in which the orator is bound more or less to follow certain rules, even if they are to some extent rules made by custom, the next step takes up the study of words from a more interesting viewpoint wherein the orator shows more plainly his individuality and good taste. (1) Words must be chosen for their harmonious sounds, not to the detriment of the sense, however, and arranged in accordance with the laws of euphony. A succession of harmonious sounds delights and soothes an audience.

"Duae sunt igitur res quae permulceant auris, sonus et numerus.....Verba, ut supra diximus, legenda sunt potissimum bene sonantia, sed ea non ut poetae exquisita ad sonum, sed sumpta de medio."⁵⁰ (Or.160). The orator is concerned not only with the harmonious sounds which arise from a clever combination of form, but he is desirous that these words be so closely fitted into each other that "concinntas" or neatness is effected and that they all work together to make a perfectly rounded period.⁵¹ ~~This seems to be what Cicero~~

⁵⁰ Cf. de Or. 177.

⁵¹ Cf. Causeret, p.26. "L'arrangement ingénieux et symétrique des mots et des membres de phrase, d'où résulte naturellement une certaine harmonie, analogue à celle que produit le nombre oratoire."

"Nec solum componentur verba ratione, sed etiam finientur, quoniam id iudicium esse alterum aurium diximus. Et finiuntur aut ipsa compositione et quasi sua sponte, aut quodam genere verborum, in quibus ipsis concinnitas inest." (Or. 164). This seems to be what Cicero means by the "forma ipsa concinnitasque verborum conficiat orbem suum" (mentioned in Or.149).⁵² Let the orator also have regard for sound terminations. It makes no difference whether words have similar or contrary terminations. "Quae sive casus habent in exitu similis sive paribus paria redduntur sive opponuntur contraria, suapta natura numerosa sunt, etiam si nihil est factum de industria."⁵³ (Or.164). The opposing of contraries to contraries the Greeks call ἀντίθετα, and of necessity it produces a harmonious sound.⁵⁴ "Versum efficit ipsa relatio contrariorum. Idem esset in oratione numerosum: Quod scis nihil prodest; quod nescis multum obest. Semper

⁵² Cf. Piderit (Or.149) forma ipsa, "so dass die oratorische Beschaffenheit der Wörter an sich als natürliche Antithesen und die durch diesen Parallelismus bewirkte Symmetrie ihren abgerundeten Satz bilden"; orbem "der abgerundete Satz, die oratorische Periode."

⁵³ Gorgias was a leader in this method and Cicero's Pro Milone furnishes a good example (Or.165).

⁵⁴ Or.166, 167; cf. de Or. II 263; Cicero himself makes use of antithesis; see Or.167.

haec, quae Graeci ἀντιθέται nominant, cum contrariis opponuntur contraria, numerum oratorium necessitate ipsa efficiunt etiam sine industria." (Or.166). It is only necessary to change a speech that has been cleverly put together to see the importance of a harmonious arrangement of words, or, on the other hand, rearrange words that have not been skillfully put together and note the changed effect.⁵⁵

The last point to be considered under word arrangement is figures of speech or lumina verborum. Among all the figures, the metaphor⁵⁶ probably stands out most prominently. It gives pleasure to the audience, affords a novelty, and makes the speaker's point more clear; it shows originality and a freshness and vigor of expression on the part of the speaker.⁵⁷ "Frequentissimae translationes erunt, quod eae propter similitudinem transferunt animos et referunt ac movent huc et illuc qui motus cogitationis celeriter agitatus per se ipse delectat." (Or.134) Next follows the figure of repetition which Cicero subdivides into four

⁵⁵ Or. 232-233.

⁵⁶ Jones, The Art of the Orator, p.164, says that every object of the orator is served by apt and effective similes and metaphors.

