

QUINTILIAN

THE ORATOR'S EDUCATION

BOOKS 3-5

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
DONALD A. RUSSELL



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
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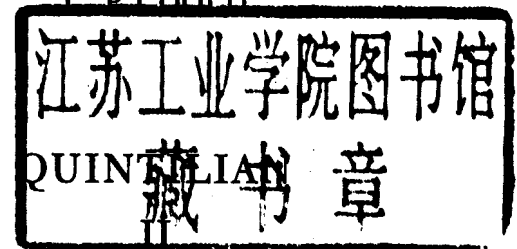
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**INSTITUTIO ORATORIA
THE ORATOR'S EDUCATION**

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

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

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

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

SIGLA

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

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

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

BOOK THREE

INTRODUCTION

There is a detailed commentary on this book by J. Adamietz (1966). Quintilian begins with a recapitulation (3.1.1–7) and a historical account of the development of rhetoric from Corax and Tisias down to his own day (3.1.8–21). In more general terms (3.2) the origin of rhetoric is seen in the gift of speech which Nature has given mankind; Quintilian takes issue with Cicero (3.2.4) by pointing out that nomadic peoples, who do not live in cities, also possess rhetorical skills. Much of the parallel material to all this is in Radermacher, *AS* pp. 1–27.

Various classifications of the subject occupy 3.4.3–3.4.5. First come the Five Parts (nowadays sometimes called Canons) of rhetoric: Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memory, Delivery (see Caplan on *Ad Herennium* 1.3; Lausberg § 255). Quintilian here dismisses the view that they are not “parts” but “functions” (ἔργα) of the orator. Bringing his “art-artist-work” division into play, he shows that Invention and the others belong to the “art,” while the functions that correspond to them belong to the orator. These questions seem arid; Quintilian (3.3.14) characteristically observes that scholars have been influenced by the desire to have different words for the divisions produced by various classifications.

Of these other classifications, the most important is that

INTRODUCTION

discussed in 3.4, the three Aristotelian “kinds of causes”: Forensic (or Judicial), Deliberative, and Epideictic (Lausberg §§ 59–65; Kennedy in *CRHP* 44–49). This chapter again is largely doxographical, but Quintilian (3.4.11) accepts the orthodox view, discusses the implications of the Greek terms Epideictic, Encomiastic, and Panegyric, and notes the common ground (justice, expediency, honour) which all three “kinds” share.

Chapter 5 touches briefly on some other traditional distinctions:

- 5.1. “Content and words”; “nature, art, practice, imitation.”
 - 5.2. The three *officia* of “instructing, moving emotions, and giving pleasure.”
 - 5.3. Things needing proof and things not needing proof.
 - 5.4. “Legal” and “Rational” Questions, i.e. questions of law and questions of fact.
 - 5.5–15. “Indefinite” and “Definite” Questions, i.e. *thesis* and *hypothesis*; Quintilian argues for the value of “indefinite” or general Questions in all kinds of cases, because there is usually a general principle behind any individual problem (Lausberg §§ 68–78).
 - 5.16. “Absolute” and “Relative” Questions.
- Finally (5.17–18) he gives various definitions of a “Cause.”

He has now introduced most of the concepts required for his next subject, which is the very complex Theory of Issues (*status*). This is the heart of theoretical forensic rhetoric, and will occupy him both here and in Book Seven. Basic ancient texts include *Ad Herennium* 1.18–27, 2.2–26; Cicero, *De inventione* 1.10–19, 2.12–end; *Topica* 93–96. On the Greek side, the theory (though it had its origins in the sophistic period and, as Quintilian sees, is

based on Aristotelian logic) was mainly developed by Hermagoras, for whose views Quintilian is an important source. After Quintilian's time, the number of distinct Issues was considerably enlarged; many writers held that there were thirteen, and this is the scheme found in Hermogenes of Tarsus, who was particularly influential, and in most later rhetoricians. Among modern accounts, note Heath (1995), esp. 70ff.; *GD* 40–73; Heath in *CRHP* 100–103; Calboli Montefusco (1986). Lausberg §§ 79–254 is exhaustive, mainly depending on Quintilian. An unusually clear exposition (with diagrams) is given by B. Schouler, *La tradition hellénique chez Libanios* (1984) 1. 170–185; this does, of course, relate to a period much later than Quintilian.