⁵⁷ Cicero's detailed discussion of the metaphor has already been cited.

parts but English does not make such fine points of distinction as the Latin. There is (1) geminatio, a reduplication of a word; (2) repetitio, repetition in a slightly changed manner; (3) conversio, sentences beginning or ending with the same word; (4) complexio, a combination of repetitio and conversio. "Eadem ratio est horum quae sunt orationis lumina et quodam modo insignia: cum aut duplicantur iteranturque verba aut leviter 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 in eadem sententia ponitur;" (Or.135).⁵⁸ Sometimes words at the ends of sentences have the same sound; contraries are related to contraries; climax,⁵⁹ which plays a wonderful part in working upon the feelings of the people, is used; a series of words is given,

⁵⁸ Cf. de Or. III 206; Volk. Rhet., p.663 ff. on Tropen und Figuren; ad Her. IV 19-20.

⁵⁹ Jones, The Art of the Orator, p.164, quotes Bain as saying that the common example of this figure is from the oration of Cicero against Verres: "The orator wishing to raise the indignation of the audience to the highest pitch refrained from specifying the crime of the accused at once. 'It is an outrage to bind a Roman citizen; to scourge him is an atrocious crime; to put him to death is almost a parricide; but to crucify him--what shall I call it?'"

the connectives being omitted to add force; the orator passes over something with an explanation for doing so;⁶⁰ he corrects himself;⁶¹ utters exclamations,⁶² and repeats the same noun in different cases.⁶³ "Aut cum similiter vel cadunt verba vel desinunt aut cum sunt contrariis relata contraria; aut cum gradatim sursum versus reditur; aut cum demptis coniunctionibus dissolute plura dicuntur; aut cum aliquid praetercuntur 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." (Or.135). At first glance it may seem that some of these figures ought to be classified as Sinnfiguren, but the same thing ought to hold true for all of them that Quintilian says of metaphor and irony,

⁶⁰ Cf. Cat. I 14 - "Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum" etc. This figure is called occultatio in ad. Her. IV 37.

⁶¹ Cf. ad Her. IV 36.

⁶² Cf. ad Her. IV 22; Quint. objects to this being classed among lumen verborum. IX 3 97 "Sola est in eo libro posita pariter inter figuras verborum exclamatio, quam sententiae potius puto."

⁶³ Cf. Pro Quintio 94 - Cicero uses Naevius in three different cases in one paragraph. Cf. also Quint. IX 3-36.

i.e., a continued metaphor forms an allegory and continuation of ironical tropes, the figure of irony.⁶⁴ However, these are the *lumina verborum* that the ideal orator must use, according to Cicero. By the use of them he delights his audience, plays upon its feelings and thereby shows his understanding of human nature.

II. Cicero had in mind a great many devices for the ideal orator to use in connection with his sentences. It seems, after all, that the most of them are what might be called human devices. The ordinary man, who knows nothing of rhetorical principles, unconsciously makes use of them in conversation, but not, of course, with such fineness. The ideal orator repeats the same idea in different sentences; extenuates a point;⁶⁵ summarizes briefly at the close of an argument or narrative;⁶⁷ recalls himself; completes the proof correctly, and logically, in other words, uses a syllogism;⁶⁸ makes effective the rhetorical question;⁶⁹ answers the questions raised;⁷⁰ indulges in

⁶⁴ Quint. IX 2-46

⁶⁵ Cf. Quint. IX c.2-3; Part.Orat. 22; ad Her. IV 50.

⁶⁶ According to Cicero ad Her. IV 36, this is called *transitio*.

⁶⁷ According to Sandys, Or. 137, who interprets definiat in this manner. He bases his idea upon de Or. III 203, not upon ad Her. IV 35.

⁶⁸ According to Sandys, Or. 137. He bases his interpretation upon comparative passages, de Or. III 203; de Din. II 25; de Fin. III 27; ad Her. IV 41.

irony;⁷¹ expresses doubt in regard to the proper thing to say;⁷² divides the argument into parts or heads; leaves out something;⁷³ fortifies himself beforehand;⁷⁴ lays the blame upon his adversary;⁷⁵ appears to take counsel with the audience and his opponent;⁷⁶ describes the manners and customs of men;⁷⁷ introduces dumb things as speaking;⁷⁸ draws

⁶⁹ See Volk.Rhet., p.668; Quint. IX c.2 7-8 "Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? et, Patere tua consilia non sentis? Quanto enim magis ardet, quam si digeretur,--Diu abuteris patientia nostra, et Patient tua consilia.

⁷⁰ Cicero calls this figure subiectio in ad Her. IV 33.

⁷¹ Cf. Quint. IV c.2 45-51.

⁷² Cf. Quint. IX c.2-11. Called by Cicero dubitatio ad Her. IV 40; Cf. also Volk. Rhet., p.668.

⁷³ There is doubt expressed as to meaning of this phrase. Is this occultatio of ad Her. IV 37, παράλειψις of Volkmann, p.669 or merely an omission of one division of the argument?

⁷⁴ For different aspects of praemunitio see Quint. IX c.2, 17-19 and de Or. III 204.

⁷⁵ This must correspond with what Quint. calls μετάρτασις. See Quint. VII c.4, 13-15.

⁷⁶ See Quint. IX c.2-20; Volk. Rhet., p.668,--Figure called communicatio--one turns to hearers and allows them a part in the discussion. Cf. also de Or. III 204.

attention from the subject;⁷⁹ turns the subject into mirth; anticipates what is to be said;⁸⁰ makes comparisons; uses examples;⁸¹ mentions a point under the pretense of passing it by;⁸² makes use of boldness;⁸³ he grows angry, deprecates; supplicates and amends; puts himself on friendly terms with the audience⁸⁴ and speaks briefly⁸⁵ if the subject demands it. "Sic igitur dicet ille, quem expetimus, ut

⁷⁷ Cf. de Or. III 204. Here the idea of imitation is given-- "Morum ac vitae imitatio vel in personis vel sine illis, magnum quoddam ornamentum orationis et aptum ad animos conciliandos vel maxime, saepe autem etiam ad commovendos." Figure called notatio in ad Her. IV 63.

⁷⁸ Cf. Quint. IX c.2, 30-33; de Or. III 205; ad Her. IV 66 calls this figure conformatio; Topica 45; Part. Orat. 55.

⁷⁹ Quint. IX c.2, 38-39 calls this figure ἀπὸ τῆς ῥῆς.

⁸⁰ Quint. IV, 1-49 πρὸς ἑαυτὸν.

⁸¹ Cf. Arist. Rhet., I II 8 "Example is an induction." Kinds of ib. II XX.

⁸² Cf. Volk. Rhet., p.669. ⁸³ παρρησία or licentia; cf. also ad Her. IV 48; de Or. III 205.

⁸⁴ Cf. Quint. IX c.2-3.

⁸⁵ This gives support to those who claim that Cicero did not follow his own teachings, since Cicero rarely speaks briefly.

verset saepe multis modis eadem et una in re haereat in eademque commoretur sententia; saepe etiam ut extenuet aliquid, saepe ut inrideat; ut declinet a proposito deflectatque sententiam; ut proponat quid dicturus sit; ut, cum transegerit iam aliquid, definiat; ut se ipse revocet; ut quod dixit iteret; ut argumentum ratione concludat; ut interrogando urgeat; ut rursus quasi ad interrogata sibi ipse respondeat; ut contra ac dicat accipi et sentiri velit; ut addubitet ecquid potius aut quo modo dicat; ut dividat in partis; ut aliquid relinquat ac neglegat; ut ante praemuniat; ut in eo ipso in quo reprehendatur culpam in adversarium conferat; ut saepe cum eis qui audiunt, non numquam etiam cum adversario quasi deliberet; ut hominum sermones moresque describat; ut muta quaedam loquentia inducat; ut ab eo quod agitur avertat animos; ut saepe in hilaritatem risumve convertat; ut ante occupet quod videatur opponi; ut comparet similitudines; ut utatur exemplis; ut aliud alii tribuens dispertiat; ut interpellatorem coerceat; ut aliquid reticere se dicat; ut denuntiet quid caveant; ut liberius quid audeat; ut irascatur etiam, ut obiarget aliquando; ut deprecetur, ut supplicet, ut medetur; ut a proposito declinet aliquantum; ut optet, ut exsecretur; ut fiat eis apud quos dicet familiaris. Atque alias etiam dicendi quasi virtutes sequetur: brevitatem, se res petet;" (Or.137-¹³⁹). These ornaments of sentences or *lumina sententiae*, Cicero considers more important than *lumina verborum*. "Sed sententiarum ornamenta maiora sunt; quibus quia frequentissime Demosthenes utitur,