Chapter 6 is thus unusually long and difficult, but its structure is fairly simple:

- 6.1. *Status* belongs to all three “kinds” of Cause.
- 6.2. Various names for it.
- 6.3. Early history.
- 6.4–22. Rival definitions and ways of identifying the Issue.
- 6.23–28. The basic elements are derived from or correspond with Aristotle's Categories.
- 6.29–55. How many types of Issue are there? (one, 29–30; two, 31–43; three, 44–46; four, 47–50; five or more, 51–55).
- 6.55–62. Theories which distinguish Rational and Legal Issues.
- 6.63–90. Quintilian's own views, past and present.
- 6.91–103. Cases involving more than one Issue, including (96–103) a detailed study of the Case of the Three Sons.

- 6.104. Related matters (Motive, Point to Decide, Core (Basic Argument)) will be considered later.

Chapter 7 deals, fairly briefly, with the oratory of praise and blame, i.e. Epideictic. Basic ancient texts here include: Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.9; Cicero, *De inventione* 2.177–178, *De oratore* 2.43–47, 341–349 (very close to Quintilian); *Partitiones oratoriae* 70–82; Theon, *Progymnasmata* 109–112 Spengel; Menander Rhetor (with Russell and Wilson's Introduction, xi–xxxiv). Modern works include Burgess (1902), Buchheit (1960); Pernot (1993); the handbooks all include discussions, e.g. Martin 177–210, Lausberg §§ 239–254.

After some introductory remarks (3.7.1–6), Quintilian proceeds to praise of gods (6–9) and men (10–18), and then to invective (19–22). There follows a section on the relation of the encomiast to his audience (23–25), and then the main scheme resumes with “praise of cities and places” (26–28).

Chapter 8 is a similar treatment of Deliberative Oratory. The essential parallel material is to be found in Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.4–8; *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 29–34; Cicero, *De inventione* 2.157–176, *De oratore* 2.333–340, *Partitiones oratoriae* 83–97. Outline in Martin 167–176, Lausberg §§ 224–238. Quintilian's discussion falls into two main parts: (a) Introductory (3.8.1–15): here it is explained that the aim of Deliberative Oratory is dignity rather than expediency (1–3); that it may however involve Conjecture, Definition, and Legal Issues as well as Quality (4–6); and that it has its own rules for Prooemium, Narrative, and Emotional Appeal (6–13); (b) a more detailed discussion of (i) the nature of the proposal (16–35), (ii) the character

of the audience (35–47), (iii) the character of the speaker (48). There follow remarks on Prosopopoeia (49–54) and finally (55–70) some comments on various types of school exercises (*suasoriae*).

In 9, Quintilian returns to the Forensic Speech, with a preliminary discussion of the Parts of the Speech—from Prooemium to Epilogue—which he will take up in detail in Book Four. His theme for the moment is the practical question of the order in which these elements of a speech are to be planned. This division—usually into five parts: Prooemium, Narrative, Arguments, Refutations, Epilogue—is central to rhetorical teaching at all periods (see Caplan on *Ad Herennium* 1.4ff.) and gives the basic structure of many treatises (e.g. *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, Anonymus Seguerianus, Apsines). Lausberg § 261 summarizes the doctrine, and gives a table showing various schemes in later Latin rhetoricians.

Chapter 10 gives a classification of Causes according to their complexity: they are either Simple, Compound, or Comparative. Cicero (*De inventione* 1.17) has this distinction, which is also found in later rhetors (Fortunatianus, 86–91 Halm). It is discussed briefly by Lausberg, § 67.

Chapter 11 discusses Questions, Lines of Defence, Points for Decision and *continens* or *συνέχων* (I translate this as “Core”; “Basic Argument” would also convey the idea). This all provides a procedure for deciding what the problem to be addressed really is. It is based on Hermagoras, though Quintilian does not always use his terminology, is not uncritical of him, and is generally impatient with subtleties which have, he very reasonably thinks, little practical value. Parallel material in *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium* (see Caplan) enables us to reconstruct the

basic process as Hermagoras saw it. It involved (1) the accuser's *intentio*, (2) the defendant's *depulsio*: from these emerged the *quaestio* (*Ad Herennium* 1.18). Next (3) the defendant produced his *ratio*, and (4) the accuser tried to refute it (*Ad Herennium* calls this stage *firmamentum*, a term mentioned also by Quintilian, 3.11.1). From (3) and (4) derived the Point for Decision (*τὸ κρινόμενον*). The example in *De inventione* 2.78, the charge against Horatius for killing his sister, illustrates this clearly. (1) “You killed your sister without justification”; (2) “I was justified”; the Question is “Was he justified?”; (3) “She was distressed at our victory, and grieved by the enemy's death”; (4) “But she ought not to have been killed by her brother without trial.” Point for Decision: “Given all the circumstances, should he have killed her without trial?”