sunt qui putent idcirco eius eloquentiam maxime esse laudabilem. Et vero nullus fere ab eo locus sine quadam conformatione sententiae dicitur; nec quicquam est aliud dicere nisi omnis aut certe plerasque aliqua specie inluminare sententias." (Or.136).⁸⁶ Cicero does not intend such figures of sentences to stand forth so glaringly that they become offensive nor that they should be used so frequently that their usefulness is lost, but rather wherever the ideal orator chooses to make his oration more brilliant and effective he will use these flowers to the delight of the audience but not delight with satiety.⁸⁷

III. Cicero gives more attention to rhythm in the Orator than in any other of his rhetorical works. Oratorical rhythm is the musical quality which an oration contains. It is not metre, not to be confused with rhyme, and not to be attained by following exact rules. In these respects it differs from verse. "Nec vero is cursus est numerorum--orationis dico, nam est longe aliter in versibus---, nihil ut fiat extra modum; nam id quidem esset poema; sed omnis nec claudicans nec quasi fluctuans sed aequabiliter constanterque ingrediens numerosa habetur oratio. Atque id in dicendo numerosum putatur, non quod totum constat e numeris,

⁸⁶ Cf. Brutus 140 for another tribute to Demosthenes.

Volk. Rhet., says that Demosthenes' use of Sinnfiguren is the peculiar characteristic of his eloquence. p.668.

⁸⁷ Cicero again discusses this subject in de Or. III XLV:

sed quod ad numeros proxime accedit; quo etiam difficilior est oratione uti quam versibus, quod in illis certa quaedam et definita lex est, quam sequi sit necesse; in dicendo autem nihil est propositum, nisi ut ne immoderata aut angusta aut dissoluta aut fluens sit oratio. Itaque non sunt in ea tamquam tibicini percussionum modi, sed universa comprehensio et species orationis clausa et terminata est, quod voluptate aurium indicatur." (Or.198),⁸⁸ It is because rules for oratorical rhythm are not so positive as those for verse that some have said oratorical rhythm does not exist,⁸⁹ because it is not governed by exact rules and because those who maintain that there is rhythm cannot give any reason for its existence. Cicero answers the first objection by giving a long discussion of rhythm, and the second by saying that it is not difficult to know that rhythm exists, for the senses decide that, and that it is very foolish not to admit a fact simply because we do not know why it happens.⁹⁰

I have purposely omitted a discussion of ambitus, incisa, and membra, believing that they will fit in better under the head of rhythm.

⁸⁸ Cf. Arist. Rhet., III VIII 1-3.

⁸⁹ Or. 180.

⁹⁰ Or. 183.

I shall pass over Cicero's treatment of the justification of oratorical rhythm⁹¹, its cause, origin, foundation,⁹² and historical development,⁹³ because they do not bear directly upon my subject. Cicero found it pleasant to enter thoroughly into the subject and did not seem to feel that such discussion was a digression. As far as the practical teachings are concerned, it seems necessary to discuss only this main point, right employment of rhythm, which includes these subdivisions:--(1) what rhythm occurs most naturally; (2) where should rhythm be used; (3) for how long a time; (4) how vary it.

(1) No exact lines can be drawn in regard to what rhythm is most natural. Cicero agrees with Aristotle that the pæon is the best foot to use but thinks that other feet, which Aristotle discards, should be intermingled. "Sit igitur, ut supra dixi, permixta et temperata numeris nec dissoluta nec tota numerosa, pæane maxime, quoniam optimus auctor"⁹⁴ ita censet, sed reliquis etiam numeris, quos ille praeterit, temperata." (Or.196). To those who

⁹¹ Or. 168-173.

⁹² Or. 177-178.

⁹³ Or. 174-176.

⁹⁴ Cf. Arist. Rhet., III VIII 4-6.

favor iambic rhythm because it is most like the speech of ordinary life, Cicero responds that it is used in verse and verse effects are to be avoided in oratory. He also discards the continued use of the dactyl for the same reason.

"Iambus enim dactylus in versum cadunt maxime; itaque ut versum fugimus in oratione, sic hi sunt evitandi continuati pedes; aliud enim quiddam est oratio nec quicquam inimicius quam illa versibus; paean autem minime est aptus (Or.194). ad versum, quo libentius eum recepit oratio." In accepting Aristotle's views concerning the paean, Cicero sums up his own points in this way: "Ego autem sentio omnis in oratione esse quasi permixtos et confusos pedes, nec enim effugere possemus animadversionem, si semper isdem uteremur, quia nec numerosa esse, ut poema, neque extra numerum, ut sermo vulgi, esse debet oratio--alterum nimis est vincitum, ut de industria factum appareat, alterum nimis dissolutum, ut pervagatum ac vulgare videatur; ut ab altero non delectere, alterum oderis" (Or.195). It has been stated above that the man who becomes master of the art of speaking, makes use of three different styles of speaking; so it is in respect to rhythm. No orator uses one kind of foot to the exclusion of another, but he studies his subject and chooses the rhythm in keeping with it. The iambic is suited to a lowly style, the paean to the lofty, and the dactyl to both; so, in the course of a long speech, all three might be combined. "Quos autem numeros cum quibus tamquam purpuram

misceri oporteat nunc dicendum est atque etiam quibus orationis generibus sint quique accommodatissimi. Iambus enim frequentissimus est in eis quae demisso atque humili sermone dicuntur; paeon autem in amplioribus, in utroque dactylus. Itaque in varia et perpetua oratione hi sunt inter se miscendi et temperandi. Sic minime animadvertetur delectationis aucupium et quadrandae orationis industria; quae latebit eo magis, si et verborum et sententiarum ponderibus utemur. Nam qui audiunt haec duo animadvertunt et iucunda sibi censent, verba dico et sententias, eaque dum animis attentis admirantes excipiant, fugit eos et praetervolat numerus." (Or.196-197).

(2) Rhythm should pervade the whole sentence, but the beginning and end of the sentence deserve especial attention since the audience watches particularly the end of a sentence.⁹⁵ "Solet autem quaeri totone in ambitu verborum numeri tenendi sint an in primis partibus atque in extremis; plerique enim censent cadere tantum numerose oportere terminarique sententiam. Est autem, ut id maxime deceat, non ut solum; ponendus est enim ille ambitus, non abiciendus. Qua re cum aures extremum semper expectent in eoque acquiescant, id vacare numero non oportet, sed ad hunc exitum iam a principio ferri debet verborum illa comprehensio et tota a capite ita fluere, ut ad extremum veniens ipsa consistat." (Or.199). The orator keeps such precepts in his

⁹⁵ Cf.Brut.34.

mind, but above all he is ruled by the fact that it is his duty to please the ears of those who listen. "Si unde ortus sit, ex aurium voluptate." (Or.203). Here again, the orator is held in check by what seems to be master of the situation, decorum. If constant use of rhythm is made throughout forensic speeches, the audience becomes weary and realizes that the flow of words does not come spontaneously but as a result of studied effect. "Genus autem hoc orationis neque totum adsumendum est ad causas forensis neque omnino repudiandum, si enim semper utare, cum satietatem adfert tum quale sit etiam ab imperitis agnoscitur; detrahit praeterea actionis dolorem, aufert humanum sensum auditoris, tollit funditus veritatem et fidem." (Or.209). Three very general rules are given for the appropriate use of rhythm in oratory: (1) in eulogy of the rather ornate style; (2) in narration that requires more dignity than pathos; (3) in amplification.⁹⁶ "Sed quoniam adhibenda non numquam est, primum videndum est quo loco, deinde quam diu retinenda sit, tum quot modis commutanda. Adhibenda est igitur numerosa oratio, si aut laudandum est aliquid ornatius, ut nos in accusationis secundo de Siciliae laude diximus, ut in senatu de consulatu meo, aut exponenda narratio, quae plus dignitatis desiderat quam doloris, ut in quarto accusationis de Hennensi Cerere, de Segestana Diana, de Syracusarum situ diximus. Saepe etiam in amplificanda re concessu omnium funditur numerose et volubiliter oratio. In nos fortasse

⁹⁶ Cf. ad Her. III 24 for meaning of amplificatio.

non perfecimus, conati quidem saepissime sumus;" (Or.209-210).⁹⁷

(3) Reason tells us that this rhythmical style cannot be kept up indefinitely. Let the orator therefore limit himself to the topics mentioned above and then give his attention to certain devices by which his sentences may be rhythmically pleasing and thus add variety.