Quintilian deals first (11.1–3) with the definition of the “principal Question”; then with Line of Defence (*ratio*) and Point for Decision (11.4–8), with a discussion of terminology and illustration from the stock case of Orestes; next comes “Core” (11.9); he then proceeds to discuss various problems, illustrating them again from stock cases (11.10–17). Inconsistencies in Cicero come in for criticism (11.18–20); but Quintilian is mainly concerned (11.21–26) with simplifying the subject and reducing it to what the student really needs to know. His impatience with the pedantry and vanity of the scholars is clear, and characteristic. His own account is, it must be said, not at all clear: see M. Heath in *Classical Quarterly* 44 (1994) 122–123.

LIBER TERTIUS

1

- 1 Quoniam in libro secundo quaesitum est quid esset rhetorice et quis finis eius, artem quoque esse eam et utilem et virtutem, ut vires nostrae tulerunt, ostendimus, materiamque ei res omnes de quibus dicere oporteret subiecimus: iam hinc unde coeperit, quibus constet, quo quaeque in ea modo invenienda atque tractanda sint exequar: intra quem modum plerique scriptores artium constiterunt, adeo ut Apollodorus contentus solis iudicialibus fuerit.
- 2 Nec sum ignarus hoc a me praecipue quod hic liber inchoat opus studiosos eius desiderasse, ut inquisitione opinionum, quae diversissimae fuerunt, longe difficillimum, ita nescio an minimae legentibus futurum voluptati, quippe quod prope nudam praeceptorum traditionem desideret.
- 3 In ceteris enim admiscere temptavimus aliquid nitoris, non iactandi ingenii gratia (namque in id eligi materia poterat uberior), sed ut hoc ipso adliceremus magis iuventutem ad cognitionem eorum quae necessaria studiis arbitrabamur, si ducti iucunditate aliqua lectionis libentius

¹ 2.15, 16, 17, 20, 21.

² See 2.11.2, 3.1.17; Kennedy, *ARRW* 338–340.

BOOK THREE

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: history of the subject

In Book Two, I discussed what rhetoric was and what was its end; I showed, to the best of my ability, that it was an art, that it was useful, and that it was a virtue, and I defined its material as every subject on which it was obliged to speak.¹ I shall now expound its origins, its component elements, and how we should discover and handle each constituent. Most authors of textbooks have kept within these limits; indeed Apollodorus² was content to confine himself exclusively to forensic cases.

I am fully aware that students of rhetoric have particularly wanted me to provide that part of the subject which this book now commences. It is both by far the most difficult part, because of the need to investigate a very great diversity of opinions, and also, I suspect, likely to be the least pleasurable to the reader, because it demands little else than a bare exposition of rules. Elsewhere, I have tried to add some touch of elegance, not to show off my talents (I could have chosen a richer field for that!) but to lure young people by this into learning what I regarded as necessary for their studies, in the hope that they might be attracted by some pleasure in reading, and so become readier to

discerent ea quorum ne ieiuna atque arida traditio averteret animos et aures praesertim tam delicatas raderet
4 verebatur. Qua ratione se Lucretius dicit praecepta philosophiae carmine esse complexum; namque hac, ut est notum, similitudine utitur:

ac veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
adspirant¹ mellis dulci flavoque liquore

5 et quae secuntur. Sed nos veremur ne parum hic liber mellis et absinthii multum habere videatur, sitque salubrior studiis quam dulcior. Quin etiam hoc timeo, ne ex eo minorem gratiam ineat, quod pleraque non inventa per me sed ab aliis tradita continebit, habeat etiam quosdam qui contra sentiant et adversentur, propterea quod plurimi auctores, quamvis eodem tenderent, diversas tamen vias
6 munierunt atque in suam quisque induxit sequentes. Illi autem probant quaecumque ingressi sunt iter, nec facile inculcatas pueris persuasiones mutaveris, quia nemo non
7 didicisse mavult quam discere. Est autem, ut procedente libro patebit, infinita dissensio auctorum, primo ad ea quae rudia atque imperfecta adhuc erant adicientibus quod invenissent scriptoribus, mox, ut aliquid sui viderentur adferre, etiam recta mutantibus.