(4) There are many ways in which the rhythm of an oration may be varied. First there is the use of the periodic sentence which seems to have a sort of rhythm and to delight an audience.⁹⁸ Such a sentence is complete and perfectly rounded because it runs on in a circumscribed fashion,⁹⁹ which means that it cannot run on for an indefinite time. The full meaning of the sentence is withheld until the conclusion of the sentence; hence it is a device which only a skilful speaker ought to attempt to use. If a perpetual use of perfectly rounded periods is a fault to be avoided, it remains to be seen how sentences can be broken up into phrases and clauses and still promote the scheme of rhythm. "Sed quoniam non modo non frequenter verum etiam raro in veris causis aut forensibus circumscripse numeroque dicendum

⁹⁷ Cicero calls attention to the fact that he has applied in practice his own teachings.

⁹⁸ Cicero calls this kind of sentence by several names--circumscriptio, continuatio, comprehensio, and ambitus.

(Or.204) Cf. Arist. Rhet. III IX 3-5.

⁹⁹ Or. 207-208.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Quint. IX 4, 128, 129.

est, sequi videtur, ut videamus quae sint illa quae supra dixi incisa, quae membra. Haec enim in veris causis maximam partem orationis obtinent." (Or.221). Cicero calls these parts of sentences incisa and membra or Κόμματα and Κῶλα.¹⁰¹ The length of these parts and their harmonious arrangement make the rhythmical effect. There are no particular rules governing length and arrangement. Cicero says, in a general way, that parts of sentences should not be so short that when the end is reached one is startled, nor so long that one is tired, but strike a happy medium. "Constat enim ille ambitus et plena comprehensio e quattuor fere partibus, quae membra dicimus, ut et auris impleat et neque brevior sit quam satis sit neque longior. Quamquam utrumque non numquam vel potius saepe accidit, ut aut citius insistendum sit aut longius procedendum, ne brevitatis defraudasse auris videatur neve longitudo obtudisse. Sed habeo mediocritatis rationem;" (Or.221) In regard to arrangement, a judicious combination is again the only rule. Cicero illustrates what he means by incisa with the following illustrations:--

"Domus tibi deerat? at habebas. Pecunia superabat? at egebas."¹⁰² The following quotation illustrates membra:--

"Incurristi amens in columnas, in alienos insanus insanisti"

¹⁰³

A sentence composed of longer parts may follow using

¹⁰¹ Or.211. Cf. Quintilian's distinction:--"Incisum erit sensus non expleto numero conclusus, plerisque pars membri. Membrum autem est sensus numeris conclusus sed a toto corpore abruptio et per se nihil efficiens." IX c.4 122-123.

the former kinds as a foundation. The regular rise and fall of members of a sentence produce a rhythmical effect and harmonious sound and from the point of view of assisting the argument are very valuable in proof and refutation.

"Incisim autem et membratim tractata oratio in veris|causis plurimum valet, maximeque eis locis, cum aut arguas aut refellas." (Or.225).¹⁰⁴ In addition this style of speaking, which marks two or three words with a decided emphasis and then occasionally inserts a rhythmical period, is forceful and lively. "Nec ullum genus est dicendi aut melius aut fortius quam binis aut ternis ferire verbis, non numquam singulis, paulo alias pluribus, inter quae variis clausulis interponit se raro numerosa comprehensio." (Or.226).¹⁰⁵

Another method of varying the rhythm in an oration is to avoid the constant use of the same foot.¹⁰⁶ Since there are many kinds of feet and various effects to be produced, there seems to be no reason why different kinds of feet may not be used. First there is the cretic, - ∪ -;

¹⁰² Also quoted by Quint. IX c.4 122. Quotations are taken from Cicero's speech in defense of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus (54 B.C.), *Ed. Mueller, II, p. 256.*

¹⁰³ Source same as above.

¹⁰⁴ Cicero says (Or.225) that he has made use of these in his second Cornelian speech.

¹⁰⁵ For a full discussion of clauses and short members, see Or. 221-227.

¹⁰⁶ This subject was discussed in a general way under the first division.

then the paeon which is composed of either — u u u or u u u —, equivalent in time to the cretic but containing one more syllable; the spondee, although at first sight it might be said to be too slow, serves to add dignity with its steady march and is particularly valuable in short clauses and periods. Cicero is speaking here of certain terminations of sentences, but his idea is not merely to consider the last foot but usually the last three feet of a sentence. Certain feet, i.e., iambic, u —, tribrach, u u u, or dactyl — u u, join to the last foot very fluently if the last foot happens to be a dactyl or a spondee. But these same three feet end a sentence very badly if one of them is placed at the end, unless a dactyl is used instead of a cretic.¹⁰⁷

"Sed sunt clausulae plures, quae numerose et incunde cadunt. Nam et creticus, qui est e longa et brevi et longa, et eius aequalis paeon, qui spatium par est, syllaba longior, quam commodissime putatur in solutam orationem inligari, cum sit duplex. Nam aut e longa est et tribus brevibus,

¹⁰⁷ "When Cicero states that u — and u u u make bad endings, he probably means to object to them when preceded by the three feet iambus, choreus and dactyl. Thus he disapproves of { u — | u — }, { u u u | u — }, and { — u u | u — }. But he tolerates u — | u —, u u u | — u — and — u u | — u —.

qui numerus in primo viget, iacet in extremo, aut e totidem brevibus et longa, in quem optime cadere censent veteres; ego non plane reicio, sed alios antepono. Ne spondeus quidem funditus est repudiandus, etsi, quod est e longis duabus, hebetior videtur et tardior; habet tamen stabilem quendam et non expertem dignitatis gradum, in incisionibus vero multo magis et in membris; paucitatem enim pedum gravitate sua et tarditate compensat. Sed hos cum in clausulis pedes nomino, non loquor de uno pede extremo: adiungo, quod minimum sit, proximum superiorem, saepe etiam tertium. Ne iambus quidem, qui est e brevi et longa, aut par choreo qui habet tris brevis trochaeus, sed spatium par, non syllabis, aut etiam dactylus, qui est e longa et duabus brevibus, si est proximus a postremo, parum volubiliter pervenit ad extremum, si est extremus choreus aut spondeus; nunquam enim interest uter sit eorum in pede extremo. Sed idem hi tres pedes male concludunt, si quis eorum in extremo locatus est, nisi cum pro cretico postremus est dactylus; nihil enim interest dactylus sit extremus an creticus, quia postrema syllaba brevis an longa sit ne in versu quidem refert. Qua re etiam paeana qui dixit aptiorem, in quo esset longa postrema, vidit parum, quoniam nihil ad rem est, postrema quam longa sit. Iam paeon, quod pluris habeat syllabas quam tris, numerus a quibusdam, non pes habetur." (Or.215-218). Cicero hardly means that the orator must stop to note the quantities of syllables used and weigh each word but that he tune his ears to appreciate rhythmical sounds for

speaking rhythmically was in use long before men made rules concerning feet.¹⁰⁸ Therefore such rules are to assist the orator, not to hinder him, and it is his pleasure to change them according to the music that is within himself. "Nec tamen haec ita sunt arta et astricta, ut ea, cum velimus, laxare nequeamus. Multum interest utrum numerosa sit, id est similis numerorum, an plane et numeris constet oratio; alterum si fit, intolerabile vitium est, alterum nisi fit, dissipata et inculta et fluens est oratio." (Or.220).