8 Nam primus post eos quos poetae tradiderunt movisse

¹ inspirant A: contingunt *Lucretius* 1.938 = 4.13

³ *Lucretius* 1.936–938 = 4.11–13.

learn things which, if baldly and drily taught, would, I feared, disgust their minds and offend their ears, especially as they are now so very fastidious. This is the reason Lucretius gives for writing philosophy in verse: as we all know, he uses this simile:

As when the doctors try to give to children
some bitter wormwood, first they smear the rim
with honey, sweet and yellow,³

and so on. But I fear this book may appear to have too little honey and too much wormwood, and be more healthy for the student than agreeable. I fear too that it will find even less favour, because its contents will be for the most part not discoveries of mine but the doctrines of others, and at the same time encounter hostile criticism, because so many writers, though all moving towards the same goal, have constructed different roads to it, and have each made their disciples follow their special route. Those disciples, moreover, become committed to whatever road they entered on first, and it is very difficult to change boys' opinions once they have been impressed upon them. Everybody prefers to have learned rather than to learn! But there is, as will appear in the course of this book, an infinite diversity of opinion among the authorities, because writers first added their own discoveries to what was previously still rough and imperfect, and then went on to change even what had been right, so as to appear to be contributing something of their own.

Previous writers on rhetoric

The first writer, after those of whom the poets tell us,

- aliqua circa rhetoricen Empedocles dicitur. Artium autem scriptores antiquissimi Corax et Tisias Siculi, quos insecutus est vir eiusdem insulae Gorgias Leontinus, Empedoclis, ut traditur, discipulus. Is beneficio longissimae aetatis (nam centum et novem vixit annos) cum multis simul floruit, ideoque et illorum de quibus supra dixi fuit aemulus et ultra Socraten usque duravit: Thrasy-machus Calchedonius cum hoc et Prodicus Cius² et Abderites Protagoras, a quo decem milibus denariorum didicisse artem quam edidit Euathlus dicitur, et Hippias Elius, et, quem Palameden Plato appellat, Alcidamas Elaïtes, Antiphon quoque, <qui>³ et orationem primus omnium scripsit et nihilo minus artem [et]⁴ ipse composuit et pro se dixisse optime est creditus; etiam Polycrates, a quo scriptam in Socraten diximus orationem, et Theodorus Byzantius, ex iis et ipse quos Plato appellat logodaedalos. Horum primi communis

² *edd.*: Chius AB

³ *add.* Claussen

⁴ *del.* Claussen

⁴ Aristotle claimed Empedocles as the originator of rhetoric (Diogenes Laertius 8.57). Q.'s reference to "poets" alludes to the supposed knowledge of rhetoric shown by characters in Homer: see 2.17.8, 12.10.64. ⁵ See on 2.17.7. ⁶ He died c. 380 BC. See Radermacher, AS 42–66; Kennedy, AP 61–68.

⁷ See Kennedy, AP 68–70. ⁸ This sophist had a special interest in the correct use of words. Guthrie, HGP 3. 274–280.

⁹ Guthrie, HGP 3. 262–269. ¹⁰ Ridiculed by Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 710. ¹¹ Famous for the versatility of his knowledge and skills: Guthrie, HGP 3. 280–285.

¹² Texts in Radermacher, AS 132–147. See Kennedy, AP 172–173, N. O'Sullivan, *Alcidamas, Aristophanes and the Beginnings of Greek Stylistic Theory* (1992) ch. 2.

¹³ Palamedes, a Greek hero of the Trojan War, was a very inge-

who made any progress in rhetoric is said to have been Empedocles.⁴ The oldest writers of textbooks are the Sicilians Corax and Tisias,⁵ who were followed by another native of their island, Gorgias of Leontini, said to have been a pupil of Empedocles. Thanks to an exceptionally long life (he lived to 109),⁶ he had many contemporaries; he was the rival of those I have just mentioned, and yet he went on to outlive Socrates. His contemporaries include Thrasy-machus of Calchedon,⁷ Prodicus of Ceos,⁸ Protagoras of Abdera⁹ (for whose teaching Euathlus¹⁰ is supposed to have paid 10,000 *denarii*, and subsequently to have published it), Hippias of Elis¹¹ and Alcidamas of Elaea,¹² whom Plato¹³ calls Palamedes. There was also Antiphon,¹⁴ who was the first to write speeches, but none the less composed a textbook himself and is said to have spoken very well in his own defence; and Polycrates, who (as I said) wrote a speech against Socrates,¹⁵ and Theodorus of Byzantium,¹⁶ another of those whom Plato calls "master

nious person (he invented the game of draughts as a pastime for the bored troops), who was falsely accused of treason. Gorgias wrote a fictitious "Defence" for him. However, Q.'s interpretation of Plato is wrong: the "Eleatic Palamedes" of *Phaedrus* 261D is the eristic philosopher Zeno of Elea, not Alcidamas of Elaea (see G. J. de Vries, *A Commentary on the Phaedrus of Plato* (Amsterdam, 1969) 204–205). ¹⁴ Radermacher, AS 81–102, Kennedy, AP 129–133; trans. in LCL *Minor Attic Orators* vol. I. Cicero (*Brutus* 47) reports (from Thucydides 8.68) the excellence of his self-defence (411 BC). ¹⁵ See on 2.17.4. Q. almost certainly means that Antiphon was the first *logographos*, i.e. the first who wrote speeches for litigants: see [Plutarch], *Lives of the Ten Orators* 832C. ¹⁶ Plato, *Phaedrus* 266–267 (and Cicero, *Orator* 39, probably Q.'s source). Radermacher, AS 106–111.

locos tractasse dicuntur Protagoras, Gorgias, adfectus Prodicus, Hippias et idem Protagoras et Thrasyarchus. Cicero in Bruto negat ante Periclea scriptum quicquam quod ornatum oratorium habeat: eius aliqua ferri. Equidem non reperio quicquam tanta eloquentiae fama dignum, ideoque minus miror esse qui nihil ab eo scriptum putent, haec autem quae feruntur ab aliis esse composita.

- 13 His succedere multi, sed clarissimus Gorgiae auditor Isocrates, quamquam de praeceptore eius inter auctores
14 non convenit: nos tamen Aristoteli credimus. Hinc velut diversae secari coeperunt viae. Nam et Isocratis praestantissimi discipuli fuerunt in omni studiorum genere, eoque iam seniore (octavum enim et nonagesimum implevit annum) postmeridianis scholis Aristoteles praecipere artem oratoriam coepit, noto quidem illo, ut traditur, versu ex Philocteta frequenter usus: 'turpe esse tacere et Isocraten pati dicere.' Ars est utriusque, sed pluribus eam libris Aristoteles complexus est. Eodem tempore Theodectes fuit,
15 de cuius opere supra dictum est. Theophrastus quoque, Aristotelis discipulus, de rhetorice diligenter scripsit, atque hinc vel studiosius philosophi quam rhetores prae-

¹⁷ See Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.1, 1404a14.

¹⁸ 27; see also 12.10.49.

¹⁹ Fr. 139 Rose. Gorgias is often cited as one of Isocrates' teachers (e.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Isocrates* 1).

²⁰ Probably from Cicero, *De oratore* 3.141. Original source not known. The Euripidean line parodied is fr. 796 Nauck, where βαρβάρους replaces Ἰσοκράτην: "It is shameful to be silent in defence of the entire Greek army, and let barbarians speak."

²¹ I.e. not only in the *Rhetoric* we possess, but in some lost

wordsmiths." Of these, Protagoras and Gorgias are said to have been the first to treat commonplaces, and Prodicus, Hippias, Protagoras, and Thrasyarchus, the emotions.¹⁷ Cicero in the *Brutus*¹⁸ says that nothing possessing any rhetorical finish was written before Pericles, and that some of Pericles' speeches were in circulation. I have been unable to discover anything worthy of his great reputation for eloquence, and therefore am not surprised that some think that he wrote nothing and that what circulates as his was composed by others.