Cicero's ideal orator knows the value of rhythm and employs it seeing in it one of the greatest assets of a brilliant oration. "Nihil enim est aliud, brute, quod quidem tu minime omnium ignoras, pulchre et oratorie dicere nisi optimis sententiis verbisque lectissimis dicere. Et nec sententia ulla est quae fructum oratori ferat, nisi apte exposita atque absolute, nec verborum lumen apparet nisi diligenter conlocatorum, et horum utrumque numerus illustrat; numerus autem--saepe enim hoc testandum est--non modo non poetice vinctus verum etiam fugiens illum eique omnium dissimillimus; non quin idem sint numeri non modo oratorum et poetarum verum omnino loquentium, denique etiam sonantium omnium quae metiri auribus possumus, sed ordo pedum

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Quint. IX 4-115. These passages have given rise to a great deal of discussion particularly in regard as to whether a dactyl should precede a spondee. Shipley Class. Phil. Vol. 6, p.410, points out that there seems to be a disagreement with Quint. (IX 4 102) who says that the dactyl should

facit, ut id quod pronuntiatur aut orationis aut poematis simile videatur. Fanc igitur, sive compositionem sive perfectionem sive numerum vocari placet, adhibere necesse est, si ornatu velis dicere, non solum, et quod ait Aristoteles et Theophrastus, ne infinite feratur ut flumen oratio, quae non aut spiritu pronuntiantis aut interductu librari, sed numero coacta debet insistere, verum etiam quod multo maiorem habent apta vim quam soluta." (Or.227-228),

Conclusion -- Part II

Cicero has sketched the portrait of an eloquent orator, a master in the art of speaking, and in this sketch the practical principles he is to follow are very evident. It is no wonder that Cicero said this orator had probably never existed.¹

Such an orator's field of learning is broad, his knowledge of

not precede the spondee and yet Quintilian's use 1.9 percent and Cicero's use .6 per cent. Shipley comes to the conclusion (p.417) that "there is no real discrepancy between the two statements since prevailing types in prose ^{such as} composuisses and non videatur, were not regarded as types of the heroic clausula, on account of the accent upon the first short syllable of the dactyl; and, in the rare cases where the heroic clausula is used in prose, the rhythm is usually broken by a caesural pause after the first short of the dactyl or by a diaeresis pause after the second short syllable, whereas the heroic clausula has in verse one such pause."

¹ Or. 7.

rhetorical devices unlimited and his psychology of human nature profound. "Eloquens vero, qui non approbationes solam sed admirationes, clamores, plausus, si liceat, movere debet, omnibus oportet ita rebus excellat, ut ei tarpe sit quicquam aut expectari aut audiri libentius." (Or.236).

The Following Practical Teachings
of Cicero Have Been Noted

I. A fund of universal knowledge forms a necessary part of the orator's equipment. This includes a study of :--

- a. Philosophy (Or. 14, 16, 118).
 - 1. Dialectics (Or. 113, 114).
- b. Laws of physical science (Or. 119).
- c. Divine laws (Or. 120).
- d. Laws relating to humanity (Or. 120).
- e. Civil law (Or. 120).
 - 1. different causes (Or. 122).
- f. History (Or. 120).
- g. Decorum (Or. 70, 71, 72).

II. The orator must learn the value of the different parts of an oration.

- a. Introduction (Or. 122).
- b. Body (Or. 122).
- c. Peroration (Or. 122).

III. Gathering the material is the next important step. (Or. 44)

- a. Common to other forms of discourse. (Or. 44).

IV. There is a definite value in effective arrangement of material. (Or. 50).

V. Delivery plays an important part in the success of an oration.

- a. Voice (Or. 55, 57, 58, 59).
- b. Gestures (Or. 59).
 - 1. Poise of body (Or. 59).

2. Face (Or. 60).

3. Eyes (Or. 60).

VI. To cultivate an excellent style, the orator gives attention to four important points.

a. Combine different styles (Or. 99).

b. Words chosen with care

1. Arrangement (Or. 140, 149, 150, 159, 160).

2. Harmonious sound (Or. 163, 164, 166).

3. Metaphor (Or. 134).

4. Repetition (Or. 135).

c. Sentences varied (Or. 137, 138).

d. Use of rhythm (Or. 198).

1. Natural rhythm (Or. 194, 195, 196).

2. Where used (Or. 199, 209, 210).

3. How long (Or. 211).

4. How vary (Or. 215-218, 221, 225, 226).

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