These men had many successors. The most famous of Gorgias' pupils was Isocrates, though the authorities are not agreed as to his teacher: I follow Aristotle.¹⁹ From this point, the roads diverge. Isocrates' pupils distinguished themselves in every branch of study, and when he was an old man (and he lived to be 98), Aristotle began teaching rhetoric in afternoon lectures, often parodying (we are told) the well-known line in the *Philoctetes*:

Shame to keep quiet, and let Isocrates speak.²⁰

Both wrote "Arts" of rhetoric, but Aristotle covered the subject in several books.²¹ Theodectes, whose work I mentioned above,²² belongs to the same period. Theophrastus,²³ Aristotle's pupil, also wrote scholarly works on rhetoric, and from this time forward it was the philosophers,

works: *Gryllus* (see 2.17.14) and the *Collection of Technai* (fr. 136-141 Rose).

²² 1.4.18, 2.15.10.

²³ Aristotle's successor, very influential in the development of rhetorical theory. Evidence in Fortenbaugh (1992) 2. 508-559. Sketch in Kennedy, *AP* 273-284, and in *CHLC* 194ff.

- 16 cipueque Stoicorum ac Peripateticorum principes. Fecit
deinde velut propriam Hermagoras viam, quam plurimi
sunt secuti. Cui maxime par atque aemulus videtur Athe-
naeus fuisse. Multa post Apollonius Molon, multa Areus,
17 multa Caecilius et Halicarnasseus Dionysius. Praecipue
tamen in se converterunt studia Apollodorus Pergame-
nus, qui praeceptor Apolloniae Caesaris Augusti fuit, et
Theodorus Gadareus, qui se dici maluit Rhodium: quem
studiose audisse cum in eam insulam secessisset dicitur
18 Tiberius Caesar. Hi diversas opiniones tradiderunt appel-
latique inde Apollodorei ac Theodorei ad morem certas in
philosophia sectas sequendi. Sed Apollodori praecepta
magis ex discipulis cognoscas, quorum diligentissimus in
tradendo fuit Latine C. Valgius, Graece Atticus. Nam ip-
sius sola videtur ars edita ad Matium, quia ceteras missa ad
Domitium epistula non agnoscit. Plura scripsit Theodorus,
cuius auditorem Hermagoran sunt qui viderint.

²⁴ Cleanthes and Chrysippus among the Stoics (Kennedy, AP 290–299), Demetrius of Phalerum among the Peripatetics (ibid. 284–286). ²⁵ See 2.15.23.

²⁶ Taught Cicero (*Brutus* 307, 312, 316) and was reputed an effective speaker. Kennedy, AP 326–327.

²⁷ See on 2.15.36.

²⁸ Fragments ed. Ofenloch (1907). Kennedy, ARRW 364–369.

²⁹ Critical works (but not fragments of *De imitatione*, much used by Q. in 10.1) ed. S. Usher (LCL).

³⁰ What Q. tells us about these two “sects” (see on 2.11.2) is important; but they do not represent fundamentally different literary attitudes, as has sometimes been thought, but only somewhat different approaches to the relation between rules and practice in oratory.

³¹ Probably C. Valgius Rufus, suffect consul 12 BC, poet

especially the leading Stoics and Peripatetics,²⁴ who showed even more interest in the subject than the rhetors. Later, Hermagoras struck out on a path of his own, which many have followed; his closest equal and rival seems to have been Athenaeus.²⁵ Apollonius Molon,²⁶ Areus,²⁷ Caecilius,²⁸ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus²⁹ all made major contributions; but the rhetoricians who particularly attracted a following were Apollodorus of Pergamum,³⁰ the teacher of Augustus at Apollonia, and Theodorus of Gadara, who preferred to be called a Rhodian, and of whom Tiberius is said to have been a keen pupil during his years of retirement in Rhodes. These two taught very different systems; hence their followers are called Apollodoreans and Theodoreans, on the analogy of the adherents of distinct philosophical schools. Apollodorus’ doctrines are best learned from his pupils; the most scholarly exponent of them in Latin was Gaius Valgius,³¹ in Greek Atticus.³² The only published textbook of his own is the one addressed to Matius,³³ for the letter to Domitius³⁴ acknowledges no other. Theodorus wrote more: some still living have seen his pupil Hermagoras.³⁵

(Courtney (1993) 287–290), and the addressee of Horace, *Carmina* 2.9. ³² Probably the Dionysius Atticus of Pergamum mentioned by Strabo (625c).

³³ Probably C. Matius, a literary man and friend of Augustus, and son of one of Caesar’s most loyal supporters.

³⁴ Perhaps (as Spalding thought) the poet Domitius Marsus (Courtney (1993) 300–304), for whom see 6.3.102–111.

³⁵ This Hermagoras (there were at least two rhetors of the name besides the famous one from Temnos) may be the person quoted several times by the elder Seneca (so Matthes (1962) 56–59).

- 19 Romanorum primus, quantum ego quidem sciam, condidit aliqua in hanc materiam M. Cato, post M. Antonius [ille censorius]⁵ inchoavit: nam hoc solum opus eius atque id ipsum imperfectum manet. Secuti minus celebres, quorum memoriam, si quo loco res poscet, non omittam.
- 20 Praecipuum vero lumen sicut eloquentiae, ita praeceptis quoque eius dedit unicum apud nos specimen orandi docendique oratorias artes M. Tullius, post quem tacere modestissimum foret, nisi et rhetoricos suos ipse adulescenti sibi elapsos diceret, et in oratoriis haec minora, quae plerumque desiderantur, sciens omisisset. Scripsit de eadem materia non pauca Cornificius, aliqua Stertinius, non nihil pater Gallio, accuratius vero priores Gallione Celsus et Laenas et aetatis nostrae Verginius Plinius Tutilius. Sunt et hodie clari eiusdem operis auctores, qui si omnia complexi forent, consulissent labori meo. Sed parco nominibus

⁵ del. Radermacher

³⁶ Perhaps the work addressed to his son in which the often quoted *vir bonus dicendi peritus* ("good man skilled in speaking") came: see 12.1.1.

³⁷ This great orator never published his speeches. Cicero (*De oratore* 1.98, see also 1.208) makes him (he is a character in the dialogue) refer to his "little book," which was based not on theory but on practice. See 2.15.7, 3.6.44. Texts in ORF, pp. 221–237.

³⁸ I.e. *De inventione*. See *De oratore* 1.5 for Cicero's own judgement on this early work. By "oratorical" books, Q. means especially *De oratore*, *Orator*, and *Brutus*, all of which are works of literary art, and not just meant as comprehensive textbooks.

³⁹ See General Introduction, vol. I.

⁴⁰ Not known.

The first Roman (to my knowledge at any rate) who wrote anything on this subject was Marcus Cato;³⁶ after him, Marcus Antonius³⁷ made a beginning—this indeed is the only work of his to survive, and it is incomplete. His successors were less famous; but I shall not fail to mention them as occasion demands. But it was Cicero, the unique model both of oratory and of the teaching of oratory, who shed the greatest light on the theory as well as on the practice of eloquence. After him, the most modest course would be to keep silent, had he not himself said that his "rhetorical" books³⁸ were an indiscretion of his youth, and had he not deliberately omitted, in his "oratorical" books, the details whose absence we often regret. Cornificius³⁹ wrote extensively, and Stertinius⁴⁰ less extensively, on the same subject; the elder Gallio⁴¹ also contributed, but there is more exact scholarship to be found in Gallio's predecessors Celsus and Laenas,⁴² and, in our own lifetime, Verginius,⁴³ Pliny,⁴⁴ and Tutilius.⁴⁵ There are distinguished writers on these matters even today, and if they had covered everything, they would have made my work easier.

⁴¹ See 9.2.91; Seneca, *Controversiae* 10 praef. 13, Tacitus, *Dialogus* 26.1, *Annales* 6.3.

⁴² See also 10.7.32, 11.3.183; this Popilius Laenas (not identified with any known bearer of the name) wrote on practical aspects of composition and delivery.

⁴³ See also 4.1.23, 7.4.40, 11.3.126: teacher of the poet Persius; exiled by Nero (Tacitus, *Annales* 15.71); admired by Q.

⁴⁴ The elder Pliny's *Studiosus* (mentioned by his nephew, *Epistulae* 3.5.5) must have covered much of Q.'s ground, though more briefly. Q. is critical of him in 11.3.143, 148.

⁴⁵ Unknown; conceivably the rhetor mentioned by Martial (5.56) in AD 89.